Gender Acquisition in Bilingual Spanish

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1   Introduction

Tests with L1 and early L2 learners have indicated that gender assignment and agreement is acquired easily in French and Spanish, which is plausibly guided by the formal properties that distinguish gender-based noun classes in these languages (Karmiloff-Smith 1978, Pérez Pereira 1991, Möhring 2001). Case studies of bilingual French-German and Italian-German children (Müller 1987, Cantone 1999) have shown that these children develop each gender system independently; no clear evidence for transfer has been found.

The present study investigates the early emergence of Spanish gender assignment and agreement in the spontaneous speech of bilingual Spanish-German children at the one-word stage and at the beginning of the two-word stage. It will be shown that although the morphosyntactic aspects of gender assignment and agreement are not directly affected, agreement within the DP manifests later in the productions of the bilingual children than in the productions of a monolingual control group. This observation can be related to a delay in certain aspects of prosodic acquisition, whereas the formally less transparent German gender system seems to have no impact on the development of the Spanish agreement system.

The paper is organized as follows: the remainder of section 1 squetches the background of the study. Section 2 presents the data and the results, which will be discussed in Section 3. The last section presents the concluding remarks.

1.1   Grammatical gender

Spanish has two grammatical gender classes (masculine / feminine). The most typical endings for morphologically underived nouns are /a, e, o/. In addition to being the standard epenthetic vowel in Spanish, /e/ may serve, like /a, o/, as 'theme vowel', indicating inflectional class (Harris 1991). Although theme vowels occur on any major lexical category, the very frequent /a/ and /o/ serve as a good cue to gender classes when added to nouns.

According to Harris (1991), the Spanish lexicon can be divided into an Inner Core (IC), containing feminine nouns ending in /a/ and masculine nouns ending in /o/, an Outer Core (OC) containing nouns of either gender class ending in /e/ or consonant, and a Residue (RES) containing feminine nouns ending in /o/, masculines ending in /a/ and nouns of either gender class ending in /i, u/. The most frequent and productive part of the lexicon is the Inner Core with its 'regular' /o/ - /a/ pattern, while the Residue can be characterized by lack of productivity and a small number of members. Frequency and productivity of the Outer Core lie between these two extremes. As the Inner Core clearly outnumbers the other noun classes, lexical gender can easily be deduced from the formal properties of most nouns. Furthermore, these theme vowels remain constant within the whole inflectional paradigm. Spanish nouns are not overtly inflected for Case, but for Number. Plurals are formed by adding /s/ to the singular stem (with epenthetic /e/ in the case of consonantal stems), e.g. *casa* 'house' > pl. *casas*, *gato* 'cat' > pl. *gatos*, *flor* 'flower' > pl. *flores*. This makes the Spanish gender assignment and agreement formally transparent.

German is another language with overt gender agreement. Although there are various studies arguing that German gender assignment is not random (Zubin & Köpcke 1984, Mills 1986), the relationship between phonologically defined noun class and grammatical gender class is far less close

than it is in Spanish. In addition to this lack of correspondence between gender and form, gender marking is fused with number and case, creating many homophonous, functionally ambiguous forms.

1.2 Phonological prerequisites

There are several phonological factors that influence the manifestation of gender assignment and agreement in Spanish.

First of all, theme vowels are predominantly open or mid vowels. Children must be able to control the degree of opening in order to produce them correctly. As Kehoe (2002) has shown that both monolingual and bilingual children acquire the Spanish vowel system easily, a system that consists of the five cardinal vowels (i, e, u, o, a), we do not expect much difference between groups or special difficulty with regard to vowel opening.

Second, the definite article forms *el* and *la* contain the liquid /l/ which is acquired relatively late. In a pilot study, Kuchenbrandt & Rakow (2002) found that this segment tends to be omitted or substituted until the age of 2;0 by both monolingual and bilingual children.

Third, the masculine forms *el* and *un* have syllable final consonants that are acquired late in Spanish. Although a bootstrapping effect could be detected in the Spanish productions of the bilingual children (Lleó et al. 2003), a considerable percentage of coda omissions can be expected for both groups.

Fourth, the child must be able to build up the required prosodic structure. In the case of Spanish articles, at least a foot with a preceeding unfooted syllable must be produced (Lleó & Demuth 1999; see (1) for examples). As Lleó (2002) has shown, bilingual children start to develop this prosodic structure with some delay, but the gap between monolingual and bilingual production of unfooted syllables disappears by the age of 2;2.

(1) a. [pe [lo.ta]$_{Ft}$]$_{PrWd}$ *pelota*   'ball'
     b. [la [ca.sa]$_{Ft}$]$_{PrWd}$ *la casa*   'the house'

These prerequisites are directly related to the production of adult-like article forms. As long as these prerequisites are not yet mastered, a child will rather produce a simplified article form, a filler syllable or nothing at all where he/she should use an article. As Lleó & Demuth (1999) suggest, this does not necessarily entail that the child is not aware of the morphosyntactic aspects of gender assignment and agreement.

1.3 Previous findings on gender acquisition

Elicitation tasks with gender assignment to nonsense words reveal much about the 'psychological reality' and the productivity of gender assignment rules. For Spanish, Pérez Pereira (1991) conducted such a test with children aged between three and eight, using a similar design to that of Karmiloff-Smith (1978). His findings indicate that especially younger children rely heavily on formal properties of nouns, even when semantic cues differ from formal ones. These tests cannot be conducted with children that are still at the one-word stage or the beginning of the two-word stage, but we tentatively adopt the view that, if assignment is not rote-learned, formal cues are preferred over semantic cues from the very beginning on.

Analyses of spontaneous speech production show few difficulties with gender agreement in Romance languages. Cantone (1999) presents a case study that is comparable to our study because it contains a similar language combination and situation, namely a longitudinal study of a bilingual Italian-German child growing up in Hamburg. She reports virtually no errors for the Italian part and no clear evidence for transfer between the two languages. A similar picture is drawn by Müller's (1987) analysis of a bilingual French-German child. As neither of these studies intends a direct comparison between bilingual and monolingual children, nothing can be said about possible differences between groups with respect to qualitative and/or quantitative aspects of gender acquisition.

Given the high formal transparency of gender marking in Spanish, its acquisition should not pose any problems, at least for monolinguals. The situation may be different for Spanish-German bilinguals, as they receive additional input from a far less transparent language. Although we assume that they develop two different language systems from early on, evidence for some kind of influence has been found in the acquisition of certain grammatical domains. This influence might be related to input frequencies, among other factors.

We can therefore hypothesize that the additional German input causes a delay in the development of gender assignment and agreement, due to an overall decrease of correlation between noun classes and lexical gender in the vocabulary learned by the bilingual children. This hypothesis will be confirmed if bilingual children produce significantly more errors with respect to noun classes and gender agreement with articles and adjectives.

Alternatively, the Spanish system might be so salient that it is immune to influence. There may still be differences in the development between the monolingual and bilingual children, but in this case they will not be due to morphosyntax, but rather to the phonological prerequesites for the expression of gender marking in Spanish. As will be shown, this alternative hypothesis seems to hold.

2   Bilingual gender acquisition
2.1   Method

The data stem from two research projects on first language acquisition, both granted by the DFG to Prof. Dr. Conxita Lleó. Children have been selected according to availability of transcriptions. The bilingual children Jens, Nils and Simon are still being recorded within the project E3 at the Research Center on Multilingualism, University of Hamburg. All of these children have Spanish-speaking mothers and German-speaking fathers and are growing up in Hamburg. The monolingual children José, María and Miguel stem from the Spanish part of the cross-linguistic project BIDS/PAIDUS, conducted in Hamburg and Madrid. All data have been audio- and videorecorded in unstructured play sessions and phonetically transcribed by Spanish native speakers. For the bilinguals, only purely Spanish utterances have been considered.

The study covers a time span from the onset of word production until the beginning of the two-word stage. Sessions have been grouped together by age into four stages:

Stage 1   first recordings (ca. 1;2) until 1;6,30
Stage 2   1;7,0-1;9,30
Stage 3   1;10,0- 2;0,30
Stage 4   2;1,0-2;3,30

The data have been analysed with respect to the following factors:

• some aspects of the general development
• noun classes and theme vowels
• agreement contexts
• fillers and proto-article 'agreement'
• article and adjective agreement

The general developmental indicators MLU and cumulative Noun types have been included to add some more information about the children's linguistic proficiencies. However, we did not group sessions together according to these criteria. On the one hand, our analysis should present development, i.e. show data from various stages. On the other hand, each stage should contain enough representative data from all children in order to make statistical tests possible and useful. There are several reasons why this goal could not be achieved in a satisfactory manner by grouping sessions according to MLU or N types. There are gaps in the longitudinal data due for instance to illness or family holidays. Furthermore, the analysis is based on production data, which depend heavily on performance factors.

Children might talk a lot in one recording and very little in another. MLU values and the number of produced noun types vary from one recording to another depending on these factors. In addition, some children develop quite steadily, while others do not. Basing our stages on these values would either result in a very unbalanced representation of children in the particular stages, or it would make a finer division impossible. Grouping sessions together according to age offers the best chances to get sufficient representative data for each child in all four stages, regardless of gaps in the recordings.

Kehoe (2002) has shown that the Spanish vowel system is acquired easily. For our purposes, theme vowels merit an additional examination for two reasons. First, Kehoe (2002) focussed on stressed vowels, whereas theme vowels are usually unstressed. It should be verified whether children are able to control the differences between open and mid vowels in this less 'prominent' position as well. Second, if children changed noun endings, it should be checked whether they do this in a systematic way in order to reassign an ambiguous or irregular noun to the regular noun class, i.e. overgeneralize the regular pattern. This would parallel the historical drift towards the Inner Core as reported by Harris (1991).

In X+noun contexts, only adult-like article forms have been considered as true determiners. Any potentially intended article with omitted coda or /l/ has been counted as 'filler'. This strict distinction departs from the criteria proposed in Lleó (2001b), but it will allow us to examine in a second step the systematic use of different filler forms as feminine or masculine proto-articles and to contrast these findings with true article and adjective agreement.

2.2   Results

The bilingual children's development does not entirely parallel the monolingual children's development. As an overview, some general data will be presented before we show the findings on noun classes and DP-internal agreement.

2.2.1   Some aspects of the general development

Table 1 shows (a) the age when MLU = 2.0 is reached, (b) the maximal MLU value reached until 2;3[1], and (c) the cumulative number of noun types at 2;3, for each child in Spanish. We consider these values as general indicators of linguistic development. The general impression as shown in the table suggests that the bilinguals enter the two-word stage slightly later than the monolinguals do, and that their lexical development seems to be a bit slower. However, the differences between the groups are not statistically significant and should therefore be attributed to individual factors rather than to group membership.

Table 1. General development

	Bilingual			Monolingual		
	Jens	Nils	Simon	José	María	Miguel
MLU 2.0 reached	2;3	(later)	2;4	1;11	2;4	2;2
MLU max. until 2;3	2.0	1.4	1.8	2.7	1.8	2.3
N types (cumul.) at 2;3	128	171	139	178	144	167

2.2.2   Noun classes and theme vowels

From the first productions on, children are confronted with the most frequent -a / -o endings on Spanish nouns. Given that /a/ is the least marked target vowel by virtue of its maximal degree of opening, we expect less errors with /a/ than with the mid vowels /e/ and /o/. This is indeed borne out by the production data (see Figure 1). Another observation can be made: bilingual children perform slightly better in their production of theme vowels. However, this is rather a tendency, for group differences are only significant at some stages and for certain vowels.

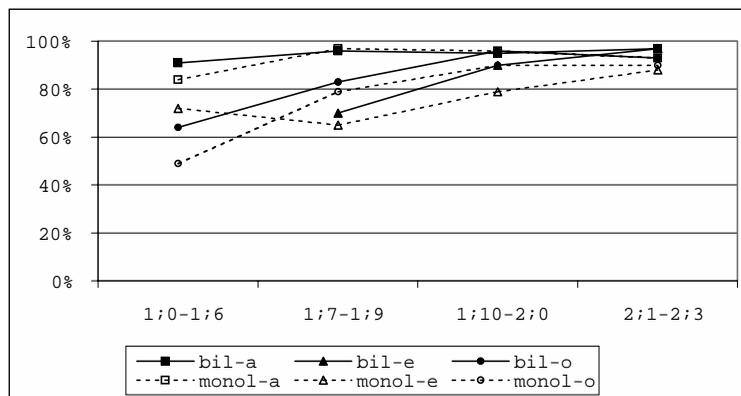[1] MLUs have also been reported in Lleó et al. (2003).

Figure 1. Final vowels

A closer look at the children's errors reveals that they are not systematic. First, for almost every deviant realization of a given noun type there exists at least another target-like production from the same child and the same stage, and errors are distributed across noun types. Second, OC nouns (/e/ and consonant class) have been checked for a potential drift towards the IC /a/ - /o/ pattern. No difference can be found in the treatment of masculine or feminine nouns. For the /e/-class, /a/ is the preferred substitute; /o/ instead of /e/ is almost nonexistent for both feminine and masculine nouns. As target words ending in /e/ are not very frequently produced by the children, Figure 2 shows the relevant values for the whole time span. Final consonants are most often deleted; there are very few cases of vowel epenthesis. In all attested cases of epenthesis, children added /e/ or schwa, i.e. a 'neutral' vowel with respect to gender (see (2)).
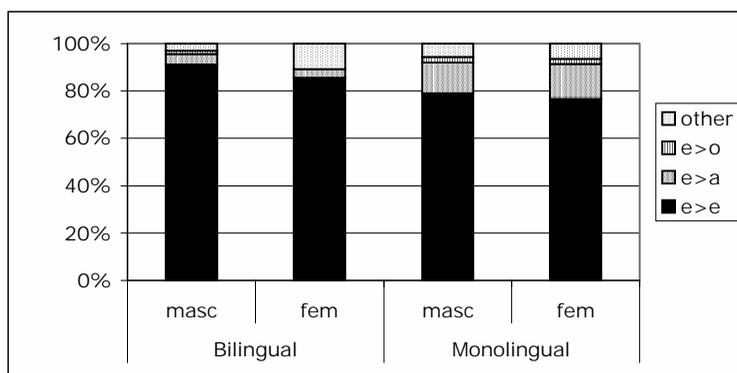

Figure 2. /e/ class

(2) Vowel epenthesis to target words ending in consonant

Jens	2;0,9	*árbol*	[ˈha.bə.ˈlə]
José	1;11,23	*un pez*	[ʔʊ.pɛ.pɛ]
María	2;1,9	*(chu)pachup*	[a.pa.ɕu.kʰə]
Miguel	1;2,1	*lápiz*	[pʰɪ.sjɛ]

2.2.3 Agreement contexts

The following (invented) examples illustrate the development of potential agreement contexts. The very first utterances are usually bare nouns (see 3a), obeying the minimal word constraint (Pater 1997), i.e. built up from a single foot. At this stage, children tend to truncate longer words in order to adjust them to the size of a trochee (sw). This has been observed both for Germanic and for Romance languages. For Spanish, this means that children produce words like *pez* 'fish' and *casa* 'house' with the

target number of syllables, while they truncate polysyllabic words like *pelota* 'ball' and *mariposa* 'butterfly'. In a next step, they enlarge their prosodic structure by adding a single syllable to the first foot (Lleó 1997, 1998, 2002). This syllable will be unfooted, i.e. not parsed into a second foot, but adjoined directly to a higher prosodic level, the Prosodic Word (Nespor &Vogel 1986). The resulting structure is wsw, making possible the target-like production of trisyllables like *pelota*, but also the production of a mono- or bisyllable with an article. However, at the beginning of this stage we find very few adult-like article forms, but rather 'filler syllables' that may be built up out of any vowel, syllabic nasal or laryngeal (3b). López Ornat (2001) and Peters (2001) emphasize that languages and even individual children differ in the extent to which filler syllables are produced. Our data support their observation, but all children produce at least some fillers within the observed time span. As the children's phonological command increases, we will find more and more clear article forms like *el pez* 'the fish' or *la casa* 'the house', even with multisyllables (3c). Finally, children will combine nouns and adjectives, as well (3d), and we will find possessives and demonstratives combined with nouns.

(3) a. [pɛθ]   *pez*   'fish'
     b. [m.ˈpɛθ], [ɐ.ˈpɛθ], [ɛ.ˈpɛθ],[u.ˈpɛθ]   *pez*   'fish'
     c. [ɛl.ˈpɛθ], [um.ˈpɛθ]   *el pez*, *un pez*   'the fish', 'a fish'
     d. [ˌo.tɾo.ˈpɛθ]   *otro pez*   'another fish'
         [ˈpɛθ.pe.ˈke.ɲo]   *pez pequeño*   'little fish'
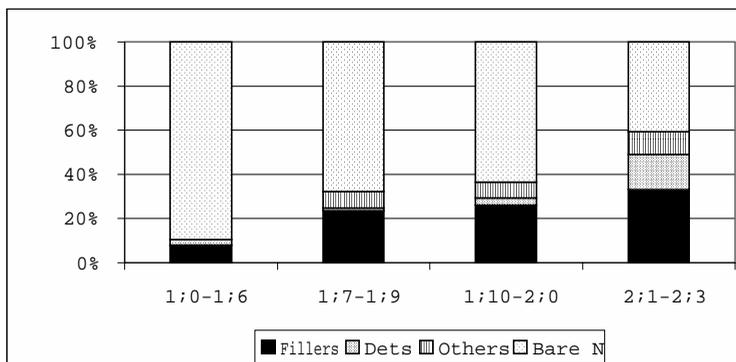

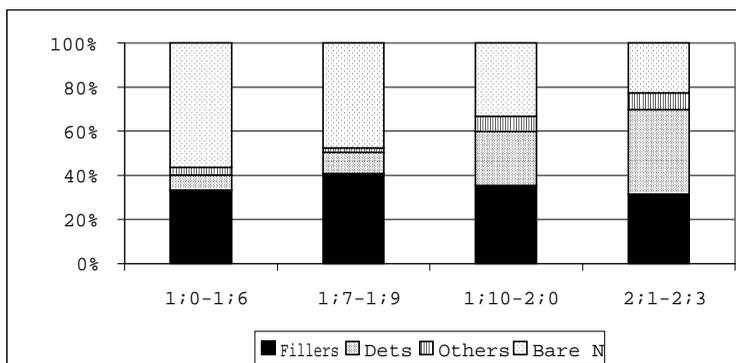**Figure 3 a.** Agreement contexts, bilingual children

Figure 3 b. Agreement contexts, monolingual children

Figures 3a and 3b show that the bilinguals produce much less potential agreement contexts and more bare nouns than the monolinguals do. The difference between the monolingual and bilingual children is significant at the third stage (age 1;10-2;0). On the one hand, the monolingual children already start with a considerable proportion of filler-noun combinations, which reaches 40% at 1;7-1;9 and then decreases in favour of true article-noun combinations. On the other hand, the bilingual children start with a negligible amount of filler-noun combinations, which is still below 40% at 2;1-2;3

when they finally start to produce article-noun combinations, as well. The proportions of adjective-noun combinations are very similar in both groups. The different proportions of potential agreement contexts can thus be traced back to the slower development of fillers and articles, the elements that are prosodified as unfooted syllables. This observation parallels Lleó's (2002) findings on the truncation of unfooted syllables by bilingual Spanish-German children in comparison to monolinguals.

2.2.4   Fillers and proto-articles

If we look at the filler types produced by the children, we find the same categories in both groups, as illustrated by the examples in (4). Some of these fillers, namely /a/ and /e, o, u/, might be viewed as reduced forms of the feminine *la* and masculine *el*, *lo(s)*, *un*, respectively. Other fillers like syllabic nasals, schwa and laryngeals seem to be true defaults.

(4) Examples of filler-noun combinations

[n.ˈsọ.dọ]	*zorro (m)*	'fox'	Jens 2;3,30
[n.ˈtsə.ˌta]	*seta (f)*	'mushroom'	Jens 2;3,30
[u.ˈpa.la]	*pala (f)*	'stick'	Nils 1;11,17
[ha.kọ.ˈnẹ.χọ]	*conejo (m)*	'rabbit'	Nils 2;2,23
[ə.ˈma.no]	*mano (f)*	'hand'	Simon 1;10,30
[e.ʒa.ˈʒi.na]	*gallina (f)*	'hen'	Simon 2;3,4
[ʔɪ.ˈtɛːn.tʰə]	*diente (m)*	'tooth'	José 1;10,3
[ʔu.mɔ.ʒɛ.ˈfɔ.θa]	*mariposa (f)*	'butterfly'	José 2;2,12
[ʔɑ.pɐ.ˈsa.nɐ]	*manzana (f)*	'apple'	María 1;10,17
[ʔæː.bæː.ˈbu]	*champú (m)*	'shampoo'	María 2;3,11
[n̩.ˈvi.ʃu]	*bicho (m)*	'animal'	Miguel 2;0,20
[ʔfiu.ˈbæs]	*pez (m)*	'fish'	Miguel 2;2,1

Two observations can be made with respect to filler use. First, monolinguals soon develop a preference for /a, e, o, u/, while bilinguals produce more defaults (see also Lleó in press). Second, monolinguals use /a/ quite consistently with feminine and /e, o, u/ with masculine nouns from 1;6 on. This leads to the hypothesis that these filler types are indeed proto-articles reflecting gender agreement, supporting the findings of Lleó (2001a, b, c). We should thus expect that a child combines a feminine noun rather with /a/ and a masculine noun with /e, o, u/ instead of other filler types.

Table 2 a. Protoarticle 'agreement', bilingual children

| | Jens | | Nils | | Simon | |
Stage	IC	OC/RES	IC	OC/RES	IC	OC/RES
1;0-1;6	0/1	0	0/2	0	0	0
1;7-1;9	0	0	1/14	0/3	7/18	0
1;10-2;0	0	0	8/19	1/8	14/49	2/21
2;1-2;3	1/4	2/6	5/23	0/6	22/42	9/26

Table 2 b. Protoarticle 'agreement', monolingual children

| | José | | María | | Miguel | |
Stage	IC	OC/RES	IC	OC/RES	IC	OC/RES
1;0-1;6	0	0	4/4	2/8	5/11	3/5
1;7-1;9	9/19	0/1	8/21	4/14	9/20	7/13
1;10-2;0	32/48	15/24	15/30	3/11	18/30	8/11
2;1-2;3	28/38	16/19	25/40	6/13	11/26	8/17

As Tables 2a and 2b and Figure 4 show, only the monolingual children show a clear preference for this expected distribution from the first stage on, while the bilingual children do not show a preference but produce reduced numbers of protoarticle-like fillers. For the first and second stage, no statistical tests have been conducted, due to the very scarce production of fillers in the bilingual group. For the

last two stages, Mann/Whitney's U Test indicated a significant difference between the monolinguals and the bilinguals with respect to the proportions of protoarticle use.
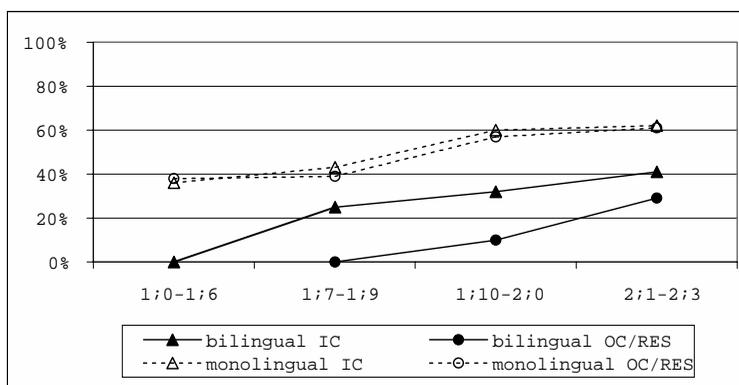

Figure 4. Protoarticle-'Agreement'

2.2.5   Article and adjective agreement

Until now, we have looked at the reflexes of beginning agreement which seem to depend strongly on prosodic proficiency. In the following section, we will briefly compare these findings to agreement with adult-like article forms and adjectives which vary according to gender. This comparison will reveal whether the differences between the groups attested so far are due to a delayed aquisition of the morpho-syntactic agreement mechanism itself or rather to the later mastery of the phonological and prosodic prerequisites for its expression.

Table 3 a. Article agreement, bilingual children

	Jens		Nils		Simon	
Stage	IC	OC/RES	IC	OC/RES	IC	OC/RES
1;0-1;6	0	0	1/1	0	0	0
1;7-1;9	0	0	0	0	0	0
1;10-2;0	2/2	0	3/3	2/2	1/4	0
2;1-2;3	25/26	8/9	4/4	2/3	2/4	3/3

Table 3 b. Article agreement, monolingual children

	José		María		Miguel	
Stage	IC	OC/RES	IC	OC/RES	IC	OC/RES
1;0-1;6	0	0	1/2	1/2	1/1	2/3
1;7-1;9	2/2	0	0	1/1	6/8	7/8
1;10-2;0	45/46	16/19	3/4	1/1	26/29	11/11
2;1-2;3	55/62	24/26	10/12	3/3	60/62	20/20

Although article agreement is less frequent in the bilingual children, either group uses articles in an equally successful way (see Figure 5 and Tables 3a and 3b). The apparent difference in the third stage is not statistically significant. All children make some errors, but again these are not restricted to certain noun types or lexical classes.

The same holds for adjective agreement. As some Spanish adjectives are invariable with respect to gender marking, Figure 6 and Table 4 show successful agreement only with variable adjectives[2]. We

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[2] The adjectives *verde* 'green' and *azul* 'blue' are invariable, while adjectives like *pequeño / pequeña* 'small' or *español / española* 'Spanish' show two different forms according to the gender of the head noun. See Harris (1991) for details on adjective classes.

can state that, if children use adjective-noun combinations with visible gender agreement, they do so in an almost correct manner, and there is no significant difference between the groups.
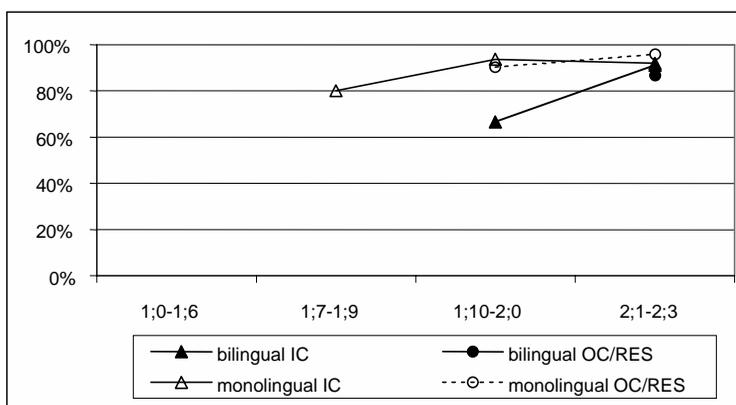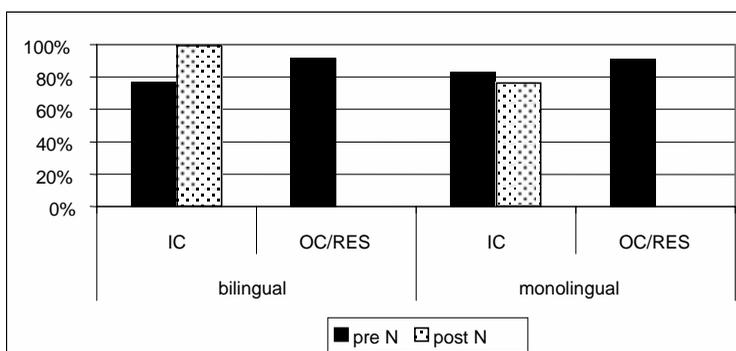

Figure 5. Article agreement

Figure 6. Adjective agreement

Table 4. Adjective agreement (all stages)

	Prenominal		Postnominal	
	IC	OC/RES	IC	OC/RES
Bilingual				
Jens	0	1/1	3/3	0
Nils	9/11	6/7	1/1	0
Simon	1/2	4/4	1/1	1/1
Monolingual				
José	27/31	5/6	6/7	2/2
María	3/3	1/1	2/4	0/1
Miguel	8/12	4/4	2/2	1/1

2.2.6   Summary

The bilinguals do not show an overall delay. Their MLU values and cumulative noun types show a similar development compared to the monolinguals. Children from either group make few errors with respect to noun classes; a systematic drift towards the regular Inner Core classes cannot be attested. Agreement with articles and adjectives is equally successful in both groups, too. The only systematic and clear difference between the groups can be found with respect to fillers, which are produced less frequently by the bilinguals and used less consequently as protoarticles.

3   Discussion

Although the development of length of utterance and cumulative noun types indicates a slight tendency towards delay in the bilinguals, there is considerable variation within the groups, and individual differences are more pronounced than differences between the groups. Matching the groups based on MLU or lexical development, if it had been possible, would not have changed the picture in a substantial way. Differences between bilinguals and monolinguals should therefore not be attributed to bilingualism *per se*. But it is equally observable that the Spanish-German bilinguals considered in this study do not develop in every respect exactly as the monolingual Spanish children do.

The difference between the groups is related to filler syllables, which can be traced back to the delayed acquisition of unfooted syllables. The later availability of this prosodic strucure causes not only a lower frequency in the bilingual productions, but it seems to affect the licensing properties, as well. As a modification of the proposal made by Oostendorp (2000), Kehoe & Lleó (submitted) suggest that unfooted syllables are distinct from unstressed footed syllables with respect to the licensing of phonological features. While footed syllables should contain segments with place features, unfooted syllables lack place specifications in the unmarked case. An effect of this statement can be observed in the acquisition of schwa, a vowel without place. Kehoe & Lleó's (submitted) study shows that German children have difficulties producing schwa in the unstressed syllable of a trochee, although in adult German, schwa is very frequent in this position. On the other hand, monolingual Spanish children produce schwa in unfooted syllables, although placeless vowels do not belong to the Spanish inventory. Acquiring the prosodic position for a proclitic article in Spanish requires thus two steps. The first one is the position itself, which must be available within the prosodic structure. The child needs to learn that his/her language allows for syllables that are not parsed into the immediately dominating Foot level, but that are instead adjoined to a higher prosodic level. This is a universally marked option. The second step involves the ability of licensing place features in this specific prosodic position. Again, the child needs to learn that his/her target language Spanish allows the universally marked option. The predominance of unmarked phonological material in the bilingual productions indicates that this second step has not been entirely mastered until 2;3, although the bilingual production rates of unfooted syllables have reached the monolingual level.

With this in mind, it becomes plausible that bilingual children produce more defaults prenominally, although they have at least equal command of the segmental inventory and the syllable structures required for adult-like article forms. It does not contradict the good agreement rates with adjectives and articles, either, as the morphosyntactic properties of gender assignment and agreement are not affected. The observed difference is thus due to a different prosodic development, but the German gender system has no influence on the Spanish system, contrary to our first hypothesis.

4   Conclusion

This paper has examined the development of gender assignment and agreement within the nominal phrase in the early acquisition of monolingual and bilingual Spanish. It has been observed that the bilingual Spanish-German children differ from the monolinguals only with respect to filler production and filler use. We can conclude that the morphosyntactic properties of Spanish gender assignment and agreement are not affected by the different properties of the German system, but that a different prosodic development keeps the bilinguals from showing systematic gender agreement with proto-articles, as monolinguals do. If German has an influence on Spanish in this domain, it is an indirect one that takes place on the prosodic level.

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