

#### 4. SPANISH-NAHUATL CODE SWITCHING: BASIC FINDINGS

As discussed in chapter 3, data were collected in two ways: experiments, which consisted of elicited judgment tasks; and naturalistic observation, for which children engaged in code switching were recorded and transcribed at an elementary school in San Sebastián, Puebla. For a discussion of the language consultants, subjects, and other factors relevant to the research design, see chapter 3; conventions and abbreviations used in the presentation of data are defined in Table 6 (page 132), also in chapter 3.

The present chapter is intended as an annotated list of findings, highly descriptive in nature. In chapter 5, I will undertake an analysis of the data listed here.

##### *4.1 Data Obtained Through Elicited Judgments*

I asked my language consultants for judgments on Spanish-Nahuatl constructions similar to those reported in other code switching corpora and summarized in Table 1 (page 68). The judgments are presented below by theme, in the order assigned by Table 1.

##### **4.1.1 Conjunctions and *because***

Consultants in this study gave the judgments below for switches involving conjunctions, reported in Gumperz (1976) as a descriptive boundary at which a code switch is disallowed, but contested in many other works (compare (1a) in Table 1, page 68).

- (1) Maria kitlasojtla in Juan, *y va a casarse con él*  
 Maria 0-ki-flasojtla in Juan, *y va a cas-ar-se con él*  
 Maria 3S-3Os-love IN Juan, and go/3Ss/PRES PRT marry-INF-REF with him  
 ‘Maria loves John, and she’s going to marry him’
- (2) ?Maria ama a Juan, *iwan va a casarse con él*  
 Maria am-a a Juan, *y va a cas-ar-se con él*  
 Maria love-3Ss PRT Juan, and go/3Ss/PRES PRT marry-INF-REF with him  
 ‘Maria loves John, and she’s going to marry him’
- (3) Onikitak se ichpochtle, *y le pregunté dónde está la iglesia*  
 o-ni-k-itak se ichpochtle, *y le pregunt-é dónde está la iglesia*  
 PAST-1S-s3Os-see a girl, and DAT.CLITIC ask-PAST/1Ss where  
 be/3Ss/PRES the church  
 ‘I saw a girl, and I asked her where the church is’
- (4) Vi a una muchacha, *iwan oniktlajtlani kanika in teopan*  
 vi a una muchacha, *iwan o-ni-k-tlajtlani kanika in teopan*  
 PAST/1Ss/see PRT a girl, and PAST-1S-3Os-ask where the church  
 ‘I saw a girl, and I asked her where the church is’
- (5) Onikitak se ichpochtle, *iwan le pregunté dónde está la iglesia*  
 o-ni-k-itak se ichpochtle, *iwan le pregunt-é dónde está la iglesia*  
 PAST-1S-3Os-see a girl, and DAT.CLITIC ask-PAST/1Ss where  
 be/3Ss/PRES the church  
 ‘I saw a girl, and I asked her where the church is’
- (6) ?Vi a una muchacha, *y oniktlajtlani kanika in teopan*  
 vi a una muchacha, *y o-ni-k-tlajtlani kanika in teopan*  
 PAST/1Ss/see PRT a girl, and PAST-1S-3Os-ask where the church  
 ‘I saw a girl, and I asked her where the church is’

Although (2) and (6) were regarded as slightly degraded, they become perfect if a short pause is inserted between the conjunction and the CP. The consultants reported that (2) is “difficult to pronounce” and seemed ill-formed for this reason rather than reasons of syntactic constituency, and that Spanish *y* in (6) is more readily interpreted as the Nahuatl adverbial clitic *y*- ‘already.’

With respect to constructions involving *because* (compare (1b) in Table 1), boundaries are much more difficult to determine for Southeast Puebla Nahuatl. As in many other varieties of Nahuatl, Spanish *porque* has replaced classical *pampa* (still used in Guerrero and other regions). None of my consultants from Southeast Puebla knew the word *pampa* at all. In addition, Spanish *porque* and Nahuatl *porke* (as my consultants preferred to spell it in Nahuatl) appear to be pronounced the same. As expected, (7) and (8) are well-formed. In the absence of a careful phonetic analysis, it is unclear as to whether *porque* should be spelled *porque* (Spanish) or *porke* (Nahuatl) in (7) and (8); my choice is arbitrary.

- (7) (Ne) onipaktoka, porke *vi a una muchacha*  
 (ne) o-ni-paktoka, porke *vi a una muchacha*  
 (I) PAST-1S-be.happy because PAST/1Ss/see PRT a girl  
 ‘I was happy because I saw a girl’
- (8) Estaba feliz, porque *onikitak se ichpochtle*  
 estaba feliz, porque o-ni-k-kitak se ichpochtle  
 PAST/1Ss/be happy because PAST-1S-3Os-see a girl  
 ‘I was happy because I saw a girl’

Thus, due to the fact that both Spanish and Nahuatl use the same form for *because*, the data in (7) and (8) cannot enlighten us with respect to Gumperz’ claim mentioned in Table 1.

#### 4.1.2 *That-Complement*

Southeast Puebla Nahuatl has also borrowed Spanish complementizer *que*, generally written *ke*. Unlike Spanish, Nahuatl *ke* may be phonetically null, as in English. (In classical and some other varieties *in* is used as the complementizer.) The following data regarding (2) in Table 1 (page 68) were collected.

- (9) Le dije *que kitlasojtla in Juan sikpanoah*  
 le dije que 0-ki-tlasojtla in Juan sikpanoah  
 DAT.CLITIC PAST/1Ss/say that 3S-3Os-love IN Juan a.lot  
 'I told him that she loves Juan a lot'
- (10) Le dije *ke kitlasojtla in Juan sikpanoah*  
 le dije ke 0-ki-tlasojtla that in Juan sikpanoah  
 DAT.CLITIC PAST/1Ss/say that 3S-3Os-love IN Juan a.lot  
 'I told him that she loves Juan a lot'
- (11) Le dije *kitlasojtla in Juan sikpanoah*  
 le dije 0-ki-tlasojtla in Juan sikpanoah  
 DAT.CLITIC PAST/1Ss/say 3S-3Os-love IN Juan a.lot  
 'I told him she loves Juan a lot'
- (12) Onikili *que la quiere Juan*  
 o-ni-k-ili que la quier-e Juan  
 PAST-1S-3Os-say that ACC.CLITIC love-PRES/3Ss Juan  
 'I told him that Juan loves her'
- (13) Onikili *la quiere Juan*  
 o-ni-k-ili la quiere Juan  
 PAST-1S-3Os-say ACC.CLITIC love-PRES/3Ss Juan  
 'I told him Juan loves her'

The facts do not change if the complement clause is a subjunctive, marked in Nahuatl with the verbal prefix *xi-*. (14) and (15) are pure Spanish and (16) pure Nahuatl, given for purposes of comparison; (17) through (19) are code-switched sentences involving subjunctive CP complements. (As with *porque/porke*, it is unclear whether *que* in (18) and (19) should be spelled *que*, as in Spanish, or *ke*, as in Nahuatl; the choice is again arbitrary.)

- (14) Quiero que compres ropa  
 quier-o que compr-es ropa  
 want-PRES/1Ss that buy-SUBJ/2Ss clothes  
 'I want that you buy some clothes'

- (15) Espero que compres ropa  
esper-o que compr-es ropa  
hope-PRES/1Ss that buy-SUBJ/2Ss clothes  
'I hope that you buy some clothes'
- (16) nikchia ke (te) xikoa tlakemetl  
ni-k-chia ke (te) xi-k-koa tlakeme-tl  
1S-3Os-hope that (you) SUBJ-3Os-buy garment-NSF  
'I hope you buy some clothes'
- (17) Quiero *ke (te) xikoa tlakemetl*  
quier-o ke (te) xi-k-koa tlakeme-tl  
want-PRES/1Ss that (you) SUBJ-3Ss-buy garment-NSF  
'I want you to buy some clothes'
- (18) nikchia *ke compres ropa*  
ni-k-chia ke compr-es ropa  
1S-3Os-hope that buy-SUBJ/2Ss clothes  
'I hope you buy some clothes'
- (19) Espero que *(te) xikoa tlakemetl*  
esper-o que (te) xi-k-koa tlakeme-tl  
hope-PRES/1Ss that (you) SUBJ-3Ss-buy garment-NSF  
'I hope that you buy some clothes'

#### 4.1.3 Other Embedded Clauses

As noted in (3) of Table 1, it has been claimed that a switch is barred between certain I-elements (auxiliary *have*, modals, English *to*, the durative auxiliary) and their complements. Southeast Puebla Nahuatl does not use an auxiliary akin to European *have* for compound tenses, does not appear to use modal-like elements,<sup>58</sup> and does not have

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<sup>58</sup>Tuggy (1979) and Beller and Beller (1979) report the existence of a modal element *ma* 'may' in Morelos and Huasteca, but my speakers from the Tehuacán Valley were confused when I introduced this word. The word does occur in the naturalistic data (item (158) in section 4.2.7), but there its meaning is somewhat unclear. Siméon (1996 [1885]) lists multiple meanings for this word, only one of which has the modal sense of Tuggy (1979) and Beller and Beller (1979).

infinitives. However, an embedded IP complement in Nahuatl is morphologically marked for tense and agreement, as shown in (20) and (23).

If a Nahuatl verb takes a Spanish complement (unmarked for tense and agreement) the resulting construction is ill-formed, as in (21), (22), (24) and (25). If a Spanish verb takes a Nahuatl complement, as in (26), the construction is seriously degraded but preferred to (21), (22), (24) and (25).

- (20) Nio niktati nowelti  
 ni-o ni-k-tati no-welti  
 1S-go 1S-3Os-see my-sister  
 ‘I’m going to see my sister’
- (21) \*Nio (a) ver (a) mi hermana  
 ni-o (a) ver (a) mi hermana  
 1Ss-go (PRT) INF/see (PRT) my sister  
 ‘I’m going to see my sister’
- (22) \*Nio veo (a) mi hermana  
 ni-o veo (a) mi hermana  
 1S-go PRES/1Ss/see PRT my sister  
 ‘I’m going to see my sister’
- (23) Nikneki nikoas tlakemetl  
 ni-k-neki ni-k-koa-s tlakemetl  
 1S-3Os-want 1S-3Os-buy-FUT clothing  
 ‘I want to buy some clothes’
- (24) \*Nikneki *compro ropa*  
 ni-k-neki compr-o ropa  
 1S-3Os-want buy-1Ss/PRES clothing  
 ‘I want to buy some clothes’
- (25) \*Nikneki *compraré ropa*  
 ni-k-neki compr-aré ropa  
 1S-3Os-want buy-1Ss/FUT clothing  
 ‘I want to buy some clothes’

- (26) ??*Quiero nikoas tlakemetl*  
 ni-k-neki ni-k-koa-s tlakemetl  
 1S-3Os-want 1S-3Os-buy-FUT clothing  
 ‘I want to buy some clothes’

Like Spanish, illustrated in (27), Nahuatl has a durative suffix *-toc*, as shown in

(28) and (29). Notice that in Nahuatl no auxiliary (*estar* ‘to be’) is used.

- (27) (Yo) *estoy ayudando a Juan*  
 (yo) *estoy ayud-ando a Juan*  
 (I) be/PRES/1Ss help-DUR PRT Juan  
 ‘I’m helping Juan’

- (28) (Ne) *nikpalewijtoc in Juan*  
 (ne) *ni-k-palewij-toc in Juan*  
 (I) 1S-3Os-help-DUR IN Juan  
 ‘I’m helping Juan’

- (29) (Ye) *nejnentoc*  
 (ye) *0-nejnen-toc*  
 (he) 3S-walk-DUR  
 ‘He’s walking’

In code switches involving these constructions, the Spanish auxiliary *estar* may be followed by a Nahuatl durative verb (*V-toc*) only if the verb is unmarked for subject or object agreement and there has been no noun incorporation. The prefix *tla-*, often called the indefinite prefix (Launey, 1992: 35), is used in (30) and (31) to make transitive *kijtohtoc* intransitive (Wolgemuth, 1981: 70); similarly in (34) and (35).

- (30) \**Estoy nitlajtohtoc*  
*estoy ni-tla-toh-toc*  
 be/PRES/1Ss 1S-INDEF-speak-DUR  
 ‘I’m speaking’

- (31) *Estoy tlajtohtoc*  
*estoy tla-toh-toc*  
 be/1Ss INDEF-speak-DUR  
 ‘I’m speaking’

- (32) \*Estoy *nikijtohtoc*  
 estoy ni-ki-toh-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss 1S-3Os-speak-DUR  
 ‘I’m saying it’
- (33) \*Estoy *kijtohtoc*  
 estoy ki-toh-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss 3Os-speak-DUR  
 ‘I’m saying it’
- (34) \*Estoy *nitlacuajtoc*  
 estoy ni-tla-cuaj-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss 1S-INDEF-eat-DUR  
 ‘I’m eating’
- (35) Estoy *tlacuajtoc*  
 estoy tla-cuaj-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss INDEF-eat-DUR  
 ‘I’m eating’
- (36) \*Estoy *nikuajtoc*  
 estoy ni-k-cuaj-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss 1S-3Os-eat-DUR  
 ‘I’m eating it’
- (37) \*Estoy *kuajtoc*  
 estoy k-cuaj-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss 3Os-eat-DUR  
 ‘I’m eating it’
- (38) \*Estoy *nitlakaktoc*  
 estoy ni-tla-kak-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss 1S-INDEF-hate-DUR  
 ‘I’m hating’ (=‘I feel hatred’)
- (39) Estoy *tlakaktoc*  
 estoy tla-kak-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss INDEF-hate-DUR  
 ‘I’m hating’ (=‘I feel hatred’)
- (40) \*Estoy *nikaktoc*  
 estoy ni-k-kak-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss 1S-3Os-hate-DUR  
 ‘I’m hating it’

An incorporated noun in the place of *k-* (or *ki-*) in (36) does not change judgments:

- (41) *ninakakuajtoc*  
 ni-naka-cuaj-toc  
 1Ss-meat-eat-DUR  
 ‘I’m eating meat’
- (42) \**Estoy ninakakuajtoc*  
 estoy ni-naka-cuaj-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss 1S-meat-eat-DUR  
 ‘I’m eating meat’
- (43) \**Estoy nakakuajtoc*  
 estoy naka-cuaj-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss meat-eat-DUR  
 ‘I’m eating meat’

Some code switching examples which do not include verbs detransitivized by *tla-* appear below. The generalization holds for these data as well: a complement to Spanish *estar* may not bear agreement morphology or an incorporated noun, just as in the IP complement cases discussed above.

- (44) \**Estoy nikpalewijtoc*  
 estoy ni-k-palewij-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss 1S-3Os-helping-DUR  
 ‘I’m helping him/her’
- (45) \**Estoy nikmakatoc*  
 estoy ni-k-maka-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss 1S-3Os-give-DUR  
 ‘I’m handing it to him/her’
- (46) \**Estoy ninejnentoc*  
 estoy ni-nejnen-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss 1S-walk-DUR  
 ‘I’m walking’

- (47) Estoy *nejnentoc*  
 estoy nejnén-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss walk-DUR  
 ‘I’m walking’
- (48) \*Estoy *niajtoc*  
 estoy ni-a-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss 1S-go-DUR  
 ‘I’m going’
- (49) Estoy *yajtoc*  
 estoy ya-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss go-DUR  
 ‘I’m going’
- (50) \*Estoy *nitekititoc*  
 estoy ni-tekiti-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss 1S-work-DUR  
 ‘I’m working’
- (51) Estoy *tekititoc*  
 estoy tekiti-toc  
 be/PRES/1Ss work-DUR  
 ‘I’m working’

#### 4.1.4 Negation

Many varieties of Nahuatl express negation with *amo* ‘no,’ also the form used in the classical texts. In other dialects, a verbal prefix is used instead of *amo* (*x-*, for instance, in Guerrero Nahuatl). In Southeast Puebla Nahuatl negation may be indicated with either *amo* or a verbal prefix *mach-*.

However, since the prefix type of negation raises complications which are not at issue with *amo*, the examples involving switches of negation presented here are of the *amo* variety. It could be the case, for instance, that some morphological principles of word formation, perhaps the head-movement cases, resist code switching due to conflicts

in the syntactic requirements of these heads; using switches at the negation boundary with *amo* controls for this effect. (In Spanish, sentential negation is *no*.)

An additional complication arises because Nahuatl *amo* ‘not’ happens to have the same form as Spanish *amo* ‘I love,’ as my consultants often pointed out when these constructions were presented (see, in particular, (60) and (61)). Although the data are not ample and the judgments not always clear, there appears to be a resistance to code switches which involve Spanish negation followed by a Nahuatl verb that bears agreement morphology (note in particular (53)-(56)). Example (52) is pure Nahuatl, provided for purposes of comparison. (Examples of code switches with negative quantifiers are presented in section 4.1.5 of this chapter.)

- (52) Amo nitekititoc  
amo ni-tekiti-toc  
not 1S-work-DUR  
‘I’m not working’
- (53) \*No *nitekititoc*  
no ni-tekiti-toc  
not 1S-work-DUR  
‘I’m not working’
- (54) No estoy *tekititoc*  
no estoy tekiti-toc  
not be/PRES/1Ss work-DUR  
‘I’m not working’
- (55) Amo *estoy* tekititoc  
amo estoy tekiti-toc  
not be/PRES/1Ss work-DUR  
‘I’m not working’
- (56) \*No *onikili*  
no o-ni-k-ili  
not PAST-1S-3Os-tell  
‘I didn’t tell him’

- (57) *Amo le dije*  
 amo le dije  
 not DAT.CLITIC tell/PAST/1Ss  
 ‘I didn’t tell him’
- (58) ??*Maria no kitlasojtla in Juan*  
 Maria no 0-ki-tlasojtla in Juan  
 Maria not 3S-3Os-love IN Juan  
 ‘Maria doesn’t love Juan’
- (59) ??*Maria amo quiere a Juan*  
 Maria amo quier-e a Juan  
 Maria not love-3Ss/PRES PRT Juan  
 ‘Maria doesn’t love Juan’
- (60) ??*Maria amo ama a Juan*  
 Maria amo am-a a Juan  
 Maria not love-3Ss/PRES PRT Juan  
 ‘Maria doesn’t love Juan’
- (61) ???/\**Amo amo a Maria*  
 amo am-o a Maria  
 not love-1Ss/PRES PRT Maria  
 ‘I don’t love Maria’

#### 4.1.5 Quantifiers and Nonreferential Quantified NPs

Spanish *cada* ‘each’ has been borrowed into all of the modern varieties of Nahuatl, including Southeast Puebla Nahuatl, and is among Suárez’s (1977: 120) twenty words brought into modern Nahuatl by “préstamo simple” (simple borrowing). Thus, code switches involving *cada* do not inform us regarding (4a) of Table 1 (page 68).

- (62) *Cada tlakatl okipipitzo in isiwa*  
 cada tlaka-tl o-0-ki-pipitzo in i-siwa  
 each man-NSF PAST-3S-3Os-kiss IN his-wife  
 ‘Each man kissed his wife’

- (63) Cada hombre *okipipitzo in isiwa*  
 cada hombre o-0-ki-pipitzo in i-siwa  
 each man PAST-3S-3Os-kiss IN his-wife  
 'Each man kissed his wife'

While (63) shows us that a switch is allowed between a subject and verb, we cannot tell whether a switch is allowed between *cada* and its NP complement since the phonetic content of the word is the same in both languages.

Similar comments hold for the numerals. Although modern Nahuatl speakers can typically count up to four or five using Nahuatl-origin number words, they productively use the Spanish numbers in daily interactions. This is a common event under conditions of linguistic colonialism; the dominant language, whose speakers control commerce, begins to replace the counting words in the minority language with its own lexical tags (compare, for instance, modern Tagalog). Because my consultants did not know how to count in Nahuatl, I have no data involving code switches between a numeral and an NP complement.

In Nahuatl, the position of negatively quantified nonreferential NPs like *nobody* is rigid; these must occur before the verb and nowhere else. However, non-negatives like *somebody* may move with the same flexibility as other NPs. This fact is illustrated in (64) through (71).

- (64) Juan okitak aka  
 Juan o-0-ki-tak aka  
 Juan PAST-3S-3Os-see somebody  
 'Juan saw somebody'
- (65) Juan aka okitak  
 Juan aka o-0-ki-tak  
 Juan somebody PAST-3S-3Os-see  
 'Juan saw somebody'

- (66) Juan amaka okitak  
 Juan amaka o-0-ki-tak  
 Juan nobody PAST-3S-3Os-see  
 ‘Juan saw nobody’
- (67) \*Juan okitak amaka  
 Juan o-0-ki-tak amaka  
 Juan PAST-3S-3Os-see nobody  
 ‘Juan saw nobody’
- (68) Amaka witz  
 amaka witz  
 nobody come  
 ‘Nobody will come’
- (69) \*Witz amaka  
 witz amaka  
 come nobody  
 ‘Nobody will come’
- (70) Aka witz  
 aka witz  
 somebody come  
 ‘Somebody will come’
- (71) Witz aka  
 witz aka  
 come somebody  
 ‘Somebody will come’

In code switching contexts, if a Nahuatl verb is used, the distribution of nonreferential quantified NPs remains essentially the same as in (64) through (71). However, unlike the pure Nahuatl example, the pattern in (65) is somewhat marked when a Spanish nonreferential quantified NP is used in combination with a Nahuatl verb.

- (72) Juan *nadie* okitak  
 Juan *nadie* o-0-ki-tak  
 Juan nobody PAST-3S-3Os-see  
 ‘Juan didn’t see anybody’

- (73) \*Juan okitak (*a*) *nadie*  
 Juan o-0-ki-tak (a) *nadie*  
 Juan PAST-3S-3Os-see (PRT) *nadie*  
 ‘Juan didn’t see anybody’
- (74) ?Juan *alguien* okitak  
 Juan *alguien* o-0-ki-tak  
 Juan somebody PAST-3S-3Os-see  
 ‘Juan saw somebody’
- (75) ?Nadie *witz*  
*nadie witz*  
 nobody come  
 ‘Nobody will come’
- (76) \*Witz (*a*) *nadie*  
*witz* (a) *nadie*  
 come (PRT) nobody  
 ‘Nobody will come’
- (77) ?Alguien *witz*  
*alguien witz*  
 somebody come  
 ‘Somebody will come’
- (78) *Witz alguien*  
*witz alguien*  
 come somebody  
 ‘Somebody will come’

Notice, too, that although Nahuatl has the option of using a negative concord construction, as in (79), the code-switched versions are ill-formed.

- (79) Juan amo okitak aka  
 Juan amo o-0-ki-tak aka  
 Juan not PAST-3S-3Os-see somebody  
 ‘Juan didn’t see anybody’
- (80) \*Juan *a nadie* okitak  
 Juan *a nadie* o-0-ki-tak  
 Juan PRT nobody PAST-3S-3Os-see  
 ‘Juan didn’t see anybody’

- (81) \*Juan amo okitak (*a*) *nadie*  
 Juan o-0-ki-tak (a) *nadie*  
 Juan PAST-3S-3Os-see (PRT) nobody  
 ‘Juan didn’t see anybody’
- (82) \*Juan no vio *aka*  
 Juan no vió *aka*  
 Juan not see/past/3Ss somebody  
 ‘Juan didn’t see anybody’

Finally, when a Spanish verb is used with a Nahuatl nonreferential quantified NP in object position, the construction is always ill-formed.

- (83) \*Comprará *itlah*  
 compr-ará *itlah*  
 buy-FUT/3Ss something  
 ‘He’ll buy something’
- (84) \*Itlah *comprará*  
 itlah compr-ará  
 something buy-FUT/3Ss  
 ‘He’ll buy something’
- (85) \*Amitlah *comprará*  
 amitlah compr-ará  
 nothing buy-FUT/3Ss  
 ‘He’ll buy nothing’
- (86) \*Comprará *amitlah*  
 compr-ará *amitlah*  
 buy-FUT/3Ss nothing  
 ‘He’ll buy nothing’

These elements can, however, freely occur in subject position:

- (87) *Alguien okitak in Juan*  
 alguien o-0-ki-tak in Juan  
 somebody PAST-3S-3Os-see IN Juan  
 ‘Somebody saw Juan’

#### 4.1.6 Demonstratives

As noted in (4b) of Table 1, there is a dispute in the code switching literature with respect to whether a code switch may occur between a demonstrative and its NP complement. While a code switch between the Nahuatl demonstrative *neka* ‘that’ and a Spanish NP is allowed, a switch between a Spanish demonstrative (*aquel, ese, este*) and a Nahuatl NP is ill-formed with feminine demonstratives and degraded with masculine forms.

- (88) Neka *hombre* kikoas se kalli  
 neka hombre 0-ki-koa-s se kalli  
 that man 3S-3Os-buy-FUT a house  
 ‘That man will buy a house’
- (89) ??Este *tlakatl kitlasojtla in Maria*  
 este tlaka-tl 0-ki-tlasojtla in Maria  
 this man-NSF 3S-3Os-love IN Maria  
 ‘This (here) man loves Maria’
- (90) ??Ese *tlakatl kitlasojtla in Maria*  
 ese tlaka-tl 0-ki-tlasojtla in Maria  
 this man-NSF 3S-3Os-love IN Maria  
 ‘This man loves Maria’
- (91) ??Aquel *tlakatl kitlasojtla in Maria*  
 aquel tlaka-tl 0-ki-tlasojtla in Maria  
 that man-NSF 3S-3Os-love IN Maria  
 ‘That man loves Maria’
- (92) \*Neka *tlakatl kikoas aquella* kalli  
 neka tlaka-tl 0-ki-koa-s aquella kalli  
 that man-NSF 3S-3Os-buy-FUT that house  
 ‘That man will buy that house’
- (93) \*Neka *tlakatl kikoas esa* kalli  
 neka tlakatl kikoas esa kalli  
 that man-NSF 3S-3Os-buy-FUT this house  
 ‘That man will buy this house’

- (94) \*Neka tlakatl kikoas *esta* kalli  
 neka tlakatl kikoas *esta* kalli  
 that man-NSF 3S-3Os-buy-FUT this house  
 ‘That man will buy this (here) house’

#### 4.1.7 Determiners

There is a dispute in the code switching literature with respect to whether a code switch may occur between a determiner and its NP complement, as noted in (4c) of Table 1. The findings here are as they were in section 4.1.6 (Demonstratives): While a switch between the Nahuatl article *se* ‘a’ and a Spanish NP is allowed, a switch between a Spanish article and a Nahuatl NP is allowed with masculine but not with feminine articles.

- (95) \*Neka tlakatl kikoas *una* kalli  
 neka tlaka-tl 0-ki-koa-s *una* kalli  
 that man-NSF 3S-3Os-buy-FUT a house  
 ‘That man will buy a house’
- (96) *El* teopixke kipia *se* coche  
 el teopixke 0-ki-pia *se* coche  
 the priest 3S-3Os-have a car  
 ‘The priest has a car’
- (97) *El* teopixke kipia *un* coche  
 el teopixke 0-ki-pia *un* coche  
 the priest 3S-3Os-have a car  
 ‘The priest has a car’
- (98) *Se hombre* kikoas *se* kalli  
 se hombre 0-ki-koa-s *se* kalli  
 a man 3S-3Os-buy-FUT a house  
 ‘A man will buy a house’
- (99) Tengo *un* konetl  
 tengo un kone-tl  
 have/PRES/3Ss a son-NSF  
 ‘I have a son’

#### 4.1.8 Nahuatl *in* and Spanish Nouns

Nahuatl *in* is frequently translated ‘the’ in English or ‘el/la’ in Spanish, but it behaves very differently from these definite articles. A number of proposals have been advanced regarding the syntactic properties of this element, but for now I will simply discuss how it behaves in code switching contexts (returning to its syntactic characteristics in section 5.2).

Code switches between *in* and a Spanish noun are unmarked, just as in the case of *se* discussed in section 4.1.7.

- (100) *Arrancó in vestido non de Maria*  
 arranc-ó in vestido non de Maria  
 pull-PAST/3Ss IN dress which of Maria  
 ‘She pulled on Maria’s dress’
- (101) *Okitanili in vestido non de Maria*  
 o-0-ki-tilanili in vestido non de Maria  
 PAST-3S-3Os-pull IN dress which of Maria  
 ‘She pulled on Maria’s dress’

In one instance my consultants regarded this switch as somewhat marked:

- (102) *?In hombre kikoas se kalli*  
 in hombre 0-ki-koa-s se kalli  
 IN man 3S-3Os-buy-FUT a house  
 ‘The man will buy a house’

The Spanish word *cuchillo* is the only word used by my consultants for ‘knife,’ so it may be regarded as a borrowing in (103). This contrasts with the use of Spanish *vestido* ‘dress’ in (101) since Nahuatl speakers use their native word *tlake* for ‘dress’ as well.

- (103) *In cuchillo de Juan kipalewijtok*  
 in cuchillo de Juan 0-ki-palewij-tok  
 the knife of Juan 3S-3Os-help-DUR  
 ‘Juan’s knife is helping him’

#### 4.1.9 Modification Structures

It has been argued that code switches are barred in modification constructions when the adjective and noun differ with regard to the directionality requirement within the AP; thus, if a language  $L_a$  requires its nouns to follow adjectives, and a language  $L_b$  requires its adjectives to follow nouns, then a code switch between a noun and an adjective involving  $L_a$  and  $L_b$  is barred. This finding has been disputed, as noted in (5) of Table 1.

In Nahuatl, there is a slight preference for adjectives to precede nouns, but they often may vary freely, as in (103) and (104).

(103) Ye kipia se kalli iztak  
 ye 0-ki-pia se kalli iztak  
 she 3S-3Os-have a house white  
 ‘She has a white house’

(104) Ye kipia se iztak kalli  
 ye 0-ki-pia se iztak kalli  
 she 3S-3Os-have a white house  
 ‘She has a white house’

In addition, despite widespread assumptions to the contrary, modification constructions appear to be a heterogeneous class which is not well understood. Thus, examples such as (103) and (104) should not necessarily be regarded as general patterns for Nahuatl, just as their English equivalents should not be regarded as general patterns for English (that is, some types of adjectives will have very different syntactic properties).

In code switching contexts, with respect to constructions like (103) and (104), a Spanish adjective may be used with a Nahuatl NP if the adjective precedes the noun and

does not use feminine gender (as might be expected for the Spanish word *casa* ‘house’).

Note the contrast between (105) through (107) on the one hand and (108) on the other.

(105) \*Ye kipia se *blanca* kalli  
 ye 0-ki-pia se blanca kalli  
 she 3S-3Os-have a white house  
 ‘She has a white house’

(106) \*Ye kipia se kalli *blanca*  
 ye 0-ki-pia se kalli blanca  
 she 3S-3Os-have a house white  
 ‘She has a white house’

(107) \*Ye kipia se *blanco* kalli  
 ye 0-ki-pia se blanco kalli  
 she 3S-3Os-have a house white  
 ‘She has a white house’

(108) ??Ye kipia se kalli *blanco*  
 ye 0-ki-pia se kalli blanco  
 she 3S-3Os-have a house white  
 ‘She has a white house’

#### 4.1.10 Switches Involving Subject and Object Pronouns

As noted in (6a) of Table 1, it has been reported that a switch may not occur between a subject pronoun and a verb; however, this finding, too, has been disputed. In Spanish-Nahuatl, a switch between a Spanish subject pronoun and a Nahuatl verb is allowed for third person but is not allowed for first or second person. This corresponds to the absence of an overt third-person subject agreement morpheme on the Nahuatl verb, as may be observed in (111).

(109) \*Yo *nikoas tlakemetl*  
 yo ni-k-koa-s tlake-me-tl  
 I 1S-3Os-buy-FUT garment-PL-NSF  
 ‘I will buy clothes’

- (110) \*Tú *tikoas tlakemetl*  
 tú ti-k-koa-s tlake-me-tl  
 you/SING 2S-3Os-buy-FUT garment-PL-NSF  
 ‘You will buy clothes’
- (111) Él *kikoas tlakemetl*  
 él 0-ki-koa-s tlak-eme-tl  
 he 3S-3Os-buy-FUT garment-PL-NSF  
 ‘He will buy clothes’
- (112) Ella *kikoas tlakemetl*  
 ella 0-ki-koa-s tlake-me-tl  
 she 3S-3Os-buy-FUT garment-PL-NSF  
 ‘She will buy clothes’

These judgments are sustained even when the pronoun is postponed, normally allowed in both Spanish and Nahuatl, as illustrated (for Nahuatl) in (113).

- (113) Niktlalia tlantikuaske nochipa ne  
 ni-k-tlalia tlantikuask nochipa ne  
 1S-3Os-prepare food daily I  
 ‘I prepare food every day’
- (114) \*Niktlalia tlantikuaske nochipa yo  
 ni-k-tlalia tlantikuask nochipa yo  
 1S-3Os-prepare food daily I  
 ‘I prepare food every day’
- (115) \*Tiktlalia tlantikuaske nochipa tú  
 ti-k-tlalia tlantikuask nochipa tú  
 2S-3Os-prepare food daily you/SING  
 ‘You prepare food every day’
- (114) Kitlalia tlantikuaske nochipa él  
 0-ki-tlalia tlantikuask nochipa él  
 3S-3Os-prepare food daily he  
 ‘He prepares food every day’

A Nahuatl subject pronoun placed before a Spanish verb is somewhat degraded for first person but ill-formed for second or third:

- (115) ?*Ne tengo (una) casa*  
 ne tengo (una) casa  
 I have/1Ss/PRES (a) house  
 ‘I have a house’
- (116) \**Te tienes (una) casa*  
 te tienes (una) casa  
 you have/2Ss/PRES (a) house  
 ‘You have a house’
- (117) \**Ye tiene (una) casa*  
 ye tiene (una) casa  
 (s)he have/3Ss/PRES (a) house  
 ‘(S)he has a house’

My consultants found (116) especially unacceptable due to the confusion between Spanish *te* (the second-person singular clitic/reflexive) and Nahuatl *te* (the second-person singular subject pronoun), phonetically identical but syntactically very different forms. On the Spanish reading of *te*, (116) crashes because it has two objects, *te* and *casa*. Thus, like (60) and (61), parsing (116) introduces a garden path, adding an additional complication to the analysis.

Spanish object pronouns inserted in Nahuatl sentences are ill-formed regardless of person or overt case marking. (Compare (6b) of Table 1.) I do not have data regarding Nahuatl object pronouns mixed with Spanish verbs.

- (118) ??*Niktlasojtla in ella*  
 ni-k-tlasojtla in ella  
 1S-3Os-love IN her  
 ‘I love her’
- (119) \**Niktlasojtla a ella*  
 ni-k-tlasojtla a ella  
 1S-3Os-love PRT her  
 ‘I love her’

- (120) \*Nimistlasojtla in *tí*  
 ni-mis-tlasojtla in *tí*  
 1S-2Os-love IN you/SING/ACC  
 ‘I love you’
- (122) \*Nimistlasojtla *a tí*  
 ni-mis-tlasojtla *a tí*  
 1S-2Os-love PRT you/SING/ACC  
 ‘I love you’
- (123) \*Titechtlasojtla in *mí*  
 ti-tech-tlasojtla in *mí*  
 2S-2Os-love IN me/ACC  
 ‘You love me’
- (124) \*Titechtlasojtla *a mí*  
 ti-tech-tlasojtla *a mí*  
 2S-2Os-love PRT me/ACC  
 ‘You love me’
- (125) \*Nimistlasojtla in *tú*  
 ni-mis-tlasojtla in *tú*  
 1S-2Os-love IN you/SING/NOM  
 ‘I love you’
- (126) \*Titechtlasojtla in *yo*  
 ti-tech-tlasojtla in *yo*  
 2S-1Os-love IN I/NOM  
 ‘You love me’

#### 4.1.11 Switches Involving Clitics

It has not been disputed that a switch between a clitic and a verb is ill-formed ((6c), Table 1). While Nahuatl does not have clitics per se, object agreement morphemes interact with Spanish clitics in code switching contexts in very interesting respects. In (127), the Nahuatl object DP is not permitted after the Spanish verb; however, if the Spanish verb is prefixed by a clitic element, much as a Nahuatl transitive verb must have an object agreement prefix, the construction is well formed, as in (128).

- (127) \**Veo (a) in ichpochtle*  
 veo (a) in ichpochtle  
 see/3Ss/PRES (a) IN girl  
 ‘I see the girl’
- (128) *La veo in ichpochtle*  
 la veo in ichpochtle  
 CLITIC see/3Ss/PRES IN girl  
 ‘I see the girl’

Some varieties of Spanish allow clitic doubling, as in (129) (Lipski, 1994). However, my consultants regarded (129) as ill-formed and (130) as acceptable, as in most varieties of Spanish. This fact makes the judgments in (127) and (128) even more surprising.

- (129) \**La veo a la muchacha*  
 la veo a la muchacha  
 CLITIC PRT see/3Ss/PRES the girl  
 ‘I see the girl’
- (130) *Veo a la muchacha*  
 veo a la muchacha  
 see/3Ss/PRES PRT the girl  
 ‘I see the girl’

#### 4.1.12 Switches Involving a Bound Morpheme

Poplack (1981) claimed that the free/bound distinction in morphology played a crucial role in explaining grammaticality judgments in code switching (see (7), Table 1). Here the problem of distinguishing borrowed words from code switching at word level becomes nearly intractable. It is commonplace, for instance, to borrow Spanish verbs into Nahuatl, rendering examples such as *nikprepararoa* (‘prepare,’ from Spanish *preparar*) and *niviviroa* (‘reside,’ from Spanish *vivir*). In the latter case, there is no close native equivalent meaning ‘reside’ for Nahuatl speakers from San Sebastián, and so

*niviviroa* might be regarded as a fully borrowed lexical item.<sup>59</sup> However, in other cases, even where native equivalents were productively available, my consultants freely used Spanish verbs, adding *-oa* (a suffix for one of the Nahuatl verb classes) to the Spanish infinitive plus whatever other agreement morphology was necessary. The process appears to be completely productive. Examples (132) and (134) show that pure Nahuatl forms exist to express the concepts glossed; this may suggest that (131) and (133) are cases of code switching rather than borrowing. However, as was emphasized in section 2.3.1, it is often difficult to distinguish word-level code switching from borrowing.

- (131) Ne *nikamaroa* in Maria  
 ne ni-k-amar-*oa* in Maria  
 I 1S-3Ss-love-VSF IN Maria  
 ‘I love Maria’
- (132) Ne *niktlasojtla* in Maria  
 ne ni-k-tlasojtla in Maria  
 I 1S-3Ss-love IN Maria  
 ‘I love Maria’
- (133) Ne *onikgolpearoa* tlakatl  
 ne o-ni-k-golear-*oa* in tlaka-tl  
 I PAST-3S-3Os-hit-VSF IN man-NSF  
 ‘I hit the man’
- (134) Ne *onikmak* in tlakatl  
 ne o-ni-k-mak in tlaka-tl  
 I PAST-3S-3Os-give IN man-NSF  
 ‘I hit the man’

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<sup>59</sup>Nahuatl speakers in more remote areas of the Tehuacán Valley appear to use *chanti* ‘reside,’ as do speakers of Guerrero Nahuatl and other modern varieties, but my consultants from San Sebastián only used *niviviroa*, a Spanish borrowing. Simeón (1996 [1885]) lists *chantia* as the classical verb root for ‘reside.’

Examples involving Spanish nouns and bound morphemes are also available. In (135), for instance, the Spanish word *hermano* ‘brother’ occurs with the Nahuatl bound morpheme *no-* ‘my’ and the construction is acceptable, even though Nahuatl proper uses *kni* for ‘brother,’ as in (136).

- (135) Nowelti okimak *nohermano*  
 no-welti o-0-ki-mak no-hermano  
 my-sister PAST-3S-3Os-give my-brother  
 ‘My sister hit my brother’
- (136) Nowelti okimak *nokni*  
 no-welti o-0-ki-mak no-kni  
 my-sister PAST-3S-3Os-give my-brother  
 ‘My sister hit my brother’

Other examples like these appear in section 4.2.10 below.

#### 4.1.13 Other Findings

Nahuatl verbs may freely take Spanish object and subject lexical (that is, non-pronominal) DPs:

- (137) *Mi hermana kitlasojtla in Juan*  
 mi hermana 0-ki-tlasojtla in Juan  
 my sister 3S-3Os-love IN Juan  
 ‘My sister loves Juan’
- (138) *Okipipitzo al hermano de Maria*  
 o-0-ki-pipitzo a-el hermano de Maria  
 PAST-3S-3Os-kiss PRT-the brother of Maria  
 ‘He kissed Maria’s brother’
- (139) *Okipipitzo el hermano de Maria*  
 o-0-ki-pipitzo el hermano de Maria  
 PAST-3S-3Os-kiss the brother of Maria  
 ‘Maria’s brother kissed her’

Notice that (138), where the Spanish particle *a* (used to mark animate objects) occurs before *el hermano*, the DP is interpreted as the object. In (139) it is interpreted as the subject because it lacks this element.

Spanish verbs will accept lexical subjects in Nahuatl:

- (140) *Icuchillo in Juan le ayudó*  
 i-cuchillo in Juan le ayud-ó  
 his-knife IN Juan DAT.CLITIC help-3Ss/PAST  
 ‘Juan’s knife helped him’
- (141) *In tlakatl quiere a Maria*  
 in tlaka-tl quier-e a Maria  
 IN man-NSF love-3Ss/PRES PRT Maria  
 ‘The man loves Maria’

As suggested in section 4.1.11, the use of Nahuatl object DPs with Spanish verbs is a bit more complex. Examples provided there suggest that a Spanish clitic is required to mark agreement for the Nahuatl object DP.

## 4.2 Data Obtained in the Naturalistic Observation

For details regarding the setting for the naturalistic data, see chapter 3. All Spanish-Nahuatl speakers in the naturalistic data together produced about forty-eight code-switched utterances in the space of about twenty-five minutes. Below I discuss these in themes according to the boundaries where the switches occurred.

### 4.2.1 Intersentential Switches

There was one intersentential code switch:

- (142) *Este, uyá Coapa, fueron a cortar*  
 este, uyá Coapa, fueron a cort-ar  
 um, go/3S/PAST Coapa, ir/3Sp/PAST PRT cut-INF  
 ‘Um, they went to Coapa; they went to cut crops.’

Code switches of this type are not the topic of this dissertation.

#### 4.2.2 Conjunctions

A very interesting utterance was produced in the naturalistic setting in which a code switch occurred before a conjunction, shown in (143). However, it is not clear what the status of *yeka* is.

- (143) Tlami, *yeka y estudio*  
 tlami, *yeka y estudi-o*  
 after, *yeka* and *study-3Ss/PRES*  
 ‘And then I arrive and study’

In Nahuatl, *yeka* usually means ‘for this reason.’ In (143), the speaker may have begun with *yeka* and then started over again with *y* ‘and,’ then with *estudio* ‘I study’ (two false starts). But the utterance is not articulated with pauses or other gestures associated with false starts. Another possibility, the one I have followed in the gloss in (143), is that the speaker devoiced the [ɣ] of Spanish *llego* [yeɣo] in order to phonologically incorporate it into Nahuatl (which has no velar fricatives or voiced stops) and converted the *-o* ending to *-a*, a thematic vowel for certain Nahuatl verb classes. Many verbs of motion do not take subject agreement morphemes in Nahuatl, explaining the absence of *ni-* here. If this analysis is right, then (143) illustrates a code switch between a new coinage (*yeka*), phonologically and morphologically incorporated into Nahuatl, and a conjunction.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Alva Hernández (1996) gives *ehko* as the Nahuatl word for *llegar* ‘leave’ for speakers from Coxcatlán, another town of the Tehuacan Valley. This form and *yeka* may be dialectal variants, but a consultant from San Sebastián did not think so.

In another case involving a conjunction, a child explained some of his daily activities at school. Notice the Spanish *y* ‘and’ just before Nahuatl *tlamis* ‘after.’

- (144) Estamos haciendo pruebas, y *tlamis tikiskaske*  
 recreo *iwa tlamis tikalakiske oksepa, tlamis*  
 de nuevo vamos a estudiar  
 estamos hacie-ndo prueba-s, y *tlamis ti-kisa-s-ke*  
 recreo *iwa tlamis ti-kalaki-s-ke oksepa, tlamis*  
 de.nuevo vamos a estudi-ar  
 be/3Sp/PRES do-DUR test-PL, and after 2S-go-FUT-PL  
 recess and after 2S-enter-FUT-PL again, after  
 again go/3Sp/PRES PRT study-INF  
 ‘We’re taking tests, and then we will go out for recess, and then we  
 will go in again, then we’re going to study again’

The examples in (143) and (144) confirm the basic finding in the previous section (4.1.1), namely, that the presence of a conjunction does not block a code switch.

#### 4.2.3 Modification Structures

In (145), a Spanish adjective follows the Nahuatl predicate *kajki*. A similar predicative construction occurs in (146) where a presumably null form of the copula precedes the phrase *muy felices* ‘very happy.’ Code switches of this type are uncontroversial (that is, it has not been reported that they are barred). In (146) and elsewhere, *quando* ‘when’ and other Spanish borrowings are adapted to Nahuatl orthography, discussed in sections 2.5.3.3 and 3.3.3.

- (145) *Kajki difícil*  
*kajki difícil*  
 is difficult  
 ‘It’s difficult’
- (146) *Tlami muy felices* *quando ya tlami*  
*tlami muy felice-s* *quando ya tlami*  
 after very happy-pl when already after  
 ‘They’re very happy when they’re done’

However, in (147), an adjective follows the pronominal DP *nin*, as required by Spanish syntax. This is congruous with the facts reported for the experimental data in section 4.1.9 and with those reported in (5) of Table 1 (page 68). (Here and elsewhere, *kuando* is regarded as fully borrowed, as discussed in section 2.3.1.)

- (147) Iwa nin *malo*, tlamis kuando ya tlami *este kirescataroa*  
 iwa nin malo, tlamis kuando ya tlami este 0-ki-rescatar-*oa*  
 and this.one bad, after when already after um 3S-3Os-rescue-VSF  
 ‘And this bad guy, after he’s done um they rescue him’

In (147) there is also an example of a word-level switch in *kirescataroa*; the Spanish word *rescatar* ‘rescue’ has been derived with the Nahuatl verb suffix *-oa*. It is certainly not easy to tell, however, whether this is a case of borrowing or code switching. Other examples like this will be presented in section 4.2.10.

#### 4.2.4 Nouns

In several instances code switches involving the use of Spanish nouns occurred. In (144), Spanish *recreo* ‘(school) recess’ occurs with no determiner. In another instance, *recreo* follows Nahuatl *in*, as shown in (148), confirming the experimental finding that *in* may precede a Spanish noun (section 4.1.8).

- (148) ¿Tlamón tikchiwa in *recreo*?  
 tlam-ón ti-k-chiwa in recreo  
 what-LOC 2Ss-3O-do IN recreo  
 ‘What do you do during recess?’

In (149), (150) and (152), a Spanish noun follows (a cliticized) Nahuatl *in*, just as *recreo* does in (148). In (151), *película* ‘movie’ occurs after Nahuatl *non* ‘this.’ These

findings are consistent with experimental results discussed above (sections 4.1.6 through 4.1.8).

- (149) A ver *axa nomejwa xiktlajtlanika n ye kox yokitak n película*  
 A ver axa nomejwa xi-k-tlajtlanika in ye kox  
 y-o-0-k-ita-k in película  
 PRT see/INF now you/PL IMP-3Os-ask IN he if  
 already-PAST-3S-3Os-see-VSF IN movie  
 ‘Let’s see now, you guys ask him if he already saw the movie.’
- (150) O *non de Pokajontas ¿yononkitakeh n película?*  
 o non de Pokajontas y-o-non-k-ita-keh in película  
 or this about Pocahontas already-PAST-2Sp-3Os-see-PL IN película  
 ‘Or the one about Pocahontas, have you guys seen the movie?’
- (151) ¿*Más o menos tlánon kijito non película?*  
 más o menos tlan-on 0-ki-jito non película  
 more or less what-LOC 3S-3Os-cover this movie  
 ‘More or less, what’s this movie about?’
- (152) Más o menos *ximotlapowika kox kuajkualtzi kenomi ka in prueba*  
 más o menos xi-motlapowika kox kuajkualtzi kenomi ka in prueba  
 more o less IMP-relate if good how is IN test  
 ‘Tell me more or less if it’s good the way the test is.’

In (153), the Spanish nouns *cuento* ‘story’ and *Llorona* ‘crying woman’ (a mythological figure) occur after *se*, the Nahuatl indefinite article, and also after Nahuatl *okse* ‘other.’ These results are consistent with those of section 4.1.7. If *okse* is analyzed as an adjective, then (153) provides evidence that a Nahuatl adjective may precede a Spanish noun; this evidence was not available in the experimental results (section 4.1.9).<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>*Other* and *another* have pronominal properties, like demonstratives, cardinal numbers, and quantifiers such as *some* and *any*, and might therefore best be analyzed as a different class from either adjectives or determiners (Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman, 1983: 130; Alcina Franch and Blecua, 1983: 627).

- (153) Más o menos *ximotlapowika* de *itla*, de *se* cuento,  
 de *se* Llorona, de *se* *Koyonawale* o de *okse* cuento  
 más o menos xi-motlapowika de itla de se cuento,  
 de se Llorona, de se Koyonawale  
 o de okse cuento  
 more or less IMP-relate of something about a story,  
 about a crying.woman, about a coyote.man  
 or about another story  
 ‘More or less, tell us something, a story -- about a Crying Woman,  
 a Coyote Man, or another story.’

In (154), Spanish *escuela* ‘school’ occurs as an adverbial adjunct, out of the reach of any of the descriptive boundaries mentioned in Table 1 (page 68).

- (154) Tlami niwitz nika *escuela*  
 tlami ni-wit-z nika escuela  
 after 3S-come-FUT here school  
 ‘And then I’ll come here to this school.’

#### 4.2.5 Verbs

In one instance a code switch involved two Spanish intransitive verbs, *estudiar* ‘study’ and *oscurecer* ‘get dark,’ shown in (155). Because the subject pronouns are dropped in both instances, this example says little about descriptive constraints explored in section 4.1.10.

- (155) Iwa oksepa *estudio* iwa ya tlanesi ... *este*  
*oscurece*, noma kichiwa *icomida*,  
 titlakuaske, iwa ya tikochoiske  
 iwa oksepa estudi-o iwa ya tlanesi ... *este*  
 oscurec-e, no-ma 0-ki-chiwa i-comida,  
 ti-tla-kua-s-ke, iwa ya ti-kochi-s-ke  
 and again study-1Ss/PRES and already supper .... um  
 darken-3Ss/PRES, my-mother 3S-3Os-do her-food,  
 2Ss-INDEF-eat-FUT-PL already 2Ss-sleep-FUT-PL  
 ‘And again I study and then supper .... um,  
 it gets dark, my mom makes food, we’ll eat,  
 then we’ll sleep.’

#### 4.2.6 Prepositions

Nahuatl has a few prepositions which it uses in addition to its locative suffixes. Following recent conventions, I will regard sentential modifiers like *after*, *then* and *if* as prepositions which take CP complements. Alternatively these elements might be regarded as  $C^0$  categories. There is just one example of this type in the naturalistic data, in which Spanish *entonces* ‘so’ occurs before a Nahuatl CP.

- (156) A ver, entonces *noiwa nomejwa nontlajtoa*  
 a ver, entonces noiwa nomejwa non-tlajtoa  
 PRT see/INF so also you/PL 3Sp-speak  
 ‘Let’s see, so you guys speak [Nahuatl] too.’

Suárez (1977) regards *entonces* as fully borrowed into the modern dialects of Nahuatl; if true, then (156) may not count as a code switched sentence (*a ver* is discussed in section 4.2.12).

#### 4.2.7 C-Elements

If *entonces* is analyzed as a  $C^0$  category, then (156) shows a switch between  $C^0$  and an IP complement. Besides this, there are two instances of switches involving *ke/que*, but since this is a fully borrowed element in Nahuatl it is not possible to tell whether the complementizer is in Spanish or Nahuatl. However, in (157), because the copula is omitted, *ke* appears to be Nahuatl. In (158) it is unclear which language *que/ke* is in.

- (157) Pero el chiste *ke te xitlajto Mexicano*  
 pero el chiste ke te xi-tlajto Mexicano  
 but the joke that you/SING SUBJ-speak Mexicano  
 ‘But the thing is that you speak Mexicano.’

- (158) Iwa tlamis kuando *ya* ma ...  
           *que de la una* tikisaske para nias nocha  
 iwa tlamis kuando *ya* ma ...  
           que de la una ti-kisa-s-ke para ni-as nocha  
 and after when already like ...  
           that of the one 2Ss-go-FUT-PL for 1S-go home  
 ‘And afterwards when it was already like ...  
           at one o’clock we leave to go home.’

I regard *para* ‘for’ in (158) as a borrowed item, following Suárez (1977), although its occurrence here may bear on the discussion of prepositions (4.2.6) or C<sup>0</sup> elements (4.2.7).

#### 4.2.8 D-Elements

The utterance in (155) shows a switch between *i-*, the Nahuatl third person possessive prefix, and the Spanish word *comida* ‘food,’ an instance of a switch between a functional morpheme and an N. This kind of switch also occurs in (135). Another two switches of this sort occur in (159), involving Spanish *primo* ‘cousin’ and *tía* ‘aunt.’

- (159) Iwa moprimojwa, motiajwa, ¿non kechme?  
 iwa mo-primo-jwa, mo-tia-jwa, non kech-me  
 and your/SING-cousin-PL, your/SING-aunt-PL, that how.many-PL  
 ‘And your cousins, your aunts. How many are there?’

This finding is consistent with experimental results reported in sections 4.1.6, 4.1.7 and 4.1.8.

Less interestingly, the naturalistic data revealed (160), where a switch between *kemi* ‘how, like’ and the Spanish DP *las siete y media* ‘seven thirty (o’clock)’ occurs. Time expressions are of Spanish origin even in monolingual Nahuatl; thus, in (160), the only code switch may be between *no* and *amo*.

- (160) No, *amo, kemi* las siete y media  
 no, amo, kemi las siete y media  
 no, no, like the/PL seven and half  
 ‘No, no. About seven thirty.’

#### 4.2.9 Negation

The only instance of negation in the naturalistic data is (160). Because the negative element does not change before the verb, and because it appears to be in an adjunct position above CP, it does not add additional information to findings reported in section 4.1.4.

#### 4.2.10 Word-Internal Instances of Code Switching

Word-internal code switches, relevant to (7) of Table 1 (page 68) and discussed in section 4.1.12, occur in (131), (133), (135), (147), (155), and (159). In (161), *kirescataroa* occurs once again (it also appears in (147) and is briefly discussed in section 4.2.3), along with *motrataroa* ‘deal with.’ In this latter case the Spanish verb *tratarse*, a reflexive of *tratar*, takes the Nahuatl verb suffix *-oa* and the Nahuatl reflexive clitic *mo-* (instead of Spanish *se*) to create the new Spanish-Nahuatl form *motrataroa*.

- (161) *Motrataroa* de nin *kirescataroa* n Pocajontas  
 mo-tratar-*oa* de nin 0-ki-rescatar-*oa* in Pocajontas  
 REF-treat-VSF about this 3S-3Os-escape-VSF IN Pocahontas  
 ‘It deals with Pocahontas, the one who escaped.’

Again, it is not clear that these word-internal cases are in fact code switches rather than borrowings; nor is it clear that this distinction is a crucial one.

#### 4.2.11 Adverbs

Notice the Spanish adverb *ya* ‘already’ in (145), (146) and (147). Spanish *muy* ‘very’ also occurs in (145) and (147). The Spanish adverbial *de nuevo* also occurred in the naturalistic setting, shown in (144), where *de nuevo* ‘again’ occurs in the same utterance with *oksepa*, the Nahuatl word for ‘again.’ The Spanish sentential adverbial *más o menos* ‘more or less’ is often used simply to make a request gentler; one speaker used it in three instances with Nahuatl, in (151), (152), and (153). Adverbs are generally regarded as adjuncts, so they do not interact with other elements in any obvious way (or in ways that are well understood). Perhaps for this reason little has been said about them in the code switching literature, just as little will be said about them in this dissertation.

#### 4.2.12 Interjections

A number of interjections have been borrowed from Nahuatl into Spanish. The Spanish filler *este*, used to indicate that the speaker is thinking about what she wants to say (like English *um*), occurs in (142), (147) and (155). *A ver* ‘let’s see’ occurs in (156). Besides these, *bueno* ‘well’ occurred twice and *pues* ‘so’ occurred once. It is difficult to know whether these elements should be regarded as borrowed or switched. In any event, I will set them aside for the purposes of the discussion in chapter 5.

#### 4.2.13 Inventory of Spanish Borrowings in the Naturalistic Data

In section 2.3.1, Suárez’ (1977) list of twenty Spanish functional words borrowed into Nahuatl was presented. To that we added *kuando*, and it may be that many other words ought to be added to the list. In particular, Nahuatl exclusively uses Spanish

words for expressions of time (*las seis y media*), just as Tagalog does, another language influenced as a result of Spanish colonialism. In any event, seven of the words listed by Suárez occurred in the naturalistic data, with the frequency shown in the table in (162).

(162)	<u>Spanish loan word</u>	<u>English gloss</u>	<u>Frequency in naturalistic data</u>
	de	of, about	12
	desde	since	4
	kuando	when	6
	o	or	10
	para	for	1
	pero	but	3
	pues	so, well	2

Loan words will be essentially excluded from the discussion in chapter 5, except in a few instances where they may bear on crucial topics.

The description questions posed in chapter 3 may now be addressed. Question (2a), which asks for a description of the Spanish-Nahuatl corpus, has a complex and varied answer which has been expressed in each of the thematic subsections of this chapter. Question (2b) has two aspects, one descriptive and one explanatory. Its descriptive aspect, which asks how the Spanish-Nahuatl corpus differs from other corpora, has been addressed throughout as well, drawing attention in each subsection to the degree to which the Spanish-Nahuatl corpus agrees with the basic descriptive boundaries reported in Table 1. The explanatory aspect of question (2b), as well as the other research questions, will be addressed in chapter 5.