

REDEFINITION OF A SYNTACTIC CATEGORY
IN MODERN SPANISH AS A METHOD OF
FACILITATING A COMPUTER-ASSISTED
TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

by

Colin Francis Hunns

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
University of London

1977

PLYMOUTH POLYTECHNIC
LEARNING RESOURCES CENTRE

ACCN.	5 500280
No.	FHS 58
CLASS	T 465 HUN
No.	

Centres X700 444113

ABSTRACT

This thesis represents an attempt to produce machinery which will render a computer-assisted textual analysis viable for modern Spanish. To this end, it endeavours to provide a totally new definition for the categorial term "article". The categories of both articles, as traditionally recognized, and those of the concomitant relative pronouns and object pronouns, are subjected to a synoptic analysis based on a consideration of the syntactic, semantic, and morphological features which all these parts of speech have in common. The first chapter defends the categorial status of the indefinite article and deals with the articles in the nounphrase. Chapter two discusses the articles in the relative clause, in terms of the grammatical information which they provide, and the grammatical function which they perform there; in the light of this, an analysis is made of the types of relative clause in Spanish, and a new clause-type is established which depends upon the article. Chapter three examines the verbphrase and explores the relationship between the articles and certain object pronouns, and attempts to justify the theoretical assimilation of these pronouns to articles. A final format of the distinctive feature matrix which has been evolving up to that point, based on the syntactico-semantic analysis, is established. Chapter four compares the morphological characteristics that are common to articles and pronouns, and reduces these to interrelated formulae. Chapter five utilizes these formulae to devise a prototype computer program based on a subcorpus of a 36,287 word text, and print-outs are provided. The data for the thesis as a whole is based on a corpus of one million words. The conclusion suggests that the article and its indicated concomitants, enjoying a high degree of frequency, may represent the key to a computer program widely applicable to syntactic problems of modern Spanish.

CONTENTS

	Page No.
Acknowledgements	6
Introduction	7
Chapter 1 : THE ARTICLES IN THE NOUN PHRASE	16
1.1 Distinctive features summarizing the performance of the definite article.	17
1.2 Distinctive features summarizing the performance of the indefinite article	24
1.3 The expanded features as criteria concerning the theoretical status of the indefinite article	25
1.4 The feature [SPECIFIC]	36
1.4.1 The definite article and the feature [SPECIFIC]	37
1.4.2 The indefinite article and the feature [SPECIFIC]	43
1.5 The feature [GENERIC]	53
1.5.1 The definite article and the feature [GENERIC]	56
1.5.2 The indefinite article and the feature [GENERIC]	61
1.6 The feature [PARTICULARIZER]	64
1.6.1 The definite article and the feature [PARTICULARIZER]	64
1.6.2 The indefinite article and the feature [PARTICULARIZER]	68
1.7 The feature [ABSTRACTIVE]	70
1.7.1 The definite article and the feature [ABSTRACTIVE]	70
1.7.2 The indefinite article and the feature [ABSTRACTIVE]	72
1.8 The feature [NOMINALIZER]	73
1.8.1 The definite article and nominalized infinitives	76
1.8.2 The indefinite article and nominalized infinitives	85
1.8.3 The definite article and nominalized adjectives	87
1.8.4 The indefinite article and nominalized adjectives	96
1.8.5 The definite article and nominalized past participles	99
1.8.6 The indefinite article and nominalized past participles	109
1.8.7 The definite article and nominalized verb phrases	110
1.8.8 The indefinite article and nominalized verb phrases	113
1.8.9 The definite article and nominalized interrogative pronouns	114
1.8.10 The indefinite article and nominalized interrogative pronouns	115

	Page No.
1.8.11 The definite article and nominalized interjections	116
1.8.12 The indefinite article and nominalized interjections	116
1.8.13 The definite article and nominalized numerals	117
1.8.14 The indefinite article and nominalized numerals	122
1.8.15 The articles and nominalized letters	123
1.8.16 The articles and nominalized pronouns	124
1.8.17 The articles and nominalized adverbs/adverbial phrases	125
1.8.18 The definite article (only) and nominalized prefixes	125
1.9 Conclusions ; development of the syntactic and semantic features of the articles	126
Chapter 2 : THE ARTICLES IN THE RELATIVE CLAUSE	131
2.1 Types of Spanish relative pronoun	131
2.1.1 <u>Que</u>	133
2.1.1.1. The invariability of <u>Que</u>	136
2.1.1.1.1. for role	136
2.1.1.1.2. for referent	136
2.1.1.1.3. for gender	137
2.1.1.1.4. for number	137
2.1.1.2. The position of <u>Que</u>	139
2.1.2. <u>Quien, Quienes</u>	145
2.1.3 The Compound relative pronouns	150
2.1.3.1 <u>el que (etc)</u>	151
2.1.3.2 <u>el cual (etc.)</u>	153
2.2 Types of Relative clause	156
2.2.1 Review of modern linguistic theory of the Relative clause	156
2.3 Restrictive and Nonrestrictive relative clauses in Spanish	176
2.4 Bello's putative Relative clause	208
2.5 The "Replacive" Relative clause	212
2.6 Conclusion : further development of the syntactic and semantic features of the articles.	234

	Page No.
Chapter 3 : ARTICLES IN THE VERB PHRASE	241
3.1 Pronominalization: general background and specific focus	242
3.2 The Status of Articles and Pronouns	246
3.2.1 A summary of traditional distinctions	247
3.2.1.1 The diachronic perspective	247
3.2.1.2 The synchronic results	248
3.2.2 Analysis of the synoptic view of articles and pronouns	249
3.2.2.1 Alonso	249
3.2.2.2 Goldin (i)	250
3.2.2.3 Lackstrom	267
3.2.2.4 Goldin (ii)	269
3.2.2.5 Three reasons in favour of the synoptic view	275
3.3 Discussion of the inherent nature of pronouns	277
3.3.1 Benveniste	277
3.3.2 Charandeau	279
3.3.3 Jones	281
3.3.4 Brecht	282
3.3.5 Rosengren	283
3.3.6 Rodríguez-Izquierdo	284
3.4 Method of designating pronoun features	286
3.4.1 A Summary of traditional distinctions	286
3.4.2 Analysis of a modern method : Hadlich	287
3.5 Validation of amendments to Hadlich's formulations	297
3.6 Final development of features: a new scheme	303
3.7 Conclusions based on the syntactico-semantic analysis	329
3.7.1 Illustrations of newly-defined matrices	330
3.7.2 The extended matrix	354
3.7.3 Final format of branching diagram	355
3.7.4 Final composition of individual matrices	356
Chapter 4 : THE MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE "ARTICLE"	358
Chapter 5 : THE PROTOTYPE COMPUTER PROGRAM WITH SAMPLE PRINT-OUTS	420
CONCLUSION	470
BIBLIOGRAPHY	482

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page No.
Figure 1	18
Figure 2	20
Figure 3	21
Figure 4	23
Figure 5	24
Figure 6	51
Figure 7	129
Figure 8	130
Figure 9	144
Figure 10	175
Figure 11	231
Figure 12	233
Figure 13	235
Figure 14	239
Figure 15	240
Figure 16	298
Figure 17	300
Figure 18	301
Figure 19	354
Figure 20	355
Figure 21	356/7
Figure 22	362
Figure 23	372
Figure 24	373
Figure 25	380
Figure 26	381
Figure 27	387
Figure 28	388
Figure 29	398
Figure 30	401

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to the Director of Plymouth Polytechnic and his senior staff, I was granted a Fellowship of two terms to enable me to complete this research.

I record the encouragement of my colleague Gordon May also, whose high standards have been such a challenge to me.

For writing the technical aspects of the computer program based on my program notes, I acknowledge the co-operation of the Head of the Computer Centre, Mr. Eric Greatrix, and his staff, in particular Mrs. J. Booth-Davey and Mr. George Wheeler.

I am indebted to Professor Whinnom for kindly setting aside time on numerous occasions to discuss my queries, often at short notice, and always with patience and insight.

Another person whose encouragement and counsel have been invaluable is Dr. Neil Smith; I count myself very fortunate to have had the benefit of his help as an Adviser appointed by the University.

INTRODUCTION

In contrast to New High German, which capitalizes every noun or nominalized form, modern Spanish lacks an orthographical device which could facilitate the creation of a computer programme designed for textual analysis. This dissertation represents an attempt to produce machinery which will render a computer-assisted textual analysis viable for Spanish. To this end, it endeavours to provide a totally new definition for the categorial term "article" in modern Spanish. The categories of both articles, as traditionally recognized, and those of the concomitant relative pronouns and object pronouns, are subjected to what might be termed a synoptic analysis because they are viewed together. This thesis thus represents a response to Postal's suggestion (1966) for Spanish. The analysis is based on a consideration of the syntactic, semantic, and morphological features which all the parts of speech which have been detailed have in common. The point of departure for this examination is the theoretical framework which I have established elsewhere, entitled "Towards a characterization of the syntactic and semantic features of the definite article in modern Spanish".¹

The first chapter here deals with the articles in the noun-phrase, and recapitulates some of the theory and data which established that framework, to explain the conclusions which were drawn there, and which are fundamental to an understanding of the theory of chapter one.²

-
1. M.A.thesis, University of Exeter, 1975 (henceforth Hunns (1975)).
 2. Material incorporated from that thesis appears in some sections of chapter one, the sub-headings of which are marked (\$) to indicate such incorporations. These amount to just under half of the chapter, but virtually every section contains updating, both in the theoretical discussions and in the data from the expanded corpus.

It then shows how those conclusions may serve as a criterion for establishing the theoretical status of the indefinite article,¹ which has been disputed. The theories advanced by some of the principal opponents of an article category which includes the indefinite member are discussed. These include those of Perlmutter (1970) and Spangler (1975) for the English language, and those of Bello,² Amado Alonso (1961), Alarcos Llorach (1968), Bull (1965), Martín Alonso (1968), and Alcina and Blecua (1975) for Spanish. However, the advocates of the IA are also taken into account: the Academy Grammar (1931), Gili y Gaya (1955), Ramsey (1965), Martínez Amador (1966), Seco (1967), Carnicer (1969), Yasui (1975), as well as the partial support in Burton-Roberts (1976), and the ambivalent stand adopted by the Academy's Esbozo (1973). Then the present treatment advances its own counter-arguments to justify retention of the IA category. Accordingly, the branching diagrams which were earlier developed to depict the performance of the definite article are replaced by a considerably more detailed diagram, which is so devised as to reveal the parallelism evinced in the respective features of the two articles. This more complex pattern paves the way for the creation of a more effective branching diagram in a streamlined format which coalesces a common node.

Chapter two deals with the articles in the relative clause. After discussing the grammatical information which the various types of Spanish pronoun provide, it reviews modern linguistic theories of the relative clause in general. These include those of Smith (1964), Bach (1964), Taglicht (1972), Delorme and

-
1. For convenience, the abbreviations IA and DA will be used for the indefinite and definite articles respectively, with IAs and DAs for their respective plurals. Exceptions will be in quotations, subheadings or when emphasized antithetically. Other abbreviations which are used occasionally are either more conventional, or are indicated at the appropriate juncture.
 2. The edition used is Bello y Cuervo (1952).

Dougherty (1972), Stockwell et al. (1973, henceforth MSSE) Werth (1974), Lucas (1974) and (1975), Cofer (1975), Schlesinger (1975), Rojas (1977) and Rivero (1977). Insights derived from that review are then examined in the light of the Spanish relative clause, as dealt with by the Spanish grammars listed above and by Hadlich's transformational grammar (1971). Then an analysis is made of the types of Spanish relative clause as exemplified by data from the corpus, and of the grammatical function which the articles perform in each. It is discovered that one type which is conventionally classified as such is, in fact, not a relative clause at all; it owes this misnomer to an uncharacteristically inaccurate analysis by the authority Bello, who was followed uncritically by Cuervo, Alonso, Seco, the Academy, and Alcina and Blecua. A further analysis is made of the grammatical function performed by the definite article in one of the series of compound relative pronouns; this reveals the need to establish a new type of relative clause in Spanish which is not merely a notational variant. It is shown, by the statistics from a random sample of over four hundred relative clauses introduced by the compound relative pronoun containing the article, to be more numerous than either restrictive or nonrestrictive relative clauses introduced in this way. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the method of including the relationship which obtains between the two articles and the relative clauses as a feature in the evolution of a distinctive feature matrix.

Chapter three develops the theory advanced in the first two chapters. The theoretical basis of chapter one is taken a stage further by an investigation into the parallel features which the two articles evince in the area of object pronominalization;

the scope of the theory discussed in chapter two is extended by an exploration of the relationship between articles and object pronouns. An attempt is made to justify the theoretical assimilation of certain object pronouns to articles. This follows a critical appraisal of some of the theories which have been propounded elsewhere, notably by Goldin's doctoral thesis, published under the title Spanish case and function (1968), which raises, it is demonstrated here, more problems than it solves.¹ New features are required to accommodate the object pronouns. Numerous improvements upon Hadlich's attempt to define the features of the Spanish object pronouns per se are suggested. These suggested reformulations enable the feature matrix which has been gradually evolving to be finally completed by means of the expansion introduced to accommodate pronominal characteristics.

Chapter four then proceeds to compare the morphological characteristics that are common to articles and pronouns. It is demonstrated that these characteristics can be subjected to an analysis which benefits from a synoptic approach. The purpose is to establish machinery which will enable the morphology of articles and pronouns to be reduced to interrelated formulae. The theoretical basis for the structuralist type of morphological analysis presented in this chapter is that devised by Trager in a study concerning French (1958). The parallel area of Spanish syntax displays a much more intractable nature than its French counterpart, and this calls for a major adaptation of Trager's approach, although the treatment is still to a certain extent

1. The same conclusion is formed by two reviewers, but for different reasons. See chapter three below.

dependent upon his methodology. The present study is not only broader in scope than his brief analysis, but also more far-reaching in application, in the same way in which the devising of distinctive features in their full evolution here is based on the merely embryonic matrix advanced by Chomsky in Aspects (1965). In each case, the Chomskyan and Tragerian concepts are treated only as points of departure. The present thesis attempts to provide an original, comprehensive extension to both theories, and also to apply them to the Spanish language.

Chapter five represents an argument in favour of the synoptic approach which is adopted here based on these different theoretical criteria, pace the purists of both schools. It indicates the complementary nature of the dual approach. This is achieved by the practical application envisaged above, namely the devising of a computer program to probe numerous aspects of modern Spanish syntax. A prototype computer program incorporating the particular formulae which are relevant to this thesis appears in this chapter, together with representative print-outs of data culled by various program requirements as they are made to operate on a sample of the selected novel. To my knowledge, no other such program has been written for Spanish. The program illustrates the complementarity of the two aspects of the present investigation: the syntactico-semantic analysis establishes a comprehensive picture of the performance of the "article" and the morphological analysis prepares the way for a viable computer study which uses the "article" as a fulcrum. The morphological formulae serve an economical purpose in reducing the computer's

"search time", because they permit the computer to be programmed to find a whole battery of linguistic items simultaneously.

The conclusion suggests that only the article and its indicated concomitants may profitably be subjected to the present type of morphological analysis, which contrives to reduce a wealth of linguistic data to a concentrated span. The items subsumed under the formulae represent an average of twenty four percent of the total number of words in a section of continuous prose. The degree of concentration achieved by the present investigation may be contrasted with, for example, Anderson's study entitled "Morphophonemics of gender in Spanish nouns" (1961);¹ taking, as he himself admits, only a limited number of stems as a basis for establishing classes according to compatibility with the various types of gender morpheme alternants, he arrives at no less than nineteen sub-classes. The formulae which are devised here attempt to deal with a more complex area more effectively and without first simplifying the data. Because of the high frequency of occurrence and the widespread distribution of the forms comprising the "article", and their contraction to concentrated formulae, the present study represents a possible key to an all-purpose computer program widely applicable to problems of Spanish syntax. As noted earlier, Spanish, unlike New High German, lacks an orthographical device which could be utilized effectively in the preparation of a machine program. This analysis contrives to produce just such a device based on inherent syntactic, semantic, and morphological features. Its

1. For an interesting study of the basis of gender in German nouns, see Lang (1976).

viability is exhibited in the fact that print-outs of the environmental patterning of the articles' performance, including omission, will display all NPs, and print-outs of the pronouns' performance, including enclitic usage, will display a high proportion of VPs. This further emphasizes the dual approach attempted here, and underlines the key nature of this thesis topic. The conclusion suggests that the present analysis can be used as a foundation for further applications to syntactic problems.

CORPUS

The Spanish data employed in this thesis are drawn from fifteen contemporary literary works, to preclude the kind of analyses which can justifiably be criticized for dealing with inadequate examples. Compare the statement in Keightley's review of Isenberg (1973:207): "as happens all too frequently in studies using the transformational-generative framework, the data is invented by the author and in this instance it rarely comes alive", with the view of Lucas (1974:101, that "composing examples rather than taking them from actual texts" can lead to important phenomena being overlooked. Kayne commented that Chomsky's English examples are difficult to transpose into French (1975:250), and Ryden maintained that "what we...sorely need is research that gives data oriented and corpus-based studies on linguistic usage" (1970:52).

The following is the list of works used as primary sources, which amount to a total corpus of one million words. Abbreviations appearing beside the text used indicate references for data adduced in the thesis, so that, for example, A50 refers to page 50 of this edition of Aldecoa's stories.

- A. I. Aldecoa, Cuentos Completos 2, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1973, (pp.9-180).
- B. M. Ballesteros, El chico, Ediciones Destino, Barcelona, 1967.
- C. C.J. Cela, Viaje a la Alcarria, ed. P. Polack, Harrap, London, 1961.
- D. M. Delibes, Las ratas, ed. L. Hickey, Harrap, London, 1969.
- F. R. Sánchez Ferlosio, El Jarama, Ediciones Destino, Barcelona, 1973.
- FC. F. Candel, Viaje al rincón de Ademuz, Plaza y Janes, Barcelona, 1977 (Prologue, and chapters IV, V, VI and VII : 51,000 words).

- G. J. Góytisolo, Pueblo en marcha, Librería Española, Paris, 1963.
- K. C.Kürtz, El viaje, Editorial Planeta, Barcelona, 1975.
- M. A.M.Matute, Algunos muchachos, Ediciones Destino, Barcelona, 1968.
- MS. L. Martín-Santos, Tiempo de silencio, Editorial Seix Barral, Barcelona, 1973.
- N. F.Nácher, Proceso a la publicidad, Plaza y Janes, Barcelona, 1977.
- R. J.M.Requena, El cuajarón, Ediciones Destino, Barcelona, 1972.
- S. J.Fernández Santos, Los bravos, ed. P. Połack, Harrap, London, 1967.
- V. A.Buero Vallejo, Historia de una escalera, ed. H.Lester and J.A.Zabalbeascoa Bilbao, University of London Press 1963.
- Z. C.Zaragoza, Manú, Editorial Planeta, Barcelona, 1975, (pp.9-209 : 63,000 words).

To emphasize the contemporary nature of this linguistic analysis, the following list reveals the even spread of the composition dates of these works in chronological order:

C	1946	MS	1961	R	1972
V	1949	D	1962	K	1975
S	1954	G	1963	Z	1975
F	1955	B	1967	FC	1977
A	1955-65 (anthology)	M	1968	N	1977 ¹

CORPUS OF THE COMPUTER PROGRAM

The text selected as the corpus for the computer program was Sánchez Ferlosio's Industrias y Andanzas de Alfanhuí, edited by S. and A.H. Clarke, Harrap, London 1969.

The whole text of 36,287 words was processed by the computer, and representative print-outs are provided in chapter five.

1. Three-quarters of the same corpus was used in preparing the earlier thesis, but the data being sought were of a different type.

CHAPTER 1

1. THE ARTICLES IN THE NOUN PHRASE

1.1 DISTINCTIVE FEATURES SUMMARIZING THE PERFORMANCE OF THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

In A Transformational Grammar of Spanish Hadlich referred to the group of determiners in Spanish as an "especially complicated structure which has not yet been exhaustively studied" (1971:94). He attempted to provide only a provisional transformational characterization in the form of five expansion rules, but noted that these were not fully consistent with current linguistic theory. One defect in this respect was in particular "the lack of subcategorization in terms of features". Partially to fill the lacuna which Hadlich recognized in leaving the feature matrix undeveloped, I have presented in Hunns (1975) a picture of the potential development of that embryonic stage in a fuller evolution, as far as the DA is concerned. The new grammar by Alcina and Blecua (1975:564)¹ states that this problem remains unsolved, because the DA "desarrolla...diversos usos NO BIEN SISTEMATIZADOS TODAVÍA en los que ejerce diversos tipos de determinación sobre el sustantivo que acompaña" (emphasis mine). Their own development of the role of the article is, however, insufficiently detailed to systematize it.

Figure 1 is, by contrast, a chart showing the expanded feature matrix which summarizes the comprehensive performance of the DA in the NP in modern Spanish, and correlating the features with the functions which the article performs in the NP. Those three functions concern the interpretative role played by the article. It may serve to link the accompanying N to its context by acting as a syntactic

1. This grammar is a welcome addition to the reference works on modern Spanish. It has several merits, including references to modern linguistic theory and footnotes detailing bibliographies for each major section, including papers in English. Unfortunately, its value for the purposes stated in the prologue is diminished by the lack of section numbering at the top of each page, unlike the Academy's Esbozo (1973).

Figure 1

FEATURE	M1	M2	M3	F1	F2	F3
DETERMINER	✓			✓		
ARTICLE	✓			✓		
DEFINITE		✓		✓		
GENDER		✓	(✓)	✓		
NUMBER		✓		✓		
SPECIFIC			✓	✓		
ANIMATE			✓	✓		
HUMAN			✓	✓		
ANAPHORIC			✓	✓		
POSSESSIVE			✓	✓		
GENERIC			✓		✓	
PARTICULARIZER			✓		✓	
ABSTRACTIVE			✓		✓	
NOMINALIZER			✓			✓

M1 = first matrix : inherent, syntactic features

M2 = second matrix : inherited, syntactic/semantic features

M3 = third matrix : interpretative, semantic features with syntactic correlates

F1 = function of linking noun to context

F2 = function of freeing noun from context

F3 = function of changing lexical category to noun

() = indication of the few cases where gender operates as a semantic feature, as with pairs of nouns such as cura, orden, corte.

feature marker, as an anaphoric determiner, or as a possession-marker. By appearing as a particularizer, an abstract-marker, or as a class-marker, the article may, paradoxically, free the accompanying N from its associated context. Or the article may function as a nominalizing agent to create an N from a part of speech which is usually classified as belonging to another lexical category. The features indicated in the chart represent these three varied interpretative roles. In Figure 1 ticks are employed to indicate the relevant aspects of the respective features. This method is used to distinguish the information from that supplied in charts which depend upon the counterbalance between positive and negative values, and which utilize unmarked slots where information would be redundant in view of markings shown for other features. The expanded feature matrix in Figure 2, which is based upon the provisional matrix suggested by Chomsky (1965), follows the usual format. It will be readily observed, however, that such a presentation suffers from one great demerit. There are too many features which are displayed as carrying both a positive and negative marking for interpretation to be clear.

A representation in the form of a semi-hierarchical branching diagram like Figure 3 below has the virtue of greater clarity because it clearly separates the plus-and-minus features.

As Figure 3 clearly reveals, $[\pm \text{SPECIFIC}]$ is the point of departure between what might be called context-sensitive and context-free usage of the DA (adapting the terms from PS terminology). It divides $[\text{ANAPHORIC, POSSESSIVE}]$ from $[\text{GENERIC,}$

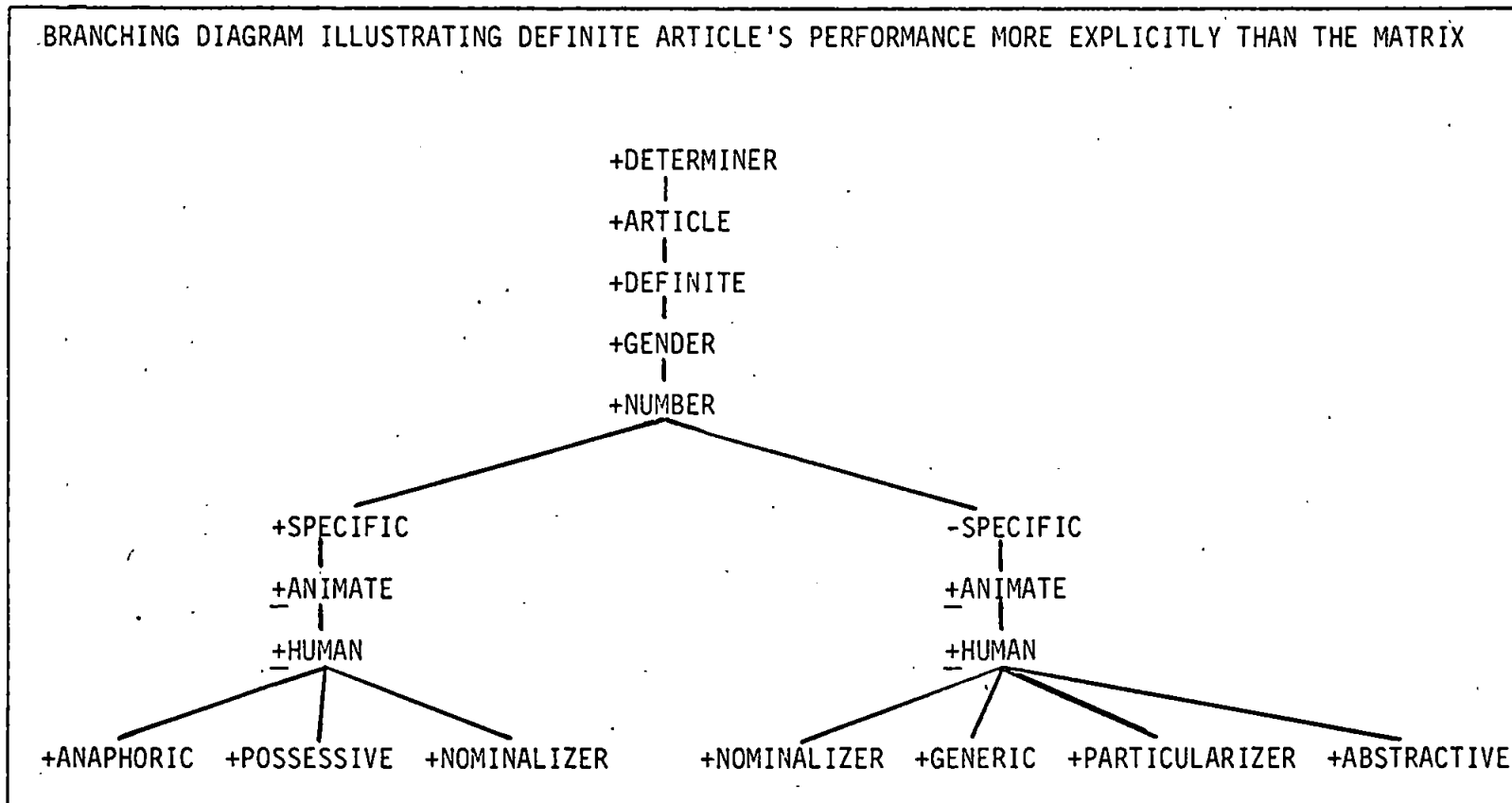
Figure 2

EXPANDED FEATURE MATRIX PROVIDING COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY OF
DEFINITE ARTICLE'S PERFORMANCE

		el	la	los	las	lo ¹
DETERMINER		+	+	+	+	+
ARTICLE		+	+	+	+	+
DEFINITE		+	+	+	+	+
GENDER	MASCULINE	+		+		-
	FEMININE		+		+	-
NUMBER:	PLURAL			+	+	
SPECIFIC		<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
ANIMATE		<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
HUMAN		<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
ANAPHORIC		<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
POSSESSIVE		<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	-
GENERIC		<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
PARTICULARIZER		<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	-
ABSTRACTIVE		<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
NOMINALIZER		<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>

1. The inclusion of *lo* as a definite article here would be disputed by M. Tuján (1972), who champions its pronominal status. Her paper, which is a model of lucidity, is discussed in chapter four below.

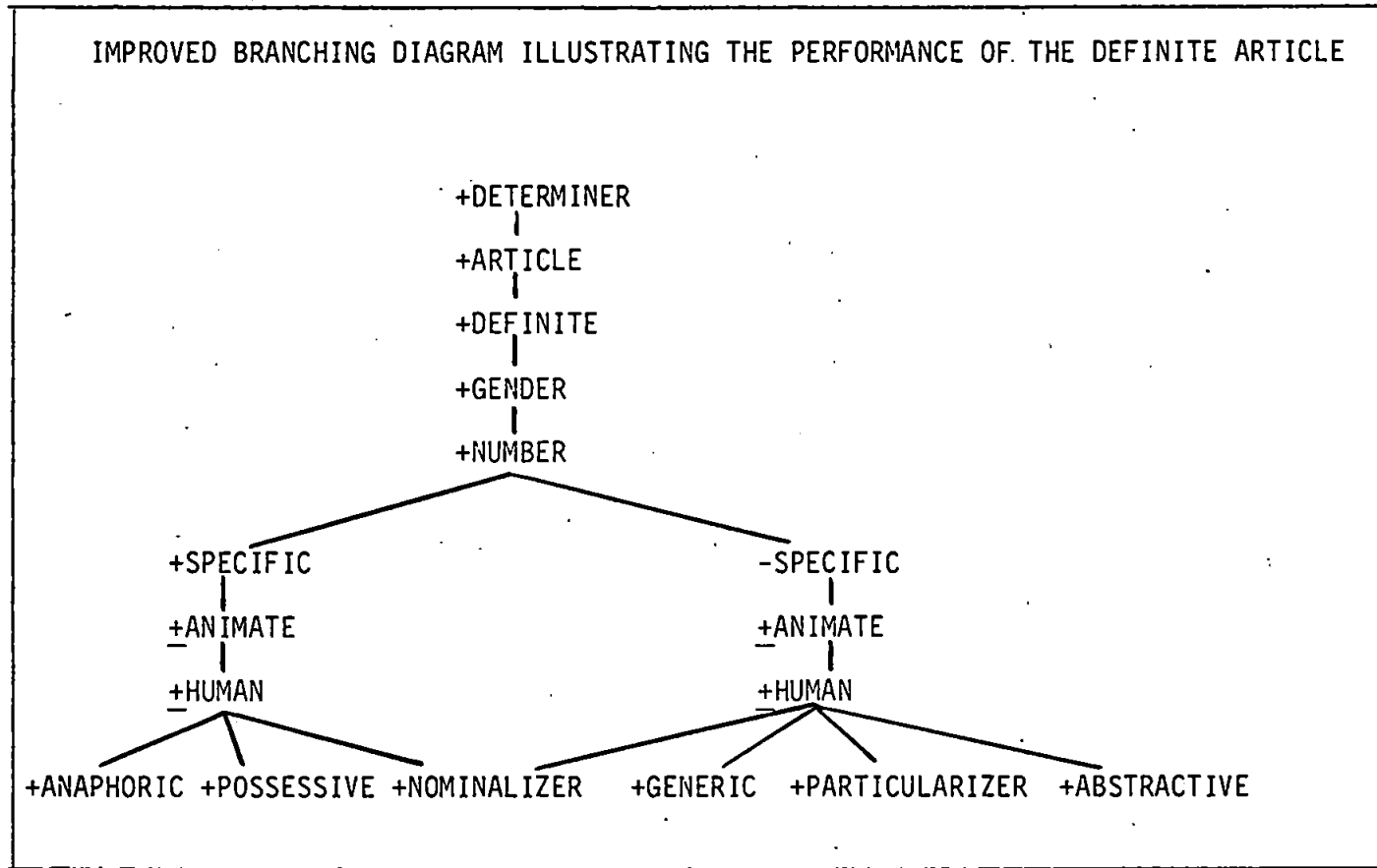
Figure 3



PARTICULARIZER, ABSTRACTIVE] : The former group of features are [+SPECIFIC] , and the latter are to be characterized as [-SPECIFIC]. The fact that the feature [NOMINALIZER] is the only one to carry the dual value [+SPECIFIC] in its interpretation suggests that the diagram can be improved still further. A refinement may easily be achieved by allowing the [+SPECIFIC] and [-SPECIFIC] branches to coalesce at the [NOMINALIZER] node. This refinement is incorporated in the improved branching diagram in Figure 4.

It is a matter of judgment whether [SPECIFIC] should stand above the features [ANIMATE] and [HUMAN] in the matrix and the branching diagram, as it does in the procedure adopted here. It could be argued with justification that the features [ANIMATE] and [HUMAN] should precede [SPECIFIC] and the point could be conceded without loss. However, it is at the stage of the [NUMBER] feature that morphological distinctions cease, and the feature [+SPECIFIC] is the fulcrum upon which the interpretative machinery turns. The other semantic features more properly derive from that.

Figure 4



1.2 DISTINCTIVE FEATURES SUMMARIZING THE PERFORMANCE OF THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE.

The values assigned to the features established in the syntactico-semantic analysis of the definite article may profitably be compared and contrasted with those which would be applicable to a characterization of the indefinite article. For greater clarity, the two sets may best be adduced in a single matrix, as in Figure 5 below. Without anticipating the theoretical discussion which will follow, two additional features can be included in this comprehensive matrix which are relevant only to the indefinite article.

Figure 5

	DEFINITE					INDEFINITE			
	el	la	los	las	lo	un	una	unos	unas
DETERMINER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ARTICLE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DEFINITE	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
GENDER									
MASCULINE	+		+		-	+		+	
FEMININE		+		+	-		+		+
NUMBER: PLURAL			+	+				+	+
SPECIFIC	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
ANIMATE	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
HUMAN	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	-	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
ANAPHORIC	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	-	-	-	-
POSSESSIVE	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	-	-	-	-	-
GENERIC	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
PARTICULARIZER	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	-	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
ABSTRACTIVE	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
NOMINALIZER	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
ENUMERATOR						<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	-	-
QUANTIFIER						-	-	+	+

The values for some of the features adduced for the definite article, namely [GENERIC, PARTICULARIZER, ABSTRATIVE, NOMINALIZER], are, as displayed by the contrastive elements supplied by the inclusion of the indefinite article in this expanded matrix, apparently common to both articles. It is therefore essential at this stage to test the validity of ascribing these features to the IA. It appears, at first sight, surprising to find four out of six detailed as common to both articles, and evidence for such a description will have to be carefully justified. However, a preliminary step must first be taken. The first presupposition to be challenged is the earlier one that [\pm SPECIFIC] may be applied to the IA. That would, of course, increase the number of common features to five out of the total of seven.

1.3 THE EXPANDED FEATURES AS CRITERIA CONCERNING THE THEORETICAL STATUS OF THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE

A high degree of correspondence between the respective feature matrices of the two articles, such as that to be discussed here, would be strong evidence in favour of the category usually denominated as the "Indefinite Article". However, the status of the IA is highly controversial. This is reflected in the following assessments, which are ranged polemically, rather than grouped according to viewpoint, to emphasize the controversy.

Bull states: "the indefinite article in Spanish does not differ in form (and fundamentally, in function) from the number one" (1965:215). Amado Alonso is equally emphatic: "aunque un es muchas veces pronombre indefinido, nunca es artículo" (1961:151).

Martínez Amador does not himself accept this viewpoint and implies, unless employing litotes, that it is a minority view: "no todos convienen en la calidad de artículo de esta voz" (1966:1421). According to Carnicer (1969:239) however, it is the majority of grammarians who hold the IA to be a numeral or an adjective (yet his own interpretation is thoroughly orthodox, referring to "ambas clases de artículo", and his analysis of the usage of the IA is conventional). By contrast, Martín Alonso prefers to separate the articles: "el artículo determinado...es el propiamente artículo...las formas un, una, unos, unas deben considerarse más bien como un indefinido" (1968:273). Gili y Gaya (1955:219) and Seco (1967:51) disagree with that judgment, and prefer to regard both as articles. Rejection of article-status for the indefinite member has the formidable weight of Bello behind it (1952:77), who deals with this article under cardinal numbers and not with the DA. However, some degree of counter-balance is provided by the forthright view of Ramsey (1956:224) that "uno...is the same word as the indefinite article". The Academy's view has undergone modification: the 1931 Grammar regarded the numeral uno and the indefinite pronoun as synonyms, and the two articles as identical, with the IA also having plural forms ("además del artículo determinado, hay otro artículo...se usa también en el número plural", pp. 38 and 42); but in Esbozo (1973) the Academy re-classifies the IA as a pronoun, adding ambivalently, however, that when used prenominally it is classified as an article:

en su función adjetiva, el indefinido...recibe la denominación gramatical de artículo indeterminado (o indefinido), por hecho de que entre él y el artículo, llamado por contraposición determinado, se establecen ciertos contrastes semánticos y sintácticos" (p.229f).

To evaluate these contradictory statements, the theoretical problem must be seen in perspective. It is not only for the Spanish language that the status of the IA is challenged. Bierwisch (1970a:35) mentions "overwhelming evidence that in general the so-called indefinite article in English and several other languages is nothing but the unstressed realization of the numeral 'one'". He refers to the fuller treatment of this theme in the same volume by Perlmutter (1970), who recalls that generative grammar originally treated the two English articles as having the same origin in deep structure. In contrast to this, and to other theories which argue against either article in deep structure, Perlmutter sets out to show that, despite their having the same status in surface structure, "the indefinite article is represented in deep structure not as an article but as the numeral 'one'". He presents a variety of evidence that the English putative IA is simply the result of a phonological rule which performs the obligatory conversion of unstressed proclitic one to an. If this is correct, "the 'indefinite article' is not a special indicator of indefiniteness".

But he recognizes that the thorny problem of generic sentences indicates that not all instances of the IA can be so derived. His explanations regarding "some evidence" that any may underlie the subject NP in, for example:

- (i) a beaver builds dams,

and that one is present in the deep structure, so that (v) underlies (i):

(v) any one beaver builds dams,

would not be of ready application to Spanish, nor is it very convincing for English. One has reservations, too, about his assigning the descriptions ungrammatical to the English sentences (ix) and (xiii):

(ix) *a beaver and an otter build dams,

(xiii) *dams are built by a beaver,

and grammatical to (19):

(19) not one one.

(Compare Burton-Roberts' rejection of many of Perlmutter's examples (1976:435).)

Apparently no such reservations are entertained by the authors of MSSE (1973:85f), who devote one and a half pages to his treatment, repeating twenty-eight of his examples, including (ix) and (xiii) above, without demurring. However, they not only reject his main thesis, but draw entirely the opposite conclusion: "we agree that a and one are alternants, but consider them to be an indefinite article, not a cardinal number" (p.172, compare p.71). This may be compared with Poutsma's view, whom they quote as saying that one, when not a prop-word¹, may be considered "as the absolute form of the indefinite article" (page 187). Perlmutter has to leave the problem of the generic IA in English unresolved by his analysis.

1. This term is credited to Jespersen in Sommerstein (1972:202).

Turning to the DA he claims that it can be added to the antecedent NP of a relative clause, then that it must be added. Again, however, his data are doubtful. It is untrue that the subject NP of (40a),

(40a) the book of John's that I borrowed is in the bathtub, cannot bear a DA without a relative clause, and the ungrammaticality which he detects in (41b) is suspect:

(41b) *the book of John's is in the bathtub.

See Robinson (1975:142) for perceptive comments on Chomsky's view of such sentences. Burton-Roberts (1976) accepts part of Perlmutter's thesis, but considers him wrong in deriving the IA in predicate NPs from one. He defines five generic articles, three of which are IAs.

- (i) generic a proper;
- (ii) the generic indexical DA ("The gorilla, which he is speaking of, became extinct long ago");
- (iii) the anaphoric/cataphoric generic DA ("The gorilla that he is speaking of became extinct long ago");
- (iv) the specific generic IA ("A (certain) gorilla become extinct long ago"),
- (v) the non-specific generic IA ("Is there a gorilla that's become extinct within the last half million years").

His most important comment, for our immediate purpose, is an incidental one: "the difference between GEN the and GEN a is more fundamental than that between non-generic the and a, which would appear to be SIMPLY THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEFINITE AND INDEFINITE" (p.432, emphasis mine). Yasui (1975) is a more broadly-based rejection of Perlmutter. He regards the list of contexts in which both, or neither, a (n) and the numeral one may occur, as

impressive, but counters with cases in which one is impossible and a(n) possible. These are (i) non-count NS ("the meeting ended in * one/an uproar"); and (ii) some NS which in isolation take neither a(n) nor one allow the former but not the latter when modified by a restrictive relative clause ("he has * one/an honesty that you cannot help admiring"). Yasui rightly claims that his data present problems for Perlmutter's derivation of the IA from one, that they are not infrequent nor idiomatic, and cannot simply be listed in the lexicon as exceptions. He concludes that although historically the English IA "derived from the numeral one...it seems that there is now more in the indefinite a(n) than a destressed numeral one can replace" (p.512). Compare the view of Hewson (1972:86f) that the IA in English originated as the numeral but "eventually (became) a full indefinite article". For a much fuller analysis and criticism of Perlmutter, see N.V.Smith (forthcoming).

Perlmutter's conclusions are far-reaching. The relation between the articles would, if his thesis stands, be very different from the traditional viewpoint, which assumed that NPs could be introduced by either article, and that they constituted "some sort of opposition". Compare the assertion by Spangler (1975:70f) that "the so-called 'definite article' has more in common with the demonstratives than with the 'indefinite article' with which it is regularly paired... The ought therefore to be ranged alongside the (demonstratives), and a/an ought to be added to the counting terms, paired with the numeral one". Perlmutter's analysis goes beyond realignment to redefinition, because he would make "the indefinite article...simply a numeral like all other

numerals", so that occurrence or non-occurrence of the DA would be a completely independent phenomenon. "The relevant opposition, then, is not between the definite and indefinite articles, but rather between the presence and absence of the definite article" (1970:245). He queries the necessity for an Article node in either deep or surface structure, and whether the notion 'article' has any substantive meaning in syntax. To both queries he provides an answer in the negative.

Virtually the same statements have been made with reference to Spanish. Amado Alonso, who, as mentioned earlier, rejects the article status of un, states:

El artículo, en español, ha constituido, ciertamente, un nuevo sistema estricto y bilateral, pero no con un, ni con ningún otro elemento de la lengua; el nuevo sistema está formado por la presencia y ausencia del artículo, o si se quiere, por la aparición del sustantivo con y sin artículo ... (1961:133).

A study which draws different conclusions but otherwise parallels that of Perlmutter by making a radically new assessment of the IA in Spanish, is made by Alarcos Llorach (1968). He finds the traditional distinctions between this article, the indefinite pronoun, and the numeral unjustified. He quotes, approvingly, Alonso's statement that un is never an article. Consequently, when he uses the word artículo himself, he means the DA, and he finds no need to qualify it, which makes his paper, initially, difficult to follow. He defends his approval of Alonso's statement on several counts, all of which may be contested. Firstly, that the anatomy of un militates against its having article-status, is based on factors which are better explained by the pronominal status of uno than the putative autonomy of un, as his own examples show:

- (i) whereas compró el libro reduces to lo compró, compró un libro has two possibilities - lo compró or compró uno;
- (ii) un libro cualquiera may be replaced by uno cualquiera.

Secondly, that certain adjectives with Ns permit un but not el (*el libro cualquiera) may reveal more about those adjectives than about un. Cualquier in particular has several unusual characteristics - it is a compound word comprising an adjective or pronoun and the subjunctive form of a verb (Ramsey 1956:421); it may, despite this unusual origin, function as a noun (Academy, 1973:232); in that capacity, its plural differs from its (normally) unusual plural, cualquieras instead of cualesquier(a) and also the latter is restricted to the written mode (Academy 1973:231); and, of course, apocopation can occur. Thirdly, that un singularizes its associated N and is therefore to be classified functionally as an adjective is not only a non-sequitur, it suggests that the feature [PLURAL], and, by implication, [GENDER] is copied on to the N from the article instead of vice-versa, which would surely represent a slight problem to those who admit of article presence in deep structure and an insurmountable obstacle to those who exclude it there. Fourthly, the three points adduced to defend the classification are less than compelling:

- (i) un belongs to the group of adjectives which obligatorily precede the noun;
- (ii) it is incompatible with the (definite) article;
- (iii) it can undergo nominalization, but then it belongs to the type of adjective which can be nominalized without requiring the article.

Points (i) and (ii) lack relevance for the reader who still entertains doubt that un is other than an article, and (iii) supports numeral, or pronominal, rather than adjectival status for un.

Although not voicing any doubts, Alcina and Blecua (1975) appear at first reluctant to commit themselves on this issue. Their treatment of the indefinite article/numeral devotes exactly four times as much space to the latter than to the former aspect. They refer to Alonso (1961) and make three statements which appear at that point to support him. One of these is the question of autonomy, in which their view coincides with that of Alarcos Llorach; they do not quote him, however, although a bibliography one hundred pages later refers to his paper. Regarding autonomy, they say: "los derivados de unus tienen una existencia independiente pues es desconocida para los derivados de ille" (p.550). They add that its pronominal behaviour is to be correlated as much with that of pronouns as with the DA; this is an interesting observation in the light of chapters three and four below, although to use the phrase "los pronombres en función adjetiva" without defining it is unwise (contrast Academy 1973:226, footnote 1). Their third statement stresses that the articles' binary opposition, which Hewson (1972:81) defined as "consisting of two movements (an introductory movement of approach followed by an anaphoric movement of departure)", is only "una de tantas oposiciones semánticas en las que interviene el artículo". As a rider they mention anarthrous NPs as a further relevant consideration. The

most significant factor is that the reader suddenly becomes aware that they are (like Alarcos Llorach) using the word 'article' to mean only the definite article, without so defining their terminology, not to mention their theoretical standpoint. This fact becomes clearer, in retrospect, because they next proceed to deal with "la sustantivación y el artículo" without mentioning un. (This fact may be contrasted with the details provided in sections 1.8.1 to 1.8.18 below). However, when they deal with "usos determinativos del artículo", Alcina and Blecua at first appear to countenance the existence of an IA: "característicamente, en el relato la presentación se suele hacer por medio del indefinido"; it is only subsequently that it becomes clear that they mean the category of indefinites. Once a mention has occurred, they claim:

todo objeto que se refiere al campo de sentido suscitado, utilizará el artículo (i.e. the definite one). El indefinido es resultado de una intención informativa de desconocimiento o indiferencia por parte del autor (p.565).

Only much later in their grammar do they clarify this category, but the long-awaited clarification is vitiated by the absence of a clear demarcation between the putative Indefinite and the numeral:

el indefinido "uno"...está relacionado con el numeral uno ...sus plurales analógicos son unos y unas. Las formas del singular son un ante nombres masculinos y una los femeninos... cuando acompaña, a nombres que se pueden contar, la idea de INDIFERENCIACIÓN ESTÁ ESTRECHAMENTE LIGADA A LA DE NÚMERO Y RESULTA DIFÍCIL SEPARAR (p.669ff).

Their argument is therefore eventually seen to be not so much ambivalent as poorly motivated.

Of the dozen grammarians quoted above, six advocate retention of the IA qua article and six are against such a retention for Spanish. If it were tenable thus to deny the IA article-status, the consequences for Spanish would be as radical as those which Perlmutter outlines for the deep and surface structures of English. I have indicated the extent of the controversy which has been engendered by the attempt to deny this status to the Spanish IA, and have drawn attention to some weaknesses in the theories advanced by detractors of the IA in both languages. The degree of disagreement indicated in the dozen treatments of Spanish summarized above leaves little room for theoretical manoeuvre because they are so mutually exclusive, and often lacking in detail. I propose therefore to attempt to resolve the theoretical problem by approaching it from a different angle.

From the vantage-point afforded by this brief review of some of the theories, an examination can now be made of the validity of the assertion which was made above, that no less than five of the seven features displayed for the definite article can be ascribed to the indefinite article. If this claim can be established, it will, it is submitted, be further evidence against the theories which have just been reviewed which reject the IA. It will suggest a fundamental symmetry in the performance of the two articles in Spanish which will make it difficult to deny that there is a balancing parallelism between them. A further development of the feature matrices will later be considered, to extend the parallel, by an analysis

of the question of definite and indefinite pronominalization. If such a development is also possible, it would serve to corroborate the theory presented here.

1.4 THE FEATURE [SPECIFIC]

As stated above, the first presupposition to be challenged is the validity of applying the feature [+SPECIFIC] to the IA. It was interesting to discover that Bierwisch uses a similar term, SPECIFYING, but introduces it instead of DEFINITE:

This feature, characteristically realised by the definite article in languages displaying articles, indicates that the set forming the reference instance is already given and uniquely identifiable by means of the respective predicative features.¹

DEFINITE comprises iota-operators (referring to individuals) and lambda-operators (referring to classes). The correspondence between the feature DEFINITE and the iota-operator has its counterpart in the correspondence between the feature minus DEFINITE and INDEFINITE. But Bierwisch finds fault with INDEFINITE as a feature. The sentence "A boy came" involves in reality no vagueness or indefiniteness. Instead an element or a set is introduced which the feature DEFINITE might later refer back to. So he suggests SPECIFYING instead of INDEFINITE. The new feature would introduce "a particular fraction of the universe which has not been referred to previously", a fixed object introduced for future reference; this contrasts with INDEFINITE, which refers to objects that are not to be

1. Bierwisch (1970a:31). He omits brackets in his discussion of features, which is helpful because it will distinguish his definitions from those presented here.

subsequently delineated. Hence in

(6) James asked me for a newspaper_{NP₁}

(7a) and I will send it_{NP₁} to him

(7b) and I will send one_{NP₂} to him,

whereas (7a) could indicate a particular edition, (7b) following (6) would leave NP₁ unspecified - it would not constitute a fixed object. Bierwisch therefore suggests that (6) and (7a) will interpret the article as SPECIFYING, whereas (6) and (7b) will interpret it as INDEFINITE.

My suggestion is that it is preferable to retain the terms [+DEFINITE] and [-DEFINITE] as accepted syntactic features, while recognising them to be empty labels, on the Shakespearean rose-labelling principle. Precisely because they are empty labels is there justification for an analysis of the performance of the articles to develop meaningful semantic features, such as the analysis attempted here.

Bierwisch's introduction of the feature SPECIFYING represents an attempt to deal with the same problem as that resolved by the suggestion of the feature [SPECIFIC] in my analysis. At first sight, [+SPECIFIC] might be held usefully to indicate the context-sensitive characteristic of the DA, and [-SPECIFIC] the context-free quality of the IA.

1.4.1 THE DEFINITE ARTICLE AND THE FEATURE [SPECIFIC] (\$)

The classic example of the contrast between the DA and the IA, that is the binary opposition which is implicit in the feature

[± DEFINITE] , is where the latter indicates the first mention of, and the former subsequent reference to, a common N.

Weinreich approvingly quotes Franz Schmidt as referring to this as "delimitation" by either "focus of attention" or "unity of discourse".¹ Predictably, Katz disagrees with Weinreich, defining "delimitation" as just "an empty label" (1967:190).

Among other helpful terms which are used to describe this phenomenon is Langendoen's "fixing of reference" (1971:139).

He declares that the DA arises through

the reduction of a relative clause meaning whose reference has been fixed. The indefinite article on the other hand is often the reduction of a relative clause meaning whose reference is hereby fixed. This formulation accounts for the fact that generally a noun-phrase appears in a discourse with a particular reference only once with the indefinite article. Its subsequent appearances are always with the definite article.

Bierwisch (1970a:178) agrees with Langendoen, because he maintains that "except for predicate nominals such as Alexander is an unlucky fellow, all NPs are referential constituents", that is, they refer to, not describe, indices. Lybbert (1972:7) calls this switch from IA to DA "a small but systematically significant difference", and borrows from the Prague School the terms rhemic for initial mention and themic for subsequent mention. Therefore, "the shift from indefinite to definite article marks a THEMIC RECURRENCE".

Among the best examples in the corpus of this classic theoretical distinction between the two articles are:

M37 una vez me enseñó la fotografía de una catedral, yo no veía la catedral, sólo veía el ángel

C46 el viajero entra en una taberna que tiene un hermoso nombre. La taberna se llama..

1. in Logik der Syntax, Berlin, 1962, quoted in Weinreich (1966:426).

M104 la madre llevó a Claudia a un psiquiatra...Claudia entró y salió del psiquiatra sin inmutarse.

Compare the initial stage directions of Vallejo's play:

V18 un tramo de escalera con dos rellanos en una casa modesta de vecindad. Los escalones de bajada hacia los pisos inferiores,

where the second pair of (definite) NPs depend on the introduction effected by the first indefinite NP.

When there is a switch from IA to DA with the same N, the two occurrences of the N are usually closely juxtaposed; sometimes, however, they do not appear in close proximity. M122/4, for example separates one pair from each other by three hundred and twenty words:

M122 como un náufrago...

M124 el náufrago...no parecía recordar...nada;

one extraordinary example in the corpus separates the original, non-anaphoric introduction of a N (preceded by the IA) from its second mention (preceded, of course, by the DA acting in an anaphoric capacity), by no less than one thousand words of continuous text. First there is:

A164 El Antonio, en la habitación, se echó con disímulo un sacacorchos al bolsillo,

and later, after the argument with Bayoneta, the same implement is reintroduced as an offensive weapon:

A167 apareció en una mano el sacacorchos.

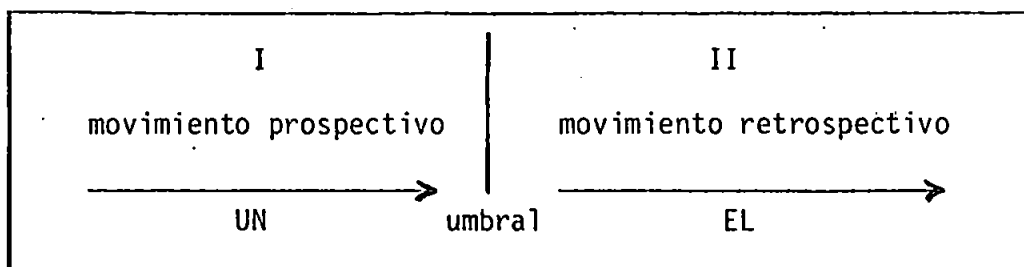
This context-sensitive use of the DA may be attributed to its origin as a demonstrative. Most of the Spanish grammars which were consulted stress this origin.¹ As McCawley rightly comments,

1. Compare the similar tone of the German article which is "in form the unaccented demonstrative der, that, true to its origin". See Curme (1952:59).

"a full treatment of articles requires an adequate account of deixis" (1970:137, footnote (7)). Bull states it in the following terms: "the speaker must initiate common focus and then either concentrate it or shift it" (1965:216). Inevitably, because language consists of a system of minimal signals, occasions arise in which common focus is taken for granted, and is wrongly so assumed. An excellent illustration of this is provided by MS126:

MS126 - ¿Irá usted mañana a la conferencia?
 -Sí; claro que sí - dijo Pedro, sin saber
 a qué conferencia se refería.

This misunderstanding arises from a premature introduction of the DA, before common focus has been established. In both English and Spanish, the initiation of common focus is achieved by the IA, and its maintenance is signalled by the DA. Pottier indicates it with a diagram, based on Guillaume (which may be compared with that of Hewson (1972:72) for the English articles):



It is surprising that the arrowhead of II does not point the other way. Pottier supplies the following interpretation of his diagram:

aspectos diversos de la operación binaria: el movimiento I es aferente, primario, particularizante, de cierre: tiende a establecer o proponer. El movimiento II es referente, secundario, generalizador, de apertura: parte de lo establecido o propuesto (1968:29-32).

This apparently good definition is not unexceptionable, because the DA is by no means always retrospective, and the IA is not always prospective, as will be shown later.

Hence the statement made above that it is only at first sight that [+SPECIFIC] appears to distinguish the context-sensitive nature of the DA, from the context-free nature of the IA reflected in [-SPECIFIC]. That provisional distinction will further be demonstrated to be an over-simplification when the feature [PARTICULARIZER] is considered as part of the spectrum of the characteristics of the IA, below; just as [+DEFINITE] can imply [-SPECIFIC], conversely [-DEFINITE] can carry the implication [+SPECIFIC]. For the moment, compare the statement in MSSE (1973:433):

(24a) the } boy who lives next door is eight feet tall.
 (24b) a }

In (24b) there is definitization of the shared NP of the relative clause, but the matrix remains INDEFINITE SPECIFIC (emphasis mine).

Such a specification can be assigned to the IA when it is employed to indicate definite, concrete existence linked to a given context. This answers the problem posed, but left unresolved, by Amado Alonso and Kalepky.

Alonso (1961:159) provides an example containing a two-fold reference to a man and a woman, the first introduced by the IA, the second by the DA. He then argues:

los el, la de la continuación son determinantes por que ahora el hombre y la mujer son determinadamente los que el narrador ha encontrado en la calle. Pero lo mismo sucede con un, una : ha visto precisamente a los que ha visto.

Kalepky's study (1927) begins with a criticism of time-honoured but meaningless grammatical terms such as 'verb', 'preposition', 'conjunction' and 'article'. Stating categorically that the latter indicates "nicht der leiseste Schatten von Wesen und

Bedeutung des damit Bezeichneten", he rejects the idea that the article either individualizes (if so, why "la France"?¹) or indicates definite existence (if so, why is it excluded in references to Paris, Charlemagne, and so on?). He develops this criticism by an argument which is based on the same premise as that of Alonso's, but much more developed. It is worth quoting at length:

Ein Geschichts- oder Märchenerzähler sagt vom Helden:
 "Auf seiner Wanderung kam er an ein Schloß. Da d a s Tor
 offen stand, trat er in d e n Schloßhof, wo er d e n
 Besitzer mit d e m Haushofmeister stehen sah". Von den
 vier hier mittels des b.A. benannten Seienden war uns
 keines vorher bekannt. Wie kam der Erzähler also dazu ...
 hier den b.A. zu gebrauchen? Hier scheint nun vortrefflich
 die Bezeichnung "bestimmter" (d.h. B e s t i m m t h e i t
 ausdrückender) Artikel zu passen. "Weil es sich um
 b e s t i m m t e Sachen und Personen handelt", pflügt in
 solchem Falle geantwortet zu werden. Aber war das Schloß
 nicht auch ein "bestimmtes"? Und doch sagt der Erzähler
 nicht: "Er kam an d a s Schloß", sondern "an e i n Schloß".²

The fallacy is clearly that Kalepky and Alonso confuse existence with reference. Kalepky later abandons his position and strikes a note of orthodoxy by postulating what is in effect a rescue of his thesis by means of the extralinguistic intuitions of "die schöpferische Phantasie des Hörers". The whole point is that objects prefaced by the article are not thereby rendered existentially but referentially definite. The former is an

-
1. See Lucas (1973:91) for an interesting comment on such usage as the Andes, the Hague, in English.
 2. This may be translated:
 "A story or fairy-tale narrator says of the hero: "On his journey he came to a castle. As the door stood open, he stepped into the castle yard, where he saw the owner sitting with the major-domo". None of the four persons indicated here by means of the definite article was known to us beforehand. How then did the narrator come...to use the def. art.? How the designation "definite" (i.e. expressing definiteness) appears here to be eminently suitable. The usual answer in such cases is "because it is a question of definite things and persons. But was not the castle also a "definite" (entity)? And yet the narrator does not say: "he came to the castle", but "to a castle".

ontological, the latter a linguistic question. The same misunderstanding as that of Kalepky and Alonso occurs in theoretical views expressed by Pfeiffer (1966). They all postulate a criterion for the IA concerning existential delimitation which is untenable. What my treatment suggests is that [+SPECIFIC] as a characteristic of the IA introduces a referential delimitation within the immediate context of the NP.¹ See Chapter 2 for views on existential reference and the tense of the relative clause, as expressed by Freyre (1974), Blumenthal (1976), Rojas (1977) and Rivero (1977).

1.4.2. THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE AND THE FEATURE [SPECIFIC]

In the light of the above, the comment by Taglicht (1972) is helpful to an understanding of this aspect of the IA. He states that [+SPECIFIC] indicates that an entity has been previously identified by the speaker on his own behalf, whereas [+DEFINITE] shows that he is identifying the entity for the hearer. He concludes that the choice between [+SPECIFIC] and [-SPECIFIC] is independent of the choice between plus and minus [DEFINITE]. The development of [+SPECIFIC] as a feature for the IA is distinguished from that of the DA by nature of the features which are subsumed under it, as depicted in Figure 8 at the end of this chapter. The IA can introduce real objects existing in a real world but not hitherto mentioned in the context concerned: therefore the development is [+SPECIFIC,-ANAPHORIC].

1. A different connotation for the feature [SPECIFIC], relevant to the English, not the Spanish article, is discussed in MSSE (1973:92-95), which accepts Fillmore's definition regarding the some-any distinction. Problems arise, however, it attempts to relate this feature to the relative pronoun (1973:130). This may be contrasted with the more definite analysis for Spanish which appears below.

For example,

R11 Sí, he matado a un niño,

presents a context-sensitive N, but one which lacks the necessary contextual factors indicating a previous referent. Indeed, un niño are only the seventh and eighth words respectively of Requena's novel. Bull comments that such usage enables a vital distinction to be drawn between the articles: the DA refers to one unique, the IA to one of many. Indication of the presence or absence of anaphoric reference clarifies this. Hill (1966:225) insists that the second mention usage of the DA is the fundamental one, but his discussion of "A/The side of a box fell off" is too tortuous to be helpful. (Halliday and Hasan (1976:73) are careful to stress that purely anaphoric reference is not the only, nor (in their view) the most frequent usage of the DA.)

The grammars, in general, define the distinction between the articles which is outlined here competently enough; however, there is a failure to state the obverse of this aspect of (first → second) mention, which is exemplified in the following examples:

- M52 el abuelito creía en el dinero, un dinero con rostro,
peso, un dinero al alcance
- R21 y el beso, un beso con anchura ensalivada y violenta,
beso para intentar borrar la vida misma, beso con
algo de suicidio
- V29 subiendo y bajando la escalera, una escalera que no
conduce a ningún sitio
- R49 la borrechera de Goyo es una borrachera de coñac y
de sangre
- FC151 Fuimos al bar más aristocrático de la Plaza...un bar...
con pretenciones dulce vita.

Here the first mention is introduced by the DA and the subsequent reference by the IA. These examples are all characterized by the fact that the indefinite phrase is added by way of description, almost definition. They represent a minor because infrequent exception to the major distinction between the articles, which must be captured as in Figure 8 below.

The [- ANAPHORIC] feature can occur only when the features [- DEFINITE, + GENDER, - PLURAL, + SPECIFIC] are present. Non-anaphoric reference in the plural is indicated by a zero article, which is, of course, not to be confused with predictable omissions of either article. This stands in contrast to the positive features developed in the matrix for the IA under [+ SPECIFIC], namely [+ ENUMERATOR] and [+ QUANTIFIER], because

$$[+ \text{ENUMERATOR}] \longrightarrow [- \text{PLURAL}]$$

and

$$[+ \text{QUANTIFIER}] \longrightarrow [+ \text{PLURAL}].$$

The feature [+ ENUMERATOR] has been introduced to refer to the pronominal numerals un, una (not the pronouns, uno, una, which are handled below, under pronominalization). The numerals un, una, have, of course, no plural connotation, as is indicated by the implication

$$[+ \text{ENUMERATOR}] \longrightarrow [- \text{PLURAL}].$$

This factor is illustrated by:

- F182 está por lo menos un mes en casa nuestra
- C50 tiene la garganta seca; por un tomate hubiera dado un duro
- M23 - ¿Desde cuándo le tratas?
- Desde dos años atrás. Mentira, hacía un año solo, mal contado
- B30/1 - Bueno, pero ¿el cielo cielo o el otro?
- No hay más que un cielo, digo yo.

The IA which precedes the Ns in these examples can be assigned the characterization [-DEFINITE, + MASCULINE, (-PLURAL), +SPECIFIC, + ENUMERATOR]. Similarly, the IA in:

R201 para que tú me lo devuelvas de una vez para siempre

C33 una hora antes de la salida del tren

F34 no dice una palabra

D29 se sacudió una mano con otra

has the feature-specification [-DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, (-PLURAL), +SPECIFIC, +ENUMERATOR].

How the numeral quality can be reinforced by the presence of other elements in the sentence is interesting. The reinforcing element is often solo; or sólo:

Z95 la sentencia bíblica que dice un solo amigo es la mejor medicina de la vida

V48 ¡Sólo tuve un capricho! ¡Uno sólo!

G77 antes de la Revolución la tierra era baldía y pertenecía a un solo dueño

M156 un hombre muy alto, con una sola ceja

M119 no había probado una sola gota de vino.

Another item which corroborates the numeral quality is ni:

K156 ni por un momento dudó de la honestidad de tal promesa

R14 todo, por dinero, ¿ni una palabra?, qué va, si hasta las palabras tenéis vendidas

M155 por ellos no movería ni un dedo

K113 no perdamos ni un minuto.

A contrastive phrase containing otro performs the same function, as is evidenced by:

G20 recorrí la isla de un extremo a otro

G46 van de un lado a otro

G98 para ir de una casa a otra.

Another phrase having the same effect is más de or más que:

G29 durante más de una hora vagabundeeé de bar en bar

S43 no es más que una semana,

and the preposition sin is equally effective:

Z33 en camiseta y sin un real,

as is the presence of todo in a preceding NP:

G119 en todo Manzanillo no se vende una gota de alcohol.

Well-chosen adjectives can emphasize enumeration:

M35 nunca pensó, hasta ahora, en la infinita, envolvente
lucidez girando en torno a un solitario niño,

and diminutives reinforce it also:

R148 , el cielo, todo azul, antipáticamente azul, ni una
nubecilla.

Thus there are two factors in R148 (ni plus diminutive); compare other combinations:

M137 ni una sola nube navegaba sobre el mar

R28 sin dejar de sonar ni un solo instante el claxon
irritante

M34 estuvieron fumando una semana entera, o quizá más

M133 sin haberse repartido jamás ni una moneda, ni un
cigarillo siquiera, con ellos

C120 no lo había dudado ni un solo momento.

The stacking of enumerative phrases is effective:

S160 todo pasaba en un relámpago, en un par de años,
en un día

S172 aquel silencio...no podía haber sido roto por una
voz, un estruendo, un lamento;

and this factor, together with nada and tan sólo makes the exclusive quality of three NPs in M43 absolute, with their enumerative IAs:

M43 una ventana hermética, a través de cuyas persianas
no se filtraba absolutamente nada, ni un destello,
ni una voz, ni un eco tan solo de los vastos paraísos.

Yet another method of appreciating the numeral force of the IA is to analyze its juxtaposition with other numerals within the same sentence. Three examples will suffice to illustrate this aspect:

K66 le faltaba un mes para cumplir los tres años

V29 diez años...pueden pasar como un día, como han pasado estos últimos

M105/6 siempre había un jovencito o dos dispuestos a invitarla al cine.

As a parallel to these feature designations for the singular IA, the feature [+ QUANTIFIER] indicates an imprecise number. This definition, sanctioned by generations of Spanish grammarians (but avoided by Alcina and Blecúa's very cautious statement, "más de un ejemplar" (1975:670)), accords a certain incongruity to descriptions such as C65:

C65 una mujer joven...con unos grandes, profundos ojos negros.

Admittedly, Ramsey quotes a very similar example; commenting that "in some places unos corresponds to a pair of" (1965:181); significantly, however, he feels constrained to cite the literary source, which, moreover, is a metrical context. He would appear to be supported by none of the other grammars in this definition of unos. His other examples are of a general nature, and well reflect his own description of unos, unas as "weaker and more indefinite than algunos"; and expressing "a feeling of indifference as to the exact number". Compare Bello's view that unos "da un sentido de pura aproximación" (1952:274), and Alarcos Llorach's comment (1968:16) that this applies whether the noun is a count or mass noun: "el 'plural' se refiere con unos y con otros a un conjunto de cantidad imprecisa".¹ This is echoed by Carnicer

1. His defence of plural forms for singular numerals is well argued (p.18).

(1969:240): "los plurales pueden indicar cantidad aproximada".

Hence the rather anomalous flavour of descriptions like C65 above, which may be contrasted with the one-for-one correspondence between cheeks and kisses in M71:

M71 redondeando la boca igual que tía Amelia, me
 espetó un par de sonoros ósculos,

or the equally correct description in G45:

G45 un mulato estira un par de calcetines como si
 fueran de chicle.

According to Kramsky (1972:86f), Spanish is the foremost example among the Romance languages of languages which have a singular and plural for both articles. He establishes a typology of languages based on the occurrence of the category of determinedness versus indeterminedness. The first section comprises languages which express those relationships by means of independent words. The first subsection deals with languages which have a singular and a plural DA and an IA which is singular only. The second treats languages in which the DA is singular only, whereas the IA has both values for the feature [NUMBER]. The third comprises languages which have both articles in both numbers. Kramsky comments that "this subtype is not a very frequent one. Of Romance languages it is especially Spanish which belongs to this subtype". Unaccountably, however, he specifies unos as neuter plural:

the indefinite article in Spanish is un or uno (masc.), una (fem.) in singular, unos (masc., neut.), and unas (fem.) in plural.

Not surprisingly, he fails to cite an example of this putative neuter plural, although he adduces examples for the rest: "un hombre, 'a man', pl. unos hombres; una mujer 'a woman', pl. unas mujeres".

[+QUANTIFIER] cannot have the associated feature [-PLURAL].

Therefore the following IAs have the feature-characterization

[-DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +QUANTIFIER]:

M136 unos muchachos discutían en la taberna

V19 se detiene unos segundos para respirar

M124 unos metros más allá de la taberna;

and a similar designation of [-DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +QUANTIFIER], is attributable to:

A193 inventarnos una fábrica, es decir, unas etiquetas...

C39 unas débiles bombillas mal iluminan la escena

Z23 en seguida, unas sombras siniestras. Y llantos, alaridos

S38 estuvo hablando unas palabras con su hermano

K135 añadió unas líneas a la respuesta de mi abuelo.

The implicit restriction upon the extent of the plural IA as a quantifier is reinforced much as for the enumerative singular IA, as noted above. Two examples will suffice to demonstrate this. Compare the use of sólo in G28:

G28 el hotel distaba sólo unas manzanas del parque,

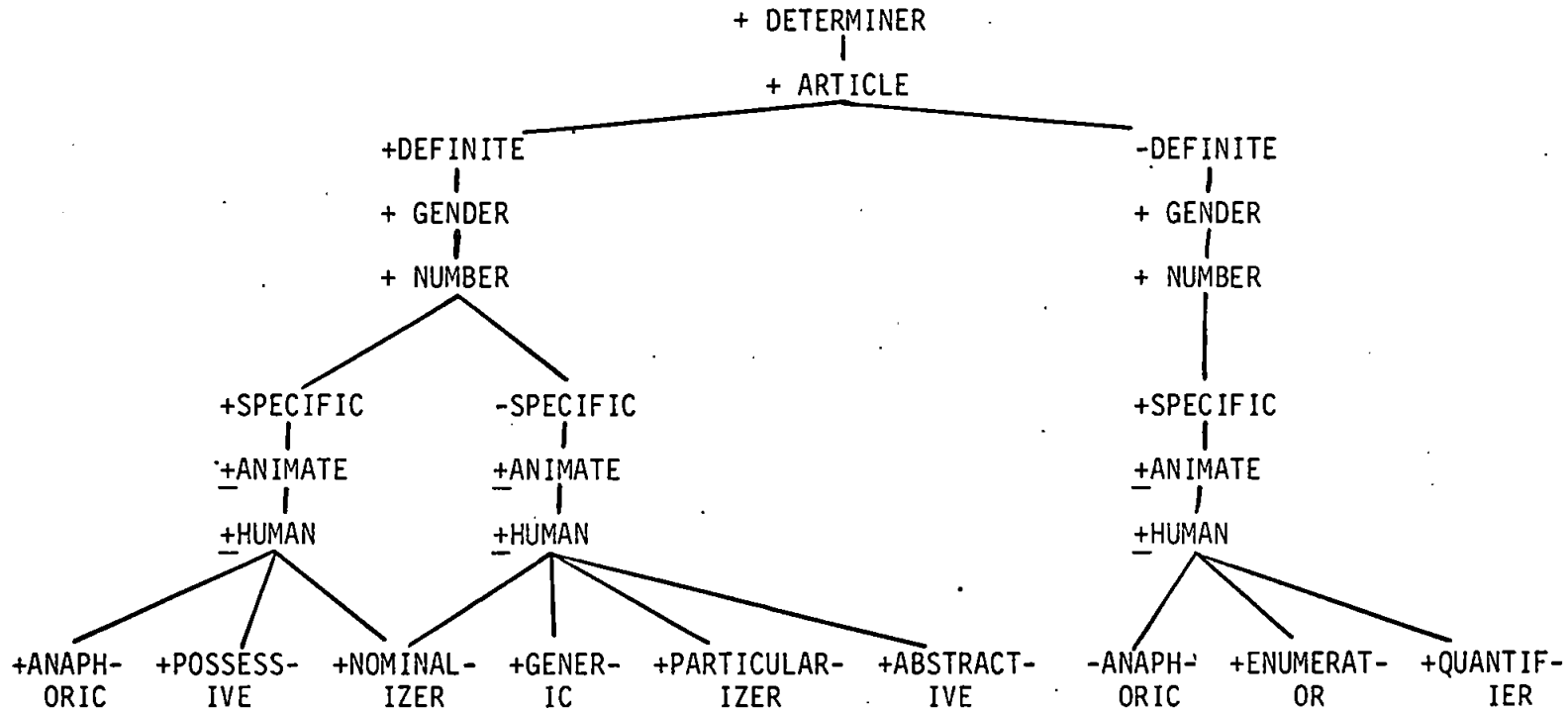
with the whole VP in G29:

G29 en unos minutos, el bar se llenó de bote en bote.

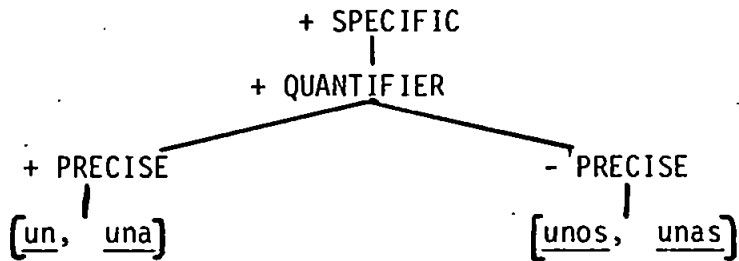
In the light of the foregoing exposition of the features [+SPECIFIC, -ANAPHORIC, +ENUMERATOR, +QUANTIFIER], these further details may now be assembled in a set to be added to the semi-hierarchical branching diagram of Figure 4 above, which was sketched to illustrate the performance of the DA. They contribute towards a partial representation of the performance of the IA. The new format of the diagram, Figure 6 below, represents additional detail, therefore, by demonstrating the comparative features of the two articles, as established up to this point.

Figure 6

BRANCHING DIAGRAM WITH PARTIAL REPRESENTATION OF THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE'S PERFORMANCE ILLUSTRATED TOGETHER WITH A COMPREHENSIVE REPRESENTATION OF THAT OF THE DEFINITE ARTICLE



An alternative treatment of the two features [ENUMERATOR, QUANTIFIER] is rendered possible by an amendment of one section of the diagram to show their interrelation more closely:



There is also something to be said for yet a further amendment so that [NUMBER] is introduced at a lower node, permitting a branching whereby [-PLURAL] implies [+PRECISE], and [+PLURAL] implies [-PRECISE]; either of these amendments could be argued for. However, it is recognized that there is a certain arbitrariness in the positioning of the features [GENDER] and [NUMBER] in the diagram, which was so arranged as to highlight the more vital distinctions lower down. The amendment would, in any event, not affect the discussion here.

One further aspect of the theoretical discussion concerning the IA deserves mention. Perlmutter (1970:235) refers to an earlier analysis by Chomsky which

postulated a deep structural indefinite article which was realised as a/an with singular count nouns and as unstressed some (which I will write s'm) with plural and non-count nouns, seeking to account in this way for the fact that a/an and s'm are in complementary distribution.

Perlmutter regards this complementarity as accidental, although recognizing that "the issue is far from clear". He apparently fails to relate the issue of a/an and some to the similar problem inherent in a few, although he admits that a few, a certain and a lot of are expressions "in which the indefinite article cannot be replaced by one". These expressions are counter examples to the claim made here that the indefinite article is derived from

one" (p.244). He proposes that, by virtue of their paucity and fixed forms, they should be listed in the lexicon just as they are and that they should then not further disturb his 'analysis. This is clearly less than satisfactory. The Chomskyan analysis regarding a/an and some as standing in complementary distribution in English finds a counterpart in the suggestions which are made in the present treatment for Spanish.

It has been established that the feature [+SPECIFIC] may function as well for the indefinite article as for the definite. It now remains to be seen whether the four features indicated above may be subsumed under [-SPECIFIC] for the IA as well as for the DA, as was demonstrated earlier. Properly so to qualify, the IA must be seen to be readily interpretable as context-free and also to act as the interpretative catalyst within its NP, so that it invests its associated N with the distinct qualities mentioned above.

1.5 THE FEATURE [GENERIC] (\$)

To illustrate this feature, two quotations may be compared:

D30 era una prueba viva de que el hombre provenía del
mono

C38 una familia duerme sobre un banco de hierro, debajo
un letrero que advierte: "Cuidado con los rateros".

If these two sentences were transposed into the plural, all the IAs would be rendered zero, whereas the DAs in D30 would, pluralized, carry the same semantic import as the plural in C38, or indeed its singular form, "con el ratero", despite Meyerstein's view for English (see footnote to 1.5.2 below). This illustrates the classic distinction between the non-anaphoric IA and the DA as a generic determiner.

It is an interesting facet of the performance of the DA that it can indicate the individual specified by a context, an abstract entity, or total extent of a species. Vargas-Barón rightly describes this as "elasticity in showing extent... a characteristic of the definite article" (1952:411). Bull (1965:215) states that the adjective todos which by definition expresses totality is rendered somewhat redundant by the generic function of the DA, which is one of the Spaniard's devices for indicating totality. Indeed, the majority of the examples found in the corpus which exhibit the DA acting as a class marker do not have recourse to todos. The best example which does, is the triple usage in MS176, with its poetic flavour:

MS176 todos los hombres cometen errores. Todos los
hombres se equivocan. Todos los hombres buscan
su perdición por un camino complicado o sencillo.

Bull goes on to explain that totality may be (i) the generic whole, (ii) any total under immediate consideration or (iii) when the form is singular, one unique. He states:

It is now possible to state in mathematical terms the difference between the definite and indefinite article. The number involved is 1. The definite article indicates totality (one unique) and the indefinite article marks partitiveness (one of many). This is the difference between el dios de los cristianos and un dios de los Mayas.

He later adds that this function of the DA "stands in contrast with all numbers ... and, by inclusion, with the indefinite article".

This unusual and enlightening definition is however not unexceptionable, although it is in concord with the position generally adopted by the grammars. The Academy (1931), for

example, cites this usage of the DA as similar to that of the context-limited determiner: in this case it is the whole class which is regarded as "consabido";¹ no mention is made of the IA, which can also mark the class. Altering the first article to an IA in

G31 Al león muerto cualquiera le pisa el rabo
would in no way alter the referential scope.

Weinreich (1966:446) is clearly adopting an untenable position when he declares that definitions have certain formal properties in common, especially avoidance of DAs and non-present tenses. He is almost certainly wrong on both counts, and definitely so on the former. His own examples militate against his position:

(i) The plumber installs and repairs pipes

(ii) The prophet exhorts and castigates his people.

Both are perfectly valid definitions in English, as they would be in Spanish. Perhaps (ii) gives a more usual example of the DA in definitions in that it appears more commonly with remote or exotic contexts (e.g. "The dinosaur was...") in English; but that is the only concession one would make to his view. One cannot accept that the DA would deny the universality of a definition, as he claims: "A sentence whose universality is explicitly denied...by the use of a definite article or a deictic element...". Whereas Weinreich would appear to be wrong in excluding the definite article, Bull and others fail to state all the facts by excluding indefinite article. However, the DA appears more frequently than the IA in this usage because, of course, definitions can be formulated in plural rendering and

1. The Academy Grammar (1931:10f). As stated there, it is virtually the same as Bull's treatment.

these must have DAs. A highly suspect theory concerning the generic DA is that expounded by Kalepky who suggests that children's picture books are to blame!

Dem das erste Bilderbuch mit Darstellung zoologischer, botanischer...Gegenstände benutzende Kinde wird das abgebildete Tier ... „Gattungsrepräsentant“: „Das ist der Löwe, der Fuchs, der Wolf“ hort es bei
 Erläuterung die Mutter sagen ... (1927:144).¹

The unsuspecting child therefore equates the with all!

1.5.1. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE AND THE FEATURE [GENERIC] (\$)

To consider now the performance of the DA with this generic function (which is clearly acquired, in view of the diametrically opposed deictic origin of the article), further insights and examples may be adduced from the texts.

Once again, the basic employment of the DA, without qualification, is sufficient to interpret the N, in this case as being of generic significance. This is well demonstrated by:

MS39 yo soy pacífico. No me interesan más luchas que las de los virus con los anticuerpos.

FC12 Nos molestan los dogmáticos, aborrecemos a los fanáticos y admiramos a los convencidos

G84 A los 3 años de su caída la tiranía ofende aún el corazón del hombre y la sangre del hombre y la dignidad del hombre.

In G84, tiranía carries a time reference, a factor which Carlota Smith calls "framing adverbials" (1964:51). Its article is therefore context-limited, but the stylistically effective threefold del is context-free, according to the definitions

1. This may be translated: "to the child using its first picture book with representation(s) of zoological (or) botanical objects, the depicted animal becomes (a) "class representative": he hears the mother explain 'this is the lion, the fox, the wolf".

supplied here for these borrowed terms. The reference is to Man in general, not to a particular member of the species, just as MS39 refers to all viruses and antibodies without delimitation, and FC12 to all dogmatic, fanatic or convinced people. Compare N109:

N109 entre nosotros están los pigmeos y los watussi
como extremos del desarrollo físico de la
Humanidad, tal que entre los perros estan el
chihuahua y el terranova

The implication is that [-SPECIFIC] → [+GENERIC]. That time-reference and class markers need not, by definition, be mutually exclusive is clearly proved by:

V23 los pobres nunca tienen un cuarto

V56 las mujeres siempre tienen las lágrimas a punto;

however, nunca and siempre are more comparable in effect to Bull's concept of totality than to Smith's idea of adverbial frameworks of time.

Sometimes, of course, ambiguity is caused by the article fulfilling so many roles:

D64 - Caza ratas.
- ... ¿para qué quiere las ratas?

For that reason Smith argues against setting up a separate generic determiner in the grammar; and Alonso claims that the distinction between it and the anaphoric determiner can only be drawn extralinguistically, and hence will not appear in the grammar (1961:33). However, ambiguous cases are very infrequent. Generic flavour is commonly, easily discernible, especially in what amounts to a definition:

C161 El parador es una posada con cuadra

D40 La liebre ve lo mismo de día que de noche

B161 un socorro irá a parar a los herejes, a los ateos, a los paganos, ... que no creen en Dios.

FC166 el hombre es un trágico animal

M117 cuando los hombres alcancen su forma verdadera y última, y los zennos ascenderán desde algas y esponjas

MS44 las especies más inteligentes: las hormigas, las laboriosas abejas, el castor norteamericano (sic).

To quote Smith again: "A generic noun is usually taken to be ... grammatically a Count Noun but semantically a Mass Noun" (1964:49, footnote (12)). That is no doubt why the same generalizing effect is derived when the DA is plural:

M17 los hombres conquistamos, las mujeres colonizan

D66 El Nini, cada vez que le asaltaba alguna duda sobre los hombres, a sobre los animales, o sobre las nubes, o sobre las plantas, o sobre el tiempo, acudía al centenario.

The Ns in M17 and the first four Ns in D66 are generic and plural. That the plural is implied, even when not expressed is exemplified by the singular el helado in F104:

F104 - Yo también quiero helado ...
 - Por esta banda, todos.
 Santos y Sebastián se levantaban para ir a buscar el helado.

All present want an ice-cream, but the generic singular is used; los helados would be perfectly acceptable, but the DA would then be anaphoric, not generic. Another good example of the implicit plural in the generic singular is found in G93:

G93 los niños desmedraban, devorados por el jején y el mosquito,

because clearly not one of each species would possess such an insatiable appetite! The generic function of the DA serves as an

indicator of species, and is therefore frequently found with animate Ns. The classes indicated by the DA are usually to be characterized as [+ANIMATE, ± HUMAN], as most of the examples cited above demonstrate, but that is not an indispensable prerequisite. Example F33 (like D66 above) contains a mixture of animate and inanimate generic Ns:

F33 con el vino, primero son los hombres; las mujeres al poso.

Other examples may be adduced which consist only of inanimate Ns, in the singular:

B39 por primera vez, el dinero le pareció una materia inmunda

A38 el boxeo, desde luego, exige mucho entrenamiento;

and in the plural:

B13 ¡Qué apetitoso todo y qué elegante! como en las películas

A38 los campeonatos no se logran solamente con corazón.

It is probably because the generic usage of the DA carries the implication of plurality that, surprisingly, even a mixture of singular and plural generic Ns does not destroy the significance of any of them:

MS45 Como si el hombre no fuera el mismo ... en todas partes: siempre tan inferior en la precisión de sus instintos a los más brutos animales y tan superior continuamente a la idea que de él logran hacerse los filósofos que comprenden las civilizaciones.

D40/41 Unas huellas, unos cortes, unos excrementos, una pluma en el suelo, le sugerían, sin más, la presencia de los sisones, las comadreja, el erizo o el alcaraván.

A further aspect of the extraordinary richness of this particular article trait is that the generic allusion may be

sustained at length, as the following eight sentences with their eleven generic Ns reveal:

C154 A Elena le gusta la cocina y a María, los niños. A Elena le gustan los bailes en la plaza y a María los paseos por la vega. A Elena le gustan los hombres morenos y a María, los rubios. A Elena le gustan los perros y a María, los gatos. A Elena le gusta el cordero asado y a María, la tortilla francesa. A Elena le gusta el café y a María, no. A Elena le gusta la misa mayor y a María, no. A Elena le gusta leer el periódico y a María, no ...

Presumably the qualifications accompanying bailes and paseos disqualify these two nouns and render their articles anaphoric, or, strictly, cataphoric.

Before proceeding to discuss those, and other, features, it is useful to note that, whereas one would expect the context-sensitive article which links a N to their joint context would rarely if ever give rise to ambiguity, one might anticipate this problem occurring frequently with its context-free usages, especially since the DA stands there to interpret the N. On the contrary, these three usages may be freely mixed within the same sentence without causing confusion, as in G104, where the DAs are numbered for reference:

G104 hostigados por (i) el calor, (ii) el jején y (iii) el mosquito, para llevar (iv) la instrucción a centenares de miles de almas que (v) el colonialismo español primero, y (vi) la burguesía y (vii) los monopolios americanos después, habían mantenido en (viii) el atraso y (ix) la ignorancia.

Articles (i), (iv), (viii) and (ix) are abstract N markers; (ii) and (iii) are generic, class markers; and (v), (vi) and (vii) fall into the category of particularizers, introducing common Ns which carry a qualification making up a unique phrase.

The sentence G104 is no isolated example; one of its best rivals in the corpus is MS206:

MS206 Que (i) la ciencia más que ninguna de (ii) las otras actividades de (iii) la humanidad ha modificado (iv) la vida (v) del hombre sobre (vi) la tierra es tenido por verdad indubitable.

In this example, the articles are understood, perfectly ambiguously, to be: (i), (ii) and (iv) abstract N markers; (iii) and (v) class markers; and (vi) a particularizer. As quotations G104 and MS206, with their combined total of fifteen context-free usages of the DA, adequately demonstrate, free dispersion does nothing to inhibit the powerful interpretative performance of the article.

1.5.2. THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE AND THE FEATURE [GENERIC]

Fowler (1971:132) uses [Universal] to characterize generic usage. To be designated as having this feature, the indefinite article must function, like its definite counterpart, as a class-marker. Regarding such a function, a note of surprise is detected in Meyerstein's comment that "in the singular even the indefinite article can (be used in generic function)". Interestingly, Meyerstein draws a distinction which is relevant to English, but not Spanish, that in the plural the DA cannot be used in generic function (1972:18); this is correct for the examples given (the dogs are trustier than the cats in contrast to the dog/the cat, a dog/a cat, or dogs/cats), but not absolutely so, e.g. the Germans. The Spanish IA can perform as a class-marker, as is well illustrated by:

- D31 No hay Dios. Mi abuelo era un mono
 R108 todo lo que un hombre pueda desear
 M126 iba creciendo como una rara flor: un
 tulipán o una margarita azul
 C28 este libro no es una novela sino más bien
 una geografía.

The native readily understands that the monkey, the man, the tulip, the novel, and so on are not single specimens of each species but representatives of the classes as a whole. The IA is the factor which performs this interpretation and is therefore inserted even where, for reasons which have been established in the grammars, conditions for predictable omission of the article obtain, such as the complement following the copula in D31. Hence the Ns in the examples quoted can be assigned the following feature specifications:

- mono: [+ GENERIC, + ANIMATE, -HUMAN]
 (Darwin permitting);
hombre: [+ GENERIC, + HUMAN] (with [ANIMATE]
 therefore implied);
tulipán, margarita azul, novela, geografía:
 [+ GENERIC, - ANIMATE]

The features [GENDER, NUMBER] will, in the ordering suggested, have been supplied earlier. The class representation may be metaphorical, as with rata in:

- D99 - Un ladrón.
 Pero si un rico se mete en la casa de un pobre,
 ¿qué es?
 - ¡Una rata!

Had the Ns which have just been discussed been introduced as single specimens of their respective species, these occurrences would have constituted initial mention within the sphere of discourse, would have acquired the features [+ SPECIFIC, -ANAPHORIC],

and would thus have qualified for Pottier's label, "movimiento prospectivo". Instead they may all be assigned the additional feature [-SPECIFIC] because the article has clarified their role as being comparable to that of the zoo or museum specimen by operating as a class-marker. Other outstanding examples from the corpus which exemplify this role of the IA are:

MS233 mídase la boca de un lobo con la boca de un hombre
y se hallará que es cuatro veces más grande

V33 - ¡Traes hambre?
- ¡Más que un lobo!

M143 pero yo no soy un niño, yo soy un hombre

B163 Más fácil es que entre un camello por el
ojo de una aguja que un rico por las puertas
del Paraíso

A164 necesitaba, como un fantasma, bajar por las
escaleras y luego perderse por el callejón

M126 su madre iba como un hombre a las faenas más
duras

F103 ese trae más instrumental que el maletín de
un cirujano

Z64 se puede matar a un hombre pero no a un animal

N35 es evidente que un árbol es incapaz de conocer
el peligro...pero una mosca, un pez y hasta un
mejillón reaccionan ante el peligro.

For a fuller discussion of generic Ns than is possible here, see Hawkins (1974:135ff), who deals with both English articles in this usage.

It is possible to have a large list of generic Ns, some with DAs some with IAs, in the same paragraph; eleven such Ns occur in:

N107 el braquiosaurio...con su hermano el brontosaurio...
sus pequeños sucesores, los mamíferos, apenas
superaron al principio el tamaño de un gato...pero
el Megamys..., hermano del conejo...alcanzó la talla de
un rinocerante. El Titanoterium, emparentado con el
caballo, tuvo la talla de un elefante actual y los
mastodontes...

1.6 THE FEATURE [PARTICULARIZER]

1.6.1 THE DEFINITE ARTICLE AND THE FEATURE [PARTICULARIZER] (\$)

Virtually all the grammars include this aspect of the DAs appearance before certain Ns which enjoy universal recognition as uniques by virtue of extralinguistic knowledge. Concerning uniques, Smith (1964:37) neatly expresses the situation: "previous mention consists of the extralinguistic knowledge that there is only one". One illustration well serves to underline this fact:

- B30/31 - Astrónomos son los que estudian el cielo.
 - Bueno, pero ¿el cielo cielo o el otro?
 - No sé qué quieres decir.
 - Quiero decir que si el cielo de nubes y rayos y estrellas, o el de Dios.
 - No hay más que un cielo, digo yo.

The corpus abounds with examples like:

- C41 hacia el norte, en el horizonte
 D62 lanzarse al espacio
 C98 princesas vírgenes, bellas, blancas y misteriosas como la luna
 M16 aunque ya no quedara ni un grano de arena, aunque sólo fuese el viento.

Uniques may belong to recognised pairings such as sky and sea, day and night, heaven and earth, sun and rain; the pairs sometimes appear together:

- M117/8 el mar y el cielo serán uno sólo
 V45 se quedan con el día y la noche
 M21 el cielo huía hacia el infierno.

Or they may occur in groups of three, including one such pair:

- M114 quemado por el sol y la lluvia, clavado en el centro de la tierra.

The seasons of the year (any year, that is) comprise a set with four members, all of which may be present in one sentence:

A163 desde las torres el verano se ensanchaba, el invierno se empequeñecía y recaudaba, la primavera y el otoño eran como decoraciones del teatro.

A season would not, of course, be understood as unique in a context which specified it as pertaining to one particular year. Twilight is constant as a unique, however:

S196 el crepúsculo había traído casi la oscuridad de la noche

Extralinguistic knowledge is not limited to existing or historical, tangible or visible entities, so that

R124 el diablo en persona,

and

MS87 ¿has firmado un pacto con el demonio?

may, although perhaps theologically controversial, be cited as containing uniques. An intangible, invisible force such as destiny therefore ranks as unique:

MS236 en nombre del destino.

Unlike the context-sensitive determiner, where the article reflects and interprets the context, in this case the DA can stand absolutely alone without qualification. It is context-free; it can therefore be featured as [-SPECIFIC]. Many of the grammars state that "first mention" demands the IA, without taking care to exempt this usage specifically. It is noticeable that the IA can be used with such uniques but that a qualification is always present, as in

D62 Bajo un sol aún pálido e invernal

D112 asomó la luna, una luna blanca y lejana

G44 castigado por un sol implacable.

When the unique N is employed by extension in a metaphorical sense, the DA and some qualification are often found, as in the thought expressed by the would-be suicide:

C109 "cuando venga el tren" - pensé - "Estanislao se va para el otro mundo".

However, the DA is able to stand alone in such metaphorical allusions, as is evidenced by:

R112 necesito que alivies la fiebre a un novillero mío que puede llegar hasta la luna.

The function of the DA in this role further justifies the subtitle in that it interprets its accompanying N. Such is its interpretative power that it is unusual to find the N further marked by a capital letter, which is of course the English device to cause the same effect. The corpus does contain exceptions to this. The best examples are:

G60 los astrónomos ... pueden medir la distancia que hay de aquí a la Luna y ven de cerca a Marte y la Osa Mayor y saben cuántas vueltas da el Sol.

N8 apareció el hombre sobre la Tierra

A14 aves de paso ... van para el Sur ... en la primavera vuelven al Norte ... suben hasta el Polo

N11 nuestra conquista de la Naturaleza

C195 el orden es de la Naturaleza.

That this may be almost self-conscious is suggested by K38:

K38 el Destino, con mayúscula, de mi abuela estaba íntimamente unido a los periódicos.

Keniston (1937a:106) terms such usage "personified abstractions ... almost proper nouns", and states that they are regularly accompanied by the article. Typical nouns so used are amor, fortuna, guerra, muerte, ocasión, suerte, and naturaleza, which in the quotation which he adduces begins with a capital letter.

Not only uniques may be used with the DA in these ways. Common Ns can be invested with the same significance when accompanied by an adjective with which - relying on extra-linguistic associations - they link to form what may be termed a unique phrase:

G19 la antorcha revolucionaria estaba ahora en manos de Cuba

C98 la Edad Media

G27 la influencia árabe.

An adjective may be employed predicatively to achieve the same effect, in concert with the DA; this is well demonstrated by:

MS173 la luz es eterna,

which contrasts with the non-particular use of the same N in:

C27 claro como la luz de una bombilla.

A verb can contrive to raise the N to unique status, with the DA contributing its particularizing effect:

C104 ¿Sabes las letras?
- sí señor.
¿Qué letra es ésta?
- una e.
¿Sabes las reglas?

A N may perform the same function, not only with reference to inventions:

MS44 el invento del bumerang,

but in more prosaic contexts:

C30 un mapa de la península;

significantly, that appears as the first mention of the Iberian peninsula, yet this device invests the common N with a particular import. A word like tiempo, which, in contrast to península, has a wide semantic field, can be confirmed as a unique in certain

contextual connotations, as in M14:

M14 el tiempo no se puede detener.

It therefore follows that the feature [-SPECIFIC], that is, context-free, must imply [+UNIQUE] and that [+DEFINITE, +UNIQUE] will often occur as features of a Common but qualified N.

1.6.2 THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE AND THE FEATURE [PARTICULARIZER]

When associated with nouns which are understood by reason of extralinguistic factors to be uniques, the indefinite article permits of qualification without thereby prejudicing the N's accepted status as a unique:

- D28 se abrió el mundo: un mundo que la Columba...
juzgaba inhóspito
- K208 bajo las grandes y frescas alas de un sombrero...
que los defendía de un sol implacable
- D46 una luna glauca y enfermiza asomó tras el Cerro
Colorado y fue elevándose sobre un cielo alto,
extrañamente mineralizado
- Z74 como seres de un mundo fantástico
- FC174 se está poniendo el sol, un sol gordo, rojo y
vangoghiano.

This association is beneficial not only to the uniques (by permitting such unambiguous qualification), but also to the IA itself, because it invests it with the significance of the feature [PARTICULARIZER]. The article must be characterized in such instances as [-SPECIFIC, +PARTICULARIZER], a characterization which applies to the five examples above and also to the following:

- M119 el mundo entero arderá, como un horrible sol
hediondo y negro

- F45 un sol blanco y altísimo refulgía en la cima,
como un espejito oscilante
- G44 la plaza habanera...castigada por un sol implacable
- FC114 cae un sol de justicia
- S140 una extraña tierra donde los hombres vestían de
blanco.

Example A42 has a fourfold occurrence of the unique luna, three with the IA and the first with the DA:

- A42 la luna iba baja; una luna como la plaza...una
luna con su contorno precisado en su circunferencia
...una luna ascendida por el cielo del descampado;

this may be compared with M26, which has two unique Ns, one of which is used with both articles in turn:

- M26 viéndose la sombra cuando salió una luna grande...
en este mes la luna sale cuando aún el sol va
entreteniéndose.

That the qualification which accompanies a unique when prefaced by the IA can be a clause instead of an adjective is shown by:

- G63 la impresión de un mundo que nace...se impone
violentamente al viajero.

The acceptance of the status of words like mundo, luna, cielo, sol, and so on, as uniques arose of course from limited extralinguistic knowledge. The ever-extending frontiers of astronomy do not, however, prejudice their recognized status as uniques, although Hewson (1972:46) is unhappy about such definitions because they are "frequently non-linguistic". What might be termed a dilution of uniques, with the wisdom of hindsight, is not unlike the phenomenon of anomastasia. Compare G37, with its definite article, with the subsequent examples containing indefinite articles, all of which exemplify anomastasia;

- G37 Fidel ej el Cristo de lo pobre
 G77/8 un montano con el perfil de un Cristo
 N73 puede sentirse un nuevo Bonaparte
 M147 el gustazo de haberle puesto como un Cristo
 S159 miró el techo, serio y transido, como un
 Cristo en la agonía
 F136 un calvario, detrás de ellos de la mañana a la
 noche
 K133 le veía como un San Miguel arcángel, un nuevo
 San Jorge
 N43 Livingstone o un Rhodes podían subyugar miles de
 millas cuadradas.

For interesting observations on the use of both the DA and the IA in such cases in English, see Galton (1973:6). Such usage establishes "on account of certain outstanding features of his, a class of persons characterized precisely by these features, an open class...comprising a minimum of two members, and I use this pseudo-generic concept specifically to assert or deny the presence of these features in another person".

1.7 THE FEATURE [ABSTRACTIVE]

1.7.1. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE AND THE FEATURE [ABSTRACTIVE] (\$)

The performance of the DA in the capacity of a marker of abstract Ns is well illustrated by the following two sentences:

- F49 - sería una medida de higiene, aunque no fuese otra cosa.
 - ¡Higiene? En el campo no existe la higiene.

The DA always precedes the quintessence of an abstract quality (except in predictable circumstances where omission of the article takes place). Such Ns do not require qualification:

- G10 pertenecer al bando de los escogidos y acaparar con él ... la bondad y la riqueza, la dignidad y el poder
- D43 a quien las adversidades afinaban la suspicacia.
- C154 mientras oye hablar a Elena y a María piensa, deleitosamente, en la poligamia
- R102 No es bueno que se desahogue el odio. Lo necesito. Hay que amontonar el odio.
- MS85 Su copiosa borrachera acompañada del don de la omnisciencia
- A126 el amor siempre vence
- V77 esto no tiene arreglo; es de la edad ... y de las desilusiones
- S134 la fatiga, el calor y el miedo le sumían en un estado de malhumor
- F69 el orgullo es una cosa que hay que saberla tener
- A41 para despertar el recelo, para punzar el amor propio, para tantear irritante en la inseguridad y en el desánimo.

Even a contextual link does not detract from the absolute content of the N:

- G127 un recuerdo del pasado, como el analfabetismo, el miedo, el hambre y las persecuciones.

This function of the DA is distinguished from its particularizing function in that such delimitation may be added in the form of qualifying phrases without altering the semantic content of the N:

- G78 una oxidada tanqueta del Ejército Batista recuerda al forastero el heroísmo de quienes lucharon por la libertad de su patria
- S106 mirándole torpemente con la pasividad de un buey
- V42 acabar con la angustia del dinero escaso.
- N7 el amor materno, el más hermoso mecanismo que existe para que los animales superiores sobrevivieran.

1.7.2. THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE AND THE FEATURE [ABSTRACTIVE]
 Abstract nouns are nearly always preceded by a DA in Spanish, whether or not there is some accompanying contextual link. Because such contextual limitation is irrelevant, the feature [ABSTRACTIVE] was subsequently subsumed under [-SPECIFIC]. When the abstract N is qualified by an adjective rather than by a so-called "framing adverbial", it is the indefinite article which is employed:

- D131 una fuerza ciega le empujaba
 S176 una paz singular se apoderó de su alma
 D132 sus ojos adquirirían...una viveza singular
 G81 en su cara se pinta una expresión sombría,
 una tristeza profunda y desamparada
 M25 una tristeza despaciosa se posó inesperadamente,
 sin ruido
 M104 sus ojos amarillos...se teñían de una profunda
 melancolía
 V84 sus miradas, cargadas de una infinita melancolía
 S138 no podía impedir que una ciega ira se apoderase
 de su ánimo
 R95 la gente que camina con una urgencia triste,
 como un extraño miedo a llegar a casa
 A178 a todos les quedó una gran alegría...en la memoria
 R185 una extraña alegría, una alegría que no es alegre.

By virtue of such usage, certain Ns may be rendered abstract by association with the indefinite article:

- C42 nota algo así como una súbita iluminación,

and in such phrases this article may be assigned the feature [ABSTRACTIVE]. The IA can be so used with recognized abstract Ns without the need for qualification, usually when the N itself has the features [COUNT, - PLURAL], as in:

C28 la novela es como una ciencia,
 although V35 contains a possible exception:

V35 si le dieran un buen retiro...pero es una
 miseria, hijo, una miseria.

All the abstract Ns in the examples cited may be characterized by the features [-SPECIFIC, +ABSTRACTIVE, -MASCULINE, - PLURAL], among others. That is not to imply that all abstract Ns are feminine, as a review of the examples adduced for the DA above shows, nor that only feminine abstract Ns are used with the IA. Compare the following masculine Ns:

M126 tardíos despojos de un amor huido, delicado,
 jamás dicho

S74 infundiéndole un pequeño optimismo,

and the mixed genders evident in:

M132 un vago respeto y piedad entremezclados.

Hence the combination [-SPECIFIC, +ABSTRACTIVE] is common to both Spanish articles. Compare what Taglicht (1972:15) says for English: "uncountable singular nouns, whether concrete (e.g. food) or abstract (e.g. love) have no determiner when they are used generically, and are then ... analyzed as [+ def, - spec]".

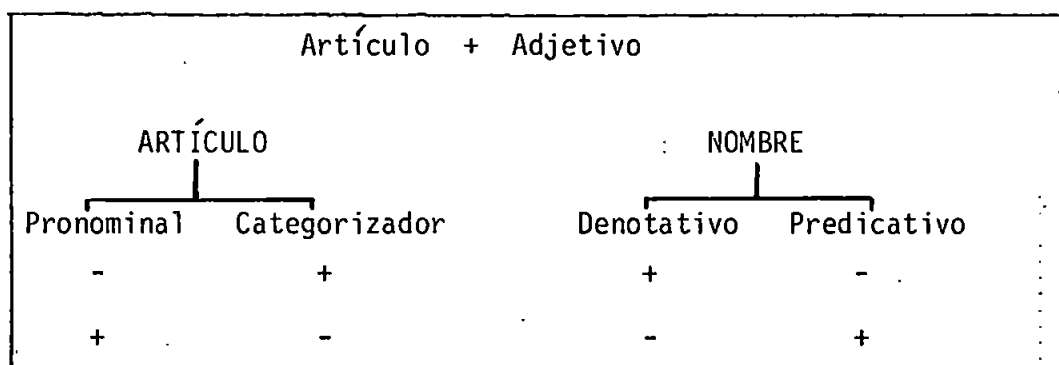
1.8 THE FEATURE [NOMINALIZER]

I have presented in Hunns (1975) a case for interpreting the article as the nominalizing agent, rather than simply a marker of nominalization, so that I shall take that as a premise here. It is noteworthy that this aspect was discussed at length in the grammar by Alcina and Blecua, published subsequently (1975: 551-558). In true Aristotelian manner they pose the right

questions, and do so lucidly and succinctly:

al hablar de la función sustantivadora del artículo se debe tomar en cuenta...si tales sustantivaciones se producen con o sin la presencia del artículo.

Unfortunately, their arguments and answers lack those qualities of lucidity and succinctness, but they should be commended for addressing themselves to an important question and for doing so with such care. In the final analysis they appear to deny the nominalizing function of the article, but their argument is obscured by a distinction which they draw between the article as a pronominal and as a categorizer, as illustrated below:



They explain their diagram thus:

el nombre, que puede desarrollar ambas funciones semánticas -denotativa y predicativa- en relación con el artículo, parece conferir a éste o disminuirle entidad pronominal según su significado.

When the N is denotative, the article is adjectival in character; when the N is predicative, the pronominal function of the article, to refer to "una realidad... lexicalizada por medio de los artículos concordados", is revealed. Two facts combine to make this obscure: (i) nominalization can occur in the latter case ("hay, sin duda, una sustantivación del grupo artículo+nombre adjetivo donde el artículo actúa como elemento primario que alude a un antecedente", p.553); (ii) and yet as a categorizer the article can effect nominalization, because the categorizers

have the "capacidad de convertir en palabras de una determinada clase los morfemas lexemáticos de una determinada clase" (p.491, repeated from p.199). Moreover they appear to be under a misapprehension concerning the nominalizing function of the article, because it does not involve either of the two implications which they suggest:

el valor sustantivador del artículo...implica que no haya sustantivación sin artículo o que sea la capacidad de éste su rasgo dominante (p.555).

By contrast, Alarcos Llorach (1968), although rejecting the categorial status of the indefinite article, concedes that the definite article is the nominalizing agent in phrases of the shape (Det + Adj). Other views will be noted in the following discussion, but one preliminary remark may first be made. It could be objected that, as nominalized forms may appear anarthrously, there is a circular argument here. For thought-provoking concepts in this respect, see Barri (1975). He questions the assumption that a N serves as nucleus for its article, arguing instead that "a noun is perhaps as bound to its article as the article to its noun". He adds that, in many languages, parts of speech such as adjectives, adverbs, and infinitives can replace NPs, provided that they are accompanied by the article. His examples are la (or une) vieille, le quoi, le quand, le pouvoir, der böse, ein böser, die bösen, das Verstehen, das Unten, and he cites the same phenomenon in ancient and modern Greek and in Hebrew. He states:

the paradox is that the status of 'noun' is given not by the presence of the noun itself but by that of the article...This gives the article a very special status indeed. On the other hand, it is generally maintained, justly or not, that a noun is a noun: even without the article (p.79).

He quotes other linguists to corroborate his views. In a footnote he discusses whether the use of ones in nominalization in English deprives the article of its nominalizing force, which means that the article cannot be the nucleus. He rejects the suggestion: "that is not correct. The article is NECESSARY for substantivizing all these expressions". His view coincides with that expressed here, so that anarthrous nominalizations are taken to be Ns by analogy. (He goes further, and argues for the "nuclearity of articles", which would revolutionize the notion of the sentence and its parts; the role of Ns is mainly as satellites to articles, exceptions being anarthrous Ns, which, Barri thinks, tend to be adjectival in meaning.) The central issue is not material to the present treatment, since my aim is to show that both articles perform in the same manner, however that performance be interpreted. That performance must be viewed under several headings.

1.8.1. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED INFINITIVES (\$)

The subheading appears to prejudge the issue, because it suggests that the infinitive has undergone the process, even if it does not specify the agent. Whether the process is necessary would seem open to doubt in the light of Keniston's remark, "the infinitive is a verbal substantive" (p.223), and the Academy's statement (1973:483) that "el infinitivo es un sustantivo verbal masculino... es el nombre del verbo". In view of these unequivocal comments on it we must begin at a more basic level.

That the infinitive functions as an N is clear from the data, by virtue both of the internal structure of the NP and the latter's

role within the sentence. Ever more complex patterns of internal NP structure may be built up.

Det + N_{infin}

M17 toda la jornada de la Abuelita era el despertar

C73 diríase un eunuco leal ... guardador de un harén bullicioso como el levantarse de la mañana

Det + N_{infin} + Obj_{suff}:

F186 te cuesta a ti muy poco el decirlo

Det + N_{infin} + IndObj_{suff} :

F313 lo que es el faltarle ...

Det + N_{infin} + IndObj_{suff} + Dir.Obj_{suff} :

F31 el pedírsela

Det + N_{infin} + Adj (or Adverb):

F87 el crujir continuo

R19 el mirar lejano de tu padre

Det + Adj + N_{infin}

S186 el lúgubre mugir de una vaca perdida

S92 el crepitar intermitente de las pizarras

Det + Adj + Adj + N_{infin}

C73 el lento, resignado andar del animal

Adv + Adj + Det + N_{infin}

A19 aun mutilado el ser.

Not only may the internal structure of the NP containing a nominalized infinitive be sophisticated in its complexity, the external structure into which the NP fits may also follow similarly complex patterns:

Det + N_{infin} + Conj:

F135 el volver a oír...

S40 eso la alegró, como antes el pensar que...

Det + N_{infin} + N_{infin} + AdvPhr:

R68 el querer salir de soltero

Det + N_{infin} + Conj + Det + V_n:

F78 con el ir y venir

R103 cuánta diferencia entre el ir y el venir

Det + N_{infin} + IndObj_{suff} + Det + N:

R106 el ponerte un teléfono

Det + N_{infin} + Prep + Det + N:

F283 crecía el hablar de la gente

B31 el girar de los astros

F124 el ladrar de los careas

Det + Adj + N_{infin} + Prep + Det + N + Adj:

S186 el lúgubre mugir de una vaca perdida

Det + N_{infin} + Prep/Det + Conj + Prep/Det + N:

M14 el correr del sol y del mundo

Prep/Det + N_{infin} + Adv + Prep + N:

MS20 la flexibilidad ... del andar como sobre palillos

Det + N_{infin} + Adv + Prep + Det + N:

F116 el ayudar aquí a tu padre

Det + N_{infin} + Adj + Prep/Det + N + Prep + N:

D112 el aullar dolorido del animal en fuga

Det + N_{infin} + Adv + Adj + Adj + V:

MS175 el estar aquí quieto, escondido, fuera

Det + N_{infin} + Adj + Adv + Adj + Conj:

M145 el andar solo, bien solo, sin que...

As the patterning displayed in the above structures shows, the nominalized infinitive performs like any N. It may therefore fill the subject, complement, or object slots in a sentence. Examples A34 and C72 exhibit the nominalized infinitive operating as a subject:

A34 cansaba el respirar

C72 el ver, trasquilar ovejas ... es sin duda un espectáculo adormecedor;

quotation M145 displays it functioning as a complement:

M145 lo que a mí me llama es ... el andar solo;

and R68 and C89 have nominalized infinitives fulfilling the role of direct object:

R68 un piso alto de techo tan bajo, que ... le quitó de la cabeza el querer salir de soltero

C89 lleva la cabeza erguida y el mirar vago, como perdido.

That the nominalized infinitive may also fill slots governed by prepositions is demonstrated by the following illustrations, each of which has a different preposition:

ante : F013 ante el no saber hablarles

con : F78 con el ir y venir

de : MS20 la flexibilidad del andar

en : C196 con Santiago de Compostela tiene cierta vaga semejanza en el sentir

entre : R103 entre el ir y el venir

hasta : S66 hasta el oscurecer

por : D124 el infernal silencioso de las horas centrales apenas se rompía por el piar lastimero de los gorriones

Furthermore, the nominalized infinitive may, like other Ns, appear in lists. The following three examples have small groupings of nominalized infinitives so used:

- R103 cuánta diferencia entre el ir y el venir
- C96 el Rata es un cónsul de la Alcarria y su casa un registro general del ir y venir de las gentes
- D119 rara vez el eliminar los zánganos de una colmena, o el capar un marrano, o el seleccionar los conejos defectuosos de un conejar, le proporcionaba más allá de 2 reales en junto.

So powerful is the use of the infinitive as a N that many have come to be recognized as Ns in their own right: that is, they now appear in the lexicon not just like those above, with an optional nominalization feature, but in both syntactic categories.¹ Examples from the sources are:

- M34 sus manos parecían dibujadas y no vivas en el anochecer
- G88 al abandonar el placer
- D110 en su quehacer

In these instances, a semantic divergence may be noted, because a distinction exists between the verbal action and the nominal act; a fossilization has occurred in the case of some Vs whose nominalization is more antique.

Despite its nominal function the nominalized infinitive can cope with normal verbal apparatus, including a compound tense:

- D64 será el haber resuelto el problema,²

and qualification or cases.

1. The process may be seen at work, albeit with a different category, with escusabaraja (G159 puts a gloss in the text, and the Academy's Dictionary (1970:565) implies that it is a new N by stating 'De escusa y baraja').
2. Contrast French: "la nominalisation efface les marques de temps: la forme unique de l'infinitif sera utilisée quel que soit le temps du verbe de la phrase de base" (Dubois 1969:96).

It may be qualified by an adverb:

C35 el andar despreocupado

C73 un macho cabrío asoma ... profundo el mirar.

It may also govern a N in the object case:

R69 el dominar a un toro

MS22 perturba el ver la sangre

D51 había llegado el momento de la prueba, no por
que el sajar al cerdo fuera tarea difícil

F116 el ayudar aquí a tu padre,

or another nominalized V:

R68 el querer salir de soltero;

the second V in such pairings may itself govern an object:

C72 el ver trasquilar ovejas.

The verbal N can therefore function in both roles simultaneously with full nominal and verbal powers, although it would be wrong to regard both roles as equipollent in such cases. The fact that the verbal N even when it is adverbially qualified or itself governs a N as object, lacks essential verb-features (e.g. subject, and person inflections) suggests that the nominal aspect dominates. This is contrary to the view of Ramsey, who instead stresses the infinitive's lack of noun features: "the infinitive lacks noun traits in its rare admission of plural and of making distinction of gender, and in being rarely qualified by an adjective or adjective pronoun" (1965:343). Regarding these as three separate criticisms, and taking them in order, one might counter with the following objections:

(i) presumably the rare cases are those verbs which have gained full nominal status and which may be pluralized, such as

quehacer, which is composed of que (N) and hacer (V), fused together to function as a N, with the regular noun plural suffix -es being added to the infinitive hacer. That the other do not admit of this is no more serious than that mass Ns behave in the same way;

(ii) Ramsey admits in the previous sentence that "when an article precedes it, it is always el", so strictly speaking he is at fault here: the infinitives obey the dual gender distinction of Ns but all happen to be masculine, just like, for example, all nouns ending in -ismo. (Luján (1972) would argue for el being unmarked here);

(iii) as to the infinitive being rarely qualified, what Ramsey means by "adjective pronoun" is unclear, but a check on the last twenty-five nominalized infinitives quoted above shows that no less than six (that is, 24%) of them are qualified by an adjective, which is a remarkably high proportion since, firstly, they were all chosen for other characteristics, and, secondly, Ramsey's surprising exclusion of adverbial qualification eliminates F116, which would have raised the total to 27%.

Nevertheless, Knittlová agrees with Ramsey. Of the three types of infinitive behaviour which he deals with, the first is

se comporta como forma verbal...que puede aparecer en todos los lugares en que se halla generalmente el sustantivo, pero le faltan casi todos los demás rasgos sustantivales: no lo acompaña el artículo (n.d., 144-152).

But his argument is invalidated by his two examples, which lack the article for predictable reasons (complement after ser and parecer). His other two types are orthodox on the principles

enunciated here, in that the second behaves like a V but has a nominal function, underlined by the presence of the article, and the third type behaves like a (N + article + Adj + Prep de). He then quotes Seco: "empleo del infinitivo como puro sustantivo verbal da notable vivacidad al lenguaje", with which one must completely agree, although Seco does not appear to accept nominalization.

There are several factors which strongly suggest that the infinitive is in fact nominalized. The anarthrous usage in contexts where articles would be omitted with "normal" Ns, as mentioned above, is one indication. Moreover, the verbal N can have a preposed indefinite article (see below), as can any N. Some verbal Ns have undergone complete lexical conversion, as noted earlier. It is significant too that the infinitive can be pronominalized:

D36 el saber lo que sabía se lo debía ... a su espíritu observador.

All these factors together, and the import of all the examples adduced above, do suggest (and one doubts that anything conclusive can be established) that the infinitive does in fact undergo nominalization and that the article is probably responsible. The force of analogy - from noun-usage and from adjective-nominalization - should not be underestimated in this respect.¹ The grammars differ in interpretation. Apart from Alcina and Blecua's (1975), the two most detailed treatments of the infinitive are in Ramsey (1965:343-355), who does not mention

1. Contrast French: "L'absence de déterminant est, en français, la caractéristique fondamentale du syntagme nominale issu de la nominalisation infinitive... Ø - Si l'on définit SN → déterminant + N, on peut définir déterminant par la classe (le, ce ... Ø) et donner comme règle morphologique de la nominalisation infinitive: déterminant → Ø" (Dubois (1969:95)).

nominalization as such, and Martínez Amador who does unequivocally allow "substantivación del infinitivo" (1966:444 and 750-766). Compare Pottier (1968:35): "todos los infinitivos pueden en español sustantivarse mediante el artículo", and the views of Keniston and the Academy (above). It is submitted that the factors mentioned here supporting the likely nominalizing effect of the article upon infinitives likewise influence the interpretation of other parts of speech which may have the preposed article, and furthermore that the article does in fact nominalize them. The accepted nominal marker, when associated with other parts of speech, serves to predispose the hearer to conceptualize them as Ns. A de facto nominalization occurs.

Whether it functions as a mere marker of nominalization or actually performs the process, the article serves to interpret its associated NP in these instances, irrespective of contextual considerations, so that, as the charts have shown, the DA has the features [+SPECIFIC, +NOMINALIZER], although of course if it were a mere marker a less active definition would be appropriate. What must now be examined is whether the IA may be similarly characterized, and if so whether it can function in this respect with the same facility and virtuosity as the DA. Therefore the various individual aspects of nominalization must be considered in turn from this angle.

1.8.2 THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED INFINITIVES

The theory having already been discussed, it will be sufficient to catalogue a few representative examples and to detail the NP structure involved.

Det + N_{infin}:

- A83 - ¿Tú puedes venir el jueves?
 -... ¿a qué hora?
 - un suponer ... el señor dudó
 un minuto ... a las cuatro y media

Det + N_{infin} + Adj ± Adj

- C34 hay ... calles enteras de un mirar siniestro
 C156 mira al viajero con un mirar feroz
 M50 tenía un despertar inopinado, femenino, ensordeciendo
 con su loca algarabía

Det + Adj + N_{infin}:

- A90 un invisible caminar de aduendados insectos de cocina
 C129 el ligero rumor del solana con un incesante croar
 N28 un mágico despertar...
 S70 emprendieron un lento peregrinar en la oscuridad
 M33 estas cosas no se dicen, estas cosas son un lacerado
 latir detrás de las orejas donde los ganglios son tan
 peligrosos

Det + N_{infin} + Conj + N_{infin} + Prep + N:

- FC154 un celebrar y padecer... los mismos gozos
 C144 le quita la piel ... en un abrir y cerrar de ojos
 K125 en un abrir y cerrar de ojos dejaba la palmera desplumada

Det + Adj + N_{infin} + Obj_{suff} + Prep + Det + N:

- S227 era como su vida: un pausado encaminarse hacia la nada.

These few examples indicate the complex NP structure which may be found with infinitives nominalized by the IA. These may be found in lists, as the four examples in MS68 show:

MS68 de un vivir parásito pecaminosamente asumido, de un desprenderse de dogmas dogmáticamente establecido, de un precisar de normas estéticamente indeterminado, de un carecer de norte con varonil violencia.

The triplet of MS84, too, is worth quoting at some length as an illustration of further sophisticated NP structure:

MS84 la provocación se reducía aquí a los gestos más esenciales: una mirada franca ... un entreabrir de boca ingenuamente perverso, un oscilar de hombres y caderas con el que se intenta sugerir tal vez la imagen de islas lejanas, un tremolar de senos que sólo es escandaloso porque ...

The patterns displayed by these three NP structures, taking the nominalized infinitives in order, are:

- (a) Det + N_{infin} + Prep + N + Adv + Adj
- (b) Det + N_{infin} + Prep + N + Conj + N + Prep + Rel Pro + relative clause
- (c) Det + N_{infin} + Prep + N + Rel Pro + relative clause.

When it is remembered that these patterns detail only the immediate constituents of the nominalized infinitive's structure in each case, the potentially complex functioning of the nominalized form is clearly indicated. What Comrie (1976:178) defines as a rule of thumb for determining whether an action nominal may be considered a genuine case of nominalization ("it must be capable of declining or of taking prepositions or postpositions in the same way as do nonderived nouns, and with reasonable productivity"), is an insight into the clearly nominal status which, in my view, is conferred upon infinitives by the presence of either article.

1.8.3 THE DEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED ADJECTIVES (§).

The most common part of the process of the nominalization of adjectives is for a superfluous N to be omitted, leaving the Adj to fill the N slot. To use different theoretical terminology, an optional transformation takes place, whereby a common N may be deleted if it is accompanied by either an attributive adjective or a relative clause containing a predicative adjective. In the latter case, a greater structural change occurs, because the relative pronoun and the copula are omitted, as well as the N. In both types of structural change, the optional deletion must be so ordered that it follows the obligatory adjective agreement. This legislates for a NP having the shape: NP \rightarrow Det Adj (N_{common}), and since the NP may, by omission of the parenthetical N, become: NP \rightarrow Det Adj, it follows that nominalization occurs at this point. The adjective has previously adopted the features [GENDER, NUMBER] from the N; in the absence of the substantive it now receives the category designation of N. Ramsey disagrees, calling this process "adjectives used as pronouns" (1965:115), but Alarcos (1968), as noted earlier, refers to it as instances of nominalization, as do the Academy (1973:408) and Alcina and Blecua (1975:553-556), who distinguish four types of nominalization, three of which are exemplified by adjectives, inter alia.

The contrast with English usage is worth noting. Kramsky (1972:68) summarises part of the treatment of the English articles by Robbins (1968) as follows:

of the other uses of the definite article Robbins mentions as the most prominent the use of the with a noun to which a pre-nominal adjective is joined. There is a problem of the use of the definite article with an adjective forming a noun term; for example The rich prosper, The beautiful is different from the sublime, The old gives way to the new. Such sentences have paraphrases without article: Rich people prosper, Beauty is different from sublimity, What is old gives way to what is new. Robbins explains these cases as serving for stating corresponding the introducing transformations.

Sometimes the adjective undergoes lexical conversion to permanent N status, as in for example joven, capital, or the adjectives of nationality referring to the native:

- MS71 el alemán ... replicó estallando en una walhática carcajada
- G147 por primera vez el cubano era protagonista de su historia
- K84 no hijo como la inglesa, la francesa, la holandesa, la alemana, la europea;

or referring to his language:

- B122 Santa Rita era italiana y seguramente entenderá el español, que es muy parecido al italiano
- G68 ¿Qué quieres estudiar al salir de acá?
-El búlgaro.
-El ruso querrás decir.

There are, of course, exceptions to this, where linguistic and political boundaries are not coincidental. Occasionally, by contrast, an adjective which has been nominalized becomes homonymous with a permanent N:

- F104 - Yo también quiero helado
- Y yo.
- Y el tuerto.

Clearly, el tuerto here refers to a one-eyed, or squint-eyed person who likes ice-cream, and is not to be confused with the homonym meaning "injury, wrong". The distinctive feature must be marked as [+ HUMAN].

Adjectives which undergo nominalization are usually those of high-frequency occurrence, as in the following quotations:

- G38 con Prío y Batista los pobres ni podíamos entrar en los bares. Los ricos lo acaparaban.
 F83 Vienes a buscar el internacional
 A15 en la próxima hay que hacer maniobras
 S25 la pequeña apartó las vista de la sartén
 F49 bastante guerra dan los vivos
 F19 detrás viene el mixto
 V36 - A ver si me podía usted dar un poco de sal.
 - ¿De mesa, o de la gorda?

However, even more unusual adjectives may be temporarily, that is, contextually, nominalized, as the second example of the triplet of adjectives in M108 shows:

- M108 Luis el tonto, Ricardo, Esteban el gangoso,
 José María el guapo;

others, rather less unusual than gangoso, are:

- F103 los inútiles siempre echáis la culpa a la herramienta
 B131 el honroso calificativo de jabato era uno de ...
 F56 - ¿Qué hay de bueno por los subterráneos?

Suffixation presents no barrier to adjectival nominalization:

- R94 eres lo mismo que tu padre ... lo mismo
 F107 menudo genio que se gasta el pequeñajo.

Significantly, perhaps, pequeñajo is the only example which Gooch gives of an adjectival use of the suffix -ajo, whereas he supplies twenty-five masculine Ns which carry it, and no example is listed of the corresponding feminine suffix -aja employed adjectivally;¹ there is in this, possibly, the implication that

1. Mismo does not occur in Gooch's lists, but he gives ninety-two nouns carrying the suffix -ito and sixty-one adjectives. See Gooch (1970:247-251 and 37-52 respectively).

the nominalized adjective pequeñajo bears what is an exclusively nominal suffix.

As already noted, nominalized adjectives receive the features [GENDER] and [NUMBER] prior to the deletion of the N. Other features which can be assigned to the nominalized adjective are, as the illustrations cited above suggest, [\pm ANIMATE, \pm HUMAN]. The following, for example, would be characterized as [+ MASCULINE, - PLURAL, - ANIMATE], and therefore need not be specified with respect to humanness:

D111 Arriba, en el azul del cielo

D43 le contestó que el mal era para los pobres

R94 Saca del bolsillo el azul importante del telegrama urgente.

The specification [+ MASCULINE, - PLURAL, + ANIMATE, + HUMAN] applies to:

F63 Miguel es el más fuerte;

and [- MASCULINE, - PLURAL, + ANIMATE, + HUMAN] to

B144 ¿Te refieres a la vieja maldita?

Various other combinations of features could be evinced. Moreover, the function of the article as an interpretative catalyst within the NP, and therefore as the nominalizer of such adjectives, adds a further dimension to the feature matrix. The article, unlike the N, enjoys a triadic gender distinction which it can reflect in nominalization. (Neuter gender is rejected a priori by Luján (1972) but accepted by the Academy (1973:408, "el español es la única lengua románica que ha conservado un artículo neutro con el cual pueden sustantivarse los adjetivos") and by Alcina and Blecua (1975:568).) The interesting fact about this is that, whereas it

has been established above that the features [GENDER, NUMBER] are retrospectively applied to the Determiner and Adjective classes from the associated N, in nominalization using the third gender [+ NEUTER] the features GENDER, NUMBER, are prospectively applied to the adjective from the article:

- F40 Caliente, no; lo justo, lo ideal.
 R57 eso es lo moderno ... Le di una bofetada:
 Y esto es lo antiguo, le dije
 B9 lo principal es que te presentes bien aseado
 C119 iba pensando en lo contento que se había puesto
 el Barón
 V29 Cortar por lo sano.

As Figure 2 shows, however, lo has a zero plural form. When the adjective which is nominalized by lo stands in the same sentence as a plural N to which it refers, the features [GENDER, NUMBER] are borrowed from that N in the same way as if the adjective were being used attributively or predicatively:

- C103 habla ... de lo hermosas que encuentra a las gallinas
 F103 con lo bárbaras que están de aperitivo
 M18 lo tontos que son todos los hombres del mundo.

Nominalization can take place even if the adjective is in the comparative or superlative degree, as example F63, above, shows. Compare:

- M153 lo más bueno de mi madre era que no mentía nunca
 ... lo mejor de mi padre eran las pinturas.

It would involve too serious a digression to deal at any length with the question of comparative versus superlative adjectives in Spanish, but reference may be made to two papers which represent differing viewpoints, each of which provides a helpful summary of their particular interpretation. One is Coester's

'Again the Spanish superlative' (1927:-76-180). He quotes two sentences from Nebrija, and comments upon the expressions del menor pimpollo and la más triste canción: "these are the forms that have commonly been called superlative; that is, the definite article plus the comparative". To this effect he quotes Miguel Antonio Caro: "en castellano el superlativo relativo es una frase formada por medio del artículo definido y el comparativo más". He then explains that this is an oversimplification because of anomalies in the usage of the comparative and superlative degrees. However, he takes issue with Lenz for denying the existence of the superlative:

Lenz's dogmatic statement that 'the superlative does not exist in Castilian' rests on two supports, namely, that 'the Castilian adverb does not differentiate between the comparative and the superlative' and that 'in French it is obligatory to repeat the article before the comparative to give the value of a superlative'. There still remains the difficulty of explaining the use of the definite article with the comparative.

Coester prefers the traditional explanation to that of Lenz, but proposes a refinement which he apparently takes from Caro, namely a triple potentiality of comparison: "one thing with another individual, one thing with a related group, and one thing selected as being the highest exemplar of all similar objects". The DA is required only for the last type of comparison. Such an explanation obviates what Coester sees as a pedagogic obstacle which Lenz's theory would raise for the student by creating "a new order of difficulty ... without winning by way of compensation any scientific gain".

Although Coester harks back to Nebrija and Lenz, it is surprising that he makes no reference, except by implication

in the word "Again" in his title, to Parker's paper published in the same journal a year earlier (pages 353-356). Parker regards the question as a non-issue:

in Spanish the comparative degree alone fulfils the functions of both comparative and superlative without making any distinction between them in form, so that the presence or absence of the definite article does not in any way affect the meaning.

With some degree of caution (and rightly so) he cites the view of Hanssen that the Romance languages in general have no superlative, but he approvingly quotes Lenz's view that Spanish in particular lacks the superlative. Parker blames Bello for initiating, and Ramsey for perpetuating, the erroneous traditional view which has gained credence by analogy with French. According to Parker, Bello's error lay in his unjustifiable interpretation of an incidental statement of Salvá, who attempted to rationalize Spanish grammar by removing the grammatical framework inherited from classical scholars, and who "was fully aware of the absence of any true superlative in Spanish". The incidental remark, which Bello converted into a rule, was to the effect that many expressions which comprise the DA plus the comparative adjective are to a certain extent tantamount to the superlative. This is, of course, the third type of comparison mentioned by Coester. Parker maintains that el mejor means either "the better" or "the best", and that the function of the article does not change the degree of comparison, but acts "purely as an article". Conversely, countless anarthrous phrases carry a truly superlative import, such as cuando estoy más triste, or ¿Cual sera mejor? Parker does concede that Bello qualifies his rule by a final rider not insisting absolutely on the presence of the DA:

los superlativos partitivos o de régimen son casi siempre frases que principian por el artículo definido, el cual, combinándose con los comparativos los vuelve superlativos.

However, Bello's basic misconception, together with his great influence, have contributed to a rule which Parker castigates as "worse-than-useless" because it bristles with exceptions. It is interesting to compare English with Spanish again, by observing Kramsky's comment upon two sentences in Robbins which have the construction of the DA with the comparative degree.

- (a) Your ring looks the prettier because it has slight imperfections.
- (b) The longer Mary waits, the harder her task will become.

Kramsky's comment is that transformational grammar has to date tried to solve only a few problems of the article; some of these, moreover, are controversial, as in the two sentences quoted, which have the DA plus the comparative degree of an adjective or an adverb. He asks:

has the in in this case the function of the definite article at all? In our opinion, the in this construction is no article as article in its basic function is essentially connected with noun and there is NO NOUN IN THIS CONSTRUCTION (1972:69, emphasis mine).

In Spanish, by contrast, the article may function with the comparative-superlative "purely as an article", as Parker says, and there is a N in such constructions, namely a nominalized adjective. Acting as a nominalizer is, according to the present treatment, a basic aspect of the article's performance. Because Parker's view of the Spanish construction is preferable to that of Coester, no feature [COMPARATIVE, SUPERLATIVE] appears in the present treatment. Therefore all of the following illustrations

would be subsumed under "nominalized adjectives", without need for further sub-division.¹

- D87 A los más religiosos se les antojaba una blasfemia
 G68 Los mayores cargan a horcajadas a los más chicos
 C184 un señor muy importante, de lo más importante que hay
 F106 el más pequeño atenazaba el otro por el labio
 S40 desde el más bajo al más alto
 V79 para las cosas más insignificantes ... y para las más importantes
 S99 la escuela constaba de dos pisos: el superior para los niños, y el de abajo ... para arrendar los pastos
 F21 el de camiseta a rayas iba el primero
 F12 Mauricio puso el último
 S86/7 quería tener un vestido de seda ... el mejor y más caro que encontrara
 F49 ¿Quién se pone en este tiempo a excavar hoyos bajo el sol, con lo durísimo que está el terreno?

The whole range of possessive adjectives, used with the article, and without a N, fits into this section of the present treatment, whether they are termed "nominalized" or "pronominalized":

- M31 figúrese qué vida la mía
 R11 fijos sus ojos en los míos
 F12 anda, toma lo tuyo y no te metas con el señor Lucio
 V23 siempre te saldrás con la tuya
 S162 el otro corazón latiendo junto al suyo
 A173 en la taberna Gorrinito y los suyos jugaban al mus
 FC102 ganaba lo suyo y era una persona considerada.

1. Alcina and Blecua's treatment of comparison is detailed (1975:573-585) but virtually overlooks the article.

Many of the examples given above contain more than one nominalized adjective. Two excellent extracts with multiple examples (FC174 with five, and N30 with ten) complete this section:

FC174 Colores en los que domina el amarillo
el blanco, el verde, el ocre y el azul

N30 lo bueno y lo malo, lo moral y lo inmoral,
lo justo y lo injusto, la verdad y la
mentira ... se had codificado en formulas
tan concretas como lo blanco y lo negro,
lo grande y lo pequeño ...

1.8.4 THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED ADJECTIVES

The theoretical considerations which underlie this aspect of the nominalizing process have already been discussed, so there is no need to deal with that here except to note that Rodríguez-Izquierdo y Gavala specifically accepts the nominalizing role of the article upon adjectives, the "traspositor de adjetivos a la función de sustantivos" (1976: 116), and that Losada (1975:202) implicitly accepts it. The corpus abounds with examples of the IA in association with adjectives which have undergone the complete process of nominalization, and which have been converted to full N status.

Examples are:

G38 yo lo tomaba por un dios, por un santo, por un rey

K58 - Voy a casarme.
- ¿Con una yanqui?

G71 el responsable de la faena era un valenciano de
cierta edad

G61 dijo que un francés desembarcaría en la isla más
bella del Occidente

N41 si un descuidado zulú encuentra por ventura un poco de níquel

However, the nominalizing influence of the IA whereby it can lay claim to the feature [NOMINALIZER] may be observed in its effect upon the following:

V76 es como su padre: un inútil

R29 además de ser un soberbio hasta la mismísima indigestión de soberbia

D73 bebía con ellos como un igual

V64 no hay derecho a pagar tantísimo por un interior mientras ellos tienen los exteriores casi de balde

S65 Ponme un blanco

F204 una rubia que venía con ellos

R193 es un inútil, de sueños no se vive

N129 cada hombre es ... un mesiánico en busca de su glorificación

Adjectives may be nominalized with equal facility when carrying diminutive suffixes:

M39 antiguas órdenes...de un viejecito

R31 para que la sangre se alivie un poquito.

The nominalizing influence of the IA is more clearly illustrated when it nominalizes an adjective which is homonymous with a recognized N. A good example of this aspect is:

F290 un muerto es siempre una persona...igual que un vivo...más persona que un vivo,

because, of course, vivo, with the full category designation of N, means "raw (flesh); (vet.) inflamed swelling on the back; (arch.) sharp corner, angle, edge," (Cassell's Dictionary 1959:780). Compare:

K104 si bien Roberto fue un gran mujeriego, jamás se vanaglorió de sus conquistas;

this use of mujeriego must count as nominalization because, although the Academy's Dictionary gives it a double classification, adjective and noun, the nominal meaning is entirely different from the meaning in K104, "grupo o conjunto de mujeres" (1970:903). The nominalizing effect is not diminished when extended to two or more adjectives:

C182 una gorda, cachonda y descarada, grita " ¡Viva mi novio!"

Sometimes when two adjectives occur the candidate for nominalization is unclear, as in:

M128 el naufrago era un pobre inocente, casi un niño; although pobre enjoys accepted nominal status in its own right, it is in fact adjectival here, and inocente is the one which undergoes nominalization, as the force of the comparison with niño shows. Nominalization does not entirely erase adjectival features, as the adverbial modification in M162 shows:

M162 se armó una muy gorda.

That the IA still serves to distinguish gender in nominalized adjectives is proved by the two-fold occurrence of the same adjective in:

R52 El Puñeto es un sentimental, lo mismo que un niño grande

R201 tú...seguirás siendo una sentimental, hasta que te mueras.

1.8.5 THE DEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED PAST PARTICIPLES (S)

The nominalization of past participles (henceforth PP(s)) is an aspect more closely associated with the process of nominalization which adjectives undergo than that of infinitives. This is because PPs become nominalized by an optional N-deletion transformation and, sometimes, additionally an optional relative clause-deletion transformation which occur subsequent to their functioning as adjectives.¹ This ordering is critical, because otherwise the PP would lack the [GENDER, NUMBER] features which are assigned to it in the adjectival phase. The deep structure of D94 may be taken as an example of the machinery involved. D94 is:

D94 como si ella fuera la condenada.

Three deep structures may be postulated. They are

D94 (amendment (a)): como si ella fuera la mujer condenada

D94 (amendment (b)): como si ella fuera la mujer que había sido condenada

D94 (amendment (c)): como si ella fuera la mujer que habían condenado

Amendment (a) represents the intermediate stage between D94 and the suggested deep structure expansions represented by amendments (b) and (c).² The conversion of D94 (amendment (a)) to D94 is a straightforward application of an optional N-deletion transformation on the principle mentioned in section 3(i) above, because condenada (as the feminine termination shows) is already an adjective.

-
1. This describes the general process, which is not invalidated by the few anomalous cases of certain irregular PPs now surviving only as adjectives; see Ramsey (1965:292).
 2. It would be superfluous to include as a further amendment como si ella fuera la mujer que era condenada, for two reasons: (i) it would merely be a variant of D94 (amendment (b)) and would not represent another intermediate stage; (ii) it might obscure the important contrast between amendment (b) and (c) which will be discussed below.

Structural Description¹

X	Pro	V	Det	N	Adj	Y
	ella	fuera	la	mujer	condenada	
	1	2	3	4	5	

Transformation:¹ N-deletion (optional)

Structural Change:¹ X12345Y
 ⇒ X1235Y

The resulting structure is D94. The transformation of D94 (amendment (b)) to D94 requires the same N-deletion operation and also another to delete the relative clause.

<u>S.D.</u>	X	Pro	V	Det	N	Relpro	Vaux	PP	PP/Adj ²	Y
		ella	fuera	la	mujer	que	había	sido	condenada	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	

T: relative-clause deletion (optional)

S.C. X12345678Y
 ⇒ X12348Y

The resulting structure is D94 (amendment (a))³, and the N-deletion transformation would now be applied to it. This does not imply that the two transformations must be so ordered⁴. It

-
1. Henceforth S.D., T., and S.C., respectively.
 2. For the designation of condenada as "past participle-cum-adjective", see Ramsey (1965:382: "The regular passive is formed in Spanish by associating the past participle of any transitive verb with the various forms of the verb ser, in which case the participle agrees with the subject in gender and number").
 3. In English, by contrast, a further transformation would be required after the reduction of a relative clause, because the adjective would need to be re-positioned before the N.
 4. In every instance in this thesis where transformations are discussed, the principle of ordering is assumed, and the current debate on rule-ordering is left out of consideration.

would be possible to apply them in reverse order, without any problem arising, although the intermediary structure would differ. For example, starting with D94 (amendment (b)), the N-deletion transformation could be applied first.

S.D: X Pro V Det N Relpro Vaux PP PP/Adj Y
 ella fuera la mujer que había sido condenada
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

T: N-deletion (optional)

S.C: X12345678Y

⇒ X1235678Y

The resulting structure would be D94 (amendment (d)):

D94 (amendment (d)): ella fuera la que había sido condenada.

The relative-clause-deletion transformation could now be applied to D94 (amendment (d)), in the following manner:

S.D: X Pro V Det Relpro Vaux PP PP/Adj Y
 ella fuera la que había sido condenada
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

T: relative-clause-deletion (optional)

S.C: X1234567Y

⇒ X1237Y

The resulting structure is D94. However, the path by which amendment (c) is transformed into D94 is more tortuous than any of those traced for the other amendments. This can be demonstrated by applying the N-deletion transformation first.

S.D: X Pro V Det N Relpro Vaux PP Y
 ella fuera la mujer que habían condenado
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

T: N-deletion (optional)

S.C: X1234567Y

⇒ X123567Y

This yields the derivation: D94 (amendment (e)):

D94 (amendment (e)): ella fuera la que habían condenado.

The second transformation can then be applied.

<u>S.D:</u>	X	Pro	V	Det	Relpro	Vaux	PP	Y
		ella	fuera	la	que	habían	condenado	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	

I: relative-clause-deletion (optional)

S.C: X123456Y

⇒ X1236Y

The resulting structure is the asyntactic amendment (f):

D94 (amendment (f)): *ella fuera la condenado.

An asyntactic derivation would be yielded at an earlier stage by an attempt to apply the two optional transformations in the reverse order. Amendment (c) would, by application of the relative-clause-deletion transformation, become amendment (g), which is also asyntactic:

D94 (amendment (g)): *ella fuera la mujer condenado.

The N-deletion transformation, applied to amendment (g), fails to render it syntactic, because the result is amendment (f) again. Another transformational operation has to be introduced to render amendment (f) syntactic. The transformation required could take two forms. It could require that amendment (b) be postulated as the intermediate stage which must occur between amendment (c) and D94. Alternatively amendment (f) would require an obligatory transformation stipulating concord of [GENDER, NUMBER] features at the stage represented by amendment (g). Therefore, whichever of these two interpretations is adopted, the PP must be assigned the [GENDER, NUMBER] features of its

associated N before the N-deletion can be permitted.

That is in effect what has happened in, for example:

M26/27 las respuestas fáciles y mentirosas que se dan a los entrometidos

G10 pertenecer al bando de los escogidos ... la gran multitud de los desafortunados.

In both of these quotations the nominalized PPs would have the features, *inter alia*, of [+MASCULINE] for gender and [+PLURAL] for number, which remain as the indicators of the fact that a N like hombres has been deleted; in MS199, the features [-MASCULINE, - PLURAL] are applicable to the nominalized PP:

MS199 preguntado si conocía a la fallecida, contesto que sí.

Two factors should be noted, however. The first is that the PP may not appear to have undergone any process of assignment of [GENDER, NUMBER] features, if the gender and number features which are applicable to it happen to be [+MASCULINE, - PLURAL] or [-MASCULINE, -FEMININE, -PLURAL]. For example:

MS236 ¿Es que voy a reírme de mí mismo?
yo el destruído

F20 Cumplí lo prometido, como ves.

In MS236, el destruído must be characterized as [+MASCULINE, - PLURAL]; in F20 lo prometido is [-MASCULINE, -FEMININE, -PLURAL]; neither destruído nor prometido differs from their respective PP forms before nominalization. This contrasts with the modifications required by the PP in D95 (amendment (c)) for it to manifest the nominalized form of D94. The reason is, of course, that the nominalized PP which is masculine singular or neuter is unmarked for gender. Therefore, of course, in MS236 and F20 the article

fulfils a double role: it signals the nominalization of the PP,¹ and it also acts as the gender-feature marker to distinguish the masculine singular nominalized PP from the identical neuter form. The second factor which is worthy of mention concerns the ultimate lexical reclassification from which numerous PPs have benefited: owing to the nominalization process, and the contrasts which can then occur with further instances of nominalization of the same V's participle. The process of nominalization undoubtedly contributed to the following eventually receiving the category designation of N: sentido, significado, poblado, bienvenida, convidada, empavesada, to quote only a few from the corpus. The reason why the first three are masculine and the second three feminine is that, as suggested in the foregoing argument, an adjectival stage intervened in the process:

PP > Adj > N

La mañana amanecida arose from a deep structure format similar to D94 (amendment (c)) which, as has been suggested, probably underlies amendment (b). It represents the intermediate stage in: la mañana ... amanecido (as per amendment (a)) > la mañana amanecida (as in amendment (b)) > la amanecida (as in D94). Similarly, el pasado arose from el tiempo ... pasado. It is interesting to compare the way in which the Academy's Diccionario de la lengua española (1956) appears to distinguish between those PPs which have been so reclassified and those which may be regarded as still involved in the process. Two entries may be compared:

1. Whether this is all that can be said of the article's role here will be discussed shortly.

"ganado (p.653): p.p. de ganar
 (2) adj. del que gana
 (3) m. conjunto de bestias mansas

apoderado, da (p.106): p.p. de apoderar
 (2) dícese del que tiene
 poderes de otro ... ú.t.c.s.¹

Single or dual lexical reclassifications of the nominalized PP may occur, and then contrast with subsequent nominalizations of the same PP. The best examples from the corpus are (i) a single reclassification:

S136 Pepe, en la estación, aguardaba la llegada del tren, in which the feminine singular N llegada contrasts with the homonymous nominalized PP having the same features [-MASCULINE, - PLURAL] in F99:

F99 al ver la espalda de la recién llegada;

(ii) two double reclassifications:

(a) MS88 la mujer se inclinó sobre el caído here, el caído is understood (thanks to the article's role as a marker of gender) to be [+MASCULINE, - PLURAL], and contrasts with the dual reclassification of la caída and more importantly el caído, meaning "sloping line to show proper slant when learning to write" (Cassell's Dictionary 1959:160) therefore the nominalized PP of MS88 must be further characterized as having the features [+ANIMATE, +HUMAN] to distinguish it from its now lexically reclassified homonym;

(b) F109 pues ya con lo corrido que estaba la guerra y la edad que tenía, no me podía asustar el mundo

In this sentence, the nominalized PP lo corrido can be assigned the features [-MASCULINE, -FEMININE, -PLURAL], which contrast it

1. The abbreviation is clarified as: úsase también como sustantivo.

with the dual reclassifications la corrida, and el corrido¹ meaning "romance" or "shed built along the walls of a corral" (Cassell's Dictionary 1959:260). Again it is the article which exercises the vital distinctive power required to separate the two unmarked PPs.

In the discussion of examples MS236 and F20 above, the term "signals the nominalization" was used to describe the article's role. The point is a controversial one. Lapesa (1970) carefully reviews the whole question of the article and adjectives or PPs in 'El artículo con calificativos o participios no adjuntos a sustantivo es español'. He begins by an interesting re-wording of his title which immediately implies that he accepts the nominalizing effect of the article - "no adjuntos a otro nombre" (p.78, emphasis mine). Every language has developed one or more devices to

reproducir o anunciar la idea de un sustantivo o para indicar la idea de persona cuando no hay sustantivo expreso. Los romances de la Península Iberica coinciden con el francés e italiano en valerse del artículo.

English has come to prefer expressions with one(s)¹ or the demonstrative, and shows, diachronically, a progressive decrease in the nominalization of adjectives and a decline in the use of the article before them. While accepting that it is a difficult problem, Lapesa maintains that one would accept nominalization of the adjective or PP if the article did not at times perform substantivally, as in el de, etc. Lapesa then states that in Romance languages adjectives and participles have retained something of their Latin capacity to become nominalized without

1. Compare Barri (1975:79 footnote).

articles or demonstratives. The process of nominalization exhibits infinite variety, so it is impossible to generalize for Spanish. His discussion then tends to confirm the views presented in this thesis, namely: (i) nominalization without the article occurs where the NP would be anarthrous for predictable reasons. (He is imprudent in calling "no hay justo que se salve" an exception, because this ignores the effect of haber used impersonally); (ii) apart from enumerations or juxtaposition the article is essential for nominalization where - to use my terminology - the features [+SPECIFIC, +ANAPHORIC] appear. Lapesa's study, which it is difficult to summarize briefly and adequately, deals with nominalization under some of the contextual situations discussed earlier in reviewing context-free and context-limited article usage. It would have been possible in this treatment further to subdivide nominalization under all the feature headings employed above, but it is to be understood that, those having been established, the context will determine which aspect dominates. The aim here has been to analyze the principle of nominalization apart from context. In one of his conclusions Lapesa answers the question which was posed earlier:

Como la sustantivación pudo y todavía puede hacerse sin artículo, éste no es sustantivador ni contiene en sí la representación de noción sustantiva alguna: es mero índice, no siempre imprescindible, de la sustantivación del adjetivo y de que éste designa personas.

Actually, Lapesa's comment relates only to nominalized adjectives employed in a generic sense; it is readily accepted that the nominalization of adjectives is not vitiated by the occasional absence of the article, which is "no siempre imprescindible".

However, Lapesa's concept of the function of the article is either unacceptable, or irrelevant. It must be asked whether there is, in practice, any difference. What is meant by referring to the article as a "marker" of the nominalization of another part of speech? Surely, that it influences the hearer to accept the nominalization to come. Is that not in effect the same as regarding the article as the nominalizing cause? If such a compromise is not possible, it is submitted that the following further types of nominalization, sections 3(iv) to 3(xii), support the view that the article is probably more than a marker, and it is noted that Alarcos Llorach states: "el artículo, como signo no autónomo, actúa simplemente como nominalizador del sintagma adjetivo" (1968:12). That is the effect which it may be understood to perform upon the following PPs which are unmarked for gender:

F48 el aludido les miraba sin saber qué decir

R141 el enlutado señala hacia el ruedo

S63 fue retrocediendo lo andado hasta volver a la fonda;

and on the following, which are marked for number, and on which therefore the "normal" PP termination in -o is taken as a gender feature, both of which are corroborated by the DA's own features:

A160 donde los enemigos o los desconocidos gritan para
el público

F111 un conejo muy gordo ... miró a los recién venidos.

1.8.6 THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED PAST PARTICIPLES

In the light of the description which has already been made of the process whereby PPs become nominalized, and the essential ordering which must be observed to ensure the correct marking for [GENDER] and [NUMBER] features, it can be demonstrated that the indefinite article performs with PPs in exactly the same way as the definite article.

R90 ha entrado con la agilidad de un asustado

C109 "eres un desdichado, ¿no ves que eres un desdichado?"

M133 vete y no vuelvas, hijo, eres un pesado.

That this IA usage must be assigned the feature [NOMINALIZER] is demonstrated by these examples, for without it the PPs concerned would be interpreted as having stopped at a halfway stage in the process, having attained only the status of adjective.

Two factors can be illustrated by R26. The PP llegado is recognized by the Academy's Dictionary (1970:820) as either a PP or an Adj, not as a N; therefore it undergoes the full process of nominalization in R26:

R26 me mira a mí como a un recién llegado;

the other important factor is that nominalization does not erase all the participial traits, because the adverbial modification still exists. (Compare comments on M162 above under nominalized adjectives for a similar situation.) It is a nominalized PP which occurs in one of the most striking similes in the whole corpus:

M44 Juan se contemplaba la cabeza, aprisionada en el espejo negro, como un decapitado.

1.8.7. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED VERB PHRASES (\$)

The nominalization of VPs is one of the more remarkable aspects of nominalization, in that the article can make a complete clause cohere and function like a single N. When it does so, it always carries the feature [+ MASCULINE].

- B177 es más fácil creer que un perro misterioso viva cien años que no el que un perro vulgar y desconocido venga a saludarnos moviendo la cola
- C124 el viajero quiere aprovechar...el que la mula lleva su morral
- K89 el Déu vos guard que rezaba...
- R75 después de haber abusado hasta el no va más en el beber
- N22 los banquetes donde se despilfarra el caviar... constituyen el no va más de las reuniones de alto nivel
- C56 el "adiós, que tenga usted suerte", que dice la campesina...es una despedida para siempre
- Z49 a repetir hasta el infinito el "súrsum corda"
- R100 el tú eres menos y el yo tengo más

The grammars which discuss this usage restrict themselves to examples like B177 and C124 which may be said to have a reduced (NP + rel cl) of the type el hecho de que. Hadlich (1971:158) assigns to the sentence el hecho de que hayas terminado me sorprende the structure:

el hecho (el hecho es de ((tú hayas terminado))) me sorprende.

He suggests that all noun clauses have something like el hecho de in their deep structure. Such structures are sometimes called "factive nominals". Falk's study (1968) takes a comparable view. Mrs. Falk refers to el tocar la mujer as a "fact nominalization" because it may be paraphrased (el) que la

mujer toque, whereas el tocar perfecto de la mujer is a "manner nominalization" which may be paraphrased using el modo en que ... She attempts to show that both have the same underlying structure:

FACT: el + S

MANNER: Det + N

- the second can therefore take adjectival accompaniment but the first cannot. (For a strikingly similar concept for English, see Hawkins (1974:203ff).)

The three examples R75, C56 and R100 clearly cannot conform to the formula (el + S), but may be accounted for by (Det + N) in some way, but they are of course of a different order from Mrs. Falk's "manner" nominals. None of the grammatical treatments formulates any of their examples of nominalized VPs other than with hecho or que or both. Alonso's is no exception. His approach is most interesting for its theoretical judgment. The article frames the VP,

haciendo así resaltar la íntima conexión con que sus elementos forman una unidad mental superior, una representación multimembre independiente (1961:128).

Referring to his two examples, both of which begin with (Det + que), he rightly says that they would be Ns even if anarthrous, because they are subjects of the main V. The article does not nominalize therefore; instead it is "un elemento preformador y configurador de sentido ... un anticipo de la forma antes de percibir el contenido". It is possible to accept this view and still maintain that this thought-shaping role amounts to nominalizing power. That would appear to be an inescapable

conclusion to be drawn from the variety of VP structures which may be introduced by the DA. Examples B177 and C124 above have the format (Det + que). R75 and N22 show the article introducing a V in the third person (el no va más); compare N48:

N48 la tensión sube al no va más,

where the contraction of preposition and article linked to the VP merely emphasize the facility of this type of nominalization. In R100 the article prefaces two Vs, one in the second person and the other in the first person (el tú eres menos y el yo tengo más). In A115 there are three finite Vs in the first person, all of which are introduced by the DA:

A115 el voy y vengo y el empujón y la persecución
cinegética sin éxito y el hago el asno como nadie.

In V47 it is a V in the third person, but with an object pronoun as suffix which is the nominalized VP:

V47 les damos el pésame;

the Academy's Dictionary (1956:1016) emphasizes that pésame is a V.P.: "3a pers. de sing. del verbo pesar...y el pron. me : me pesa". Compare Alcina and Blecua's definition of it as a lexical nominalization among the class of words "que pertenecen a otras clases distintas al nombre" (1975:555, emphasis mine). In FC107,

FC107 nos acordamos del no sólo de pan vive el hombre,
a discernible crystallization of the Biblical proverb is effected by the nominalizing article, which may be compared with the nominalizations of the VPs in C56, K89 and Z49 above, and in:

FC126 El creced y multiplicaos...lo están haciendo.

1.8.8. THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED VERB PHRASES

Just as the definite article can be employed to nominalize a VP, the indefinite article can serve the same purpose, and the same variety and complexity of VP structures are evinced:

C56 es una despedida para siempre...un adiós, que tenga usted suerte" en el que se ponen al alma y los cinco sentidos.

Indeed, such examples prove to be equally numerous as their counterparts with the DA. Requena has a predilection for this stylistic form:

R129 no me mires así...que me da un no sé qué de mambo mambero

R145 te miran de arriba abajo antes de soltarte un usted dirá que te insulta

R194 a ver si llueve pronto, que siento un no sé qué por la garganta y en los ojos

R70 los muchachos...se ríen de los viejos y los viejos...replican con un: Pobrecillos, ya aprenderán lo que es bueno y sabrán lo que cuesta ganar una peseta.

However, there are examples of the IA with nominalized VPs in the other works, such as:

A110 Hay algo en él que lo demuestra. Un no sé qué...

M51 aquella polvera enorme...que sólo guardaba una horquilla y un insospechado sacapuntas

K228 también era indolente para el trabajo, un ahí-me-las-den;todas en absoluto sufriente

MS109 se le hacía un no-estar-viva.

In M51 sacapuntas may be cited as an example of a borderline case, in which the process of lexical conversion can be seen at work; it is not rated as a N in the Academy's Dictionary (1956), but Moliner (1967:1079) comments "la R.A. ha acordado su inclusión en el D.R.A.E., masc. sing.", and indeed in the

Academy's Dictionary (1970) it is so included. Nouns beginning with saca- often originate in nominalizations of the form (Det + V + N_{obj}), and V39 has one which does not appear to have been converted to nominal status yet (compare the Academy's entry (1970)); so it counts as an example of nominalization:

- V39 - ¿Y una agencia, qué es?
 - un sacaperras. Para sacar permisos, certificados...

The same is true of tiralevitas in:

N114 ese es un playboy,... un caradura... un tiralevitas, which the Academy does not classify as a N despite other Ns in tira-, such as (e.g.) tirabala, tirabotas, tirabuzón, tirafondo.

Another borderline case is in R95/6:

- R95/6 el pasito ligero y corto, los ojos ni descarados ni por el suelo, a media altura, en un ten con ten, viéndote del todo;

the Academy's Dictionary (1970:1252) does state that it is an "epr.fa. usada c.s.m.", which is the same entry as in the (1956) edition, but it still finds the need to add a gloss defining it as "2^a pers. de sing. del imper. de tener".

1.8.9. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS (\$)

Sánchez Ferlosio provides more than one instance of the nominalization of an interrogative pronoun with the DA:

- F18 - ¿Qué tierra ésta! - dijo.
 - ¿Por qué dices esto?
 - ¿El qué?
 - Eso que acabas de decir
- F126 - ¿A qué no sabéis lo que ha dicho en los periódicos?
 - No. A ver. ¿El qué?

But there is nothing idiosyncratic in such a usage.

Compare other authors' usage:

Z35 - Ahora lo entiendo
- ¿El qué?

V65 - ¿Los traerán ahora?
- ¿El qué?
- ¡los pasteles!

and M33 which appears designed to teach us this performance of the DA (masculine):

M33 - ¿Lo qué?
- Se dice el qué, no lo qué.

Furthermore, el qué is not the only interrogative which is employed in this way:

R128 todo depende...del cómo y el porqué se toma el sol.

1.8.10 THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Fewer examples of the IA in such usage were found, but that the same process can operate with either article is evidenced by:

S169 - ¿un qué?
- un camión, hombre, un camión

B29 - ¿qué es un astrónomo, tío?
- ¿un qué?
- un astrónomo

FC133 preguntando...dándote prisa, lo que ya es ^{un} gran qué.

1.8.11 THE DEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED INTERJECTIONS (\$)

The corpus contained only isolated examples of a nominalized interjection with the DA.

N63 el "olé" de las plazas de toro

S116/7 la misa había concluido. Los vivos se repitieron al salir.

Moliner's Dictionary (1967:1543) now classifies viva as a noun, but the Academy has not altered its classification from that of interjection (compare the (1956) and (1970) editions' entries).

1.8.12 THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED INTERJECTIONS

In the case of this rather surprising and unexpected type of nominalization, the IA proved to be more fruitful than the DA.

C131 en un ángulo se ve el anuncio de una pana sobre los colores nacionales y un ¡Viva España!

The machinery involved is better illustrated by three more varied examples. In A151 the interjection, which originally comprised three separate words (V + Det + N), is compounded into one word:

A151 el novio...era un vivalavirgen.

In C182 the original interjection is seen to become truncated in nominalization and to serve as the subject of a V:

C182 las otras no gritan más que "¡Viva mi pueblo!", o "¡Viva yo!", que es un viva que nunca falta.

In R13, a striking juxtaposition of different genders is in evidence:

R13 dejando caer un buenas tardes temeroso;
the masculine indefinite article occurs with a masculine singular adjective to qualify a compound interjection which is composed of a feminine plural adjective and noun! An example of a nominalized interjection which has been reclassified now is found in Z59:

Z59 vio cómo se desplomaba su enemigo sin un ay;
compare the entry in the Academy's Dictionary (1970:149).

1.8.13 THE DEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED NUMERALS (\$)

The nominalization of numerals embraces both cardinal and ordinal numbers. Although Bello recognizes the adjectival character of the cardinal numbers ("los numerales cardinales son adjetivos que significan simplemente un número determinado" (1952:77)), he is silent on this point when he handles ordinal numbers. Ramsey's approach is exactly the opposite; he makes no explicit reference to the adjectival nature of cardinals, but states: "the ordinal numbers are to all intents adjectives, and, whether single or compound, agree with their nouns in gender and number" (1956:228). The nominalization of both series is, of course, predictable in the light of their status as adjectives.

The ordinal numbers are assigned the [GENDER, NUMBER] features of their associated N, and when that N is omitted

by an optional N-deletion transformation, the numeral adopts the category designation of N. It reflects the features of gender and number of the omitted N, as the four masculine singular numerals in F83 and S102 demonstrate:

F83 él nos la hizo a nosotros el primero

S102 al segundo de la lista no hizo falta preguntarle;
... el tercero fue un sobrino de Alfredo ... al
llegar al cuarto, el viajante se detuvo y pidió
un momento de silencio;

and the feminine singular numerals in the following examples:

A167 la primera la recibió Bayoneta

S168 habían agotado la primera jarra y ya iban con
la segunda

S141 supo en seguida quiénes eran: una hermana del
novio, la pequeña de las hijas de Alfredo, y
la tercera, la criada.

In some cases, the nominalized numeral has contrived to achieve lexical reclassification to full nominal status.

Examples D33 and A53 illustrate this:

D33 "vivan los quintos del 56"

A53 el segundo hablaba en tono muy bajo.

Quintos clearly signifies here an animate N which means the conscripts of the regiment indicated, as being of the year 56, and segundo, similarly, is not here merely a temporarily nominalized numeral, as it is in S33:

S33 pidió un vaso y, apurándolo, pidió un segundo;
nor is it one-sixtieth of a minute, or the classification of an academic degree: the V hablaba distinguishes segundo as [+ ANIMATE], and the wider context indicates that it is the N segundo and not a temporary nominalization of the same numeral, because the context is of a boxing contest full of other English

loan words: "les quedan dos rounds ... vio a Bustamante saltar al ring y saludar ... volvió a saludar con el puño enguantado cuando el speaker dio su nombre y su peso". The features [+ANIMATE, +HUMAN] would serve to distinguish this usage of el segundo from the two homonymous Ns which are [- ANIMATE], and the category designation [+ NOUN] would distinguish it from el segundo, the contextually nominalized numeral, which may be [+ ANIMATE, + HUMAN].

In contrast with the ordinal numbers, most cardinal numbers do not have flexibility as regards the features of [GENDER] and [NUMBER]. Exceptions are uno and the plural compounds of ciento. The nominalized numeral in M16 would be characterized as [+ MASCULINE, - PLURAL]:

M16 ellos, cuando pensaban el uno en el otro, sabían...;
the one in C186 has the features [-MASCULINE, - PLURAL]:

C186 el viajero fue a dar un paseo hasta que fuese la una, para comer.

The same distinctions of gender and number are preserved in unos, [+MASCULINE, + PLURAL], and unas [-MASCULINE, +PLURAL]. The cardinal number un is retained instead of uno in lists, compare Z165:

Z165 Luego, el un dos.

Lack of these features in no way inhibits the other cardinal numbers from undergoing nominalization by the same process of N-deletion. The residual article, which plays a contributing role in the nominalizing process, is left as the only indicator of gender and number, in its capacity as a syntactic marker. It therefore interprets the resulting NP.

The context has to indicate whether the numeral is animate or otherwise. The following nominalized numerals have, inter alia, the features [+MASCULINE, +PLURAL, +ANIMATE, + HUMAN]:

F14 los miró a los dos

MS193 se quedaron los tres mirándose muy sonrientes y muy contentos

M9 repartió los cigarillos y fumaron los tres, el Galgo, el Andrés, y él, Juan.

These are to be assigned the features [-MASCULINE, +PLURAL, +ANIMATE, +HUMAN]:

MS10/11 sus dos hijas - ninguna de las dos rubia, ninguna de las dos con dieta adecuada durante la gestación.

The features [+MASCULINE, +PLURAL, - ANIMATE] are attributable to:

D48 el día que cumpla los catorce, le arrimas por casa

A129 a los cincuenta y cinco hay que vigilarse,

whereas [+MASCULINE, -PLURAL, -ANIMATE] is the characterization of the nominalized numerals in:

F10 el libro lo escribí en el 63, y el viaje lo hicimos en el 64

D33 vivan los quintos del 56

N74 Borgoña Cosecha del 22.

The most common nominalizations of numerals with which the article indicates that the gender is masculine, and the number plural are those in which (as in D48 and A129) años is the N deleted; and where the characteristics are shown by the article to be masculine and singular, as in F10, D33 and N74, año is the omission; or perhaps día:

A152 fue la tarde del 24 de noviembre

K180 el 12 de junio de 1864

A121 dos billetes del cinco de noviembre.

When the N which has been deleted is feminine, as in the following examples, it is often horas which is the referent implied by the article's features of [-MASCULINE, +PLURAL, -ANIMATE]:

S110 salió al portal para ver cómo iba el sol.
- Ya deben ser las cinco - El médico miró su reloj, que marcaba las seis - las seis oficiales ...

M9 anunció que a las ocho o nueve de la noche se podrían ver estrellas.

Años, día and horas have, of course, also the feature [-ANIMATE].

The following example, which contains a masculine and a feminine numeral nominalized, may serve as a reminder that numerals nominalized by the frequent deletion of these Ns do not monopolize this aspect of nominalization:

F110 - El seis doble o la blanca doble, como yo digo
- O la ficha que sea; de las veintiocho, la que te toque.

By far the most interesting examples of nominalized numerals are found in the stage directions of Vallejo's play. The doors are indicated by Roman numerals, and the gender provided, upon N-deletion, is ambivalent; once puerta is understood, but usually número is uppermost in Vallejo's mind:

V19 en el segundo rellano hay dos puertas: dos laterales y dos centrales. Las distinguiremos, de derecha a izquierda, con los números I, II, III y IV.

.....

La puerta III se abre

- V20 ... se dirige al IV.
- V24 ... sale del III con una botella en la mano
- V25 Baja por el tramo mientras se abre el IV suavemente y aparece FERNANDO, que la mira y cierra la puerta sin ruido
- Cierra y se dirige a la escalera. GENEROSA sale del I ...
- El IV vuelve a abrirse
- V43 Las puertas I y III están abiertas de par en par. Las II y IV, cerradas.

In V43, the mention of "las puertas" in the first sentence quoted serves as the antecedent of the feminine nominalized numeral which follows. There are, in fact, thirty-one subsequent references to the doors, all of which are by means of nominalized numerals and all of which are masculine.¹ So V43 is the single exception. The implication is that the dramatist conceives of the stage in the form of a diagram with numbered doors, and that he does not sub-vocalize puerta when he manipulates the characters on the stage. In other words, the nominalizations are all, with the exception of V43, of cardinal not ordinal numbers, so that the gender feature is absent from the nominalized form, and this has a retroactive effect on the choice of article-gender.

1.8.14 THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOMINALIZED NUMERALS

The indefinite article may similarly be employed to nominalize numerals, as is proved by two examples. That it does so for ordinal numbers is demonstrated by:

S41 pidió un vaso y, apurándolo, pidió un segundo.

1. The other references to el are: V31 (twice), V33, V34, V36, V44, V45 (twice), V46, V48, V49 (twice), V50, V51, V54, V55, V57 (twice), V58 (twice), V59, V60, V64 (three times), V65 (twice), V66, V68, V77.

An interesting representative example for cardinal numbers is:

- S68 - ¿Tiene Manolo una pistola?
 - un nueve largo de la guerra; yo también tenía una,

with its double switch of gender, in which the masculine nominalized numeral refers to the technical specifications and the feminine pronoun replaces the feminine noun.

The remaining aspects of nominalization did not occur in my earlier analysis, for two reasons. Firstly, the example C104 was treated as an aspect of particularization, and secondly, most of the examples did not appear until the larger, one million-word corpus was dealt with. So in 1.8.15 to 1.8.17 both articles are dealt with together.

1.8.15 THE ARTICLES AND NOMINALIZED LETTERS

One single and two multiple examples can adequately depict this usage with the DA:

- N94 Londón, con acento en la O
 Z49 repetir ...el "súrsum corda", que Manuel, con eso de las erres y las eses, siempre armó el lío
 K29 se esforzó en pronunciar las th correctamente, aspirar las haches, licuar las erres...a veces las aes también.

Predictably, such a usage falls within the capabilities of the indefinite article also, and again three examples suffice to make the point:

- C104 - ¿Qué letra es esta? - una e...una eme
 M70 vi sus labios redondeados en una O, sin proferir palabra
 FC179 meterles la puntuación adecuada, rebajar una "b" o agigantar una "v".

1.8.16 THE ARTICLES AND NOMINALIZED PRONOUNS

Although the following two examples contain different types of pronoun, they may be taken as proof that both articles have the power to nominalize pronouns in general. In the case of algo, incidentally, the Academy's Dictionary (1970:61) gives the classification as a pronoun, but with an antiquated nominal meaning, which is not relevant here.

K22 tuteaban a sus abuelos, siendo así que nosotros no
apeabamos el usted

R63 sobre todo, por un algo tan especial...

Nácher (1977) gives three examples of another nominalized pronoun:

N72 el centro de todo ser humano es el "yo"

N117 el conflicto entre el yo y el infinito

N119 El Yo de nuestra personalidad;

but the fact that he assigns each one different punctuation suggests that he is not entirely at ease with the usage, although it is sanctioned by the Academy (1970:1360). More surprising is that his next example,

N134 el ego infernal del dominante,

lead to the discovery that ego is omitted from the Academy's Dictionary (1970), but is classed as a prefix in Moliner's Dictionary. These two items confirm that ego is nominalized, but it is a matter of word-boundary whether it belongs here or under nominalized prefixes below.

1.8.17 THE ARTICLES AND NOMINALIZED ADVERBS/ADVERBIAL PHRASES

That adverbs can be nominalized by the definite article is clear from:

A258 Pero en el allí de Pío hay tantas sensaciones, dichas y alegrías encerradas,

and K226 provides an example of an adverbial phrase:

K226 hacíamos como todos el "arriba moco".

The role of the indefinite article in nominalizing adverbial phrases is shown by:

Z196 Manuel era un fuera de serie

R109 quiero convencerte de que puedes ser no sólo un gran torero, sino un fuera de serie.

The Academy's Dictionary (1970:640) mentions that fuera itself may sometimes function nominally, but the example shows that such usage is entirely different from that given here.

1.8.18 THE DEFINITE ARTICLE (ONLY) AND NOMINALIZED PREFIXES

The earlier analysis revealed only three aspects of nominalization (NPs, prepositions, and conjunctions) for which no parallel examples containing the indefinite article were found. To these the larger corpus adds one more aspect, the nominalization of prefixes. All the examples come from one text. Nacher uses the noun subconsciente (p.20), and then uses sub alone as a N, although the Academy (1970:1222) classes it not only as a prefix but as an invariably inseparable prefix.

N20 hay estímulos que rebotan sin entrar en el sub

N21 cuya imagen y marca permanecen en la antesala del sub.

Surprisingly, he nominalizes the same prefix, in the (unmarked) plural, and with a different meaning, twenty pages later:

N40 el más civilizado se cree con derecho a someter a los sub.

Compare this with his nominalization of other prefixes, súper in

N130 se configura el súper cuyas posaderas descansan sobre un conglomerado de cabezas,

and anti in the (unmarked) plural in

N130 la furia de los anti.

1.9 CONCLUSIONS: DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC FEATURES OF THE ARTICLES

The degree of sophistication evinced in these very varied examples of nominalization serves to confirm that the indefinite article does not suffer by comparison with the definite article as regards the feature [NOMINALIZER].

The foregoing evidence concerning the indefinite article and the two sets of features [+SPECIFIC, -ANAPHORIC, +ENUMERATOR, +QUANTIFIER] and [-SPECIFIC, +GENERIC, +PARTICULARIZER, +ABSTRACTIVE, +NOMINALIZER], justifies the assertion which has been made above that the two articles have five out of seven features in common. It is submitted that the status of the Spanish indefinite article qua article is thereby defended. In a code-system such as a language, which depends for its raison d'être upon maximal comparisons and minimal contrasts, the importance of symmetry and parallelism cannot be overstated.

Hill (1966:230) states concerning the English articles: "these patterns...are no more than the symmetry which always occurs with basically arbitrary differences, and which are necessary ...if the differences are to be learned". Compare Postal's triple references in one paragraph to the importance of parallelism (1966:188). The present analysis accords with the common treatment of articles: "practically all analyses, regardless of the source posited, have treated the definite and indefinite articles in the same way" (MSSE 1973:70). This viewpoint is unquestioningly accepted by Luján (1972:162) as valid for Spanish, which is significant, as Miss Luján has no compunctions about attacking the icons of tradition; indeed her paper assails the traditional interpretation of lo, of which she says "it differs from the masculine and feminine articles in (that) it has NO INDEFINITE COUNTERPART" (emphasis mine). What Hewson (1972:72) said of the parallelism and power of the English articles is exactly what this analysis has attempted to establish for the Spanish articles: "this parallelism of usage between definite and indefinite articles attests a fully developed article-system...each (article)... is capable of expressing a wide range of extensivity from the general to the particular".

The semi-hierarchical diagram of Figure 6 above, which partially represented the performance of the indefinite article together with a comprehensive representation of that of the definite article (to date, at least), may now be improved. It can be rendered more explicit by the addition of the latest features which have been justified as pertaining to the indefinite article. The more detailed diagram of Figure 7 further

demonstrates the comparative features of the two Spanish articles. This new diagram reveals the parallelism in the definite and indefinite article features below the node [-SPECIFIC]. It then becomes evident that this parallelism lends itself to a much more streamlined format, as in Figure 8. This representation precludes the need for cross-referencing by the simple expedient of coalescing the [+DEFINITE] and [-INDEFINITE] branches at the node labelled [-SPECIFIC]. Furthermore the synthesis in Figure 8 graphically reinforces the argument which has been presented in this first chapter concerning the intimate connection and affinity between the two articles in modern Spanish.

Figure 7

MORE DETAILED BRANCHING DIAGRAM TO REVEAL PARALLELISM IN THE FEATURES OF THE DEFINITE AND INDEFINITE ARTICLES

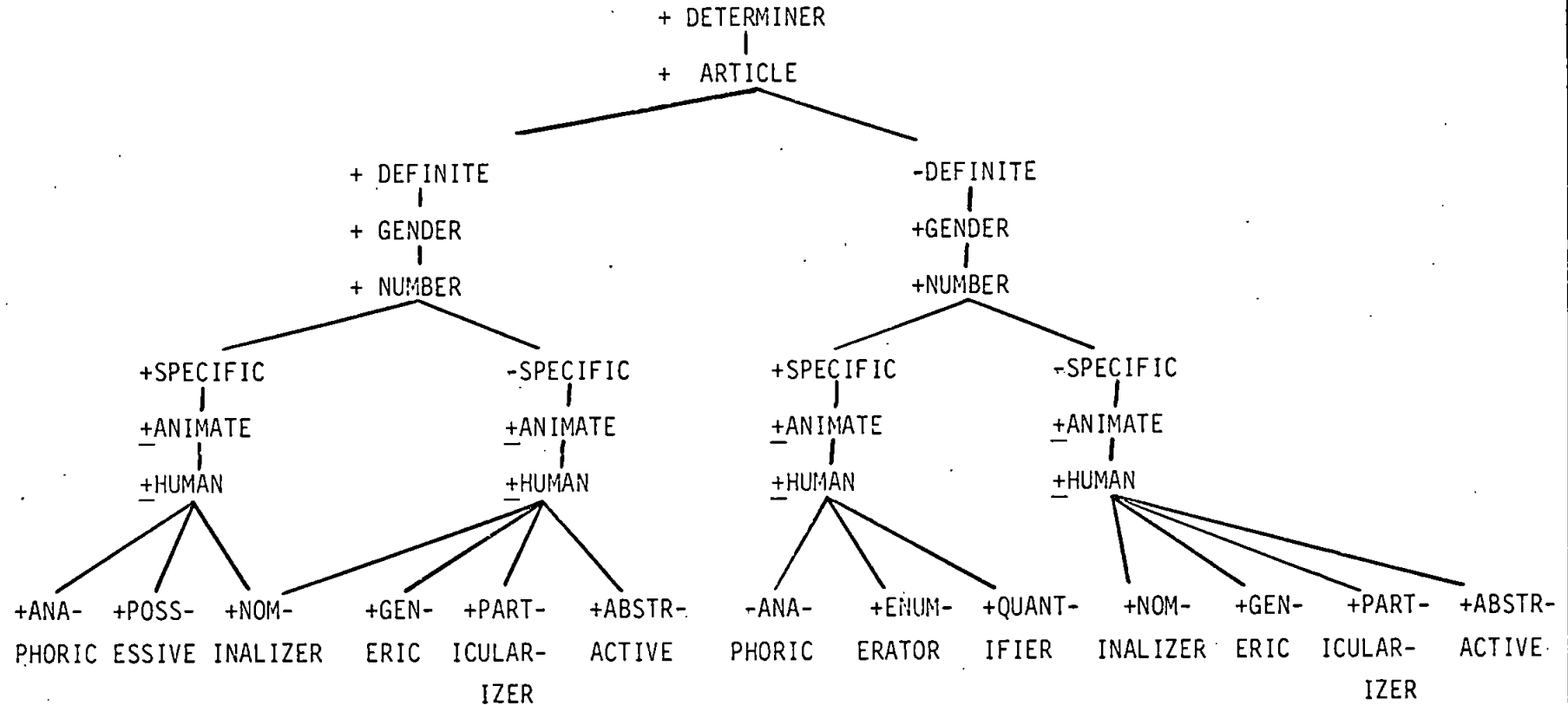
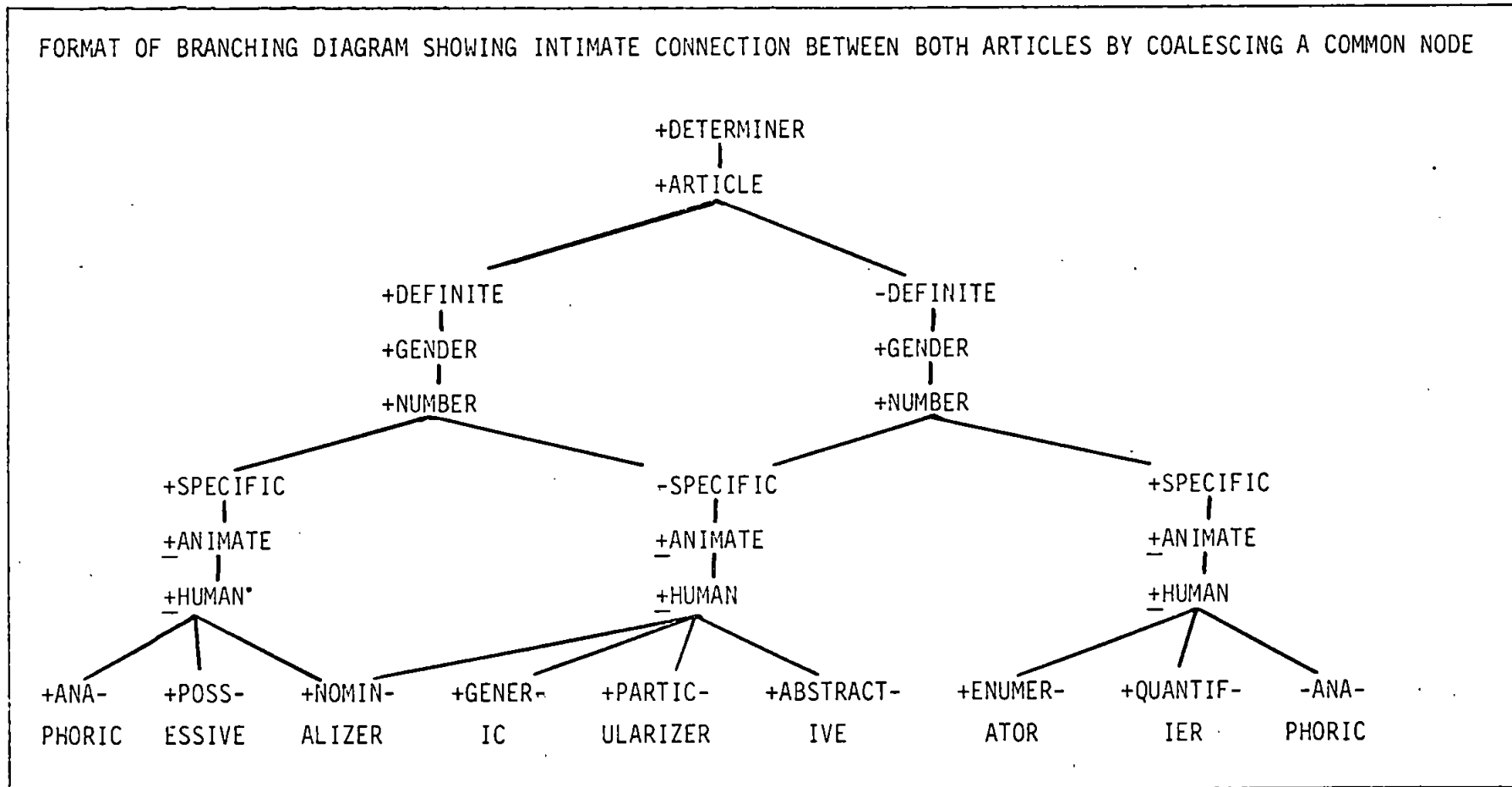


Figure 8



CHAPTER 2

2. THE ARTICLES IN THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

This chapter begins with a discussion of the types of Spanish relative pronoun and the grammatical information which the respective members of the set provide for an interpretation of the relative clause which they introduce. Then there follows a review of modern linguistic theory concerning relative clauses, before an analysis of the types of relative clause in Spanish and the grammatical function which the articles perform in them. A new type of relative clause is established. Finally, consideration is given to the method of including this relationship between the articles and the relative clause as a feature in the further evolution of the distinctive feature matrix of the article.

2.1 TYPES OF SPANISH RELATIVE PRONOUN

Spanish has a rich repertoire of relative pronouns, some of which include the definite article as an element of a compound relative. The Academy (1973:220) catalogues the relative pronouns in the following list of those which follow an antecedent:

que
 quien, quienes
 el que, la que, los que, las que, lo que
 el cual, la cual, los cuales, las cuales, lo cual

This list omits the pronoun cuyo, which is relatively simple; I omit it also, because its inclusion would add nothing to the present analysis. It will be a helpful method to analyze the usage of the relative pronouns in that order and those groupings. For convenience, the compound pronouns will be referred to as "the series el que (or cual) (etc.)."

2.1.1. QUE

The grammars agree that que is the relative pronoun which enjoys the greatest frequency of occurrence. The primary sources unequivocally endorse this unanimous view, although it is noteworthy that Carmen Kurtz's El Viaje contains an unusually high rate of occurrences of quien in its early chapters; this is, of course, statistically negligible and may be attributable to stylistic considerations. Bello (1952:123) expressed his opinion of the frequency of que in the following bald statement: "el de más frecuente uso es que", but the Academy (1973:123) rates its comparative frequency much higher: "la frecuencia en el uso de que excede con mucho a la de los restantes pronombres, cualquiera que sea la categoría o los categorías a que pertenezcan".

Although these statements are not thereby invalidated, Bello would appear to be at fault in including a consideration of what should properly be interpreted as a non-relative usage of que in his chapter entitled "Pronombres relativos, y primeramente el relativo 'QUE'". This usage is what he calls "el que sustantivo y anunciativo" because it does not reproduce any idea previously mentioned, serving rather to introduce a further clause. Consideration of this usage is deferred until sections 2.4 and 2.5 below, where a new type of relative clause is posited for Spanish.

Spanish grammars employ different terminology to express the high number of appearances of que. When Bello and the Academy refer to its frequency, Carnicer to its popularity, and Alcina and Blecua to its importance, they are all discussing the same phenomenon. The terms are not fully synonymous, however, in the

view of Alcina and Blecua (1975:979f), who regard importance as subsuming frequency/popularity without being limited to this factor. They call que "el transpositor más importante por ser el más frecuente y por introducir un mayor número de relaciones sintácticas". But the latter criterion is too wide-ranging to define the characteristics of the relative pronoun: que, because they mistakenly follow Bello by including conjunctions in their examples, and also introduce compound relative pronouns into the discussion. This would be entirely acceptable to Lavandera (1971), who argues that there is only one que, and that it performs different roles.

However, maintaining the distinction between the conjunction and the relative pronoun which the facts demand, as explained in section 2.4 below, let us concentrate for the present on the characteristics of the latter. Carnicer (1969:79) attributes the popularity of the relative pronoun que to its invariability: "el más popular y utilizado de nuestros pronombres relativos es 'que', y ello por su aptitud para representar toda clase de antecedentes, cualquiera que sea su género y su número". Lavandera states the facts more fully (1971:19): "por no estar inflexionado para ninguna categoría (género, número, persona, o caso), no puede concordar con ninguna otra forma de la oración". Therefore the correct usage of this relative pronoun may be summarized by two comprehensive statements, one relating to its form and the other to its position. Firstly, it is invariable in form, irrespective of the four variable factors of:

- (i) its role, (ii) its referent, (iii) its gender, and
- (iv) its number.

In other words, the form of que does not vary to reflect whether it functions as subject or object, whether its referent is a person or a thing, whether its gender is masculine or feminine, or whether it is singular or plural. The features required to characterize que (in addition to [ANAPHORIC]), are those which correspond to the four factors just mentioned, namely (i) [CASE], (ii) [\pm ANIMATE, \pm HUMAN], (iii) [\pm MASCULINE, \pm FEMININE], and (iv) [\pm PLURAL]. As regards the gender feature, the indication of [\pm MASCULINE] is insufficient; the possibility of [- MASCULINE, - FEMININE] arises here and in the compound relative containing the neuter article, which will be dealt with later. Bello, incidentally, characterizes his annunciatory que as neuter, a characterization which would have to be discarded if it were left in the category of conjunctions, which would carry a minus value for [GENDER]. Secondly, regarding the position of que, there are constraints which operate within the subordinate clause: (a) que must be placed in maximal proximity to its antecedent, because of potential ambiguity owing to its invariability of form, particularly with respect to gender and number, and (b) in the environment /X Prep__Y, the feature [- ANIMATE] may be assigned to que, but [+ ANIMATE, + HUMAN] cannot. If the referent is a person, it requires a pronoun other than que if the relative pronoun is governed by a preposition.

In support of these statements, the following evidence is provided from the primary sources. Examples in section 2.1.1.1 highlight the invariability of que, those in 2.1.1.2 its position.

2.1.1 The invariability of 'que'2.1.1.1.1 Invariable for role [CASE]

It is sufficient to illustrate this aspect simply to juxtapose two examples, in one of which it acts as subject, and in the other as object.

subject : K21 Le interesaba sobremanera la figura de Napoleón, que aún hervía en la mente de todo el mundo

object : G19 el espectáculo del pueblo que la Revolución había puesto en marcha

It is unnecessary for the present analysis to differentiate [CASE] any further, although one aspect of post-prepositional usage is noted below.

2.1.1.1.2 Invariable for type of referent [± HUMAN, ± ANIMATE]

Although gender is dealt with separately in the following section, it is essential to indicate gender also to demonstrate the full range of referents.

masculine

- [+HUMAN] : A154 invitaron al ciego, que lo agradeció con educación
- [-HUMAN, +ANIMATE] : R48 unos animales que los ricos nos echan a los pobres
- [-ANIMATE] : M123 le habían rapado el pelo, que traía largo

feminine

- [+HUMAN] : V31 aparece Rosa, que es una mujer joven, guapa

[-HUMAN, +ANIMATE] : R38 saldrán cuatro vacas lecheras que
...no han sido ordeñadas

[-ANIMATE] : S124 la plaza mayor, que ya no era la
mayor, sino la más antigua

neuter

[-ANIMATE] : M28 nadie debía saber nunca, nunca,
algo que le concerniese.

2.1.1.1.3 Invariable for gender [± MASCULINE, ± FEMININE]

To reinforce the point, all these examples are [± HUMAN],
with the exception, of course, of the neuter one.

masculine singular [+MASCULINE]

R72 Curro escucha a Roberto, que piensa en alto

feminine singular [+FEMININE]

V19 A Elvira, que abrió la puerta

neuter [-MASCULINE, -FEMININE]

R69 podrás comprar eso que tú sabes que te falta

masculine plural [+MASCULINE]

S98 cuatro tablones ... servían de asiento a los vecinos,
que fueron ocupando sus sitios

feminine plural [+FEMININE]

G127 la belleza de las muchachas que pasean a la sombra

2.1.1.1.4 Invariable for number [± PLURAL]

It is unnecessary to adduce an example for neuter here. The
other genders are illustrated by the same nouns in pairs of sentences,
so the presentation differs in order from the preceding sets.

masculine singular [+MASCULINE, -PLURAL]

V44 A su padre, que se recuesta en la barandilla

masculine plural [+MASCULINE, +PLURAL]

V29 rodeados siempre de los padres, que no nos entienden

feminine singular [+FEMININE, -PLURAL]

R24 no se escuchaba otra cosa que el regodeo de los
caballos bebiendo

feminine plural [+FEMININE, +PLURAL]

K64 tantas fueron las cosas que ocurrieron

It is interesting to note that, despite the invariability of this relative pronoun, it can alternate for any of the above characteristics within the same sentence. Regarding [CASE], for example, sentence R23 reveals how it can fulfil the role of object followed immediately by that of subject within the same sentence, without giving rise to any problem:

R23 como un buen amigo que necesito, y mucho, en toda esa
pelea que me espera.

The next two examples each contain a pair of nouns (all masculine), and one of each pair is [+HUMAN] whereas the other is [-ANIMATE]:

S59 la voz del presidente que le hablaba...y el dinero que
habían gastado

V42 Acabar con la angustia...de los favores que abochornan
como una bofetada, de los padres que nos abruman.

The relative pronoun can switch gender within a sentence, as in R69 (from masculine to neuter) and in V40 (from masculine to feminine):

- R69 Ni con el doble de todos esos millones, que estás
manoseando podrías comprar eso que...te falta
V40 el único recuerdo maravilloso que conservo en medio
de la sordidez en que vivimos;

sometimes que has a different number from one of its pair of antecedents, as in G28, where there are two antecedents of different genders (both dependent upon a feminine article for [DEFINITENESS] because of the order of appearance) but followed by a relative pronoun marked as [+MASCULINE]:

- G28 las leyendas y sueños que componen la mitología
personal de mi infancia.

Finally, as regards [NUMBER], que can operate in both singular and plural in the same sentence:

- R179 atendiendo los miles y miles de amigos que le salen
al torero que triunfa.

2.1.1.2 The position of 'que'

As stated above, by virtue of its common form whatever its referent, que is required to occur in maximal proximity to its antecedent, to reduce ambiguity. It will be observed that all the examples quoted above evince this characteristic; indeed they all place the relative pronoun immediately following its N. However, sometimes the nature of the NP which contains the antecedent enforces a greater separation. In S162, for example, extralinguistic knowledge precludes a misunderstanding which would make astronomical history(!):

- S162 a la luz de la luna que entraba en el cuarto;
the complex NP la luz de la luna comprises two NPs, the former of

which contains the antecedent. Sometimes a parenthetical NP is responsible for the separation:

V61 aparta a Carmina, con triunfal solicitud, que
 brinda a Fernando, para dejar pasar el matrimonio;
in this case, the verb brindar would, ideally, be marked in the lexicon as requiring a [+HUMAN] subject, so that the ambiguity would be resolved. Clearly, the greater the number of nouns which intervene between antecedent and relative pronoun, the greater is the probability of ambiguity. Sentences S162 and V61 have only one intervening N, but S25 has two:

S25 se cruzó con una niña sucia y rubia, descalza, con
 un botijo en la mano, que le miró...y se alejó;
again the potential danger is relieved because the verb of which que is the subject demands, if not a human, then at least an animate subject, leaving niña as the only candidate. The true meaning of G43, which also has three nouns to take into account, is only determined because the verb of the subordinate clause is plural, and que is its subject:

G43 había olvidado los ofrecimientos formulados al calor
 de una emoción pasajera, que en Cuba ... nunca se
 llevan a cabo;

otherwise, conceivably, it would be the emotion which is never fulfilled, an interpretation which would of course be reinforced by the adjective pasajera; alternatively, though less likely, it could mean that the emotion never reaches full height (calor, but that would require a relative clause without the comma), and although less likely even then, it must be remembered that these

nouns would compete with each other for the relative clause in a prose narrative, which demands greater immediate clarity than poetry, in which arguably the meaning is subordinate to the form. Where all the nouns have the same number, it is sometimes not possible to be dogmatic about the identity of the antecedent, as in:

R163 hay brillos en los ojos de los niños que son como etiquetas del futuro;

the relative clause precludes niños, but both of the other nouns could justifiably claim the role of antecedent. Consider the increased undesirability of this, as evidenced by G138/9, when the quantity of intervening nouns reaches seven (numbered to reinforce the fact):

G138/9 (i) los alfabetizadores son dos (ii) brigadistas de (iii) Patria o (iv) Muerte, empleados de la (v) fábrica de (vi) cigarros (vii) Aromas de (viii) la Habana, que han permanecido cinco meses separados de los suyos...;

in the event, the relative clause contains unmistakable clues as to the identity of the antecedent, but it would not be difficult to re-word that clause to make it multiply ambiguous, especially given that no less than eight nouns precede que in the one sentence! Because of the invariability of the relative pronoun, all are potential referents.

Two further brief comments can be made concerning the position of que, before the relative pronouns which are more distinctive and therefore less prone to ambiguity are considered. Despite multiple examples like those just quoted, there are occasions when

que is, almost superfluously, repeated:

R28 otras luces de potentes faros que vienen y que
piden cruce,

and others where a single occurrence of the relative pronoun exercises influence over two clauses (as in MS235) or three (as in K15):

MS235 sentado en el casino con dos, cinco, siete, catorce
señores que juegan al ajedrez y me estiman mucho por
mi superioridad intelectual

K15 confiaba en su sobrino, que era prudente, conocía un
oficio y sabía mas que otros.

The other point concerns the non-occurrence of que post-prepositionally with nouns that are [+HUMAN]. This properly concerns the function of the other relative pronouns, so two contrastive examples must suffice at present:

S131 Le recordaba la tarde en que le llevó al cine su padre
K23 un hombre en quien se podía confiar.

To conclude this analysis of the relative pronoun que, it is helpful to indicate the full spectrum of its performance by noting the multiple occurrences in four extracts from the primary sources, and then diagramming them in a chart, Figure 9.

The four extracts are as follows with the seventeen pronouns numbered for reference:

S184 después de los trabajos (i) que por mí se está tomando...
tome esto - le tendió un sobre (ii) que examinó a la
pálida luz (iii) que entraba por la ventana - Ahí van
las señas de mi mujer, el pueblo en (iv) que vive

- C55 una cigüeña (v) que vuela, un niño (vi) que se chapuza en el restáño de un arroyo, una abeja libando la flor del espino, una mujer joven (vii) que camina...
- R182/3 esclavo (viii) que charla más que nadie con el emperador, ilustrísimo criado (ix) que sabe cómo ronca el héroe y cómo son las venganzas (x) que dibuja para el día en (xi) que pise la cumbra mayor de su soberbia
- R109 los ojos de las mujeres (xii) que muerden, (xiii) que mordisquean al torero (xiv) que triunfa, los grandes ojos (xv) que se contagian de la fiebre redonda y (xvi) que son como candelas para un muchacho (xvii) que ha soñado tanto.

FIGURE 9

List No.	ROLE (CASE)			ANIMACY		GENDER		NUMBER
	Subj.	Obj.	Post-prep	Human	Anim.	Masc.	Fem.	Plur.
i		+			-	+		+
ii		+			-	+		-
iii	+				-		+	-
iv			+		-	+		-
v	+			-	+		+	-
vi	+			+		+		-
vii	+			+			+	-
viii	+			+		+		-
ix	+			+		+		-
x		+			-		+	+
xi			+		-	+		-
xii	+			+?*	+?*	+?*	+?*	+
xiii	+			+?*	+?*	+?*	+?*	+
xiv	+			+		+		-
xv	+				-	+		+
xvi	+				-	+		+
xvii	+			+		+		-

* The reason for the query and the dual values indicated here is the ambiguity which exists until the reduplication of the antecedent los ojos, until which the reader has to suspend judgement. At that point it becomes clear that both entries should read [-ANIM, +MASC].

2.1.2 QUIEN, QUIENES

The invariability in form manifested by que suggests its weakness as a relator to other elements in the sentence, because of its imprecision in indicating the identity of its potential antecedent(s), a fact which makes its overwhelming frequency all the more surprising. Because of the potential ambiguity which it mediates, it has to compete with many rivals. It is less explicit than quien, which in turn is less decisive than the two sets of compound relatives which contain articles.

Building on the features which have already been established for que, the contrasts between que and quien may be briefly but adequately summarized by a comparison of their respective clusters of features.

<u>que</u>	<u>quien</u>
+ANAPHORIC	(±)ANAPHORIC
+CASE	-CASE
+ANIMATE	(+ANIMATE)
+HUMAN	+HUMAN
+MASCULINE	+MASCULINE
+FEMININE
+PLURAL	-PLURAL

The mainly positive but partially negative value (±) assigned to the feature [ANAPHORIC] is intended to reflect the traditional interpretation of the usage of quien in aphorisms. The grammars all refer to this non-controversial factor, Ramsey (1956: 196), and the Academy (1973:218) briefly, and Alcina and Blecua (1975:1083) rather more fully.

Alcina and Blecua attempt to be a little more explicit than the others, distinguishing between "un antecedente callado pero identificable por el contexto" and "un antecedente envuelto...la simple evocación de persona generalizada". At least, they mention the distinction, noting how difficult it is to draw the demarcation because the latter is a special instance of the former (p.1083; in a subsequent reference, p.1085, they refer back to section 7.3.1 instead of 8.3.1). Because this [(-)ANAPHORIC] usage of quien is non-controversial, two examples will suffice:

R15 te mira a los ojos como quien contempla el dinero
 en grande

K17 iba por la calle con el aire inconfundible de quien
 busca algo.

However, although it is non-controversial, it is clearly incongruous for a relative pronoun to be designated as having a minus value for the feature [ANAPHORIC], since this is the essential characteristic of the relative. By definition, it must possess the power to relate to other elements in the sentence, or immediate context, a power which Alonso (1961:277) rightly defines as "la función anafórica del relativo"; Ramsey refers to the relative pronoun as connecting two propositions: "it belongs logically to the second...and relates back to a person or thing mentioned in the first" (p.193); this echoes Bello's definition: "llámense relativos los demostrativos que reproducen un concepto anterior" (p.122). A forward mention has already been made to the effect that the same objection may be raised against part of Bello's treatment of relative clauses, and against a usage which the grammars casually classify as part of the normal apparatus of relative clauses

containing compound relative pronouns. That is part of the justification for establishing a new type of relative clause. When this is dealt with in sections 3.2 and 3.3 below, the feature [ANAPHORIC] will be deleted from such clauses. At that juncture it will be observed that the correct designation for quien is [+ANAPHORIC].

In contrast to que, quien does not need to be characterized for the feature [CASE] in the present analysis, with its restricted attention to this feature, because of the necessary restriction that quien must be preceded by the object-marker a in the environment / __Verb (Subject). This may be illustrated by the contrast between M86 with its [-HUMAN] object and V61 with its [+HUMAN] object:

M86 llevaba una camiseta amarilla, con un botón sin
 abrochar debajo del cuello, que tenía con muchas
 venas, como un árbol que yo conozco

V61 es a él a quien se parece.

Regarding the other aspects of case, namely post-prepositional usage, owing to the non-essential nature of this aspect in the present analysis, FC12 and K48 with their double occurrences may be taken as representative examples:

FC12 nada más lejos de mi ánimo que meterme con quien
 amablemente me trata

K48 Sarah, de quien poco he hablado...Mauricio sentía
 verdadero afecto por Sarah, a quien consideraba como
 la hermana.

In further contrast to que, quien carries the positive value for the feature [HUMAN]¹, rendering the indication [+ANIMATE] superfluous, which is why that feature appears in parenthesis in the matrix above. It would normally be omitted entirely, but it is included in the matrix to balance the features of que for purposes of comparison. Omission of the feature [ANIMATE] is a decision which is here consciously taken despite occurrences like:

G19 no era España quien indicaba el camino a su ex-colonia,
sino la ex-colonia quien daba el ejemplo.

The two-fold usage of quien to refer to countries is, of course, clearly an example of a high degree of personification. The grammars do not fail to note this usage: see, for example, the Academy (1973:531). Ramsey not only states that quien can refer to things personified, but goes so far as to add that "the distinction between personification and non-personification is not always sharp" (1956:195). This more than tends to overstatement, to judge both by the data from the primary sources; and by the view of the Academy that personification itself is infrequent (1973:221), and the opinion of Alcina and Blecua that quien "alude casi absolutamente a nombre de persona" (1975:1083). One remark by the latter does appear at first sight to support Ramsey: "en los casos en que se usa quien, la expresión se despersonaliza", but it soon becomes clear that the verb despersonalizarse is used, perhaps not too felicitously, to mean, not de-humanizing, but de-individualizing ("se despersonaliza, se desarraiga de la inmediata circunstancia en que se emplea y adquiere un cierto sentido de universalización", p.1084).

1 Fish (1967:83 and 85, fn-3) notes a certain inconsistency by Seco and Bello in using quien to refer to parts of speech. Nacher (1977:68) uses it to refer to inanimate empresas, but the context is of rejection of a MS, so a latent personification should not be ruled out.

One may therefore confidently characterize quien as [+HUMAN, (+ANIMATE)] on the basis of personification, for both the strictly [-HUMAN, -ANIMATE] referents in G19 above, and the strictly [-HUMAN, +ANIMATE] referent of R18:

R18 este cabrón de coche fue quien asesinó a mi hijo.

Indeed, to preserve the stylistic usage in such examples it is essential to define quien as [+HUMAN]. This is upheld by Carnicer (1969:82), whose only contrary example is from Don Quixote:

This explains why quien can be only masculine or feminine, and must be designated by the single entry for gender of [+MASCULINE], unlike que, which may have a neuter pronoun as referent. Compare the two neuter pronouns in R69 with the [+MASCULINE] relative in Z19 and the [-MASCULINE] relative of K18:

R69 eso que tú sabes que te falta

Z19 el del marido, de quien no había vuelto a saber...

K18 y quien abrió la puerta fue una joven.

The relatives like that in MS52 are in reality unmarked for gender, but the [+MASCULINE] entry is to be regarded as subsuming the unmarked member:

MS52 cómo que se engloria en sus explicaciones y no hay
quien lo pare.

A further vital distinction between que and quien concerns the marking of number on the latter, in the plural form quienes. The contrast between M20 on the one hand and Z193 and R24 on the other illustrates this:

M20 Pájaros que huían hacia el otro lado del mundo

Z193 Intimó con dos gallegos, quienes hablaron bien de él

R24 droga que...ahoga la libertad de quienes le rodean.

The discrete features for quien may therefore be summarized by the following annotated examples:

- [+ANAPHORIC] A196 necesitaba alguien con quien explayarse y descansar
- [-ANAPHORIC] F64 no hay quien pueda con él, fuertote que está
- [+HUMAN] G46 es un himno triunfante...que tira de los pies y las caderas de quienes lo oyen
- [+MASCULINE] K182/3 a la causa del emperador, quien le nombró embajador de Méjico en Francia
- [-MASCULINE] V3 fue Elvirita quien se lo pidió...pero quien lo provocó en realidad fue doña Asunción
- [+PLURAL] R21 nunca has escuchado a quienes podían explicarte cómo era
- [-PLURAL] Z21 se defendía abrazada al niño, a quien...se hubiera dicho que pretendía devolver al claustro materno.

2.1.3 THE COMPOUND RELATIVE PRONOUNS

The two series of relative pronouns which include the article are more effective than que or quien as conveyors of grammatical information. Their increased effectiveness derives from the fact that they wield a greater power of unambiguous association than the simple relative pronouns because they can specify precisely for [GENDER] and [NUMBER]. This advantage is provided by the variability in form of the article as a component of the relative pronoun. In a generally excellent article, Jones fails to state this point correctly. He defines relatives as a "puzzling area of Spanish grammar", and notes that "to many teachers, as well as

to pupils, Spanish 'Relatives' cause constant confusion" (1948: 401f). Despite its vintage and its brevity, his article helps to dispel some of the confusion, although it requires amendments in the treatment of the compound relatives. One mitigating factor is that he is not alone in this defect. Jones maintains that "cual, with an article and inflected for gender and number, may replace que". To correct this statement, "and" must be omitted, because it is the article which shows inflection for both those features, whereas cual remains unmarked for gender. Therefore when Jones states that "the possibility of indicating gender and number makes cual useful for referring back to one of several antecedents when there is likelihood of confusion", he should stress that only the presence of the article entails this possibility. In those terms, his comment is relevant to both series of compound relatives, although it will be demonstrated later that the compound relatives are not employed only when there are several potential antecedents. The overwhelming superiority of the compound relative pronouns may be illustrated from the corpus, with examples so ordered as to highlight separately the various features which comprise their characterization.

2.1.3.1 EL QUE (etc.)

- [+ANAPHORIC] Z123 el camión mastodóntico que se cruza en la
calle dejando el hueco justo por el que se
tiene que pasar
- K80 jamás pudo soñar con una casa como la que
tuvo en la capital

- [-ANAPHORIC] S62 El que recoge para el año ya puede darse por contento
- M41 Pero yo nunca he bailado. La que tiene verdadera habilidad es mi hija
- [+HUMAN] A158 después que la deshonró un sargento, del que era novia
- Z172 con jóvenes vietnamitas a las que trataban brutalmente
- [-HUMAN
+ANIMATE] D68 un asnillo de muchos años al que la Sime apaleaba sin duelo
- MS218 ...los churros de los que todavía quedaban restos abandonados sobre una fuente de porcelana
- [-ANIMATE] MS10 otro descubrimiento más importante todavía por el que el rey sueco pueda inclinarse sobre nosotros hablando en latín
- R53 te alumbren por dentro unas verdades tremendas en las que nunca habías reparado
- [+MASCULINE
-PLURAL] B85 un caño de agua al que acudían mujeres con cántaros
- K80 el enemigo oculto del que mi abuelo empezó a oír hablar
- [+FEMININE
-PLURAL] C71 otra lápida de piedra de la que solo se entiende parte
- V80 ;Una gentuza a la que no tiene Ud. derecho a hablar!

[-MASCULINE
-FEMININE
(-PLURAL)]

S45 lo que me parece es que usted duerme más de
lo que dice

M42 vuelve a contarnos lo que hacía el Abuelito
con la Carbonera

[+MASCULINE
+PLURAL]

R172 pertenece...al casto de los que jamás podrán
entender un porvenir sencillo

G12 Fueron tiempos felices...durante los que...
revivía la epopeya familiar...

[+FEMININE
+PLURAL]

Z185 les proporcionó tres mujeres con las que se
metieron en el corral

D68 a oírle las viejas historias en las que...
volcaba sus nostalgias.

2.1.3.2 EL CUAL (etc.)

For reasons which will be discussed below, the series el cual (etc.) lacks the feature [-ANAPHORIC]. However, as shown in the chart at the end of this section, it has one more entry than el que, namely a double entry for the feature [NUMBER], because the plural is marked on both elements of this compound relative pronoun.

[+ANAPHORIC]

N9 nacen enseñados, gracias a lo cual reina la paz

B147 en la época del emperador Diocleciano, el
cual...había facilitado mucho las cosas a los
mártires

R203 llegó un día a partir del cual todo fue
distinto

- [+HUMAN] F110 un brigada, el cual se había portado muy bien
- K20 Era Sarah, la cual le preguntó si le apetecería tomar el té
- [-HUMAN
+ANIMATE] N109 presionando sobre la Naturaleza de la cual depende como el feto del cordón umbilical
- [-ANIMATE] D28 la escueta línea del arroyo, del otro lado del cual se alzaba el pueblo
- G41 Hubo un instante durante el cual la voz de Benny Moré cubrió nuestro silencio
- [+MASCULINE
-PLURAL] B168 actuaba de árbitro el señor Tild..., profesor de gimnasia, del cual pensaban los de cuatro que estaba vendido a los de quinto
- K24 un viejo mapa...en el cual están reseñados... en rojo calles...
- [+FEMININE
-PLURAL] K188 un día los comprenderemos a través de otra luz para la cual, hoy, estamos ciegos
- S131 le prestó una silla de ruedas, gracias a la cual...pudo ver las dos películas
- [-MASCULINE
-FEMININE
(-PLURAL)] Z177 el momento era dramático, pese a lo cual Manuel no podía aguantar la risa...
- MS40 oído lo cual, Dora se esponjaba
- [+MASCULINE
+PLURAL] Z31 los nuevos compañeros, uno de los cuales... se la tenía jurada
- K190 la Isla tenía 1.376.530 habitantes, de los cuales 793.484 eran blancos

[+FEMININE]
[+PLURAL]

MS101 dotado de dos hijas núbiles por una de las
cuales hizo saber que...

Z97 eran mujeres hermosas... algunas de las cuales
lloraba¹ de emoción.

An effective way of contrasting the versatility of the two series of compound relative pronouns with the performance of the single ones is to chart their morphological marking of features as follows, to determine the degree of grammatical information which they impart on the basis of their form.²

RELATIVE PRONOUN	GENDER	NUMBER	MASC. SING	FEM. SING	NEUT.	MASC. PLUR	FEM. PLUR	TOTAL
que	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
quien(es)	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	1
el. que (etc)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	7
la cual (etc)	✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	8

-
1. Presumably this is a misprint in the text and should read lloraban.
 2. Apart from this operation as a syntactic feature marker of gender and number, there is a further important grammatical function which is performed by the article in compound relative pronouns. This is considered in section 3 below.

2.2 TYPES OF RELATIVE CLAUSE

2.2.1 REVIEW OF MODERN LINGUISTIC THEORY OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

A relative clause is easier to define than to analyze. Bach (1974:257) defines it as "a sentence or remnant of a sentence that is used to modify a noun or noun phrase". MSSE (1973:421) provides a fuller definition: "a sentence embedded (in surface structure) as modifier of an NP, the embedded sentence having within it a WH-pronominal replacement for a deep-structure NP which is in some sense identical with the head NP". It is the nature not the fact of that modification which is the epicentre of the controversy, and the dispute based on modern linguistic theory has rumbled unabated for well over a decade. Cofer (1975:14) comments "several...structures have been proposed for the relative clause...none of these has won general acceptance".

Smith (1964) may be taken as one of the more significant rumblings, to judge by the facts that (i) her article can, according to Yotsukura (1970:25) be interpreted as an attempt to re-state former theory in the transformational grammar format, and (ii) that it is still being taken into account, albeit critically, a whole decade later by, for example, Lucas (1974) and Werth (1974). Smith stresses that not every NP can accept a relative clause, and constraints must be introduced which depend upon the determiner of the NP in question, because its "determiner ...is the decisive element in the acceptance of relative clauses". She indicates the two types of relative clause: "restrictive¹, with wh directly following the noun, and appositive¹, with wh separated from the noun by a comma or comma intonation".

1. For ease of discussion, the following abbreviations will be used: RRC(s) = restrictive relative clause(s), NRRC(s) = unrestricted (appositive) clause(s).

Smith argues that not all NPs can grammatically accept both kinds of relative clause, because the quality of grammaticalness is dependent upon the determiner of the containing NP and the kind of relative that occurs with it. She concludes that selectional restrictions apply between determiners and relative clauses. The restrictions establish three classes of determiners. Some are able to accept only NRRCs; others accept only RRCs; yet others accept both types. The latter are the definite and indefinite articles.

The relative clause transformation, as outlined by Smith, depends upon a shared NP, with one sentence embedded within another as a relative clause. The substantive of the NP and the relative markers of the NP is identical in both sentences. After illustrating the relative clause transformation, she deals with an optional deletion transformation which deletes wh from certain relative clauses. This transformation, when applied to RRCs, produces postnominal modifiers and intermediate structures from which prenominal modifiers are formed. Her examples of the production of postnominal modifiers include the following, from which the bracketed forms are removed by the wh - deletion:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Prepositional phrase: | 14 He married a girl (who is)
from Texas |
| Sentence: | 15 I know a man (whom) George
knows |
| Adjective + complement: | 17 He climbed a mountain (that
is) higher than Everest |
| Adjective and intermediate form: | 18 I heard something (that was)
odd |

Smith maintains that, for NPs which have the determiners the, a and zero, indefiniteness is associated with postnominal position

and definiteness with prenominal position. As regards the deletion transformation, she states that an RRC "of the form 'wh is Adj + complement' is available for the deletion transformation only if the determiner in the containing nounphrase is not definite". A distinction must be drawn between a and the as regards definiteness. One of the methods Smith uses concerns predicate sentences. She provides three pairs of sentences which have the specified determiner the in the object NP. The first of each pair has no relative clause and is usually considered odd by native speakers, although not agrammatical; but the addition of an embedded RRC is seen to render the sentence fully acceptable. For example:

42 The janitor is the philosopher.

45 The janitor is the philosopher with whom I discuss Kant.

Smith concludes from this that predicate sentences must contain RRCs if certain specified determiners occur in the object position: "If the object nounphrase has the, it is obligatory that a relative clause be embedded to it". Dealing then with the subject and predicate NPs of a predicate sentence, Smith states that they have different constraints with respect to relative clauses because, on her analysis, they differ in definiteness. Only when it has the definite determiner can the predicate NP stand alone; also NRRCs (which are associated with definiteness) are not embedded if the predicate NP has the indefinite determiner, as for example:

52 * He is an anthropologist, whom I met at a party last week.

Whereas sentences with the determiners a, the and zero may contain either type of relative clause, certain predicate sentences obligatorily contain RRCs, and others exclude NRRCs.

The grammar must therefore make fine distinctions among these three particular determiners to distinguish subject and predicate positions. Her final conclusion is that NRRCs (or the possibility of embedding them) are to be associated with definiteness, and RRCs with indefiniteness.

These conclusions have not gone unchallenged. Bach maintains that if Smith is right and only RRCs can be supported by indefinite NPs, then we should expect no corresponding ambiguity in phrases involving nouns with the indefinite article. That is, if 21 but not 22 is possible, then we should expect no ambiguity in 23:

- 21. I saw someone who was an Eskimo
- 22. I saw someone, who was an Eskimo
- 23. I saw an Eskimo.

"Unfortunately the facts seem to be rather cloudy here and the most I can say is that they are approximately as cloudy for indefinite NPs without relative clauses as they are for those with relative clauses" (1968:95).

Bach's own thesis is that definite NPs can support both types of relative clause. He covers part of the theoretical area dealt with by Smith, and-(to continue his own metaphor) manages to dispel some of the clouds which overshadow NPs and these clauses. His point of departure is not determiners in NPs and their effect on relative clauses, but the genesis of nouns themselves, which he links with relative clauses. He claims that the deep structure of sentences in different languages is identical because there is a universal set of rules for the Base, so that his contribution to the theory may be judged as if relevant to Spanish. His claim is,

however, not enhanced by the fact that, as he admits, virtually all his examples are English structures. He does mention that the increasingly abstract Base rules of English give an appearance which is less and less like surface structures, and he quotes the Lakoff-Postal suggestion that the English classes of verbs and adjectives are two subclasses of one category, which would, apparently, make English resemble Japanese! The claim revolves around the postulation that Ns, Adjs and Vs are all represented by one category in the base component. Bach here highlights an area of controversy. Chomsky's binary analysis of sentences in Aspects denotes "subject" and "object" as "functions", and "NP", "N", "V", etc., as categorial labels which he viewed separately in formulating strings like

$$S \rightarrow NP VP, VP \rightarrow V NP, \text{ etc.}$$

For Chomsky, the functional labels could be derived from Constituent Structure analysis and were redundant. Others hold that these definitions should take precedence over categorial terms. Other linguists favour determining elements in the deep structure as "agentive", "instrumental", "locative", "causative". This is well argued by Fillmore (1970). Together with the distinction implied by maintaining that action clauses in English seem to be organized on an "ergative" rather than a "nominative" basis, these redefinitions could, it seems to me, be held to support Bach. They emphasise rather the conceptual idea than its specific mode of expression, the thought rather than the word.

Bach's first major point is that all Ns are derived from relative clauses which are based upon the predicate nominal

constituent. This would appear to be a reasonable and logical extension of two basic concepts; firstly, that complex sentences are combinations of simple sentences, in a more-or-less transmogrified form, and secondly, Chomsky's early view that in the simplest phrase structure grammar there was no reason to incorporate 'BE' in the verb class:

VP = V + NP or VP = BE + Predicate.

Chomsky went further, paving the way for Bach: "there are certain NPs of the form 'to+VP, ing+VP' ('to prove that theorem', 'providing that theorem')". This type of NP "must be introduced by a 'nominalizing transformation' which converts a sentence of the form 'NP-VP' into a NP of the form 'to+VP', or 'ing+VP'" (1957:67ff). Bach's claim concerning the derivation of Ns runs counter to established rules which derive them from underlying relative clauses containing verbs and adjectives, based on elements like 'something', 'someone', 'the one', but excluding relative clauses with predicate nominals. The established position is the one adopted by MSSE (1973:440), which tentatively doubts that "the predicate nominal is... really an NP", and categorically states that "relativization must be blocked on predicate nominals" (p.438). However, its example (33(b)) is unconvincing:

33 (a) That man is a lawyer

 (b) *The lawyer that that man is leaves early,

because the following are valid:

 (i) A lawyer, which that man is, leaves early

 (ii) That man is a lawyer who leaves early

 (iii) That man is a lawyer, who leaves early.

In (ii) the phonological stress falls on early, so that (ii) describes the type of lawyer which this particular individual is,

an early-leaver. In (iii) the stress is on lawyer, and early, and (iii) means that early leaving is a characteristic of (any) lawyer. Therefore (i) and (iii) carry the same meaning, which suggests that 33(b) is unnecessarily forced.

Bach postulated that all Ns are generated from:

Det + one + S

S → Det + one + Aux + BE + Predicate nominal.

The predication has a shape like "someone is an anthropologist". Part of his justification for this is based on an examination of RRCs and NRRCs. He illustrates the distinction between the two types of clause by sentences (13) and (14):

(13) Eskimos who live in igloos have lots of fun.

(14) Eskimos, who live in igloos, have lots of fun.

To interpret Bach here, we might state that, firstly, the NRRC provides gratuitous information which is no more than incidental to the main clause, whereas the RRC of (13) associates the degree of enjoyment with the type of dwelling. The information contributed by an NRRC is variously described. Smith calls it "in a sense independent", Hadlich describes it as "incidental descriptive information" (1971:136), and Lucas (1974:84) cites Jespersen's definition that RRCs "give a necessary determination to the antecedent, and therefore make it more precise", whereas NRRCs "may be discarded without serious injury to the precise understanding of the sentence as a whole". On the other hand, Posner (see Lerner 1975:392) reformulates the embedding principle so that the embedded sentence, instead of being "of less communicative relevance", cannot have greater relevance than the matrix

sentence¹, and Taglicht (1972:3) prefers the different notion of separability anyway. Bach stresses the ambiguity which arises from the reduction of relative clauses as in sentence (15) The philosophical Greeks liked to talk, which could be expanded on the pattern of either (13) or (14). Such reductions as that in (15) "maintain the semantic difference while erasing the formal difference".

Although some of Bach's later examples are German, he omits to comment on a significant contrast between English and German in the marking of this "formal difference" between the two types of clause. English can (on the preferred interpretation) mark the semantic difference in two ways: phonologically, the stress falls on philosophical if the reduced clause were an RRC in the expanded version, and on Greeks if it were an NRRC;

1. This appears in Lerner's review of Posner's Theorie des Kommentierens, eine Grundlagenstudie zue Semantik und Pragmatik. Part of the definition of "comment" is: "if an item of information F_j which is part of F_j occurs as an argument in F_k , we call F_k a 'comment on F_j '. The commentor denies the content only of the main clause in negation: so in (28) the commentor (c) denies only the crossing of the frontier, not the report:

- (28a) Wie der Geheimdienst berichtete, haben die Soldaten die Grenze überschritten
 (b) Dass die Soldaten die Grenze überschritten haben, berichtete der Geheimdienst
 (c) Das stimmt nicht.

Posner then argues that NRRCs are not directly "commentable", and contrary to what happens in "commentations" upon (RRCs) the parenthetical information drops out of the comment. So any "comment" on NRRCs would not apply to the embedded clause:

- (32a) Heath, der unverheiratet ist, beglückwünschte Trudeau gestern zur Eheschliessung
 (b) Heath, der Trudeau gestern zur Eheschliessung beglückwünschte, ist unverheiratet.

"If the speaker himself signals the non-essential nature of an item of information, the comment upon the whole sentence ignores this information. It not only remains outside the scope of the commentor, but is left out of the comment entirely".

syntactically, the marker is the presence or absence of the comma between the clauses¹. German, however, always places commas between clauses; its syntactic mark of the RRC is the distinctive relative pronoun derjenige, employed instead of the NRRC's pronoun der.

Bach takes "conjunction of sentences" as the basis for NRRCs. This is well reflected in the treatment found in Wardhaugh (1972):

51. The girls, who wore raincoats, left early

52. The girls who wore raincoats left early.

The sentences 51 and 52 have different meanings, as we can see if we relate them to sentences 53 and 54:

53. The girls left early and they were wearing raincoats

54. The girls wearing raincoats left early, but the ones wearing swimsuits stayed.

The difference in meaning arises from the fact that sentence 51 derives from an underlying S,S structure:

[the girls left early] [the girls wore raincoats].

On the other hand, sentence 52 derives from an underlying relative clause structure:

the girls² [the girls² wore raincoats] left early.

Bach proposes, however, that this system of referential indexing which is normally used to provide identity of reference and which is supplied "to keep both semantic interpretation and syntactic facts straight", be replaced by a "system of variables much like those used in symbolic logic", to tie together the sentences which underlie complex utterances. For example,

99. Some x drove downtown and x robbed a bank

and 100. Some x drove downtown and some y such that x≠y robbed a bank.

1. This is an oversimplification, as a consideration of the Spanish data below will show.

Among the benefits accruing from this suggestion would be one that concerns the theory expounded by Smith. Bach's system would assign discrete interpretations to indefinite NPs and their embedded sentences. He gives as an example:

102. She wants to marry a man with a big bank account, the ambiguity of which could be dispelled by his scheme thus (in which \hat{S} is Bach's "linguistic analogue of the existence operator (say some)"):

106. Some x [\hat{S} x^2 has a big bank account and she wants to marry x].

107. She wants [\hat{S} some x [\hat{S} x has a big bank account and she marry x]].

Again, it is disappointing that Bach considers only English here. German would, of course, like English, have an ambiguity in the reduced form; but French and Spanish would more naturally expand the description into a relative clause and further distinguish between desiderative and actual existence by transferring to the conditional in French:

elle veut se marier avec un homme qui a un important
compte en banque

elle voudrait se marier avec un homme qui aurait un
important compte en banque,

and to the subjunctive in Spanish:

(ella) quiere casarse con un hombre que tiene una cuenta
considerable en el banco

(ella) quisiera casarse con un hombre que tenga una cuenta
considerable en el banco.

It is unclear whether these facts are recognized by Blumenthal (1976:85ff), who comments on the examples

je cherche une étudiante qui $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sait} \\ \text{sache} \end{array} \right\}$ l'espagnol

that the IA does not necessarily imply existence: "geht dem vom Relativsatz determinierten Substantiv der unbestimmte Artikel voraus, entsteht keine spezifische Präsupposition", whereas the DA does imply existence, because "die Verben der Hauptsätze...assertieren, was der Gebrauch des bestimmten Artikels normalerweise präsupponiert, nämlich die reale Existenz des Bezeichneten".¹ Commenting upon a similar English sentence, Taglicht (1972:16f) suggests that the verb look for and its relationship with its object may be responsible for the ambiguity; this would not commend itself as a solution in the light of sentences (102) and the French and Spanish expansions suggested here, although Rivero (1977) discusses the same problem and calls Vs like querer "verbs of propositional attitude". She claims that definite and indefinite NPs behave alike in sentences of the form un sombrero que es/sea rojo. Rojas (1977) disagrees because his informants find a DA incompatible with the subjunctive; he believes that a DA and a RRC in the indicative presuppose the existence of the referent of the N. Rivero's reply (1977) insists that neither indicative, nor subjunctive, with definite descriptions implies the existence of something which fits the description.

Although some are mordantly critical of Smith's article, the authors of MSSE single it out as a notable contribution to "earlier formulations of the deep structures of relative clauses" (1973:423). This is the Art-S analysis, by which they define RRCs as "sentences embedded in the Determiner constituent of the

1. These statements may be translated : (a) "no specific presupposition arises if the substantive determined by the relative clause is preceded by the indefinite article"; and (b) "the verbs of (the) main sentences assert what the usage of the definite article normally presupposes, namely the actual existence of the (one) indicated".

nounphrase". The grammatical function performed by the RRC is, on this view, "closely related to that of other constituents of the determiner, namely to delimit the potential domain of reference of the head noun". Two factors are adduced as evidence in favour of this analysis, the correlation with deictics and the post-positing of possessive correlates. But they also outline three problems to do with embedding which this Art-S analysis would leave unsolved, problems which the alternative proposal of Bach (and others) of an NP-S analysis would preclude. The NP-S analysis, based on the view that RRCs are conjoined sentences in deep structure, would satisfy the conditions required by Cressey (whose analysis is reviewed below because it relates to Spanish) because it "allows relativization on indefinite NP's... and yet guarantees that WH-pronominalization will apply to a definite NP". Yet another analysis is the NOM-S view, which they attribute to Dean, by which the relative clause modifies the matrix N, not the matrix NP as a whole. This is an improved version of the NP-S formulation. Unfortunately they concentrate on RRCs only.

Taglicht (1972:3) implicitly accepts Smith's Art-S analysis because he approvingly quotes Strang's definition of the NRRC in terms which highlight its contrast with the RRC as defined under the Art-S analysis above, namely that it does not indicate "a limitation on the possible reference of the antecedent". He improves upon the definition by adding the characteristics of reversibility and separability. The former reflects the ability of the matrix and the relative clause to be reversed without destroying semantic equivalence; the latter is the ability for the relative clause to be separated from the matrix and still to

preserve semantic equivalence, the relative pronoun becoming a personal one.

Sentences (1) and (2) together indicate reversibility, sentences (1) and (3) together indicate separability:

- (1) We met John, who knew the way
- (2) John, whom we met, knew the way
- (3) We met John. He knew the way.

RRCs do not manifest either of these characteristics. Taglicht presents a type of relative clause which he calls "alternative":

- (102) The wise person-who was really looking ahead-would prepare in good time.

He claims that (102) evinces a strange combination of features belonging to RRCs and NRRCs: it has the intonation or punctuation features of the latter but other features not associated with NRRCs. These are (i) it has no that, which is the more common relative pronoun associated with NRRCs; (ii) the tense should not be past; (iii) the semantic content is not parenthetical because wise is synonymous with forward looking, and (102) does not contrast people who have both characteristics with those who have only the first. There is nothing to commend Taglicht's suggested "alternative" clause. Point (i), on his own admission, is not an exclusive feature of the NRRC; point (ii) is unintelligible; point (iii) wrongly implies that the person or thing defined in the NRRC is not always synonymous with its referent in the matrix NP, which is an extraordinary idea. In short, the reason why (102) has the intonation/punctuation features of an NRRC is that that is precisely what it is. Lucas (1974:94, footnote) discusses a

similar sentence, and also rejects Taglicht, but on other grounds, that his conception of intonation characteristics is too narrow.

In a study which is more restricted than Taglicht's because like MSSE it concentrates on only one type, in this case NRRCs, Delorme and Dougherty (1972) take Smith's article into account, but make only a passing reference to Bach. They attempt to show that Smith's grammar, based on the assumption that nonrestrictive constructions like John, a good salesman, derive from an underlying NRRC, "cannot easily describe appositive constructions such as we, the students, or us, the honest policemen" (page 5), and on the basis of NRRCs they also attack Postal's assertion that pronouns are articles. Their own ANP analysis contains two unresolved difficulties, however. Firstly, because they deduce that non-restrictive modifiers modify the entire NP including the determiner, they prefer to exclude all nonrestrictive modifiers from the modified NP, so that in few examples (,) which support his case the NRRC modifies the NP few examples but the RRC modifies only the N examples. They doubt that Smith's grammar could handle this, which is not surprising, because they appear to contradict themselves. Do they not mean to state precisely the opposite, that the NRRC modifies examples, and the restrictive modifiers should be excluded from the modified NP, so that the RRC effectively becomes few...which support his case? Compare Kuroda (1969:286), who says that in the red object which lay on the table, it is the adjective red which may be restrictive or nonrestrictive; I accept the former, which coincides with my criticism of Delorme and Dougherty, but doubt whether red has any relevance in the NRRC version, which concentrates its modification on the N. Lucas (1974:110) regards their argument as dubious, stating that they

overlook that in few examples, which are necessary to any argument the NRRC is attached to the nominal head examples¹. My second objection to Delorme and Dougherty resides in their accepting as grammatical the appositive construction with a definite article we the people of the United States spoken without comma intonation. This particular construction seems to me to be without warrant for English (compare Freyre 1974:112 for Spanish), even though Sommerstein (1972:206) finds it justified: "the never introduces a first or second person NP (except in such cases as We the people of the United States, where derivation from appositive relatives is syntactically and semantically reasonable".² (His statement adds that this represents the sole exception, and that normally "a person using an NP introduced by the to refer to himself or his addressee must use a third person verb form". Delorme and Dougherty perceive a problem in that the third person plural appositive forms seem "quite peculiar".) Aspects of this will be discussed below in the light of the Spanish data.

Whereas Taglicht implicitly commends Smith, and MSSE explicitly does so, and Ryden (1970) reviews Smith with only partial reservations, and Delorme and Dougherty reject her article only after cautious investigation, Werth (1974:5) categorically castigates Smith as a "somewhat runic analysis". He regards Bach's article as an important contribution but holds that Smith's fails because it is based on a false premise. It attempts to account for relativization in terms of syntactic rather than semantic processes, and conceals more than it reveals because it

-
1. Lucas deals more specifically with restrictive and nonrestrictive adjectives in Lucas (1975).
 2. Sommerstein's article, like that of Delorme and Dougherty, appeared in 1972, yet neither refers to the other, so that they may be taken as independent attacks on Postal (1966).

makes a semantic distinction by syntactic dummy symbols. He finds "less gnomic" (!) than Smith the Jacobs and Rosenbaum analysis based on structure, which derives NRRCs from conjoined sentences and RRCs from NP-subordination. But in Werth's view they fail to explain the semantic distinction, which is more essential than the fairly superficial syntactic process. That process he defines in four clear stages (see p.37) which are conventional, but he is less clear in dealing with the semantic distinctions which he regards as so vital. However, he makes two interesting observations regarding NRRCs: firstly, conjunction is not their only source; secondly, as regards their information content, many "perhaps most...do not, contrary to the usual explanation, simply add further information about the antecedent". He speculates that the information function of NRRCs is to "relate the matrix proposition to its context, by means of expressions of causation, reason, concession, temporal sequence, and perhaps others" (p.43f).

Like Werth, Lucas (1974:83f) is harshly critical of previous theories, but unlike Werth's his criticism is more all-embracing: "the traditional binary classification of English relative clauses and usually in its crudest form...is particularly true of T-G grammarians, notably Lees, Carlota Smith, Bach, Jacobs and Rosenbaum, Langendoen, as well as Chomsky himself". He attacks their allegedly uncritical acceptance of the traditional bipartite division, and claims to present "a more comprehensive, and therefore better, grammar" (p.117), based explicitly on surface structure, not on "explorations of supposed deep structure and controversial transformations" (p.83). Unfortunately his article does not

fulfil these promises. Finding the intonational distinction between the types of clause more reliable than the semantic one (contrast Werth), he re-christens them to reflect the former, so that RRCs become "Tight Relatives" (hardly the most felicitous of phrases...!), which have the same intonation group as the antecedent, and NRRCs become "Loose Relatives" (!), which comprise an intonation group of their own. This notion may owe much to Robbins, who discussed "loose" and "close" clauses¹. That this step is poorly motivated is confirmed by his own later statement that "the intonational distinction between tight and loose relative clauses should not be taken as the last word in classification nor...as necessarily the main distinction" (p.100). Nevertheless, his discussion of the two types, whatever their nomenclature, is helpful, although he fails to capitalize upon his initial insight, which is to discern a distinction between RRCs introduced by the DA and those introduced by the IA:

- (i) The } girl who recognized you smiled.
 (ii) A }

Sentence (i) comprises the two elements girl and the...who recognized you (not the girl + who... or the + girl who...), so that the antecedent and the relative clause are mutually independent. Sentence (ii) comprises the two elements a and girl who recognized you, where the relative clause depends on girl. Where this analysis breaks down is in the deductions which Lucas makes. I shall enumerate these for clarity, and add comments in brackets:

1. Beverly Robbins (1962). In my copy (Mouton, 1968) this reference is on p.87.

1. In (i) the has a linking function with the relative pronoun, whereas in (ii) the relative pronoun is the sole link. (If so, why is (ii) not analyzed as a girl + who recognized you?).
2. (i) has a subordinate clause, and (ii) is an "essential constituent". (Is not the opposite the case?).
3. In (i) the relative clause is "rankshifted into the determiner, the marker of its function in that role being the, which is not the determiner but a cataphoric the which is a "determinative marker". This is a development of Art-S. (Is the new distinction meaningful for English, without further elucidation? It will be seen below that a not very dissimilar distinction can be appropriate to a new type of Spanish relative clause).
4. RRCs may be called "nominal constituent clauses". (In the light of his own deduction (2) above, can such a description be applied to both (i) and (ii)? Should not the distinction between the component elements be further exploited?).

Lucas might have made more of his own insight especially when diagramming the difference between the two types of clause (p.110):

TIGHT (determiner dominating whole of the nominal group, including the relative clause):

(79) They kept some hedgehogs (that - that wouldn't eat lettuce

LOOSE (relative clause is a separate sentence):

(80) They kept some turkeys (which - which are always difficult to breed.



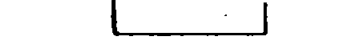
His undeveloped comment that the links of the two clauses with their respective antecedents are different in quality ignores the difference which he himself has highlighted within the RRCs. That

initial insight is the most important factor in his analysis, and I propose to relate it to the Spanish data. Another factor which promised at first mention to be a new insight was what Lucas calls the "Indeterminate Clause". This parallels Taglicht's proposal of an "Alternative Clause", because Lucas declares that one of the main weaknesses of the conventional view is that a large number of clauses are not recognisably RRCs or NRRCs, often owing to omission of punctuation. However, when he comes to define his Indeterminates (p.112) he rather weakly admits this section to be less well argued, and leaves the concept as a proposal for further study. In Lucas (1975:164), however, he makes another reference to his Indeterminate Clauses, in discussing "indeterminate adjectives", without developing his theory.

An article which is less germane to the present study, although it deals with the central issue of relative clauses, namely embedding, is that by Schlesinger (1975). He deals with multiple applications of the principle of embedding and discusses the fact that sentences of this type are incomprehensible to most speakers, despite the fact that "sentences with any number of recursive center-embeddings are considered grammatical by Chomskyan linguists" (p.53). Compare Cooper (1976:205). There is, however, one very relevant insight in Schlesinger's study, the factor of "double function nouns", that is, that a N which is the subject of one clause may simultaneously be the object of another. This insight, like several noted earlier, will be helpful to an understanding of Spanish relative clauses.

The insights derived from this review of the modern theories will now be applied to Spanish. Figure 10 is an attempt to correlate and synthesize the various theories to form a framework within which to investigate the Spanish data.

FIGURE 10

ANALYSIS	TYPE OF MODIFICATION	MEANING	RELEVANT THEORIES	ORIGIN	TYPE OF CLAUSE
ART - S	Art + N + Relative CI 	The -I took picture - was out of focus	Compare C. Smith. Contrast Delorme & Dougherty. Compare Taglicht (RRCs not reversible and separable because not equipollent).	NP subordination	RRC
NP - S	Det + N + Relative CI 	The picture - I took the picture - was out of focus	Compare Werth (relative clause depends on 'girl'). Contrast MSSE on Bach. Contrast Lucas (1974) on influence of article in RRCs' origin	NP subordination	RRC
NOM - S	Det + <u>N</u> + Relative CI 	The picture - I took a (certain picture) - was out of focus	Compare Lucas (1974) Contrast MSSE (that NOM-S is improved version of NP-S;) that NOM-S = RRC. Compare MSSE (p.30: NRRCs from conjunction). Contrast Delorme & Dougherty. Compare Taglicht. Compare Werth (that conjunction is only <u>a</u> source of NRRCs)	Conjunction of sentences	NRRC

2.3 RESTRICTIVE AND NONRESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES IN SPANISH

This section looks at some of the types of relative clause in modern Spanish and attempts to define the grammatical function which the article performs in them. It analyzes what grammars of Spanish have to say concerning the terminology, origin, information content, types of relative pronoun and types of antecedent of RRCs and NRRCs, before analyzing the data from the corpus, and investigating the Spanish phenomena in the light of Figure 10.

According to Fernández (1950:340), Spanish grammars have followed Bello's distinction between RRCs ("especificativo") and NRRCs ("explicativo"). This is true not only of grammars published before that of Fernández (for example, the Academy (1931:323), but also of subsequent works; compare Gili y Gaya (1955:277), Martínez Amador (1966:999), the Academy again (1973:525), and Alcina and Blecua (1975:1024). The other terms which Bello uses for these clauses, "subordinado" (RRCs) and "incidente" (NRRCs), may be compared with "determinativo" and "incidental" in Martínez and the Academy, and Harmer and Norton's "defining" and "non-defining" (1957:130).

Bello's treatment is so characteristically thorough that Martínez gives some space to a summary of two factors in it. Unfortunately, however, he misinterprets Bello when he attempts to summarize the latter's distinction between the two clauses:

estableciendo la diferencia entre ambas, dice el ilustre gramático que el relativo que inicia la oración determinativa hace en cierto modo el oficio de la conjunción y.

If this interpretation of Bello were correct, Bello would be stating that RRCs were co-ordinate. That view would of course conflict with the synthesis of the theories outlined above, which is confirmed by Langendoen (1971:93), who gives as an example of an NRRC (or appositive):

5.122 The Chinese, who are industrious, control the economy of Singapore;

he states that such clauses are not subordinate to their antecedent N, but co-ordinate, so that the sentence may be restructured to read:

5.124 The Chinese are industrious and they control the economy of Singapore.

Compare Lee's interpretation of Chomsky (1971:4). What Bello actually said was, in fact, the exact opposite of Martínez's interpretation. His example was las señoras, que deseaban descansar, se retiraron. He commented:

la proposición especificativa se llama subordinada, y la proposición de que ésta depende subordinante. La proposición explicativa se llama incidente, y la de que ésta depende principal. Las proposiciones incidentes son en cierto modo independientes, y así es que sin alterar en nada el sentido del anterior ejemplo, se podía decir: "Las señoras deseaban descansar y se retiraron". (p.123).

Bello was stressing that it is NRRCs ("incidentes") which are co-ordinate because they have a certain independence, so his view is harmonious with the relevant part of the synthesis of Figure 10.

Martínez Amador makes, however, an important contribution of his own to the theory concerning co-ordination. Because of its co-ordinative quality, the NRRC can be omitted without destroying the meaning of the main clause. This concords with views expressed in the theories outlined above. There is a

paradox here. The RRC, despite its subordinate character is essential to the correct interpretation of the main clause. The more independent quality of the NRRC is stressed by the Academy (1973:526), which echoes some of the theories reviewed earlier in stating that "por esta independencia que las explicativas tienen respecto a la principal, algunos gramáticos las consideran como sencillamente coordinadas".

Another vital point raised by Martínez concerns the possibility of replacing que by other relative pronouns. (Compare the unusual view expressed by Hensey (1973) regarding origin, information content and choice of pronoun). Replacement of que, Martínez claims, is possible in the NRRC but not in the RRC (1966:1000). He is careful to note exceptions to this which appear in the treatment by the Academy (1931). Those exceptions disappear, however, in the Academy's Esbozo (1973), which expresses itself in virtually identical terms to those of Martínez:

que puede sustituirse por el cual en las explicativas, pero no en las especificativas. Así podemos decir: los estudiantes, que estaban lejos, no veían la pizarra, o bien : los estudiantes, los cuales estaban lejos, no veían la pizarra; pero no podríamos hacer esta sustitución en Los estudiantes que estaban lejos no veían la pizarra, por tratarse de una especificativa que se refiere sólo a los estudiantes que estaban lejos, y no a todos los estudiantes (p.529).

The remarkable thing about this definition is that the two grammars flatly contradict Bello. Bello's statement, actually, discusses substitution with el que not el cual, but the grammars all equate the two compound relative pronouns. The Academy (1973: 220) takes care to exempt the el que of usage I from the comparison, but otherwise identifies both series of compound relatives:

lo mismo que acabamos de decir de el que, la que ... cabe decir de los grupos el cual, la cual, los cuales, las cuales, lo cual, tanto más cuanto que el artículo + cual, a diferencia del artículo + que, no aparecen nunca en posición inmediata y en relación sintáctica directa si no es para desempeñar esta función de pronombre relativo compuesto: La ciudad en la cual pasé mi infancia = en la que pasé = en que pasé; El pintor al cual me presentaron = al que me presentaron = a quien me presentaron, etc.

The only qualification which Ramsey would make upon this is a contextual one, that el cual occurs in more literary style (1956:198), a view which is echoed by Jones (1948:402). Compare Carnicer (1969:80f), who takes issue with the converse opinion that use of cual is a stylistic impoverishment. Therefore Ramsey states that "the two do not differ in meaning...el cual or el que is substituted for quien and que", and he then details various circumstances under which the substitution takes place. Judging by statements which he makes in various paragraphs¹, Bello's total treatment of the subject would concur with this viewpoint, the only proviso being that he regrets the frequency of el que instead of el cual. In the light, therefore, of the general agreement that the two series of relatives may be equated, it can be demonstrated that the view of the Academy (1973) and Martínez mentioned above, namely that the compound relative may replace que in NRRCs but not in RRCs, conflicts with that of Bello. Commenting on his own example, las señoras, que deseaban descansar, se retiraron, he maintains that "si suprimiésemos señoras diríamos en el sentido explicativo ellas, que, y en el especificativo, las que" (p.123). Bello is alone in this, but the anomaly will be explained in Section 2.4 below and resolved in 2.5.

1. Paragraphs 323, 325, 345, 1075 and 1077.

Hadlich, who devotes twenty pages to a consideration of relative subordination, also disagrees with Bello. Hadlich's statement relates to occasions where the compound relative must be used for clarity, but it is otherwise applicable to Bello's example: "el que and el cual ... are ... used in nonrestrictive clauses when the antecedent is at some distance from the relative" (p.138)¹. Hadlich's treatment merits some consideration, especially in view of his ambitious claim to have written a complete TG for Spanish. He gives as an example of an NRRC:

H1 las muchachas, que sabían la verdad, se enrojecieron².
 He comments that "there is no restriction of the clause que sabían la verdad in its application to muchachas". This is less than accurately expressed. It would be better to state that there is no restriction of se enrojecieron to the set of girls who are characterized as knowledgeable. This definition strongly implies that RRCs have an entire NP, rather than a single N, as their antecedent. Therefore Hadlich's second example,

H2 las muchachas que sabían la verdad se enrojecieron,
 really has the connotation of las muchachas sabías se enrojecieron.

In this respect, the German language evinces considerable versatility. German is unable to distinguish the two types of relative clause by the orthographic convention of a distinctive punctuation, but it can have recourse to a powerful embedding device which transforms a relative clause into a prenominal adjectival phrase, as well as being able to avail itself of the additional special relative pronoun derjenige, diejenige,

-
1. This restriction is denied by the facts presented from the corpus; see section 2.3 below.
 2. Hadlich does not enumerate his examples, but they are designated in this way for clarity and ease of reference in the present treatment.

dasjenige, diejenigen, which is used to signal RRCs. (In the first three forms of this compound relative pronoun, the gender is revealed by the first element, namely der, masculine, die, feminine, and das, neuter; the second element, jenig- derives from the pronoun jener 'that', and carries the adjectival ending of the nominative single form found following the determiner; the plural form is common to all three genders). To illustrate the distinction between the RRCs' relative pronoun series derjenige (etc.) and the NRRCs' series der, etc., (which is, of course, the DA employed pronominally, with tonic stress), Hadlich's two examples may be translated into German as:

Ger 1 Die Mädchen, die die Wahrheit wussten, erröteten
(NRRC or RRC : 'The girls, who knew the truth, blushed').

Ger 2 Die Mädchen, diejenigen die die Wahrheit wussten, erröteten (RRC : 'The girls, the ones who knew the truth, blushed')¹.

The RRC of Ger 2 may, as stated, be transformed into a prenominal adjectival phrase. This operates by a triple transformation. The first transformation changes the finite verb of the subordinate clause (wussten) into a present participle used adjectivally, with of course the appropriate adjective inflection (wissenden).

S.D: Die Mädchen, diejenigen die die Wahrheit
 X 1 2 3 4 5 6
 wussten, erröteten
 7 8 Y

T: finite verb → adjective (7 → 9)

S.C: X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Y ⇒ X 1 2 3 4 5 6 9 8 Y.

1. The English is so worded here as to exemplify the German; English can, of course, simply omit the commas to denote a RRC.

The resulting structure is asyntactic:

- * Die Mädchen, diejenigen die die Wahrheit wissenden, erröteten.

This ungrammatical sentence is converted into a grammatical surface structure by two further steps, which comprise relative clause reduction. First, the double, restrictive relative pronoun die jenigen die must be omitted, because it is redundant in an adjectival phrase.

S.D: * Die Mädchen, diejenigen die die Wahrheit
 X 1 2 3 4 5 6
 wissenden, erröteten
 9 8 Y

T: deletion of relative pronoun

S.C: X 12345698 Y \implies X 125698 Y

At this stage, the structure is still asyntactic:

- * Die Mädchen, die Wahrheit wissenden, erröteten

Secondly, the adjectival phrase must be transposed to the normal position occupied by attributive adjectives in German, namely:

Det Adj N.

S.D: * Die Mädchen, die Wahrheit wissenden, erröteten
 X 1 2 5 6 9 8 Y

T: adjective phrase transposition

S.C: X 1 2 5 6 9 8 Y \implies X 1 5 6 9 2 8 Y

The final result of all these steps, which may be ordered differently without disturbing the mechanism, is a sentence with an embedded adjectival phrase which is understood to be restrictive:

Ger 3 Die die Wahrheit wissenden Mädchen erröteten,
 which has the shape Det Det N Adj N V.

As noted earlier, German always employs commas to separate dependent clauses from principal ones, so that it requires these two devices to indicate restriction. Hadlich rightly points out that Spanish, like English, avails itself of both intonation and punctuation to signal the differences between the two types of relative clause: "the use of pauses separating the nonrestrictive clauses, accompanied by certain variations in intonation". (1971:136). He supplies a rule formulation to cover both types of relative clause. It is:

$$NP \rightarrow \text{det } n \ ((\underline{y}) S)^n.$$

The nth power symbolises potentially repeated occurrence. The optional inclusion of the conjunction y should be especially noted, because this is the element which enables Hadlich's rule to have application to both types of clause. He postulates a deep structure for the RRC version of las muchachas (,) que sabían la verdad (,) se enrojecieron which has the shape det N S, whereas the NRRC version has the shape det N y S.

This represents Hadlich's conception of NRRCs; he prefers to regard them merely as conjoined, and not necessarily coordinate. The two terms are loosely regarded as synonyms¹, so that this appears at first sight to be a distinction without a difference (indeed, as the following discussion shows, it remains unconvincing), but it is retained to help interpret Hadlich's view. He claims that his theory of conjunction enables a distinction to be drawn between the following sentences, which are here juxtaposed and enumerated for clarity and ease of reference.

1. The two terms might be useful to distinguish NP-coordination from sentential coordination, with (presumably) 'conjunction' to refer to the latter.

- H3 Carlos, que no es estúpido, recibió una F en el curso
- H4 Carlos (y Carlos no es estúpido) recibió una F en el curso
- H5 Carlos recibió una F en el curso y Carlos no es estúpido.

According to Hadlich, the deep structures H3 and H4 will be syntactically and phonologically identical in their surface structures. He therefore derives NRRCs "by embedding a sentence into a noun phrase and connecting it by the conjunction y". He claims that an alternative derivation of NRRCs from "full coordinate compound sentences" would postulate H5 as the deep structure of H3. He quotes Jacons and Rosenbaum in defence of this view. He regards the coordination theory as extremely clumsy as a method for handling complex sentences. However, any method would appear to lack finesse when an attempt is made to apply it to his model complex structure, La dependiente que servía en la tienda que recomendó ese señor que me presentaste me trató con una descortesía que disgustaba (!). That Hadlich is able to construct even a simplified tree diagram to represent this multiple embedding almost deserves the reverential awe with which Goldsmith's peasants viewed their village Schoolmaster.

Commenting upon H5, Hadlich accepts that it is a reasonable deep structure representation of H3, but suggests that, "because of the causal or concessive relationship between the non-restrictive clause and its antecedent, the clause should be in the first rather than the second position". (Compare Werth, above). That would give the rendering of H6:

- H6 Carlos no es estúpido y Carlos recibió una F en el curso.

Hadlich is certainly correct in detecting the need for some readjustment here, but his solution is, I suggest, wrong.

Neither H4 (which is his own postulated deep structure of H3 on the basis of conjoining), nor H5 or H6 (which he proposes as deep structure versions of H3 according to the interpretation that coordination is involved), can be regarded as conforming to his definition of NRRCs as those which provide "incidental descriptive information". The two clauses undoubtedly exhibit a mutual interdependence in all three versions, H4, H5 and H6. The unequivocal implication is that it is incongruous for a student of Carlos' IQ to have gained such a low grade. The inference is two fold : either the course was ineptly taught -

H3 (amendment (a)) - Carlos, que no es estúpido, recibió únicamente una F en el curso, porque los profesores no dominaban muy bien las materias ;

or the examination scripts were harshly assessed -

H3 (amendment (b)) - Carlos, que no es estúpido, recibió únicamente una F en el curso, porque el grado de aprobación era demasiado alto.

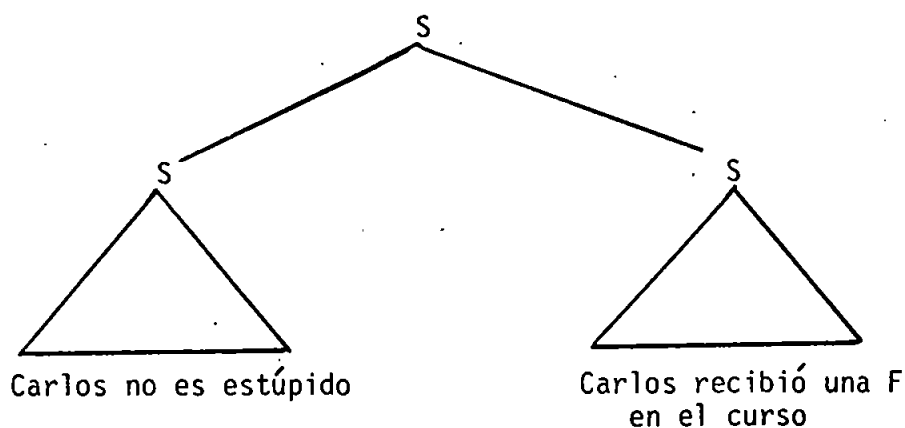
Neither amendment (a) nor amendment (b) exhausts the possible consequential expansions of H3 however. It could be that Carlos' misfortune was attributable to causes other than pedagogic; it could have been medical -

H3 (amendment (c)) - Carlos, que no es estúpido, recibió únicamente una F en el curso, porque estuvo enfermo el día del examen ;

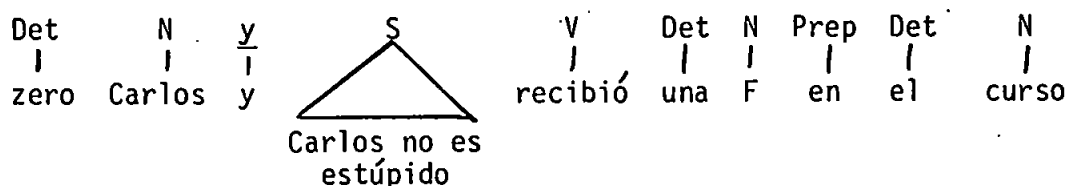
alternatively, and more topically, there might have been a political reason -

H3 (amendment (d)) - Carlos, que no es estúpido recibió únicamente una F en el curso, porque la universidad había sido clausurada seis meses debido a los alborotos estudiantiles.

Whatever form the possible expansion takes, and I have suggested four which would be perfectly meaningful, the operative factor is that the subordinate clause which is the NRRC in H3 is subordinate, so that it requires not a coordinating, but a subordinating conjunction of ideas, in the form of a causal adverbial clause. It is hard to determine how sentence H4 differs essentially from H5; the conjoining versus coordinating distinction is, in this instance, more apparent than real, and neither theory is satisfactory as an explanation of the NRRC nature of H3, because H3 is a special type of NRRC. On the basis of coordination, the deep structure representation might be as follows:-



On the basis of conjoining, the representation of the deep structure would be made, presumably, (although inadequately) in the following manner:



The weaknesses of this are two-fold. Firstly, there is no way to represent Det N S, the RRC version of H3, which we may call H7, and which would be rendered:

H7 * Carlos que no es estúpido recibió una F en el curso,

because it would, as shown, be asyntactic. Secondly, the Det node in the NP Carlos cannot be developed, and must be denoted as absent, or zero, as above. These two weaknesses are, of course, linked. They serve to emphasise the non-typical nature of H3 as an NRRC. The problem is that it contains a proper N, so that the determiner has to be rendered zero, unless the clause is an RRC, in which case it would imply that there are two students of different IQs, both named Carlos. It could read:

H8 el Carlos que no es estúpido recibió una F en el curso. Sentence H7 proves the validity of Smith's dictum that not all NPs can grammatically accept both kinds of relative clause. Hadlich recognizes this fact himself in a subsequent footnote, which must be quoted at length because it is to be partially refuted:

nonrestrictive clauses may apply to antecedents which have a unique referent (like yo, papa, Juan) but restrictive clauses may not. Thus yo, que soy muy bueno, te lo regalo is grammatical, but *yo que soy muy bueno te lo regalo is not (p.140).

He explains the difference on the grounds that RRCs identify one item of a group of many and such a restriction cannot apply to a N having only one referent. The explanation appears unexceptionable, yet the statement conflicts with the facts, at least as far as yo is concerned. Compare the following five examples, the first four of which are first person singular:

R104 Yo es que...no acabo de entender a los toreros grandes

A112 Se necesita ser zorrón, y yo que la conozco desde chica...

Z190 Si lo sabré yo que me vine con ellos

R139 Yo que llevo: Goyo, soy tu abuelo;

the same pattern is found in the plural:

V29 Ayer mismo éramos tú y yo dos críos que veníamos a fumar aquí, a escondidas.

I have no explanation to offer for this phenomenon, but would offer a partial distinction in that when the compound relative pronoun is used the introduction of the article appears sometimes to produce a transformation in which the verb no longer agrees with yo but becomes third person:

M112 Yo fui el que se durmió entonces...y tuve pesadillas

MS34 como yo soy el que le proporciona, pues tanto

MS236 Yo el destruído, yo el hombre al que no se le dejó que hiciera lo que tenía que hacer.

It has been noted above that Delorme and Dougherty found certain NRRCs with the first person pronoun and a definite article plus N but without comma intonation acceptable, and that Sommerstein agreed that this was acceptable although exceptional; now such NRRCs, lacking comma intonation, have the same format as the RRCs of M112, and MS34 and 236, and the question arises whether a theoretical accommodation of some kind can be made on the basis of article-insertion. However, the possibility is excluded not only by the continuation of MS236:

MS236 Yo el destruído, yo el hombre al que no se le dejó que hiciera lo que tenía que hacer, yo a quien en nombre del destino se me dijo: 'Basta',

where the same construct of (yo + Rel Cl) suddenly reverts to a first person object pronoun ("yo...se le...yo...se me...").

It is also excluded by the following examples with the second person singular pronoun which Hadlich overlooked. Although V29 concords with M112, MS34 and 236 above,

V47 tú eres el que hablaba mal de ella,

because it has a third person verbal agreement following the article, contrary evidence is provided by other examples:

F238 si eres tú el que no dejas que nadie se le arrime

F62 eres tú el que lo haces adrede de asustarme y te diviertes con eso

(note the ambivalence of the switch to third person object in F238, but the retention of second person object in F62 by the same author, perhaps owing to the reflexive nature of the verb (?)); further corroboration comes from:

A175 de modo que fuiste tú el que los azuzaste.

V74 eres tú el que no nos comprendes,

and the plural example of R95 also retains the second person verb form:

R95 todos los que os metéis a torear sois unos golfos.

Even more surprising, especially in the light of the analysis in section 2.5 below, is the anomaly of MS18, which avoids the compound form el que:

MS18 pero él que era muy hombre y que no podía retenerse tuvo que ver...

By contrast, the following may be taken as representative of the more predictable nonrestrictive usage:

R188 Goyo, tú, que estás en la plaza, que dentro de nada va a salir tú primero

V80 Sí, usted, que ha sido siempre una zalamera

R75 ¿qué les pasa a ustedes las personas serias, que siempre tienen que salir con eso...

Z54 él, que siempre lo había respetado, se veía ridículamente acosado por un bichejo vulgar.

Further consideration of this unresolved problem lies outside the scope of the present analysis.

To return to the rest of Hadlich's statement, he is correct to maintain that NRRCs but not RRCs may have a unique referent such as Juan. Examples abound in the corpus of relative clauses with the simple pronoun que:

S42 Isabel, que había venido al saber el accidente,
les seguía

G142 los demás pescadores gastan bromas a Manuel, que
a los treinta y cinco años es todavía soltero;

the presence of the article before the proper N makes no difference:

R44/5 hasta enrojecer la cara cuadrada y dura del Puñeto,
que ya afloja el ahogo de sus manzanas;

and the compound relative pronoun also occurs freely:

S112 el primero en marchar fue Antonio, el que había
de casarse al día siguiente

M27 Juan, el buen Juan, el que se puede reír de cualquier
cosa que no sea excesivamente festiva.

Given the correctness of Hadlich's statement, which is amply proved by these five representative examples, it is only to be regretted that he should choose a sentence having the main clause structure of H3 as his prime example to demonstrate his formulation of the rule

$$\text{NP} \rightarrow \text{det N } ((y) \text{ S})^n,$$

because it palpably fails to illustrate the potential structure

$$\text{NP} \rightarrow \text{det N S}$$

which the rule rightly allows to be derived.

His later examples all contain NPs which do permit both types of relativization, as is evidenced by H9 and H10:

deep structure

surface structure

H9 un señor [el señor sabe mucho]

un señor que sabe mucho

H10 un señor [y el señor sabe mucho]

un señor, que sabe mucho

The difference between the deep and surface structures of H9 and H10 reveals what the present analysis has been confirming as the basic distinction between RRCs and NRRCs. That is that in H10 the N señor is the antecedent of the NRRC, but in H9 there exists a relationship between the whole matrix NP and the antecedent of the RRC. However, the relationship concerned is, I suggest, not that of

Det + N + Rel Cl

as expounded in the theories summarized in Figure 10, but is better represented as:

Det + N + Rel Cl

and should be characterized as (Det → S) rather than (NP → S).

For example,

F327 la puerta se abrió y ... hablaba con la criada
 cuya figura se recortaba en el umbral, contra
la luz que salía de la casa

S24 poblando poco a poco la manta...de
las piedras que fueron desmontando

The following examples are seen to concord with this analysis.

e1 + N + Rel Cl

B156 ...le contestó el mencionado compañero que, por
 cierto, era el pequeño Andrés

R182 el momento exacto en que Pepito...se atreve a
 mirarle con odio

1a + N + Rel Cl

K21 la primera sentada que tuvo con Mauricio

M97 estuve un día escondida, para que no me vieran la
 pena que tenía

los + N + Rel C1

- K56 le preocupaba la suerte de los pequeños que el veía por las calles
- G10 los demás chiquillos que habían compartido mis juegos.

las + N + Rel C1

- C35 rodeado de las gentes honestas que ahorran durante meses enteros
- V59 Crees que no me doy cuenta de las miraditas que le echas encima?

In contrast to Lucas¹, I can discern no essential difference between RRCs which qualify a Det slot filled by a DA and those filled by an IA. Compare the following examples of the latter with those just quoted.

un + N + Rel C1

- M65 así estaba escrito o decidido en un inexorable orden que presidió mi vida desde que nació
- C56 le dijo el nombre de un pueblo que no conocía

una + N + Rel C1

- V18 a su derecha hay una pared que rompe en ángulo junto al primer peldaño

unos + N + Rel C1

- N123 obsesionados por el retumbo de unos tambores de agonía que filtraban una palabra electrizante

unas + N + Rel C1

- A31 se dio unas palmadas en el vientre que sonaron como golpes en un tambor con el parcho roto
- FC104 en el fondo, junta al pueblo, unas mujeres que no dejan de mirarnos

1. Hill (1966:225) Comments on a sentence similar to Lucas', but unfortunately his viewpoint is obscured because it is an example of generic usage. See Burton-Roberts (1976) for restrictions on RRCs and Generic statements.

The juxtaposition of the two DAs and the IA in R11 appears conclusive in this regard:

R11 le pelota que cruza la carretera...los demás niños que se apartan y un hombre que me grita.

A major objection to Lucas' view is that the Det component need not, of course, always be an article. Compare K46 and V43, both of which have a numeral instead:

K46 eran dos hombres que no necesitaban imponerse con métodos arbitrarios

V43 han transcurrido diez años que no se notan en nada.

More importantly, the Det component may be zero:

G18 estaba rodeado de franceses que caminaban de prisa hacia las bocas del Metro

V19 el espectador asiste...a la galvanización momentánea de tiempos que han pasado

M20 Pájaros que huían hacia el otro lado del mundo picotearían acaso.

Although occurrences like M20 are not very frequent, G18 and V19 are definitely a common type, and they establish that the matrix NP should at times be rewritten to read (Det) + N, or + Det + N). This occurs most frequently when an indefinite NP is plural. Indeed, if Lucas' examples were changed into the plural (The girls who recognized you smiled and Girls who recognized you smiled) it would become clear that the distinction is merely between plus or minus [DEFINITE] RRCs and not the basis of a new typology of RRCs.

The configuration (Det + N + Rel Cl) may of course be reduplicated in a complex sentence containing coordinate clauses: so that S59,

S59 los voz del presidente que le hablaba del especialista y el dinero que...habían gastado,

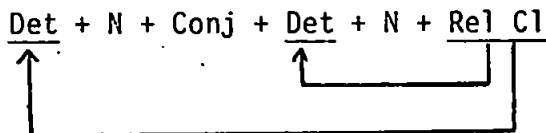
would be depicted as

Det + N + Rel Cl + Conj + Det + N + Rel Cl.

The simplex shape (Det + N + Rel Cl) may occur in complex configurations such as coordination and embedding. There may be nominal coordination, with two NPs embraced by the same relative clause:

V66 una pareja notablemente igualada por las arrugas y la tristeza que la desilusión y las penas han puesto en sus rostros,

which should be designated as:



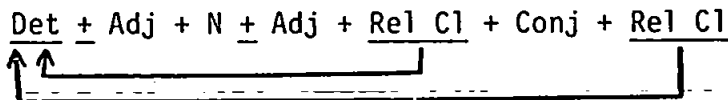
Or there may be clausal coordination:

R182 la amistad que tiene Grietas, pero que nunca se reseca del todo

M66 me invadió la vasta y neblinosa pereza que en otras ocasiones se iniciaría, y que...me empujara de Norte a Sur

A196 todas necesitan un tío que las quiere y que las arree de vez en cuando;

these may be characterized as

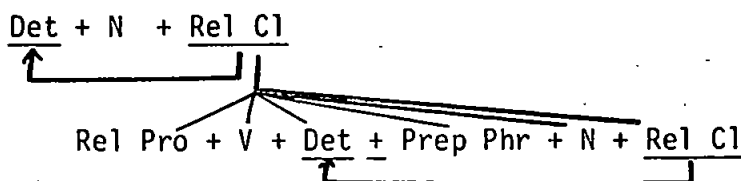


Embedding can be illustrated by examples A14 and V40:

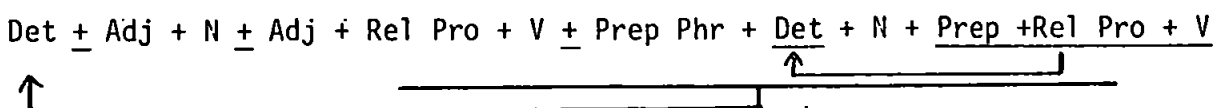
A14 te voy a enseñar donde hay una fuente que da un aqua que lo cura todo

V40 aquel tiempo es el único recuerdo maravilloso que conservo en medio de la sordidez en que vivimos;

these may be diagrammed as:



or as



The discussion so far has concentrated on the internal relationship between the RRC and its antecedent in the matrix NP¹. The external relationships are even more instructive as a characterization of RRCs, because these clauses and the matrix NP (unlike NRRCs and their matrix) cohere to function as a single syntactic item within a complex sentence. For example, the single item (matrix NP + RRC) functions intra-sententially as subject in the following:

A41 El señor que leía el periodico la miro estupefacto

C54 Pasan unas muchachas que se adornan el amplio sombrero de paja con ramitos de anciana

K12 muy necio es el hombre que no se arrepiente de nada

S35 la nube que cubría la luna desapareció

The single item (matrix NP + RRC) functions as object in:

B12 contestó él refrenando el paso, para ver el efecto que producían sus palabras el la trapera

G10 mi padre cogió un machete que había encima de un escritorio

R42 apuntillar... al novillero ese que está perdiendo la vida por los ojos

S135 nos va a poner una multa que no la levantamos en quince años

One sentence may contain two RRCs which fulfil different syntactic functions, as in M42, where subject and object roles are performed by RRCs:

M42 la casa que conocía el Galgo ... tenía una verja mohosa que se abría sólo para los coches.

1. Kayne (1975:17) makes an interesting claim regarding RRCs in French, that ce is always present with RRCs in definite NPs, and is subsequently deleted only in the presence of a non-pronominal head N: le garçon que j'ai vu, and celui que j'ai vu. No such claim appears relevant to Spanish.

The role of complement may be exercised by the element
(matrix NP + RRC):

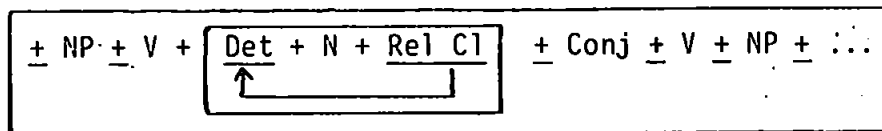
K64 Era un pretexto que al mismo tiempo halagó a míster
Stone y convenció a mi abuelo

M51 A veces le sobresaltó la bata, como si fuera
una mujer joven que quisiera escapar

Z182 lo que menos importaba era el cadáver que a unos
metros de allí yacía desnudo entre un nublado de moscas.

A striking example is in A177/8, where the complement formula
Es la noche en que... occurs seven times in one paragraph.

A good way of depicting these internal and external
relationships schematically is to detail them in the following
manner:



Let us now consider the internal and external relationships
of Spanish NRRCs, whether their internal structure conforms to
the NOM-S designation assigned to English NRRCs as portrayed in
the synthesis of Figure 10:

$$\text{Det} \text{ + } \underline{\text{N}} \text{ + } \underline{\text{Rel}} \text{ C1}$$

which summarizes the theories that NRRCs derive from the
conjoining of sentences, that they are therefore reversible and
separable; and what is their external structure, and whether
their information content is incidental to the main clause of
the complex sentence.

To illustrate the internal relationships, a good contrast
between an RRC and an NRRC is found in the two types of clause
in S126:

S126 Miró al reloj, que le trajo el recuerdo desagradable de la consulta que debía estar empezando.

Whereas the RRC declares that imminence is the characteristic of the consultation, the NRRC does not contain information that characterizes its antecedent N. Contrast al reloj, que... and

la consulta que...

↑

This may be emphasized by Z72 and Z72 (amendment 1):

Z72 La madre, que desde que conociera a don Celso había de llevar a casa hombres para dormir, no le decía nada

Z72 (amendment 1) La madre que desde que conociera a don Celso había de llevar a casa hombres para dormir no le decía nada.

In the amended version, the existence of more than one mother is implied¹, and it is the taciturn mother who is defined as exploited; in X72 only one mother is implied² and there are two pieces of information about her: the major information is that she was taciturn, the minor that she was exploited. The information is reversible according to Taglicht's principle, as amendment (2) shows:

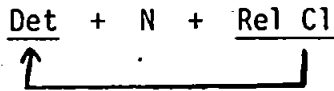
Z72 (amendment 2) La madre, que no le decía nada, desde que conociera a don Celso había de llevar a casa hombres para dormir;

it is also separable:

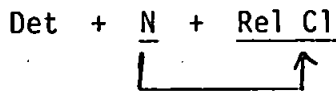
Z72 (amendment 3) La madre había de llevar hombres a casa desde que conociera a don Celso. La madre no le decía nada.

1. Compare Bach (1974:271) "the man that I saw presupposes at least one man that I didn't see".
2. This is neatly expressed by Alcina and Blecua (1975:1024): of lleva a arreglar los trajes (,) que están rotos they state "la proposición...(que) tiene valor especificativo... distingue unos trajes rotos de otros que no lo están... la proposición (que) tiene valor explicativo ... informa de que todos ellos están rotos".

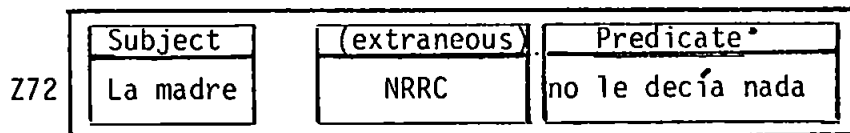
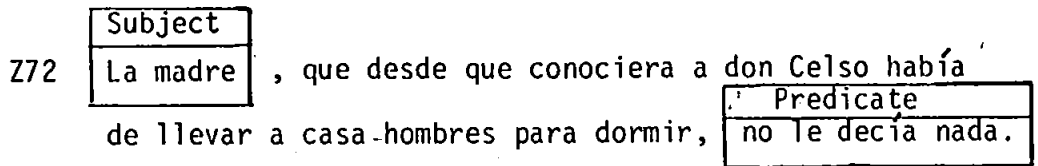
Therefore, whereas the RRC (Z72 (amendment 1)) may be diagrammed as



the NRRC of Z72 (amendment 3) would have the characterization of S y S, and the NRRCs of Z72 and Z72 (amendment 2) would derive from this the shape



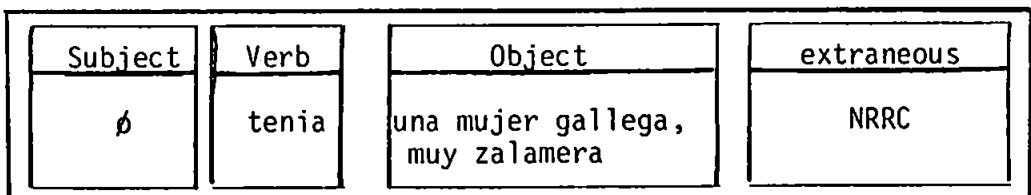
Let us now analyze the external structure of Z72 and further comment on the information which it supplies. Do the NRRC and its matrix N cohere to function as a single grammatical item within the complex sentence? The answer is clearly negative, as the following encapsulations reveal:



Compare a matrix N which is an object, as in S55:

S55 Tenía una mujer gallega, muy zalamera, que se pasaba el día llamándole;

this example of a "double function noun", as Schlesinger (1975) would term it, would demand the following encapsulations:



In Z72 and S55 the attempted depiction of the structural relationships reveals that the NRRCs cannot be assigned any intra-sentential description, precisely because their information is extraneous to the overall Subject-Predicate proposition. This is emphasized by M156:

M156 era un hombre muy alto, con una sola ceja (la otra se le quemó y no le había vuelto a crecer), que le daba una mirada rara,

because the first (independent) proposition is the possession of a single eyebrow and the second (independent) proposition is the man's odd appearance; if this were an RRC the complex sentence would become doubly ambiguous. Una sola ceja que le daba una mirada rara would necessarily imply the possession of two eyebrows, each of which gave the owner a different look! Compare S48:

S48 Bastante hizo el padre de ella, que fue al pueblo del otro a rogarle;

if this relative clause were a RRC, the effect would be a biological impossibility.

I suggest therefore that NRRCs should be characterized as CENTRIFUGAL because their information is propelled tangentially away from the matrix antecedent. Conversely, the information of RRCs is CENTRIPETAL: its focal point of attraction is the antecedent NP. The centrifugal force of the NRRC can be illustrated by the following examples, in contrast to the centripetal force which the same examples would evince if they were RRCs instead:

G35 Ramón es un mulato flaco y barbudo, que lleva camiseta y gorro de marino blancos

(as a RRC, this would imply that other mulattos dress differently);

S129 el jefe, que era de Bilbao, estuvo contando cosas de su tierra

(as a RRC, the implication would be that there were other bosses, who hailed from other parts);

M20 sus cejas eran como dos látigos, que flagelaban sutilmente el rostro

(the RRC version would indicate that other parts of his body created a whipping effect elsewhere);

C54 el viajero ve de cerca la vida de los insectos, que corren veloces...y se detienen de golpe

(a RRC would distinguish these from a sluggish species);

B170 sobre una tapia, que separaba el campo de deportes de una vaquería

(a RRC would imply other walls with other purposes);

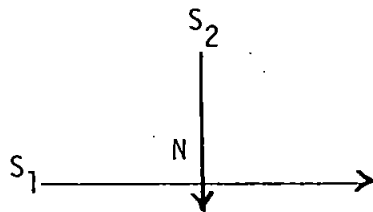
S98 cuatro tablonés...servían de asiento a los vecinos, que fueron ocupando sus sitios

(a RRC would mean that other neighbours were standing);

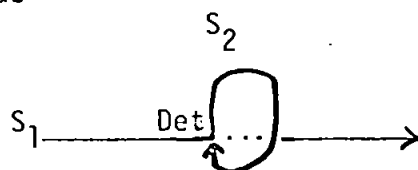
M67 lo aprendió del abuelo, que era pastor

(in the RRC version it would be understood that his other grandfather followed a different occupation).

The centrifugal/centripetal distinction might be represented schematically as follows: for NRRCs as



with the matrix N positioned at the node of intersection, and for RRCs as



with the matrix Det triggering the recursion. Consequently I

suggest that the NRRC be depicted with a distinctive direction of the arrowhead:

RRC	NRRC
$\underline{\text{Det} + \text{N} + \text{Rel Cl}}$ 	$\text{Det} + \underline{\text{N} + \text{Rel Cl}}$

On this basis, the following increasingly complex configurations may be examined as illustrative of Hadlich's formulation $(NP \rightarrow \text{det N (y S)}^n)$ to cover repeated occurrences of NRRCs.

A double occurrence of $(NP \rightarrow \text{det N})$ is found in A184:

A184 Leonorcita, que acababa de cumplir veintiún años,
y Pedrolas, que como llegó con retraso tenía
diecisiete,

which may be represented as

-Det +N +Rel Cl +Conj -Det +N +Rel Cl

But M51 and R72 have a shape of $(NP \rightarrow \text{det N (y S)}^2)$:

M51 aquella polvera enorme, que parecía una tarta, y
que sólo guardaba una horquilla

R72 Curro escucha a Roberto, que piensa en alto, que
no razona,

which may be categorized as

+ Det + N + Rel Cl + Conj + Rel Cl

Yet more complex is the shape of R53, namely $(NP \rightarrow \text{det N (y S)}^3)$:

R53 Oye, tú, muchacho, que eres un famoso, que tienes
trescientos millones, que te conocen hasta los gatos,

of which a possible skeletal representation is

+ Det + N + Rel Cl + Rel Cl + Rel Cl

This is applicable to K15, which differs from R53 only in the failure to repeat the relative pronoun and in the addition of a conjunction:

K15 confiaba... en su sobrino, que era prudente,
conocía un oficio y sabía más que otros a su edad.

According to the Academy (1973:529) and Martínez Amador, compound relative pronouns are not used in RRCs. Unfortunately, because this would prove an excellent device for marking different clauses, the claim is partially denied by the facts. Consider first the series el cual (etc.), which is specifically mentioned by both grammars. Discounting lo cual, because, as mentioned elsewhere, lo que does not occur in RRCs, it was discovered that over 30% of the occurrences of el cual (etc.) were found in RRCs. However, as the following examples reveal, such occurrences are distributionally predictable, always occurring post-prepositionally.

FC11 Ademuz es un trozo de la provincia de Valencia
con el cual... hay relacion geográfica

R203 hubo un corto silencio durante el cual Javier
calculó que era una lástima que un chico como
Andrés tuviese esas fallas

K168 encontró el trabajo que había ansiado toda la vida
y para el cual, seguramente, había nacido

FC114 unos hombres...con los, cuales no cruzamos ni palabra

K188 un día los comprenderemos a través de otra luz
para la cual, hoy, estamos ciegos.

MS101 dotado de dos hijas núbiles por una de las cuales
hizo saber que su corazón palpitaba acongojado.

The same applies to the series el que (etc.) in RRCs:

R69 Todo viene a ser como un juego en el que se manejan
personas en lugar de fichas o cartas

MS10 de ahí puede surgir el origen de otro descubrimiento
más importante todavía por el que el rey sueco pueda
inclinarse sobre nosotros hablando en latín

- G12 fueron tiempos felices...durante los que revivía la epopeya familiar...
- Z171 realizaron frecuentes actos de sabotaje en los que se jugaban la vida
- S168 pudo...ver...la pared circular de piedra caliza y pizarra tras la que el enfermo reposaba
- K21 una larga encuesta a la que mi abuelo contestó con monosílabos
- MS11 crecidas gruesas tumoridades, secretoras de toxinas que paralicen los débiles cerebros y dentro de las que...un virus...
- FC127 cosas importantes y transcendentales en las que la mujer no debe inmiscuirse a fin de que resulten mejor.

Carnicer (1969:79f) comments "que dos importantes limitaciones: no puede ser complemento indirecto o dativo", so that there is an "asimilación de 'que' para dativo y genitivo, a 'cual', que puede desempeñar ambos casos. Para ello, se antepone ... el artículo característico de 'cual' en el número y género que corresponde." He is, however, unhappy about the series el que (etc.) being used for what he calls accusative and ablative cases.

With the sole exception regarding syntagmatic occurrence, the compound relatives are reserved for NRRCs. Compare English, which tends to use that as the pronoun more frequently in NRRCs, but contrast German, which uses the distinctive pronoun series derjenige (etc.) exclusively for RRCs. The following examples may be taken as illustrative of the Spanish NRRCs employing the series el que(etc.).

- Z160 se adivinaba en él el hombre maduro, al que está al cabo de la calle
- MS177 el hombre imperturbable, el que sigue siendo imperturbable, entero.
- R55 echa todos esos perros, menos uno, el que ya te he dicho

- K132 esperaba un nuevo hijo, el que había de ser mi padre
- M83 estaba entonces también en la cocina la otra criada, la que hace las camas y quita el polvo
- K84 hoy existiría una tercera potencia, la que equilibraría...el fiel que vacila entre Rusia y los Estados Unidos
- S30 mi hermana, la que se casó en la capital, también viene por las fiestas
- N76 la auténtica libertad, la que da acceso a la vida de relación sin represiones freudianas, es la compra del automóvil
- K123 La repitió a sus hijos, los que aún estaban por nacer
- S123 los pobres, los que aún no habían conseguido guardar un céntimo de aquella fortuna
- K188 un lapso de diez años, los que había de durar la primera revuelta de Cuba
- Z82 con grandes carteleras a la puerta llenas de colorines, en las que siempre aparecería una mocita
- S183 eran las mismas palabras, las mismas injurias que los otros, las que ahora salían de su boca
- K150 las frases de Robert y las de su madre, las que aludían al abolicionismo
- B47 tenía la capa verde, lo que era infinitamente mejor que tenerla roja
- MS50 se hacía más evidente, por lo que el visitado dijo: ¿No ves...?
- S117 se empezó sirviendo vino, con lo que todos se animaron
- K97 antes de irse a dormir, lo que hizo como un plomo.

That the series el cual (etc.) is also used in NRRCs may be demonstrated with a few examples:

- Z147 un establecimiento pequeño y hondo como un túnel al fondo del cual discutían dos prostitutas con un marica
- B86 un cochecillo de niño, muy viejo, dentro del cual manoteaba una criatura
- N27 Su Majestad el Niño, en torno al cual se han multiplicado toda clase de especialistas preocupados por su eugenesia, su salud...

- Z209 al pandemónium de los vociferantes ciudadanos,
muchos de los cuales caían víctimas del francotirador
- A131 hay huellas digitales en gomo por todo el resto del
papel, lo cual supone la guarrería común a los
hombres
- Z117 no hablaba mucho el tal Julio, lo cual no desagradó
a Manuel

The examples do not confirm Hadlich's statement (p.138) regarding the usage of the compound relatives in NRRCs when there is a distance from the antecedent.

It will be noted that all the NRRCs cited here contain what most insist is a distinctive feature of such clauses, an orthographical indication, in the form of the comma, of the phonological marker, the pause. This is true for Spanish, but is not an absolute. Hadlich formulates a relativization rule which incorporates the insertion of commas as a condition.

The rule operates under two conditions:

SD: (det) W [+N] X (y) [Y (prep) (det) $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ \text{masc} \\ \text{fem} \\ \text{pl} \\ \text{hum} \end{bmatrix}$ Z]

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Condition a. 3 = 9
b. If 5 is present, replace brackets by commas.

SC: 1 2 3 4 7 $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{rel} \\ \text{masc} \\ \text{fem} \\ \text{pl} \\ \text{hum} \end{bmatrix}$ 6 10

Hadlich explains "the second occurrence of the noun is replaced by a distinctive feature matrix corresponding to the relative pronouns (i.e. que, quien, el que, el cual, etc.)." Two points need clarification. Firstly, the determiner of the matrix sentence (which Hadlich calls (2) but this is presumably an

oversight and should be (1)) does not undergo deletion but the embedded determiner (8) does. He claims that this permits the two determiners to be different, which "allows a more realistic assessment of deep structure". In a sense Hadlich begs the question of the status of the article in deep structure, which is controversial. The Base structure rules generate a node NP which dominates the nodes Det and N. Which of these two elements is obligatory in the deep structure is a source of disagreement. Chomsky and Postal both maintain that for English the underlying structure is $(NP \rightarrow (Det) N (S))$, of which only the unbracketed N is always present. Goldin states that Fillmore's view is that the only constituent present in all NPs is Det. Unaccountably, Goldin describes Fillmore's view as only "slightly different" from that of Postal. Goldin accepts that Fillmore's opinion is applicable to Spanish, so that Det is the only obligatory category in all NPs (1968:62). He makes no reference to McCawley's claim that "articles are to a large extent (though not completely) predictable on the basis of indices" (1970:168). So McCawley leaves the deep structure question unanswered, as does Langendoen, who illustrates relative clauses in such a way as to ignore the deep structure status of the article (1971:68). At least Hadlich attempts to take it into account. He would presumably assign to C96 the two underlying readings which are here supplied:

C96 El amigo que el viajero tiene en el pueblo se llama Arbeteta

C96(a) el viajero tiene un amigo en el pueblo

C96(b) el amigo se llama Arbeteta.

Cressey would agree with Hadlich at least as regards the compound relative pronouns, because he regards these as surface structure representations of deep structures with IAs.

Accordingly he specifies a definitization rule which obligatorily converts the underlying IA to a DA in se el blanco a que tiras (1970:6). This exactly reflects Annear's view for English, as reported in MSSE (1973:440):

Secondly, Hadlich justifies condition (b) as rendering his rule applicable to RRCs and NRRCs. It specifies the use of "commas around nonrestrictive clauses not simply because this is the traditional orthographic device, but because we need an overt marking of these clauses which will permit the morpho-phonemic rules to assign their distinctive information" (1971:138). However, this reliance upon punctuation is misplaced, as a consideration of the following examples clarifies. To emphasize that stylistic considerations are irrelevant here, all the examples are culled from the same primary source. Sentence S180 contains a comma, but the presence of an intervening parenthetical phrase shows that such phrases could interfere with the marking scheme which Hadlich proposes:

S180 eran unos ojos cansados, sin expresión, que con un gran esfuerzo fijaban en las cosas.

Parenthetical phrases do, indeed cause such a disturbance in S101 and S126, because the relative clauses are not RRCs despite the presence of the commas:

S101 A eso de la ocho, los que trabajaban en el campo miraron al sol

S126 Ya sabía, de otras veces, lo que venía luego.

Furthermore, insertion of a comma may be necessary not only because a clause is an RRC but to avoid ambiguity; compare

S181 estaba del lado del prójimo que más sufría, del que sufría ante él, sobre el caballo.

Without this comma, the relative clause introduced by the compound relative would refer, not back to the present sufferer, but forward to an erstwhile sufferer turned tormentor. In those circumstances, in the absence of an antecedent, the relative clause would not be anaphoric but cataphoric, and could certainly not rank as either a RRC or a NRRC. Actually, S101 and S126 exemplify such clauses, for which a new definition is needed, a definition which is supplied in section 2.5, after the ground has been cleared in 2.4.

2.4 BELLO'S PUTATIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE

Under the rubric of Spanish relative clauses is one type of clause which must be discarded from that category. It owes its inclusion to an uncharacteristic misinterpretation by the grammarian Bello. This usage is what he calls "el que sustantivo y anunciativo" on the grounds that it does not reproduce any idea previously mentioned, but rather serves to introduce a further clause. It should be remembered that this discussion comes in his chapter entitled, "Pronombres relativos, y primeramente el relativo 'QUE'". His example of this type of clause is que la tierra se mueve alrededor del sol es cosa averiguada. According to Bello, que is here a noun equivalent to esto, and is an element which belongs to the main clause.

That this is clearly open to challenge becomes evident when the putative subordinate clause is deleted. The result is asyntactic: *que...es cosa averiguada. Bello fails to detect any non-grammatical property here, because he specifically calls

this the main clause:

proposición subordinante, que es una cosa averiguada;
 proposición subordinada, señalada por el que
 anunciativo, la tierra se mueve alrededor del sol.
Que es el sujeto de la proposición subordinante (p.125).

He assigns the same interpretation to que as the postprepositional object in los animales se diferencian de las plantas en que sienten y se mueven, and as the direct object of the verb in los fenómenos del universo atestiguan que ha sido criado por un ser infinitamente sabio y poderoso. The notes provided by Cuervo, and also those by Alcalá-Zamora y Torres, express disagreement with Bello on this point (compare pp.424f and 493 respectively). Cuervo provides five reasons why this que should be interpreted as a relative, an interpretation which he regards as vitiated by Bello's assigning que to the subordinating rather than to the subordinate clause. Alcalá-Zamora y Torres concurs with Cuervo in this erroneous correction of Bello's mistake, and adds that the correction is endorsed by the Academy. He furthermore suggests that even as a conjunction que carries traces of its character as a relative pronoun. It is probable that Bello designates this que as a relative pronoun because he questions the propriety of the label 'conjunction'; such a motivation is strongly implied by his own footnote:

Al que anunciativo llaman casi todas las gramáticas conjunción, porque no se ha definido con claridad y exactitud esta clase de palabras. El que anunciativo liga, es cierto; pero también liga el adjetivo que; ¿y lo llamaremos por eso conjunción? Cuando decimos el vecindario de la ciudad, de enlaza al sustantivo que sigue con el que precede: ¿sera, pues conjunción? Los elementos ligados por una conjunción no dependen el uno del otro; cuando decimos, hermosa, pero tonta, ni hermosa depende de tonta, ni tonta de hermosa. Cuando se dice existo y percibo, sucede lo mismo. Pero cuando digo

percibo que existo, no es así: el que (junto con la proposición anunciada, que lo especifica) depende de percibo, porque es un complemento de este verbo, de la misma manera que de la ciudad es un complemento de el vecindario (p.125).

This thought-provoking observation deserves some consideration, and Cuervo concludes his criticism of this section of Bello's grammar with praise for this lucid distinction between "el anunciativo que y las conjunciones propiamente dichas". This is, however, quite beside the point. Whatever the merits or demerits of Bello's argument concerning the anomalies of the category "conjunction", it can serve no useful purpose to remove this particular que from that category and assign it to another with which it clearly has no affinities. I would take issue with Bello and also his two critics. Of the five points of difficulty which Cuervo finds in Bello's analysis, four concern que's putative equivalence to esto and so are, at best, only marginally relevant to his declared aim. The fifth difficulty is a historical one: Cuervo is at pains to stress that the annunciatory usage of que results from its usage as a relative, and not vice-versa. Cuervo claims that Bello's theory is based on a study of Germanic, not Romance languages; he states that in the Germanic languages "el anunciativo" is etymologically a demonstrative, and it fulfills additionally the role of the relative pronoun. He cites Grimm's Dictionary for the explanation of "dass como terminación neutra de der, empleado como relativo". Unfortunately he does not document this sufficiently for the source to be checked, but a synchronic view of New High German would reject the interpretation of the

conjunction dass as a neuter of the definite article der employed as a relative pronoun. Instead the homophone das would be identified as the neuter form, and this neuter definite article used as either a demonstrative or a relative pronoun should undoubtedly be distinguished from the conjunction dass. As noted earlier, Alcalá-Zamora y Torres agrees with Cuervo against Bello. Both fail to recognize the fundamental error committed by Bello here in accepting the phonological identity of que the relative pronoun and que the conjunction as evidence of syntactic identity. (Compare Stahlke (1976) for the view of English that as invariably a conjunction, because "its syntactic behaviour is not at all like that of a pronoun".) Lavandera (1971) would not regard the result as erroneous. Discussing the invariability of que, she maintains that if there is no marker on que to restrict it to a certain function, there is, equally, nothing in its form to make it incompatible with other functions. She deduces that there is only one que: "no se trata de dos formas, sino de dos situaciones en que la forma" que puede intervenir" (p.21). However, in the opinion expressed by Bello there is a basic misconception which is perpetuated in the modern grammars when they discuss the compound relative pronouns. For the latest exposition of this type, compare Alcina and Blecua (1975:982ff), who quote and endorse Bello, and provide a detailed breakdown of different aspects of this putative usage of que, without appearing to question his interpretation.

Bello's annunciatory relative pronoun lacks the essential feature which is the characteristic of relative pronouns as defined above, namely [+ANAPHORIC]. Indeed, it even conflicts

with his own definition which was partially quoted earlier, that relatives "reproducen un concepto anterior, y sirven especialmente para enlazar una proposición con otra". His definition is unexceptionable, but it is not illustrated by the examples which he supplies. No previous concept is reproduced by que in Bello's

- (i) que la tierra se mueve alrededor del sol es cosa averiguada
- (ii) los animales se diferencian de las plantas en que sienten y se mueven
- (iii) los fenómenos del universo atestiguan que ha sido criado por un ser infinitamente sabio y poderoso.

That in each case que serves as a link ("para enlazar") is not at issue; that it does so in the capacity of a relative pronoun is unacceptable¹. Bello's annunciatory que, by virtue of being prospective and not retrospective, has no referent, cannot be characterized by the feature [ANAPHORIC], and is not, therefore, a relative pronoun. Such clauses do not fit the usual framework, despite the unquestioning acceptance by generations of Spanish grammarians. How some have been misled by Bello will now be demonstrated, and it will become clear that only a new concept will account for the facts of the case.

2.5 THE "REPLACIVE" RELATIVE CLAUSE

This section provides an analysis of the grammatical function of the definite article in the compound relative pronoun series el que (etc.) which will reveal even more clearly the need to

1. Compare Kayne's statement for French that "there is some evidence...that que is merely a kind of clause introducer"; that he thus equates the relative with the conjunction is clear from the next few words, "exactly as in...je sais que Jean est là". (1975:7)

define a new type of relative clause in Spanish. For reasons that will be expounded below, it is termed the "Replacive Relative Clause".

The problem involved in the grammatical function of the article in the compound relatives is one which Seco presents, but does not succeed in solving. Stating that these compounds are of particular interest, he gives as an example los que nada saben todo lo creen saber, in which he defines que nada saben as the relative clause. Although he does not explicitly say so, this leaves que to be interpreted as the relative pronoun. He adds:

el antecedente de este relativo es el artículo...que le precede, el cual, en esta clase de construcciones con el relativo, conserva todavía confusamente su primitivo valor etimológico de pronombre demostrativo...Sin embargo de esto, no puede separarse sintácticamente el artículo del pronombre sustantivo al que precede; así, pues, las expresiones indicadas deben estimarse más bien como relativos con el antecedente englobado en su propia significación.

Seco proceeds to show that this is not always the case, and that the article may at times carry its modern syntactic value, so that in such constructions the compound relative's antecedent is expressed elsewhere in the sentence. Seco's interpretation is likely to confuse the non-native student of Spanish by explaining los que in the example cited as syntactically a single entity yet semantically a relative pronoun que with an encapsulated antecedent los. Jones offers a similarly clumsy explanation. His example is: el hombre que come no tendrá apetito, and he offers the following comment: "the article with the relative que will show that the (omitted) subject is, in this case, masculine singular, el que come no tendrá apetito. In other words, el que, etc., may also be a 'compound' relative pronoun, since it includes its own

antecedent". I suggest that Seco and Jones are both perpetuating the mistake indicated earlier in Bello's theory, that of confusing the conjunction que with the homophonous relative. Jones inadvertently hints at this when he chooses as an example a compound sentence containing a relative clause introduced by que. Merely eliminating the antecedent does not convert the simple relative into the compound relative; instead it converts the relative clause into a nominalized clause. In other words, Jones' example is one of nominalization rather than relative pronominalization, and as such it could fit into the framework indicated in the previous chapter. Seco commits exactly the same error. He likewise inadvertently stresses the fact by characterizing que nada saben as the relative clause in los que nada saben todo lo creen saber. By the insertion of the word hombres here, the converse of Jones' procedure, the compound sentence los hombres que nada saben todo lo creen saber can be formulated. This again clarifies the fact that the compound relative pronoun is absent in this example, and that the result of the omission of the N changes the character of the relative clause, not the character of the relative pronoun.

Many other grammars apply the same criterion as Seco and Jones in attempting to interpret the grammatical function of the article in such cases. The Academy (1973:219), for example, summarizes the position by means of the following chart:

	Antecedente	Relativo
I	el	que
II	elemento sustantivo	el que

For ease of reference, I shall retain this enumeration. The Academy's interpretation of usage I is not very helpful, despite, or perhaps because of, its detail:

cuando el relativo tiene por antecedente el artículo...las construcciones y las clases de señalamiento que realiza el artículo son de muy variada naturaleza: Este año y el que viene (el artículo es aquí anafórico); Bienaventurados los que dan hambre y sed de justicia (el artículo tiene aquí significación de persona general); Quizá la muerte ha llegado/de la que habéis amparado (Lope de Vega, La reina doña María, II; el artículo alude a la persona determinada por la situación); Eso es lo que yo no permito (el neutro lo hace referencia al demostrativo neutro anterior); Nombre de injuria no des, Álvaro, a lo que el rey hace (Lope de Vega, La lealtad en el agravio, III; lo hace referencia a la situación), etc.

The non-native student might be forgiven for regarding this prolix statement as of little practical use. He would surely find a clearer line of demarcation in the explanation that, whereas usage II has an expressed antecedent, usage I does not. In usage I, el does not belong to the apparatus of the relative (as Seco and Jones hold), nor is it best interpreted as the antecedent of the relative (as per Seco, Jones and the Academy (1973)). Instead the DA can be understood to function quite normally here as a determiner, and the relative clause introduced by the que of usage I functions as a N, having been nominalized by the article. (Compare Alcina and Blecua's comment concerning non-anaphoric quien: "afecta a la totalidad del enunciado...con lo que tome carácter sustantivo" (1975:1085).

There is an alternative interpretation. This is to regard the article itself as nominalized in usage I; this is the logical extension of the theory which denominates the article as the antecedent. Alonso states: "la frase subordinada de relativo es adjetiva, puesto que el elemento-antecedente es

sustantivo" (1961:277), and Fernandez speaks of "los artículos concordantes que funcionan como sustantivos...en estos casos ...sólo se emplea el relativo que" (1950:338).

This explanation is perfectly valid in that it permits que to be correctly interpreted as the single relative pronoun, and the relative clause to be interpreted as adjectival¹; it raises, however, more problems than it solves. Firstly, it introduces the potential confusion between usages I and II which has been discussed above and it is noteworthy that Fernández feels impelled to add: "con esta sucesión art. ⁰ sust. ⁰ + que (= antecedente + relativo) no deben confundirse las agrupaciones el que y el cual (= relativo) ... que forman verdaderos relativos compuestos". Secondly, it begs the question as to whether the article can actually undergo the process of nominalization. That would require an autonomy that the article lacks, but which the pronoun possesses. Alarcos stresses this as one of the basic distinctions between articles and pronouns:

ciertos miembros del paradigma de los pronombres son 'palabras', esto es, signos de autonomía oracional, mientras ninguno de los miembros que constituyen el paradigma de los artículos posee tal autonomía (1961:6).

As noted in chapter one, he denies article-status to the IA, but (consistently) grants it autonomy.

One might expect pronominalization to occur, rather than nominalization of the article, if a noun which is the antecedent of a relative clause is omitted. This is another basic difficulty which is left unresolved by postulating the article as the antecedent of the relative pronoun in usage I. Thirdly, usage I invalidates the principle conveyed by the feature [ANAPHORIC].

1. Hadlich (1971:135) is not too happy about such a description "Because of their function as noun modifiers, relative clauses are sometimes called, somewhat inaccurately, adjective clauses".

Fernández states that in "el grupo el que ... el artículo es un verdadero antecedente de que, pero sin anáfora" (p.362; the cross-references between this and p.338 make it clear that by "el grupo el que" he is referring to usage I at this point). This suggests that omission of the N coincides with loss of anaphoric reference, and argues strongly in favour of a change in the character of the relative clause as a whole. Let us illustrate this by performing transformations upon an example from the corpus:

S21 el más viejo de los que le montaban se apeó

The word hombres may be inserted as the postulated omission, which will replace S21 by S21 (amendment(i)):

S21 (amendment(i)) el más viejo de los hombres que le
montaban se apeó

In this amended version, the relative clause clearly functions anaphorically with respect to its antecedent, hombres. In such compound sentences comprising a main and a subordinate clause, the latter may be omitted without adversely affecting the syntax or the meaning of the principal clause. For examples, S21 (amendment(ii)):

S21 (amendment (ii)) el más viejo de los hombres se apeó.

However, no such omission of the entire relative clause is permissible from S21 by a formulation such as S21 (amendment(iii)):

S21 (amendment(iii)) *el más viejo de los se apeó,

because the sentence is thereby rendered asyntactic. This suggests that there is some inadequacy in interpreting the article as the antecedent. The suggestion is reinforced by a version which replaces the article by a pronoun, as in S21 (amendment(iv)):

S21 (amendment(iv)), el más viejo de ellos se apeó,

since the resulting sentence is syntactically sound. For the three reasons which have just been expounded, I would reject the interpretation of the article as nominalized in usage I, despite the overwhelming number of grammars which accept it. The three problems are resolved by understanding the article to be only an article, and by taking the relative clause to be nominalized simultaneously with the omission of the N which serves as its antecedent.

Martínez Amador's dictionary makes some useful comments which are relevant to the foregoing discussion, and which confirm the view presented in this thesis:

como las oraciones de relativo tienen...el carácter de adjetivas, pueden substantivarse mediante un artículo... de este modo les atribuimos un género que depende del artículo... Cuando a este fin se construye que con el artículo en locuciones como el que, la que, lo que, etc., se ha discutido la función gramatical de una y otra palabra, (1966:1264).

Giving an example from Cervantes of usage I, he states that the Academy interprets this as an article with its former demonstrative force. Usage II, however, reveals the article performing qua article and then "forma con que una sola palabra prosódica, como el francés lequel".

... He supplies a quotation from Valera which the Academy itself cites to illustrate this fact, and reiterates the view of nominalization which has been suggested here. He further discounts any antecedent for usage I in the following words (the emphasis is, in both cases, mine):

"en los dos ejemplos citados por la Academia, el artículo NO HACE SINO SUBSTANTIVAR LA ORACIÓN, siendo la única diferencia entre aquéllos la de que en el de Cervantes

NO HAY ANTECEDENTE EXPRESO que hay en el de Valera".

Martínez Amador quotes Lenz's view concerning the breadth of potential nominalization in Spanish, and he had earlier noted Bello's opinion of this characteristic of Spanish, upon which he commented:

nuestro idioma puede...substantivar directamente la oración relativa mediante el artículo definido: 'el que no llora no mama', 'lo que me cuentas no me importa', etc. Esta es una particularidad, decía Bello, en que el castellano difiere de otras muchas lenguas, y a que deben prestar atención los extranjeros (p.1237).

From this analysis of Bello made earlier, it seems very unlikely that this reflects his view of relative pronouns, but the pedagogic note is a useful one, and I suggest that to interpret usage I as nominalization, and therefore as an entity separate the compound relative pronouns, not only greatly simplifies this particular area of Spanish syntax, it also serves as bridge to the theory of the next chapter.

If this suggestion is adopted, the need for usage I as a description of the process disappears. In setting up the two distinct usages, the Academy (1973) is echoing the traditional interpretation, which undoubtedly relies on the authority of Bello. He envisaged the distinction as depending entirely upon the conception of the series el que (etc.) as two words or one: "las expresiones el que, la que los que, las que, lo que, se deben considerar unas veces como compuestas de dos palabras distintas, y otras como equivalentes a una sola palabra". If it is a question of two words (that is, usage I), the article is nominalized and functions as the antecedent of the relative pronoun, and the article belongs to one proposition and the

relative to another (see Bello, p. 127; paragraphs 323 and 324). By contrast, in usage II "el artículo no es más que una forma del relativo, por medio de la cual se determina si es sustantivo o adjetivo, y cuál es, en cual adjetivo, su género y número". Whereas Seco maintains that it is impossible to separate the article and the relative pronoun of usage I on syntactic grounds, Bello's view is that it is in usage II that the article and the pronoun are equivalent to one single word: "son un solo elemento gramatical, un relativo que pertenece todo entero a la proposición incidente". No doubt because of the likelihood of confusion between usages I and II, which I have earlier suggested as one of the three reasons for abandoning the former, Bello even goes so far as to recommend that - on the analogy of the French relative pronouns - the Spanish compound relative pronoun of usage II should be written as one word: "cuando el artículo se combina con el relativo formando un elemento gramatical indivisible, deberían ambos escribirse como una sola palabra, elque, laque, a la manera que lo hacen los franceses en laquel, laquelle". (This should, of course, read lequel, laquelle). Without attributing this suggestion to Bello, the Academy (1973) dismisses it, but accords usage II the description of a compound relative:

solo el que en (II) y nunca que en (I) puede sustituirse en determinadas circunstancias por otro de los relativos sustantivos que funcionan con antecedente expreso: la mujer de la que me hablaste = de que me hablaste = de quien me hablaste. Esta última particularidad permite considerar en (II) el grupo el que, la que, etc., como un relativo compuesto, composición que no ha sido sancionada por la escritura (p.219).

From this statement, it is reasonable to deduce that el que of usage I is of a different order not only from usage II but also from the other relatives, which can replace the latter. (It is

less than satisfactory to characterize these other relatives as those which "function with an expressed antecedent" after postulating the article as the antecedent of usage I). From the equivalences indicates in the above quotation from the Academy (1973) that de la que = de que = de quien, the character of the true compound relative, usage II, is clearly seen.

To cut the Gordian knot of theoretical confusion represented by usage I, a new concept must be introduced, which is not merely a notational variant. It must be a new type of relative clause in Spanish which has the characteristics which have emerged during the foregoing discussion. The features reflecting these characteristics are [-ANAPHORIC, +NOMINALIZATION]. The characterization [-ANAPHORIC] conflicts with the examples of usage I provided by the Academy, but not with that of Fernández, both of which have been analyzed above. My claim is that omission of the N which is the original antecedent coincides with loss of anaphoric reference, hence [-ANAPHORIC], and coincides with a change in the character of the relative clause, hence the second feature [+NOMINALIZATION]. With the exception of one sub-type, there is a residual article which functions simply as an article. The term "Replacive" is coined to describe this process, whereby a relative clause in the underlying structure substitutes for the absent referent in the surface structure. This is not the description of some infrequent linguistic phenomenon, as the chart at the end of this section indicates. The following Replacive relative clauses are among the very numerous examples in the corpus.

The data reveal that certain relative pronouns never occur with Replacives, namely que and the series el cual (etc.). Quien, by contrast, may so occur, and is the anarthrous sub-type referred

to above. Ramsey mentions this usage (1956:196), but interprets it in the same way as the Spanish grammars which have been reviewed: "a peculiarity of quien... is that it may...include its antecedent". Being anarthrous, Replacive quien lacks indication of gender. It may retrospectively be assigned the feature [+MASCULINE] as in K51 and K18, which are chosen to illustrate this factor because both contain the same N with different genders:

[-ANAPHORIC, +MASCULINE]	K51	Quien hablaba era un joven de indudable aspecto latino
[-ANAPHORIC, -MASCULINE]	K18	y quien abrió la puerta fue una joven que tendría sobre los dieciséis años

Usually, however, Replacive quien is unmarked for gender, and [+MASCULINE] is taken as the unmarked form. Sometimes it is used in aphoristic style with a universal connotation, so that it appears appropriate that the referent be unmarked:

Z19	lo hacía con la tranquilidad de quien está sentado a la puerta de casa
R15	te mira a los ojos como quien contempla el dinero en grande
S139	andaba con poco cuidado, como quien va por terreno conocido

Usually the emphasis is anonymous rather than universal:

M151	yo robaba bastantes cosas a mi padre, y a quien pudiera
G56	-Quien se queje ahora merese que lo boten al carro de la basura
A163/4	las beguinas, que ven como llamen el trasero las llamas del infierno a quien las canta;

this anonymity may be a thin veil of modesty, as the offended tone of the triple reference in V36 shows:

V36 -Es muy facil presumir y despreciar a quien nos quiere, a quien está dispuesto a ayudarnos...a quien nos ayuda ya.

Following a negative, a Replacive quien may be exclusive rather than anonymous:

Z157 esa herida ya no hay quien se la cura

V35 a mi Pepe no hay quien lo encarrile

FC125 ahora no hay quien les cultive la tierra, ni quien ayude en la recolección

As anticipated in section 2.1.2 above, quien should, therefore, have the dual value for the feature [ANAPHORIC]. It can be employed in [-ANAPHORIC] usage in the plural also, as in K50 and G14, which contain examples of this pronoun which can be designated [-ANAPHORIC, +MASCULINE, +PLURAL].

K50 la comodidad tentadora para quienes...han carecido del menor lujo

G14 quienes me habían enseñado a dar gracias a Dios por mi piedad y mi fortuna me ponían en guardia.

The overwhelming majority of Replacive relative clauses are constructed with what appears at first sight to be the compound relative pronouns of the series el que (etc.). These Replacive clauses have an underlying deep structure NP of the shape (Det + N + Rel Cl), from which a Replacive construction derives which can be defined as (det + Rel Cl_{nom}). Let us consider a few examples containing the masculine and feminine members of the series (sic), noting the freedom of position and fluency of structural integration which they evince, before analyzing more closely the structure of some further examples. The neuter will be treated separately.

Replacive el que

G56 el dinero lo pierde el que lo tiene

- M88 el que recibe el regalo...y el que lo ofrece
- Z65 conocía a las mujeres mejor que el que las inventó
- MS232/3 El que la hace no la paga. El que a hierro muere no a hierro mata. El que da primero no da dos veces...El que la hace la paga. No siempre el que la hace: el que cree que la hace...(Note the six examples in one paragraph).

Replacive la que

- S33 ¿por qué has de ser tú la que quedas mal?
- M41 la que tiene verdadera habilidad es mi hija
- B47 ¿La había perdido! Y era ésa y no otra la que él quería! Por fin se encontró delante de la que buscaba.

Replacive los que

- M222 la música apropiada que escriben los que tan acertadamente saben interpretar el alma colectiva
- FC101 repartiendo tabaco entre los que trabajaban
- R43 manejaba los cuernos del animal que todavía echaba por la boca sus últimos ruidos de vida...llama a los que se juegan la vida bajo el sol.

Replacive las que

- G40 ¿Puedo haserte una pregunta? -Las que quieras
- M34 habló de las estrellas. Pero de otras, diferentes. No de las que ellos conocían.

To analyze the structure of the Replacives which contain this apparent compound relative, the following examples are provided with amendments like those of S21 in the theoretical discussion above. These amendments represent an attempt to reconstruct the deep structures concerned by inserting in parenthesis a potential antecedent. The respective cases of the antecedent NP and of the relative pronouns are indicated. Schlesinger (1975)'s term "double function nouns" is appropriate.

NP Nominative, Rel Pro Nominative

- MS238 (amendment) la mejor máquina eficaz es la (máquina) que no hace ruido
- MS201/2 (amendment) no era ella la (mujer) que podría cambiar las cosas de como son

NP Accusative, Rel Pro Accusative

- M97 (amendment) sé por qué la Ernestina llama tíos a los (hombres) que no quiere
- M102/3 (amendment) la madre experimentó sensaciones distintas a las (sensaciones) que...inspiraban los hijos

NP Nominative, Rel Pro Accusative

- MS12 (amendment) sólo esta cepa entre todas las (cepas) que contiene la península posee tan milagrosa...propiedad
- K105 (amendment) No era el (trato) que recibían los jornaleros del mas

NP Accusative, Rel Pro Nominative

- K98 (amendment) concocí al (hombre) que fue mi suegro con sus buenos 69 años a costas
- G67 (amendment) a los (alumnos) que no les gusta el dibujo les enseñamos a...componer versos.

These examples are very instructive, because they reveal that in every instance the omission of the antecedent N involves three simultaneous steps: firstly, it dissolves the indicated case-marking of the single relative pronoun; secondly, it changes the relative clause from a RRC into a nominalized clause, or Replacive; and thirdly, it assigns to this new Replacive clause the case-marking that originally applied only to the (now) residual article. This can be demonstrated by showing how MS238 derives from the amended version.

<u>S.D.</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	(7)	8	9	10	11
	Det	Adj	N	Adj	V	Det	(N)	Rel Pro	Neg	V	N
	la	mejor	máquina	eficaz	es	la	(máquina)	que no	hace	ruido	

T: N deletion (optional): (7) → ∅

S.C. 1 2 3 4 5 6 (7) 8 9 10 11 ⇒ 1 2 3 4 5 6 8 9 10 11

Similar changes could be outlined for all the examples given, but G67 may be taken as a further illustration of the process which is the obverse of that in MS238, because the third step of change in case is relevant in G67 but not in MS238.

S.D.

1	2	(3)	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
Prep	Det	(N)	Rel	Pro	Neg	Pron	V	Det	N	Pron	V	Prep	V	N
a	los	(alumnos)	que	no	les	gusta	el	dijubo	les	enseñamos	a	componer	versos	

I: N deletion (optional): (3) → ∅

S.C. 1 2 (3) 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 ⇒ 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

The following configurations exhibit the changes in case more clearly, because the case which becomes suppressed upon omission of the antecedent and simultaneous creation of the Replacive clause is placed in parenthesis.

Z123 como hipnotizado mirando aquellos cadáveres, uno en especial,

Acc
el

(Nom)
que

 tenía las manos seccionadas

S24 admiraba el buen trabajo

GEN
del

(NOM)
que

 las había esculpido

D94 : eso les pasa a todos

ACC
los

(NOM)
que

 piensan mucho

K102 tenía la tez rubicunda de

GEN
los

(NOM)
que

 beben más de la cuenta

B47 y era ésa y no otra

NOM
la

(ACC)
que

 él quería

S206 -Al año que viene serán dos ovejas...la del ajuste y

Nom
la

(Acc)
que

 regale Pepe

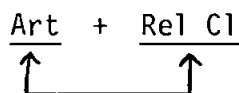
M109 Comprendieron que todas las palabras, todas

Nom
las

 ellos conocían, serían sonidos estériles.

(Acc)
que

To represent the relationship between the article and the Replacive relative clause, the third and hitherto unused schematic structure



may be borrowed from the synthesis of Figure 10 above, with the two arrowheads to stress their intimate relationship; but it is self-evident from the present analysis that it is subject to a complete

re-interpretation for this purpose. From the fact that the Replacive relative clause substitutes for a N it is clear that the article and the clause must cohere to function as a single syntactic entity within a sentence. This is supported by the facts, as the following examples make clear:

- R16 era Pepito mismo el que se arriesgaba a decirle
tales insultos
- Z122 si el que actuaba de guía era él
- S140 -...de Antonio. -¿El que se caso ayer?
- MS37 este enigma no era el que menos movía a Pedro
- Z102 con más hambre que el que la inventó
- R59 tú, como todos los que consiguen triunfar en poco tiempo,
- S22 repartía la correspondencia con el mínimo interes de los
que nunca han esperado una carta
- K260 igual que en el ejército, los que estaban a sus órdenes
se hubieran dejado matar por él
- S101 a eso de las ocho, los que trabajaban en el campo
miraron al sol
- S130 fatalmente allí estaba la otra llave, y...la que
descansaba sobre la mesa era la de Socorro
- S93 La que barría se detuvo
- K290 todo esto no tiene más importancia que la que nosotros
le damos
- S105 además de la que habitaba, tenía una casa recién
construida el verano pasado
- M123 se dijo que acaso el jovencito sería de alguna lancha
contrabandista, de las que por allí abundaban
- M153 eran las pinturas (no las de los lienzos, sino las
que estaban dentro de los tubos y los tarros)

Three points should be noted: firstly, that Z122 would be an excellent example to clarify the Replacive value of these clauses, because the sentence could undergo three deletions to read si el guía era él; secondly, the encapsulations suggested here que.... contrast effectively with those necessary to account for the compound relative pronouns in RRCs el que... as outlined above; thirdly, the configurations which have just been examined lend themselves to a stacking principle, such as that evinced by MS232/3 (see above) and M15 and K46:

- M15 Y el que había levantado la esterilla, el que llamaba,
dulce, quedo, igual que la serpiente, era el Galgo
- K46 mis dos hijos queridos...son los que mas se parecen.
al viejo Robert, en el fondo los que mas se parecían
a Susan.

It was stated earlier that Replacive lo que would be handled separately from the other members of the series, because the question of potential antecedents was then under review, and that feature is, of course, not relevant to lo que, except in NRRCs. The most remarkable fact that came to light in this section of the analysis of Replacive clauses is that all clauses introduced by lo que, with the exception of NRRCs, are Replacives. Therefore examples of Replacive lo que are very numerous; indeed, as the chart below will indicate, they are the most frequent of all the putative compound relatives, and they are 3.6 times more frequent than NRRCs with lo que. The following examples will serve to illustrate the usage:

- V29 ;Le tengo miedo al tiempo! Es lo que más me hace sufrir.
- K219 no siempre lo que nos gusta coincide con lo que nos conviene

A101 la dama se contoneaba escandalosamente luciendo su estola, su triunfal vestido y lo que la naturaleza había proveído

FC99 he aquí, en total, lo que consumimos entre los tres...

An analysis of the structures of Replacives with lo que reveals that, apart from the lack of antecedent in the underlying structure, they manifest the same phenomena as the clauses with other members of the series. The dual case relationship, with that of que yielding to that of the article, is illustrated by:

A14 Porque lo que tú tienes es como unos cristales

NOM
┌───────────────────┐
└──────────┘
 Acc

V24 Tú lo que necesitas no es un yerno rico

Nom
┌──────────┐
└──────────┘
 Acc

M18 pura pornografía, eso es lo que he vivido a vuestro lado

Nom
┌──────────┐
└──────────┘
 Acc

MS168 Así pues, lo que él notaba como pequeña sensación de cansancio...no eran sino los indicios internos

Nom
┌───────────────────┐
└──────────┘
 Acc

M73 han hecho lo que les dio la gana

Acc
┌──────────┐
└──────────┘
 Nom

R195/6 necesito sin falta enterarme de lo que pasa

Acc
┌──────────┐
└──────────┘
 Nom

D67 que todo el mundo se vuelve...suspica tan pronto advierte lo que cuesta ganar una peseta.

Acc
┌──────────┐
└──────────┘
 Nom

That the article and the Replative relative clause then cohere to function as a single syntactic item is evidenced by the following:

- G38 sabía leer y escribir...pero no comprendía lo
 que significaba la palabra 'capitalismo'
- K230 hizo lo que cualquiera hubiera hecho en semejante caso :
 salvarla de las llamas
- M83 yo ya había pegado la oreja a muchas puertas, y a todo
 lo que decían en la cocina y en la plaza
- Z107 al contrario de lo que sucedía en Campillos, no se
 veía ni un mal guarda
- A58 no se aguanta, uno con lo que le den

Stacking is, of course, also a possible feature:

- S67 le mostraría todo lo que de ella deseaba, todo lo
 que estaba dispuesto a hacer por ella.

To conclude this analysis of the role of the article in relative clauses, two charts will help to summarize some of the details which have emerged, before an investigation is made of the features which this role adds to the matrix of the article. The first chart, Figure 11, presents the findings concerning number of occurrences of the respective compound relative pronouns in the various types of clause (for which the Replative "compound" pronouns are counted as normal members of the series), based on a random sample of four hundred and twenty-five relative clauses containing such pronouns. Quien, which (unlike que) is relevant to all three types of clause, is included for comparison.

Figure 11

Relative Pron.	NRRCs	RRCs	REPLACIVES
el que	27	31	42
la que	25	32	13
los que	11	10	34
las que	10	20	8
lo que	17	0	62
Sub-total	90	93	159
el cual	9	5	0
la cual	2	1	0
los cuales	3	0	0
las cuales	1	1	0
lo cual	9	0	0
Sub-total	24	7	0
quien: Sub-total	14	12	27
TOTALS:	175	119	186



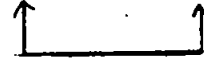
Figure 11 emphasizes five important factors concerning the respective relative pronouns; firstly, only the relative pronouns quien and the series el que (etc.) enjoy unrestricted deployment, although, as noted above, the latter is used in RRCs only post-prepositionally; secondly, quien is statistically very inferior to the series el que (etc.), which confirms the remark by Alcina and Blecua (1975:1083) that "la lengua moderna... prefiere el que compuesto, y quien retrocede notablemente en el uso"; thirdly, the series el cual (etc.) is used predominantly

with NRRCs (its post-prepositional substitution for que in RRCs has been mentioned above); fourthly, there is clearly a restriction upon the series el cual (etc.) to the effect that, like que, it cannot appear with Replacives, which corroborates the argument that such clauses are constructed around an article plus nominalized relative clause introduced by the conjunction que; fifthly, and most important, Replacive relative clauses manifest a two-fold statistical superiority over NRRCs and RRCs in this sample of clauses introduced by the compound series el cual (etc.) and (however interpreted) el que (etc.): Replacives are more frequent than either NRRCs or RRCs and, of all such types of clause, Replacives represent no less than 46.59%. These last two factors underline the importance of the new classification of Spanish relative clauses which is suggested here.

The second chart, Figure 12, represents the theoretical counterpart for the Spanish language of the synthesis for English relative clauses in Figure 10. To render the chart more meaningful, it incorporates R54 and two amended versions of R54 as illustrations of the types of clause:

- R54 mira cómo se resisten al capataz que los amenaza (RRC)
- R54 (amendment 1) Mira cómo se resisten al capataz, que los amenaza (NRRC)
- R54 (amendment 2) Mira cómo se resisten al que los amenaza (REPLACIVE).

Figure 12

RRC	NRRC	REPLACIVE
<p data-bbox="345 573 681 602"><u>Det + N + Relative Cl</u></p>  <p data-bbox="345 780 681 809">Mira cómo se resisten</p> <p data-bbox="345 864 537 923">al capataz</p> <p data-bbox="345 962 620 1020">que los amenaza</p>	<p data-bbox="860 573 1196 602"><u>Det + N + Relative Cl</u></p>  <p data-bbox="860 780 1196 809">Mira cómo se resisten</p> <p data-bbox="860 864 1083 923">al capataz,</p> <p data-bbox="860 962 1131 1020">que los amenaza</p>	<p data-bbox="1450 573 1729 602"><u>Art + Relative Cl</u></p>  <p data-bbox="1450 780 1786 809">Mira cómo se resisten</p> <p data-bbox="1450 864 1773 923">al que los amenaza</p>

2.6 CONCLUSION : FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC FEATURES OF THE ARTICLES

Reference to Figure 8 shows that many of the features which have been discussed in this chapter to reflect the role of the articles in relativization in Spanish are already present in the feature matrix established so far. What remains to be considered is the extra features required to include the relationship between the articles and relative clauses in the evolving distinctive feature matrix. As all the motivating factors have already been discussed at length, this part of the analysis can take the form of brief statements as conclusions.

Both articles are mentioned here, and in the title to this chapter, despite the fact that the definite article is more conventionally linked with relativization in Spanish owing to its contribution as a component of the two series of compound relative pronouns. A review of the external structure of the one hundred and nineteen RRCs in the random sample reveals that the antecedents concerned were of the following types: those with DAs = 24, those with IAs = 40, those with neither = 55; a large proportion of the anarthrous antecedents had a zero article because they were indefinite and plural. So in RRCs, where the relationship between the determiner and the relative clause is a major characteristic (compare Figure 12), the determiner is frequently the indefinite article. It is justifiable, therefore, to regard the indefinite as at least equally relevant to the process of relativization as its definite counterpart, as far as the external structure of RRCs is concerned.

Figure 13 summarizes the features of both clause and article in the respective clauses.

FIGURE 13

TYPE OF CLAUSE	CLAUSE FEATURES	ARTICLE FEATURES
RRC	ANAPHORA RELATIVIZATION	+ DEFINITE + CATAPHORIC + ANAPHORIC + RELATIVE
NRRC	ANAPHORA RELATIVIZATION	+ DEFINITE + ANAPHORIC + RELATIVE
REPLACIVE	CATAPHORA RELATIVIZATION NOMINALIZATION	+ DEFINITE + CATAPHORIC + RELATIVE

Whereas the feature [DEFINITE] has only a positive value for NRRCs and Replacives, it has a dual value for RRCs, to account for the facts just mentioned concerning the role of both articles in the determiner which is in essence a component of this relative clause. As Lucas mentions, Chomsky interpreted RRCs as belonging to the determiner system, and Robbins took "the...wh- rather than wh- alone (as) the combining element of (their) transformation" (1974:101). There is another reason for the presence of the positive value for [DEFINITE], which applies to both RRCs and NRRCs, namely to reflect the performance of the definite article as an element of the compound relative pronoun. The same justification underlies the

[+ DEFINITE] feature for Replacives, although, as argued above, it is strictly not the compound relative here, but a case of (Art + Rel Pro); in the final analysis, of course, the compound relative pronouns can all be decomposed into the same (Art + Rel Pro) shape. (Compare Luján 1972:170). There is, in a sense, a conflation of article and pronoun usage in the compound relative pronouns which (as was hinted earlier) is relevant to the theoretical discussion of the next chapter¹.

As regards the article features [ANAPHORIC] and [CATAPHORIC], again the RRC can be assigned both, whereas only one is applicable to the other two clauses. The feature [ANAPHORIC] is relevant to the article in all examples of true compound relatives, i.e. in NRRCs anywhere, and in RRCs post-prepositionally, but not in Replacives at all. That explains the presence of [ANAPHORIC] in the RRC and in the NRRC bands in Figure 13, and the presence of [CATAPHORIC] in the Replacive band. But there is also a [CATAPHORIC] usage of the articles in RRCs in the antecedent NP, which is mutually exclusive with the feature [ANAPHORIC] on syntagmatic grounds; the distinction may be expressed thus:

- 1) Article feature CATAPHORIC preminally
in env/X N__RelCl(RRC) Y
- 2) Article feature ANAPHORIC postminally
in env/X N__RelPro(RRC) Y.

This may be further defined by stating that in RRCs it is implicit that [-DEFINITE] \rightarrow [+CATAPHORIC] preminally, whereas [+DEFINITE] implies [+CATAPHORIC] preminally and/or [+ANAPHORIC] postminally. As will be shown below, both features can be subsumed under [RELATIVE]. The assignment of [+ANAPHORIC] to all three clauses and of [+CATAPHORIC] as indicated is otherwise

1. Kayne (1975:18) treats the French compound relative pronoun lequel in a similar way: "the occurrence of lequel in a relative clause will necessarily be the reflex of a more abstract structure in which lequel is followed by a noun".

self-evident from the foregoing analysis. This may be contrasted with the comment of Alcina and Blecua (1975:982f) on Escuchó con atención al que leía that this is a case of the "relativo simple con artículo anafórico"(!), an interpretation which is not enhanced by the subsequent contradiction that the antecedent is implicit (p.1028).

The feature [RELATIVE] fulfils a dual function like that of [DEFINITE] as explained above, and for the same reason, namely that it is relevant both to the antecedent NP of RRCs, and also to the compound relative pronouns in RRCs and NRRCs and the (Art + Rel Pro) of Replacives. The difference is that it is only positive. As regards Replacives, it is more satisfactory to define the usage of the article by the new feature [RELATIVE], rather than have recourse to the feature [NOMINALIZER] which is already present in the matrix, despite the fact that the basic process in Replacives is one of nominalization. The reason for this decision concerns the subtype of Replacives introduced by quien, which, of course, has no residual article. Although responsibility for accounting for that aspect could be disclaimed because the present analysis is concerned with only article features, the wider ramifications of all theoretical decisions should properly be borne in mind. The new feature [RELATIVE] is an adequate description of both the anarthrous Replacives introduced by quien and of the other Replacives containing articles, as well as serving to define the articles' performance with the other relative clauses. The other features which have entered into the discussion, such as

[DEFINITENESS], [GENDER], [NUMBER], [ANIMACY], and [HUMANNESS] are already present in the matrix, so that the addition of [RELATIVE] to both wings of the chart in Figure 14 brings the matrix up to date. The new feature is to be interpreted in the two-fold manner:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 [+ \text{ DEFINITE, } + \text{ RELATIVE } (\left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ CATAPHORIC } - \text{ ANAPHORIC} \\ - \text{ CATAPHORIC } + \text{ ANAPHORIC} \\ + \text{ CATAPHORIC } + \text{ ANAPHORIC} \end{array} \right\})] \\
 [- \text{ DEFINITE, } + \text{ RELATIVE } (+ \text{ CATAPHORIC})] .
 \end{array}$$

Figure 15 exemplifies the interpretation from this matrix of the two examples MS119 and MS233 with their multiple relatives, to complete this section.

FIGURE 14

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF BRANCHING DIAGRAM

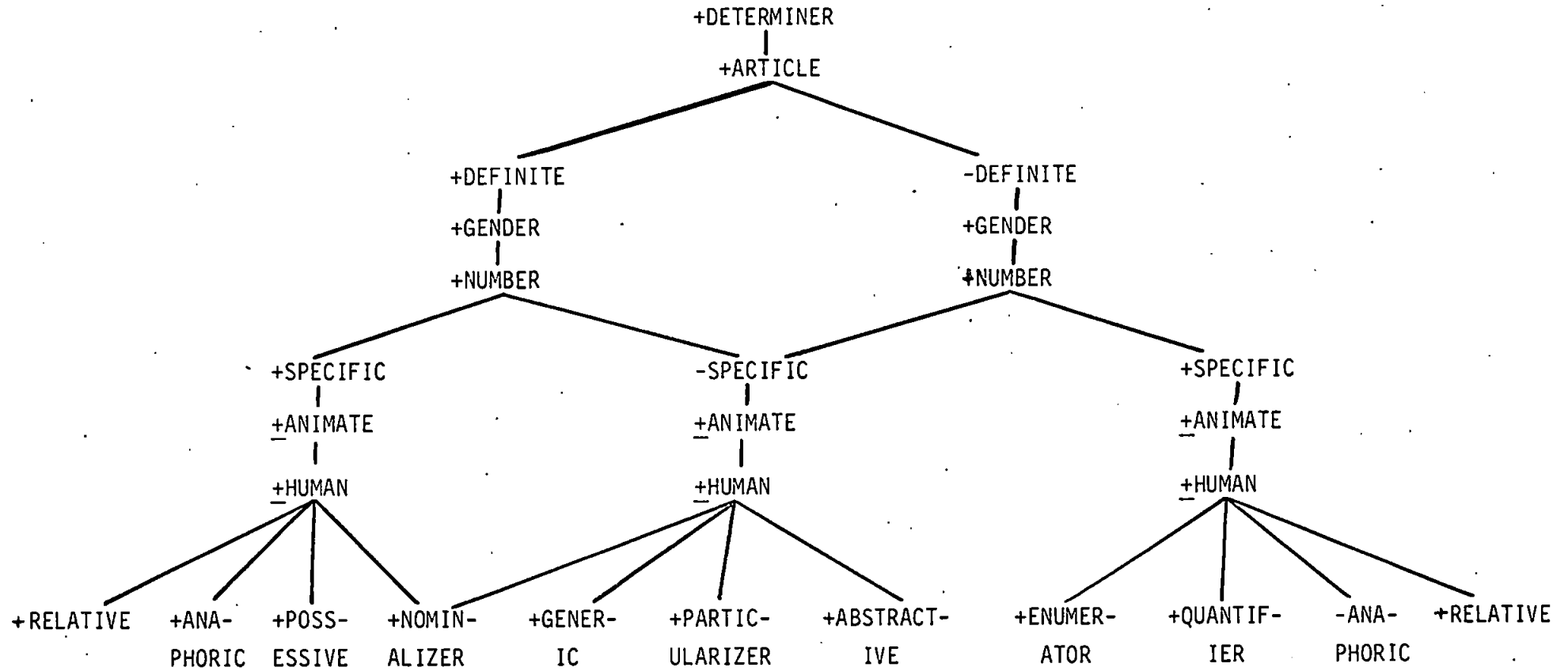


FIGURE 15

NO.	TYPE	DET	ART	DEF	MASC	FEM	PLUR	SPEC	ANIM	HUM	RELATIVE	(ANAPHORIC)	CATAPHORIC)
1	NRRC	+	+	+		+	-	+	-		+	+	
2	RRC	+	+	+		+	-	+	-		+	+	+
3	RRC	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+
4	REPLAC	+	+	+	+		-	+		+	+		+
5	RRC	+	+	+	+		-	+		+	+	+	
6	RRC	+	+	+	+		-	+		+	+	+	
7	REPLAC	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+		+

MS119 y en la piedra redonda, debajo de
 la que¹ su hijo tenía oscurecida
 la navaja con la que² ya antes
 había arrugado...a otros de los
 que³ no se supo

MS233 el que⁴ cree que la hizo a aquel
 de quien⁵ fue creído que la había
 hecho o aquel que⁶ consiguió
 convencer a quienes⁷ le
 rodeaban

CHAPTER 3

3. THE ARTICLES IN THE VERB PHRASE

3.1 PRONOMINALIZATION: GENERAL BACKGROUND AND SPECIFIC FOCUS

In this chapter the focus is on one aspect of pronominalization. Reibel and Schane referred to "the vastness of the pronominalization process" (1969:preface), a characteristic that has been reflected in the extensive literature on this subject in the last decade or so. Freyre (1974:(v)) rightly observes that "pronominalization is presently the object of intense search and new proposals are constantly appearing." It would, therefore, probably be impossible to provide an unexceptionable definition of the phenomenon. For example, Reibel and Schane's attempt to define pronominalization as "the process that replaces one or more co-referential noun phrases in the deep structure of a sentence with the corresponding personal pronouns in the surface structure" (1969:143) could be challenged on at least two grounds. The first objection concerns coreference, which Freyre calls "a much talked about problem (with) no adequate formal definition" (1974:114). This is supported by the fact that whereas Langacker (1970:172) hints that coreference is merely a more accurate term than identity, MSSE's review of some theories reveals an ambivalent interpretation: "coreferentiality as well as (or instead of?) formal identity" (1973:177). When discussing one viewpoint, MSSE compounds that problem by commenting that "under such an analysis, coreferentiality plays no direct role in any of the processes subsumed under pronominalization: its role is rather in the process (if it is a process) of definitization" (p.164); as if to deny the student any firm foothold, it adds that very few transformationalists have ever attempted to formulate

definitization explicitly. Postal (1972:37) subdivides coreference into stipulated, asserted, or inferred aspects without clarifying the issue at all. Hope is entertained that Lybbert (1972) might penetrate to the core of the problem when he begins: "standard definitions of such terms as 'pronoun' and 'substitute' are quite vague, but the central notion to which they appeal is that of replacement", but the hope is short-lived because he adds "there has been little discussion in the literature concerning the proper interpretation of 'replacement' in these definitions" (p.5).

Suspending for a moment consideration of the second objection to Reibel and Schane's definition, one is tempted to beg the major question in the expectation of finding a greater degree of unanimity on more minor issues, but this is to invite further disappointment. Consider, for example, the introduction of pronouns: are they transformationally derived? Bach (1970) made an observation which denied such a derivation, and his brief contribution had an impact so out of proportion to its size that its effect has been described as electric (editors' footnote, p.121, which shows it predated 1970, which is why Dougherty (1969) can refer to it.) Dougherty (1969), like Karttunen (1969) and Kuroda (1971), agrees with "Bach's Paradox" concerning the infinitely long underlying form of a certain class of sentence if the transformational derivation of pronouns by means of an erasure operation is upheld. Dougherty points out that this "Deletion Hypothesis" vitiates the principle of recoverability. His alternative is the "Interpretive Hypothesis", the assignment

of the same deep structure source to both anaphoric and non-anaphoric pronouns. His conclusion regards a grammar that inserts pronouns in the base and interprets them for reference at some stage of the derivation as "preferable to a grammar which transformationally inserts anaphoric pronouns into a derived phrase marker by deleting one noun phrase under strict identity with another" (1969:519). The same conclusion is reached for French by Kayne (1971:241) and for Spanish by Lackstrom (1967:115). This conflicts with the traditional Chomskyan view (1965), which still wins majority approval, according to the most likely reading of the ambiguous statement in MSSE (1973:177) that it is "followed at least implicitly in most recent transformational work, in particular by all linguists who accept the Katz-Postal hypothesis." A review of other minor aspects, such as cyclical pronominalization, backwards versus forwards pronominalization, the concept of "command", whether definitization should be a rule, whether reflexivization is a separate process from pronominalization, and so on, would reveal a similar variety of theoretical opinions.

To return to the Reibel and Schane definition, the second objection is that they, like Langacker (1970:172), make pronominalization respect sentence boundaries, which is valid for the sentence-internal process of reflexivization, but ignores the problem of what Freyre (1974:115) refers to as extrasentential coreferentiality. This is more often discussed under Postal's term, "clause mate constraint"; Helke (1973:8)

refers to the general proliferation of terminology for the notion, but adds to it himself by coining the phrase "sentential ancestry". Chomsky (1976) discusses and rejects this principle. He claims that there is a single category of transformational rules and

all such rules are governed by the subjacency principle. It is an interesting question whether... rules of semantic interpretation are also governed by this or some similar principle...pronominal anaphora violates these principles...(it) belongs to an entirely different system of rules involving quite different conditions...not statable in the theory of transformations at all, and not even restricted to sentence grammar (pp.93 and 240).

He earlier defined the condition of subjacency as requiring that transformations apply to positions at the same level of the cycle or in adjacent levels. Chomsky states categorically that pronouns which have not yet been assigned antecedents "MAY be taken to refer to entities designated elsewhere in the sentence, though this is NEVER NECESSARY and is NOT PERMITTED under certain conditions" (1976:104, emphasis mine). Understandably, MSSE makes the same observation as that of Freyre quoted above, and it does so in almost identical terms: "pronominalization is a topic which is currently receiving intensive scrutiny, and new insights are appearing at an ever-increasing rate" (1973:164). It adds that it is therefore impossible to review every contribution, and indeed that its own approach precludes taking some of the best available insights into account.

The present study is not concerned with evaluating the views which have been referred to, or with attempting to solve any of the issues raised. The problem to be treated

here, against the general background of controversy, is whether the article plays a role in the process of pronominalization in Spanish. In a sense, the emphasis is a special case of what Halliday and Hasan (1976:31) refer to as the "cohesion...in the continuity of reference, whereby the same thing enters into the discourse a second time", hence the claim (which they regard as too concrete) that "all reference items 'contain the definite article'." The specific aspect dealt with is whether the Spanish article itself operates as a pronoun, so that the feature [PRONOMINAL] may be added to the cluster of features already assigned to the article. Several factors need to be investigated before such a step can be taken. The first concerns the status of articles and pronouns.

3.2 THE STATUS OF ARTICLES AND PRONOUNS

The question must be asked whether it is a valid premise to attempt to subordinate what has traditionally been regarded as a separate syntactic category to the role of a feature under another category, or whether [PRONOUN] would best be defined as a discrete category in its own right. Secondly, the inherent nature of pronouns, as discussed by Benveniste (1956), Jones (1970), Charandeau (1971), Brecht (1974), Rosengren (1974), and Rodríguez-Izquierdo (1976), merits careful consideration. Finally the introduction of new features to characterize pronouns may suggest a further development of the feature matrix which has been established

earlier. Opinions are divided on the subject of the theoretical status of Spanish articles and pronouns. Only three of the grammars which have been consulted need be quoted to illustrate the divergence of opinion. Gili y Gaya (1969) deals with both parts of speech in the same chapter, but accords them entirely separate treatments. Stockwell, Bowen and Martin (1966) call Spanish articles and pronouns closely related forms. Goldin (1968) appears at first to adopt the same position when he calls them "closely related grammatical items", but then he approvingly quotes Bello's view that the two parts of speech are identical. These different viewpoints may be taken as representative of the spectrum of theoretical conclusions on this subject, and may be used as springboards to launch a consideration of the traditional division between the two parts of speech and the current attempt to view them together.

3.2.1 A SUMMARY OF TRADITIONAL DISTINCTIONS

3.2.1.1 THE DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

It is ironic that articles should have evolved at all in Spanish, given the anarthrous language of its historical origin. The point is not lost upon Rodríguez-Izquierdo, who is concerned to defend the value of the articles within the grammatical structure of Spanish:

considerando la evolución diacrónica que ha llevado a la formación del artículo español a partir de elementos de una lengua carente de artículo, podría concluirse precipitadamente que el artículo es un elemento antieconómico en nuestra lengua (1976:113).

His answer is that, by the loss of case inflections on Ns and the development of articles by way of compensation, Spanish has, on the contrary, acquired greater structural simplicity. Precisely which Latin part of speech gave birth to the article is variously argued. Alonso (1961:151) derives it from a pronoun, whereas Rosengren (1974:16) and Rodríguez-Izquierdo (1976:122) conclude that it derives from a demonstrative adjective. Iso Echegoyen (1974) agrees, explaining how Latin ille inherited the function of is and, with a change in its accentual pattern, produced an anaphoric pronominal element (third person pronoun) and an adjective element which gave rise to the Romance languages' article. From an examination of Spanish el, la, lo, French le, la, and Italian il, la, he claims "no es difícil inducir que tanto el pronombre románico como el artículo remontan al anafórico ille (p.469)." Rosoff (1973:8) also accepts that the article evolved from a "process of semantic weakening involving the demonstrative adjectives of Latin." Only Galton (1973:7) observes that this is purely a one-way process: "there seems to be something contagious about the article; I do not know of a language that has lost it in historical times."

3.2.1.2 THE SYNCHRONIC RESULTS

The synchronic approach is concerned not with what parts of speech articles and pronouns can be traced back to historically, but with what categories they are best assigned to now. Freyre (1974:1) notes that "traditionally, the greatest concern about pronouns refers to their category...what part of speech they

constitute." Whatever opinion a linguist adopts on this issue, he must recognize that there are prima facie differences between articles and pronouns which increase the burden of proof devolving upon those who would identify the two. Alarcos Llorach (1961) stresses the distinctions between articles and pronouns. He begins by quoting Bello's merging of "el personal /él, ella.../ con el artículo /el, la.../", which has been referred to above, and comments that Bello "buscaba así el paralelismo funcional con los otros pronombres." Alarcos justifies his dissension by delineating four distinctions. The first is a syntactic one, that pronouns enjoy an autonomy which articles lack; compare the comment by Rodríguez-Izquierdo (1976:114): "la función de los personales átonos es más autónoma dentro del sintagma que la del artículo." Alarcos' second distinction is that orthographically the article never carries an accent, a point to which he devotes a disproportionate amount of space. The third difference is more important: a pause occurs before the article, but following the pronoun. Finally, he observes that their syntagmatic occurrences differ, articles appearing in NPs and pronouns in VPs. These arguments of Alarcos will be taken as a sufficient summary of the traditional viewpoint, since many would regard it as non-controversial.

3.2.2 ANALYSIS OF THE SYNOPTIC VIEW OF ARTICLES AND PRONOUNS

3.2.2.1 ALONSO

With reference to the phonetic differences, Alonso writes with greater clarity than Alarcos. As shown above, he expresses a minority view when he harks back to the article's origin and

evolution with the memorable phrase "el paso histórico de pronombre a artículo." This process he summarizes as

este vaciamiento fonético que consiste en la pérdida del acento de intensidad y, muchas veces, en un extremo acortamiento fonético, lo mismo en la lenguas modernas que en la antiguas (1961:151).

At the heart of Alonso's treatment of pronouns there is, however, a paradox. He first dismisses the anaphoric role of the article as not ranking among its essential functions. When he later returns to this aspect, he links it to the intimate relation between articles and pronouns: "la alternancia un - el, como ocurre con TODOS LOS PRONOMBRES" (emphasis mine). That the DA replaces the IA once the noun has received a mention he understands as reflecting the article's pronominal character. Taking the sentences as a whole, one can only conclude that he contradicts himself:

la alternancia un - el, como ocurre con todos los pronombres, pertenece pues a la técnica del coloquio y no depende del modo (determinado-indeterminado) de nuestro conocimiento del objeto (compare pp.126 and 151f).

It is an interesting observation to relate the two parts of speech from the point of view of replacement, because the pronouns are the part of speech par excellence to be involved in this phenomenon. It would, however, be difficult to sustain Alonso's argument that the replacement mechanism is the same for pronouns and articles. Unfortunately he does not enlarge upon it.

3.2.2.2 GOLDIN

It is Goldin (1968) who does give lengthy consideration to the question of replacement in pronominalization, and who then

seeks to identify the two parts of speech. He states that both anaphoric and non-anaphoric pronominalization are optional in Spanish. Langacker (1970:173) regards Goldin's treatment of the relation between the two types of pronominalization as superficial, and calls some of his statements "no argument at all!" According to Goldin, anaphoric pronominalization occurs if there are two or more identical NPs in the deep structure of a sentence, whereas non-anaphoric pronominalization occurs when the NPs are not otherwise contained in the same sentence. The latter incurs ambiguity because of an indefinite range of possible interpretations. Goldin formulates his anaphora rule in two stages:

- (i) any NP which is a subject may be deleted
- (ii) any NP except an inanimate subject may be expressed as a pronoun.

He then legislates for a restriction, that in the case of two identical NPs appearing within the same sentence, the first in a main clause followed by a subordinate clause containing the second, the first NP may not be pronominalized unless the second is similarly treated. The category [PRONOUN] is, according to Goldin, relevant only to surface structure, because, as his rule implies, the appearance of pronouns is dependent upon the NPs which the deep structure of S contains.

Goldin next deals with the method of introducing pronouns into surface structure. He states his approval of the traditional interpretation of the close relationship between articles and pronouns owing to their mutual origin. He finds every justification in treating them as related in a synchronic description of Spanish. He notes that Postal's attempt to

relate the English articles and pronouns gave rise to controversy owing to their phonological dissimilarity. Although no such problem obtains in Spanish, scholars have been reluctant to establish the relationship, as Goldin's quotation from Bello indicates:

Destutt de Tracy reconoce la identidad del artículo le y el pronombre il en francés. ¿Cómo es que en castellano, donde salta a los ojos la de él y el, tienen algunos dificultad en aceptarla? (p.67).

Bello therefore adopts an unequivocal position regarding the identification of the two parts of speech, an identification which he holds to be self-evident and a majority view. This is Goldin's judgment also. Note that it coincides with that of Lackstrom (1967:8), "when the nouns are deleted the determiners do not become nouns; they remain only determiners. This view of pronominalization clarifies the relationship between the determiner form and its pronominal counterpart - they are in fact identical." In a footnote to his translation of the quotation from Bello, however, Goldin points to a significant difference in interpretation: "while Bello prefers to state that pronouns underlie articles, we find it more useful to claim that articles underlie pronouns."

Both views have points in their favour. Bello's position has every justification from the standpoint of diachronic linguistics. Given the two premises that Latin lacked articles, and that Spanish articles and certain pronouns derive from the Latin pronoun ille, or a demonstrative adjective form, as reviewed above, it seems illogical to argue that articles underlie pronouns. Goldin's study belongs, however, to the

branch of synchronic linguistics, and according to the tenets of modern linguistics "the history of a language is in principle irrelevant to its synchronic description" (Lyons, 1971:14). Were this not the case, linguistics would be powerless to cope with newly discovered languages. The historical evolution of a language is not an indispensable prerequisite for analysis of its modern form. In the case of a well documented philology it may seem unreasonably obscurantist to ignore the findings of scholars in the related field, although Malkiel (1975) overstates the case in arguing that "the estrangement between etymology and modern linguistics" has not only harmed, but threatens to impoverish both.

Kiparsky (1971) attempts to reconcile the two branches within the framework of Generative Grammar. He stresses that the child faced with the challenge of learning his mother tongue cannot rely on rules: "the child's acquisition of language is therefore an individual act of creation...(he) learns his mother tongue in complete ignorance of its history...(he) is the synchronic linguist par excellence." Grosu (1977:170) neatly summarizes Chomsky's concept of the mind being structured so that it imposes structure on experience; this is based on two factors - the child's amazing linguistic achievement, and "also on the basis of relatively recent experimental findings... that... much of the detailed structure of various systems of perception is 'wired in' at birth and could not plausibly have been acquired through data-analysis." For evidence that the child is confronted with an artificial version, and that if he were to have this as his primary linguistic input "he would presumably require an innate LAD every bit as sophisticated as

that proposed by Chomsky," see Vorster (1975); an even more fundamental refutation of "Chomsky's...strange tale of the acquisition device" is found in Robinson's The New grammarians' funeral, (1975:53-73). But Kiparsky's point is valid: the child tests his theories about the mechanisms currently at work in the language which he is striving at any given moment to reduce to a set of rules. Molina (1974:9) correctly states that a purely synchronic study "no implica, por supuesto, ningún tipo de desconsideración hacia el enfoque diacrónico." Now Goldin's contribution is based on what might be termed this periphrastic rather than retrospective principle of linguistic analysis, and as such can expect to be judged within that framework alone, but he is prepared to take the other school into account. His position regarding the close relation between articles and pronouns is summarized as relying upon "the diachronic evidence of both deriving from ille; the synchronic evidence of complementary distribution; plus the fact that Bello has suggested the same conclusion" (p.62). His definition of the process of pronominalization has two simple stages, one being structural, the other purely nominal: "all of the noun phrase is deleted except the article, which is then labelled Pronoun."

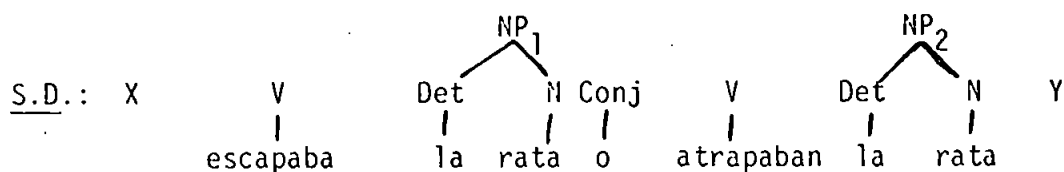
This description is of course an oversimplification, and is erroneous in several respects. The most important factor which Goldin appears to have ignored is that of subject pronominalization. Even if his formulation is applied to object pronouns alone, it still needs considerable qualification. He implies that only one transformation, namely deletion, is

involved in pronominalization. This ignores the second vital structural change which object pronouns undergo and which relocates them so that they appear either before the V, under certain conditions, or alternatively as suffixes. Examples taken from the corpus illustrate these facts.

Firstly,

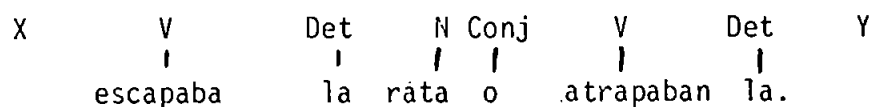
D80 por sus actitudes adivinaban cuándo escapaba
 la rata o cuándo la atrapaban.

The structural description which may be assigned to the surface structure of D80 can be simplified by using cover symbols for elements in the clauses which are not germane to the immediate purpose. The reconstructed form before pronominalization occurs would be:

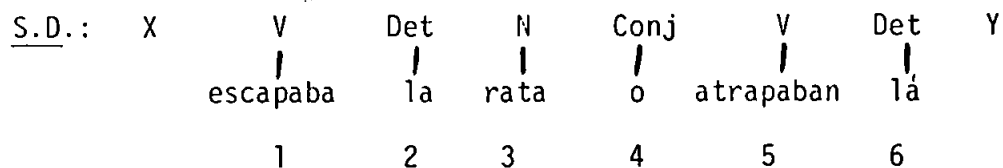


Condition: NP₁ = NP₂

S.C.: N-deletion transformation (optional)



At this juncture, a second, obligatory transformation must take place. For clarity, it is helpful to number the elements remaining after the first transformation. The new structural description can be designated thus:



Condition: V,5 = not infinitive, not present participle,
 not positive imperative

S.C.: X 1 2 3 4 5 6 Y \rightarrow X 1 2 3 4 6 5 Y.

After this second transformation, the resulting structure is:

X	V	Det	N	Conj	Det	V	Y
	escapaba	la	rata	o	la	atrapaban.	

Then, and only then, should Goldin's labelling of the second determiner as a pronoun take place.

The following data from the corpus reveal the force and value of the condition imposed upon the Det Relocation Transformation as it has just been formulated:

(i) V,5 should not be an infinitive:

M126 Neila salía poco de su casa. Ella se ocupaba de asearla y cuidarla;

(ii) V,5 should not be a present participle:

C104 el niño está a un palmo escaso del viajero, mirándole fijamente, respirándole encima;

(iii) V,5 should not be a positive imperative:

D29 Cuélgalo patas arriba.

Where the specified condition has to be invoked, as in the examples just provided, a device needs to be incorporated such as the following transformation, which may be termed the Det-Suffixation Transformation. Its input is, of course the same as that for the Det-Relocation Transformation, which is precluded from operating by the condition stipulated:

<u>S.D.</u>	X	V	Det	N	Conj	V	Det	Y
		escapaba	la	rata	o	atrapaban	la	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	

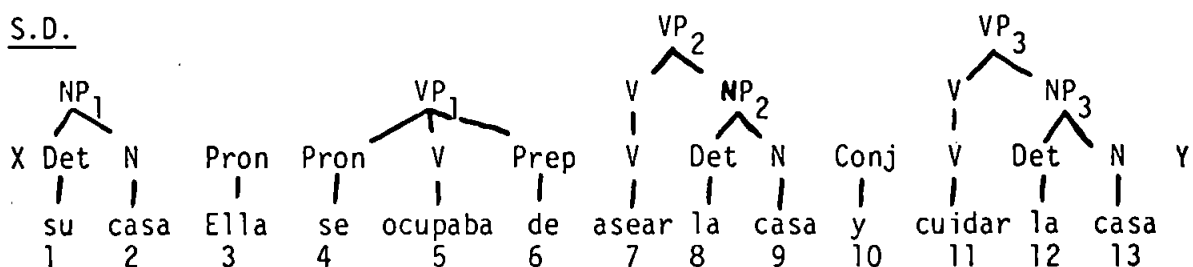
A new condition is required, which states that the second V must be an infinitive, a present participle, or a positive imperative. This is stated, albeit in a more restricted context, and not unexceptionably, by Roldán (1971:8): "as objects, unmodified personal pronouns...may not follow the

verb as a fully stressed NP, they must appear as clitics, attached to a verb, and inflected for the accusative case (their position is before an inflected verb, but after an infinitive, a gerund, or an imperative form)." Compare Carnicer (1969:223): "los pronombres personales átonos... hoy en día, la práctica general los antepone al verbo... salvo en tres casos: aquéllos en que el verbo aparece en infinitivo, en gerundio, o en imperativo!" Let us now take one of the examples above which meets the specification of the new condition and assign to it a relevant description:

M126 (amendment (a)) Neila salía poco de su casa. Ella se ocupaba de asear la casa y cuidar la casa.

This would approximate to the deep structure of M126, as quoted above. The relevant section would have the following surface structure description prior to the application of the necessary transformations.

S.D.



I: N-deletion (optional)

Condition: NP₁ = NP₂ = NP₃

S.C. X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 Y

→ X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 12 Y.

This leaves a surface structure of:

M126 (amendment (b)) ... su casa. Ella se ocupaba de asear la y cuidar la.

This version represents the input for the Det Suffixation transformation.

<u>S.D.</u>	X	Det	N	Pron	Pron	V	Prep	V	Det	Conj	V	Det	Y
		su	casa	Ella	se	ocupaba	de	asear	la	y	cuidar	la	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	

I: Det-Suffixation (obligatory)

Conditions: V7 is an infinitive, or a present participle, or a positive imperative;

V10 is an infinitive, or a present participle, or a positive imperative.

S.C. X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 Y

⇒ X 1 2 3 4 5 6 (7 + 8) 9 (10 + 11) Y.

The resulting structure feature becomes:

M126 ... su casa. Ella se ocupaba de asearla y cuidarla.

Similar derivations could be set up to account for the examples C104 and C29 adduced above. In their case, a rule would need to be added to the phonological subcomponent to allow for accentuation following the Det-Suffixation transformation.

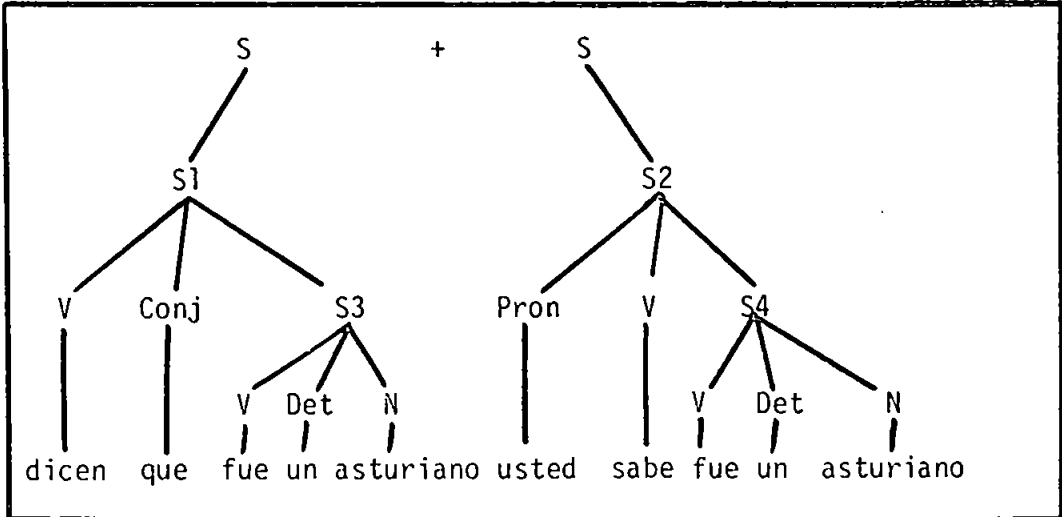
In addition to all the above, Goldin's formulation also makes no allowance for the highly condensed replacement in the neuter lo. This pronoun could, of course, never appear, if pronominalization depended upon the residual article following N-deletion, because Ns have as their gender feature [+ MASCULINE] only, for there is no neuter gender available as a feature under the category [NOUN]. The following example may be used to illustrate the kind of machinery which must be established to cope with neuter lo:

F42 - Dicen que fue un asturiano.

Pilar no contestó, y la criada sintió agudizar su curiosidad.

- Usted lo sabe...

Taking the maid's two utterances together (F42 abbreviated: Dicen que fue un asturiano ... Usted lo sabe), the constituent structures could be represented by a tree diagram of the shape:



This provides a framework for the operation of another deletion transformation, in this case the deletion of a sentence, namely S4. The condition $S3 = S4$ must be stipulated.

<u>S.D</u>	X	V	Conj	V	Det	N	Pron	V	V	Det	N
		Dicen	que	fue	un	asturiano	usted	sabe	fue	un	asturiano
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

T: S-deletion (optional)

Condition: 3 4 5 = 8 9 10

S.C. X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Y

⇒ X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Y.

The resulting structure becomes:

F42 (amended) dicen que fue un asturiano. Usted sabe.

This demonstrates the inadequacy of Goldin's rule, for there is no article left over to be labelled pronoun! Accordingly, another rule must be added, to the effect that, following S-deletion, an obligatory transformation of the form: lo-

addition must take place. It must be so ordered that it follows S-deletion and then involves a reapplication of the Det-suffixation or Det-relocation transformations, as appropriate. These procedures have already been established above so that it would be superfluous to illustrate the machinery involved.

Goldin's formulation requires still further qualification. It does not take care to account for the contracted form al, which should not be left as the residue of an otherwise deleted NP, nor for masculine el, nor for the forms uno, or pre-alliterative se. These can all be illustrated from the primary sources, and the examples will be followed by their respective forms following the deletion transformation which Goldin did legislate for. An asterisk before the sentence indicates which sequences are syntactically substandard. Again, for economy of description, the full apparatus of the transformation will be omitted. First, the contracted form al controverts what we take to be Goldin's rule, as is illustrated by:

F21 fueron a tomar unos blancos a la fonda, invitando
 al médico

* fueron a tomar unos blancos a la fonda, invitando al.

The Det-Relocation would not solve the problem, and nor would the Det-Suffixation change. Instead, perhaps, a deletion of the entire NP including the DA, would have to be introduced (Compare Fowler (1971:143)), and then the lo-addition rule made to apply. It then becomes clear that none of the masculine forms of the articles, DA or IA, are accounted for by Goldin, except for the masculine plural which -like the feminine singular and plural articles- is homophonous with the respective direct object pronoun. Hence a straightforward

N-deletion applied to

D123 se rascaba insistentemente el cráneo bajo la boina,
would leave the asyntactic residue

* se rascaba insistentemente el bajo la boina.

Similarly

R69 le ilusionaba al máximo el dominar a un toro
would become unsatisfactory:

* le ilusionaba al máximo el dominar a un.

In both of these examples the residual masculine article must somehow be subjected to a lo-transformation and the Det-Relocation procedure. Where these masculine articles are involved and where the verb meets the specifications detailed earlier, that is, where the V is an infinitive or a present participle or a positive imperative, Det-Suffixation rather than Relocation must occur. Further complications are presented by pre-alliterative or "spurious se" (Freyre 1974:128). For example,

C37 el viajero siente -a veces le pasa -un repentino
escalofrío

would evolve to

* el viajero siente -a veces le pasa -un,

which could (after the extra step of Det-Relocation which has been introduced) become:

* el viajero siente - a veces un le pasa.

This raises the necessary refinement of the Det-Relocation rule for reintroducing the pronominalized article in the correct place when another pronoun is present. The refinement would produce:

* el viajero siente -a veces le un pasa.

Then the lo-transformation would have to apply or (by a more complicated procedure), a Det-Deletion would have to be legislated for in these circumstances, followed by the lo- (=Det) addition! At that stage a pre-alliteration transformation would have to be introduced into the rules. The foregoing amendments do not exhaust the difficulties with which Goldin's rule bristles. The distinction between tonic and atonic forms also demands attention. That omission would probably best be dealt with in the phonological sub-component, and need not present an insuperable problem. Leísmo also is ignored.

This interpretation of Goldin has necessitated revision on such a scale that fairness demands that his pronouncement be re-examined to determine whether justice has been done to it. His cross-reference to Bello is to paragraphs 273 to 277, in the chapter on the DA. Bello's argument is a circular one. He first states that

Los demostrativos este, ese, aquel, se sustivan como los otros adjetivos, y eso mismo sucede con el artículo, que toma entonces las formas él (con acento), ella, ellos, ellas...

so that he interprets the subject pronouns as nominalized articles. He later adds "aunque no siempre, como veremos", which anticipates paragraphs 279, where he deals with the declension of él, etc., and adduces the accusative and dative forms. It follows that the latter are nominalized articles. It should be noted that this is stated in a paragraph occurring later than those referred to by Goldin. Bello's second point in paragraph 273 is one to which reference has been made earlier. It states that the articles are abbreviations of the subject pronouns. He therefore suggests two derivations: one produces

pronouns from articles, the other articles from pronouns! This is to interpret Goldin as omitting consideration of subject pronouns; if however he was, in fact, referring only to subject pronouns (and he will be re-interpreted in that light shortly) his formulation is seen to omit reference to the complex issue of object pronominalization, which Bello regards as implied by the subject pronouns. How complex object pronominalization can be has been illustrated above.

Goldin may justifiably claim to be dealing only with subjects. The apparent ambiguity may be attributable to the fact that his approach to grammatical description is based on the principles of case grammar enunciated by Fillmore. According to Fillmore the terms "subject" and "object" are relevant only to surface structure. To account for deep structure relationships more meaningful terms are required. Among those mentioned by Goldin (p.77) are (i) datives as subjects, (ii) objectives as passive subjects, (iii) datives as passive subjects, (iv) objectives as direct objects, (v) locatives as direct objects, (vi) datives as direct objects, (vii) agentives as subjects, (viii) instrumentals as subjects, and -for good measure- (ix) objectives as subjects. There is here ample room for misinterpretation. Moreover, he uses the term surface structure in an unorthodox manner:

in transformational doctrine, 'surface structure' is the string which is the result of applying all relevant transformations to some deep structure; that is, the string which determines the phonetic interpretations of a sentence (Chomsky 1965:16). However, we have been using the notion ... to cover structures which represent various late stages in sentence derivation. Specifically, we have implied that the input to the agreement rule is already a surface structure, (p.22).

No criticism of Goldin in these two respects is implied. On the contrary, I accept his use of the term 'surface structure', while nevertheless regarding Fillmore's Case Grammar as valid, subject to the two difficulties mentioned by Arutjunova (1975:8f): "in essence, Fillmore is building the edifice of Case Grammar without having fixed his base, that is, without having defined the elementary (primary) proposition...Lack of precision and explicitness in the principle of identifying the cases is another fault." For a more fundamentally critical analysis, see Fletcher (1971), and Mellema (1974), who states categorically that "the study of surface case systems does not support the theory of case grammar" so that "the case for case can be dismissed" (pp.71, 76).

A closer look at Goldin's whole treatment may help to resolve a genuine failure to interpret him fairly, especially as Langacker (1970:172) refers to the problem of interpreting him correctly owing to lack of clarity. Recognizing the difficulty of discussing such terms as 'noun' and 'sentence' as related to both deep and surface structures (p.10), Goldin attempts to achieve greater clarity by using a capital letter for category and function terms in deep structure. Unfortunately, when he deals with subject deletion and pronominalization (pp.52, 56) he capitalizes these two titles, thereby destroying the effectiveness of the device. The discussion which follows, however, does clarify that in both processes he is referring to surface structure. The first process is the optional suppression of a NP subject where the speaker and hearer can be presumed to know the identity of the deleted subject. The

second process is anaphoric pronominalization, whereby a pronoun replaces what would be the second occurrence of an identical NP in the same sentence. Later (p.59), in the preamble to his anaphora rule, he states: "there is a restriction on pronominalization which, as we said above, also applies to subject deletion, so for greater generality the statement of pronominalization can treat subject deletion also". Turning then to p.62, we find that the all-important deletion is of an unspecified NP, unspecified as to function that is, and we are now led to conclude that the NP to be deleted may be the subject:

in rules 69 (true reflexives) and 97 (anaphora) we informally stated the process of pronominalization as a noun phrase 'taking the form of' or 'being expressed as' a pronoun. By this we mean that all of the noun phrase is deleted except the article, which is then labelled Pronoun.

The inescapable conclusion is that, in the interests of a more powerful formulation, or, to use his term, "for greatest generality", Goldin has made a statement which is not ambiguous, but erroneous. It will be recalled that his anaphora rule stipulated that:

- (i) any NP which is a subject may be deleted.
- (ii) ANY NOUN PHRASE except an inanimate subject noun MAY BE EXPRESSED AS A PRONOUN (emphasis mine).

Therefore, although the NP mentioned in the pronominalization rule may be a subject, it need not be. The numerous amendments to Goldin's pronominalization rule which have been introduced above are therefore both valid and essential. Those amendments were introduced to treat various potential constituents of the

NPs referred to in the second part of the anaphora rule. If however Goldin is re-interpreted so that the subject NPs referred to in part one of the rule are concentrated upon, his formulation can nevertheless not remain unchallenged by the facts. This may be illustrated by four sentences drawn from one of the primary sources, each of which contains a different article:

- C62 el viajero entra en el comedor
- C61 la mujer mira a los ojos del viajero
- C59 los viejos van en mangas de camisa
- C131 las mujeres están ya...congestionadas

By a direct application of Goldin's rule for pronominalization, these sentences would all be rendered asyntactic, because they would change, respectively, to:

- * el entra en el comedor
- * la mira a los ojos del viajero
- * los van en mangas de camisa
- * las están ya...congestionadas.

On Goldin's analysis, the relevant articles would all be re-labelled as (subject) pronouns. Surprisingly, Langacker calls Goldin's rule of subject deletion "very simple", and does not consider the shortcomings discussed here. He mentions only the problem of deletion of a subject which is a pronoun instead of a fully specified NP, which is Goldin's assumption, and the related problem of recoverability (1970:-72).

3.2.2.3 LACKSTROM

This may be compared with the treatment of Lackstrom a year earlier, Pro-forms in the Spanish noun phrase (1967). By 'pro-forms', he means highly abstract structures which may not necessarily be words that actually occur in the language; they are the feature specifications of deleted Ns with respect to certain features. These are humanness, animateness and gender (see p.115; it is possible that number should be added, if his examples are correct). Lackstrom (p.67) sets up the following as underlying strings:

a.	1-	$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{noun} \\ +\text{pro} \\ +\text{common} \\ 1 \text{ gender} \\ 1 \text{ number} \end{array} \right]$	VP
b.	1-	$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{noun} \\ +\text{pro} \\ +\text{common} \\ 2 \text{ gender} \\ 1 \text{ number} \end{array} \right]$	VP
c.	1-	$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{noun} \\ +\text{pro} \\ +\text{common} \\ 1 \text{ gender} \\ 2 \text{ number} \end{array} \right]$	VP
d.	1-	$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{noun} \\ +\text{pro} \\ +\text{common} \\ 2 \text{ gender} \\ 2 \text{ number} \end{array} \right]$	VP

After the definite article has acquired the number and gender features of the pronoun, the pronoun is deleted. The output of these rules are then shown to be strings which correspond to those of Goldin:

- a. el canta
- b. la canta
- c. los cantan
- d. las cantan.

Lackstrom immediately intervenes to state that these are not terminal strings in Spanish and, in contrast to Goldin, he maintains that "the definite article cannot stand alone as the single constituent of a noun phrase". Instead, a rule is required to delete the article in those circumstances.

Goldin, however, is left with the DAs el, la, los, las, which are then labelled pronoun and which occupy the subject slot. Amendments will be needed to improve on this situation. Two possibilities present themselves. One is to have an article-deletion transformation, but that would invalidate a rule which has specifically deleted everything from the NP except the article! The other would be to have a device for transforming these "abbreviated article-pronouns" into their respective "primitive article forms" of él, ella, ellos, ellas. Such is the terminology used by Bello in the paragraphs which Goldin quotes. The results of the two suggested transformations would of course produce a modification in the semantic content of the sentences in their final form.

Lackstrom allows for the transformation into él, ella, ellos and ellas, by permitting a fusion of the articles with the pro-forms: "the pro-form and the determiner are morphophonemically fused, then the resultant form is interpreted as a nominal by the grammar", (p.97). He adds that forms like ella and ellos are felt to be at the same time nouns and definite determiners.

He interprets these subject pronouns as pronouns derived from definite articles. His rule for this derivation of "pronouns based upon the definite article in their singular forms"

(p.110) is

+def +art +pro +noun -common	----->	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 5px;">él</td> <td style="padding: 2px 5px;">[1 gender, + human]</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 5px;">ella</td> <td style="padding: 2px 5px;">[2 gender, + human]</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 5px;">ello</td> <td style="padding: 2px 5px;">[- animate]</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 5px;">∅ ∅</td> <td style="padding: 2px 5px;">[- human]</td> </tr> </table>	él	[1 gender, + human]	ella	[2 gender, + human]	ello	[- animate]	∅ ∅	[- human]
él	[1 gender, + human]									
ella	[2 gender, + human]									
ello	[- animate]									
∅ ∅	[- human]									

Contreras (1973 :11) calls Lackstrom's fusion "the converse, and probably a mere notational variant, of Postal's treatment of pronouns". but chooses to follow Lackstrom in establishing lo as "the surface representation of the definite article plus the inanimate pronoun." The resultant fused forms are obligatorily deleted in the terminal string. (Lackstrom does not appear to allow for the emphatic usage.)

3.2.2.4 GOLDIN (ii)

There are two other respects in which the rule formed by Goldin, even on the restricted basis of the present re-interpretation, proves inadequate. (Contreras (1970) is very critical of several other aspects of Goldin's thesis, but he does not mention any of the specific problems which are highlighted above, or in what follows.) For example, if the NP which functions as subject contains the masculine IA, as in

C85 el viajero entra y un perro le ladra. Un hombre sale,
the outcome will demand further amendment:

* el viajero entra y un perro le ladra. Un sale.

Furthermore, Goldin does not mention that NPs may be anarthrous. He fails to legislate for such phrases as:

C178 después Martín explica al viajero que...,
so that deletion of the proper name leaves no article to be pronominalized. As it happens, of course, the deletion does not result in substandard Spanish in such cases.

It should be noted that, although regarding Goldin's methodology as open to criticism, I accept his premise regarding the theoretical point under consideration, that articles and pronouns may be identified. The point is well put by no less an authority than Bello, who argues from both a historical and a modern view of Spanish; there is some merit too in the confirmation supplied by modern grammarians like Goldin and Lackstrom. They do not stand alone. Bull supports their view, and does so by stressing the morphological characteristics which articles and pronouns have in common. He supplies data from the history of the language to justify his arguments.

Bull's treatment appears to be echoed in Goldin's, because the former calls the DAs "adjectival residuals", that is, the residue after the deletion of the redundant *ñ* has taken place. The component parts of the DAs have stems which have two allomorphs, /eɪ/ and /ɪ/. For conversion into "direct object residuals" the stem /eɪ/ is replaced by /ɪ/ and gender markers are then added. To account for the full richness of the morphology of the subject, direct object and indirect object forms, Bull sets up three stems, /eɪ/, /eɪɪ/, and /ɪ/. These are allomorphs of the same morpheme, and to them are added suffixes to indicate:

gender (zero, a, and o)
 number (s)
 and case (a, o, and e).

To call the distinctions implied by these suffixes unsatisfactory is less to criticize Bull's description than to criticize the state of modern Spanish. It is patently inadequate to employ seven suffixes, two of which not only appear twice, but with different functions each time. Bull attributes to the breakdown of the Latin case system in modern Spanish

the fact that /o/ and /a/ in lo, la, los, las, must contrast with /e/ in le, les, and, in addition, serve as gender markers...most Spaniards appear to react to /o/ and /a/ as gender markers only, and these forms, as a result, are rapidly becoming free variants of each other (1965:128).

Compare Carnicer's comment (1972:57) concerning the influence of analogy and the fact that "los finales en A y en O suelen ser reveladores de lo femenino y lo masculino" for confirmation. Before considering Bull's solution, let us note other views. In two articles which have a modern ring, despite their date, Vignolle¹ laments the fact that so many modern Spanish authors contribute to the confusion of case in Spanish. He expresses the fear that the accusative and dative in French might be adversely affected, a prospect which he does not relish ("une telle chose serait une énormité.") He is unhappy about the Academy's allegedly tolerant attitude to the usage of lo and le. On etymological grounds he prefers the loísta viewpoint, but has to recognize that the Academy "concède au pronom le la double faculté de représenter le régime à l'accusatif et au datif." This question, which has

1. V. Vignolle, "Le Pronom espagnol 'Le' et ses dérivés", *Revue des Langues Vivantes*, Brussels, volume VIII (1942), pp.237-246, and volume IX (1943), pp.18-27.

recently been referred to as "the great Spanish le-lo controversy" (Roldán 1975), will not be treated here, for two reasons. Firstly, because it is indeed too great, and secondly, and more important, because it is at most only very marginally relevant to the present study. Apart from the treatments in the grammars, attention can be drawn to three of the articles which are worth consulting: Hurst (1951), Poston (1953), and Roldán (1975); the first two still deserve consideration, alongside the modern grammars, because they concentrate on interesting distributional occurrences, which is an unusual angle; the article by Roldán addresses the issue squarely and argues that a pandialectic description would be inadequate. Because of the dichotomy of opinion, it is instructive to quote at some length from both her article and the Academy's version. Roldán deals only with leísmo, (which Alcina and Blecua call more important than loísmo or laísmo (1975:607).) She observes:

much ink has been spilled by Spanish grammarians both descriptive and prescriptive to discuss the apparently erratic use by native speakers of the clitics le and lo. This is one of the few points in which the morphology of Latin American and Peninsular Spanish diverge. The basic rule is as follows: in Latin American Spanish there is a systematic separation of accusative and dative cases: the accusative clitic is lo, which is inflected for gender and number (la-s), the dative clitic is le, which has only the number inflection (-s). The division in Castilian Spanish is along the animate-inanimate: le(-s) is the clitic for animate direct and indirect objects as well as for the inanimate datives, lo(-s) is exclusively for inanimate accusatives, and la(-s) for feminine accusative both animate and inanimate (p.15).

This is inadequate because there is no restriction of lo(-s) to masculine for Castilian. Moreover, it conflicts in principle and in detail with the Academy's summary (1973:424), which refers to the geographical confusions, but offers what appears to be an absolute, pandialectic recommendation:

se llama loísmo el empleo abusivo de lo (originariamente acusativo) en vez de le (originariamente dativo); el uso de la por le recibe el nombre laísmo; el empleo predominante de le en lugar de las formas acusativas, lo y la, se llama leísmo. La Academia Española, teniendo en cuenta el origen etimológico de estas formas y la práctica más autorizada entre los escritores modernos, recomienda para el uso culto y literario la siguiente norma general: lo, para el acusativo masculino; la, acusativo femenino; le, dativo de ambos géneros, y además como acusativo masculino de persona, pero no de cosa; en plural, los para el acusativo masculino; las, para el acusativo femenino; les, para el dativo de ambos géneros.

This is likewise inadequate as a definition of the masculine, because it fails to state what is the situation for inanimate nouns. Surprisingly, as a whole, the Academy's norm can be seen to approximate more to Roldán's Latin American than Castilian forms, (compare Carnicer 1972:55) although there is no full correspondence between any two of the three views presented. Further to compound the problem, Alcina and Blecua offer yet a fourth interpretation, according to which leísmo is "le dativo por lo ACUSATIVO DE NOMBRE MASCULINO DE COSA" (1975:606); contrast Roldán, le (Castilian) is "ANIMATE DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECTS", and the Academy, le is "ACUSATIVO MASCULINO DE PERSONA PERO NO DE COSA"! (emphasis, in all three statements, mine). So this may be called theoretical chaos. Bull attempts to bring some order out of this chaos, in the latter part of his treatment (p.256f). Blaming tradition and the influence of Latin grammar for the concept that the suffixes of lo and la mark accusative cases, and that of le the dative, he argues convincingly that "the Latin system, in short, has disintegrated, and the Spanish case system must, as a consequence, be viewed from a new and non-Latin frame of reference." Unfortunately, part of his solution is less

convincing. He suggests that only three cases need be distinguished: él (nominative - note the accent, which will be discussed below), lo (accusative), and a third, le, to which he assigns a new title, "the case of involvement." From the pedagogical point of view (which is Bull's main preoccupation), this new term is unsatisfactory because the learner will surely be at a loss to understand why él and lo are less "involved". (Similar criticism may be levelled at Roldán's term "dative of involvement" for the so-called ethical dative (1975:25).) Bull's major conclusion is, however, very significant for the present analysis. Having reminded his readers of the three allomorphs produced by ille, he defines /eI/ as the definite article, the subject of a verb, and the object of a relator or preposition; /eI/ stands in complementary distribution with /I/, which appears as the object of a verb. Fillmore, according to Arutjunova (1975: 11), cites the principle of complementary distribution in "support for the identification of cases", and Kayne (1975:87) invokes the same principle as one of the distinctions between some of the French pronouns: "subject pronouns are, of course, distinct from object clitics with respect to positioning within the verb group." Bull explicitly attends to one of the points which Goldin omitted when he states:

care needs to be exercised not to allow the spelling differences between él and eI to interfere with the analysis of speech. Both graphic sequences stand for the same sequence of sounds. The graphic accent mark shows that él may be stressed and may be on a higher pitch level than eI. The intonation, not the forms, marks the difference between que él ataque and que 'eI ataque.

Bull therefore agrees with the other scholars whose opinions

regarding the theoretical status of articles and pronouns have been discussed here. One is constrained to agree with them in identifying the two parts of speech, for three compelling reasons.

3.2.2.5 THREE REASONS IN FAVOUR OF THE SYNOPTIC VIEW

The three reasons in favour of identifying articles and pronouns are: firstly, their common origin; secondly, their complementary distribution; and thirdly, their comparable morphology. Concerning the merits of the case as regards the historical point of view, the scholars whose grammars have been consulted would appear to be virtually unanimous in regarding the common origin of the two parts of speech as agreed. Of all the grammars, none expresses the position with greater succinctness and clarity than Fernández (1950:269):

El artículo español procede por degradación acentual del demostrativo latino ille que da origen al mismo tiempo, sin perder su tonicidad, al pronombre personal de tercera persona. En singular se conservan las tres formas correspondientes a los tres géneros latinos...: m. el... procedente del nominativo latino ille, f. el la (término secundario) y la (término primario) derivados del nominativo illa (o del acusativo illam) y la forma neutra lo... que se deriva de illud. En el plural sólo se han mantenido las formas concordantes los las que proceden de los acusativos illōs illās. La proclisis del pronombre explica la reducción de las formas bisílabas latinas.

This is confirmed by Rosoff's account (1973) of the process of semantic weakening affecting the Latin demonstratives, giving rise to the prototype of the modern French definite article. The second factor, that of their complementary distribution, has been implicit in all of the foregoing discussion concerning the need for, and the mechanism of, pronominalization. This factor need therefore not be treated further here. Some of the

characteristics of the comparable morphology of articles and pronouns have already been stated in the review of the opinions of Bello and of Bull. As chapter four will provide a full analysis of the morphology of personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, possessive adjectives, and definite articles, only two observations need be made here, one pedagogic, the other linguistic. The first is that a comparison of the respective treatments of the relevant area of morphology provided in the two editions of the Academy's Grammar which have been used, reveals the great economy of description which can be achieved by a well designed chart. Compare the Academy's Grammar (1931: 173f) with its Esbozo (1973:204). From the pedagogic standpoint, the latter is immeasurably superior in its presentation. The linguistic observation is that common origin and complementary distribution are, of course, the indispensable prerequisites for a morphology which has such a high degree of prima facie overlapping. Common origin might be defined as a causative factor, and complementary distribution a permissive factor, of such a close relationship. The undoubtedly intimate correspondence between articles and pronouns in Spanish justifies the claim that [PRONOMINAL] may be added as a further feature of the category [ARTICLE]. This gives rise to the need for an investigation of the features of pronouns, so that pronoun characteristics may be fully designated in the feature matrix. As an introduction to that investigation, there is a second theoretical question to be considered. It concerns the essential nature of pronouns.

3.3 DISCUSSION OF THE INHERENT NATURE OF PRONOUNS

3.3.1 BENVENISTE

Benveniste's study entitled "La Nature des Pronoms" (1956) set out several useful guidelines which are still relevant today. Pronouns do not form one united class. They differ in kind according to the level of language, because some belong to syntax, others to "les instances du discours". Compare Hlavsa and Svozilová (1971:7). In particular Benveniste takes exception to the description 'personal', which he finds inappropriate because it is not relevant to the third person category. (In the same vein, Halliday & Hasan (1976:45) call it an example of the "fuzzy edges" which grammatical terms sometimes contain.). He analyzes je to illustrate the difference. Whereas every noun has as its referent a constant, objective concept, "les instances d'emploi de je ne constituent pas une classe de référence". Benveniste goes on to stress what he calls an original and fundamental fact that the "pronominal" forms je and tu do not have any reality or objectivity in space or time as their referent. Instead they refer back to a unique statement which contains them. Their purpose is to solve the problem of "la communication intersubjective". To this end, language has created a set of signs which are empty as regards material reference, but meaningful as instruments for converting speech into discourse.

C'est en s'identifiant comme personne unique prononçant je que chacun des locuteurs se pose tour à tour comme "sujet"...un énoncé personnel fini se constitue donc sur un double plan: il met en oeuvre la fonction dénomminative du langage pour les références d'objet que celle-ci établit comme signes lexicaux distinctifs, et il agence ces références d'objet à l'aide d'indicateurs auto-référentiels...

On the basis of this definition of the first and second persons (henceforth I and II), Benveniste draws a line of demarcation between them and the so-called "third person" (henceforth III). The reference introduced by III pronouns is to an objective situation. They represent the unmarked member with respect to person, and they differ in function and nature from the I and II categories. The III forms serve only as abbreviated substitutions, as in Pierre est malade, IL a de la fièvre.

Benveniste then observes that this function is performed not only by pronouns. He gives the example: cet enfant écrit maintenant mieux qu'il ne FAISAIT l'année dernière, (in which -ironically- the substitute verb only just fits the brevity specification laid down.) It is a commonplace, overused verb of two syllables to replace the trisyllabic imperfect tense form écrivait. This does not invalidate Benveniste's judgment that il and faisait belong to the same order of substitution:

c'est une fonction de 'représentation' syntaxique qui s'étend ainsi à des termes pris aux différents 'parties du discours', et qui répond à un besoin d'économie, en remplaçant un segment de l'énoncé et même un énoncé entier, par un substitut plus maniable. Il n'y a donc rien de commun entre la fonction de ces substituts et celles des indicateurs de personne.

Benveniste's conclusion is that III pronouns are non-personal. The Indo-European languages have a regularity of formal structure which gives the impression that il, je and tu appear to be equipollent members of a paradigm. There are in fact two quite different classes. The I and II pronouns belong to language as an activity of speech characterized by its own indices, whereas the III category belong to language as a repertoire of signals and combinatory systems. Benveniste

finally catalogues factors which are distinctive of 111

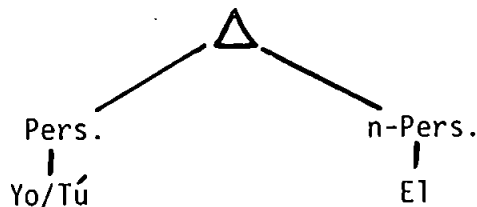
pronouns:

- (i) they never combine with any referent;
- (ii) they never reflect upon the discourse;
- (iii) they comprise a large number of pronominal or demonstrative variants; and
- (iv) they are incompatible with referential terms like ici, maintenant, and so on.

Benveniste's article gives a good summary of relevant distinctions that need to be drawn regarding pronouns in general, although his specific examples are from French.

3.3.2 CHARANDEAU

A study which deals partly with the same phenomena as that of Benveniste, but related specifically to Spanish, is that of Charandeau (1971). He stresses the two-dimensional framework involved in every act of communication. Deixis is the system of signs to establish what he terms the "réalité environnante" of dialogue. The signs are a semantico-functional class based on a system of persons. Charandeau sets up a dual opposition based on "ego". The first opposition is "ego/tu", and the second is "ego/non-ego". He then gives a breakdown for Spanish which would meet with Benveniste's full approval:



Compare Alcina and Blecua's characterization (1975:593) of él-ella as ni yo/ni tú. From this he illustrates the following combinations:

vosotros = tú + él + (tú) + (él)...
nosotros = yo + tú + él + (él) + (tú)...
ellos = él + él + él

He adds that usted is tú + "un coefficient de mise en distance qui lui donne une valeur de 'politesse'." Although these suggested combinations are useful as some indication of the semantic content, all except the usted definition are incorrect as formulated by Charandeau. The first two are unnecessarily comprehensive, and the third is unnecessarily restrictive.

Better formulations would be:

vosotros = tú + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{él} \\ \text{tú} \end{array} \right\} \pm \dots$
nosotros = yo + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{él} \\ \text{tú} \end{array} \right\} \pm \dots$
ellos = él + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{él} \\ \text{ella} \end{array} \right\} \pm \dots$

(These formulations would appear to be superior not only to those of Charandeau, but also to those of the Academy (1973:203), which states: "la interpretación semántica de estos plurales no es igual en todos los casos. Vosotros = tú + ... + tú; ellos = él + ... + él. Pero nosotros = yo + este [+ este..."]:) Compare Hemphill (1973:65f): "we cannot say of 'we' that it is a plurality if 'I's'... (we) is first person in form, but with respect to meaning indeterminate in person; it can mean (I, you, they) or some combination of these." So Halliday and Hasan (1976:44) are correct in defining 'we' as "speaker plus". Of course, some languages have a more sophisticated pronominal system which comprises inclusive and exclusive pronouns, and which is therefore unambiguous.¹ For an attempt to explain

1. Fourteenth century Spanish used nos and nosotros as inclusive and exclusive forms respectively.

inclusive and exclusive usage of the modern English pronouns, as opposed to distinctive forms, see MSSE (1973:176f).

For the purposes of linguistic descriptions of European languages, the principles established in the studies by Benveniste and Charandeau help to define the semantic content of 111 pronouns.

3.3.3 JONES

Their contribution is echoed in a thesis by Jones (1970). What he says in the context of the set of determiners in New High German is applicable to Spanish also. He recalls that personal pronouns have traditionally been defined in terms of four dimensions: (i) person, (ii) number, (iii) gender (masculine, feminine, neuter), (iv) case (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative). The neuter gender and the whole case system are, of course, much more fully developed in German than in Spanish. Jones then adds that recent work in transformational grammar has established empirical reasons for separating the 1 and 11 pronouns (which he designates as Pr-1, Pr-2) from 111 pronouns (Pr-3), and for treating the latter as transformationally derived. "The most compelling argument in favour of such a separation is the fact that well formed NPs of the type Det-A-N can correspond semantically to Pr-3 but not to Pr-1 or Pr-2, without further information...Pr-3 has a referent which must be defined elsewhere in the context, or be unambiguous, whereas Pr-1, Pr-2 are inherently unique." The ambiguities which are involved in Pr-1, Pr-2 are extralinguistic, not contextual.

3.3.4 BRECHT

Brecht's view (1974) would, if valid, represent a partial modification of the theories just analyzed. He defines the traditional view of deixis as 'exophoric', that is, it includes reference to the speaker, whereas his own opinion is that it can be 'endophoric', that the point of orientation is not always the speaker, the only characteristic of deixis being "its inherent indexical property." He argues that the semantics of deixis needs to be worked out for each individual language, but that the general principle is that deixis characterizes all pronouns "in the sense that an outside point of orientation is integral to their semantic interpretation" (p.513). Therefore he disagrees with Benveniste's interpretation of pronouns as either deictic or anaphoric, a criticism which would, of course, also fall upon Rosengren (1974, see below). Benveniste is wrong, in Brecht's view, in attempting to classify I and II pronouns as "typically exophoric in that they normally refer to the speaker or addressee of a given utterance", and III pronouns as "generally used endophorically to refer to some participant actually mentioned in the sentence or preceding discourse." Instead Brecht claims that all pronouns are deictic and their interpretation as endophoric or exophoric is contextually determined. His evidence for what he calls this "entirely natural shift" appears a little strained. As an example that a III pronouns can effect exophoric reference, instead of being reserved to indicate some item in the linguistic context, he gives (43), the description of a new baby:

(43) I think she's beautiful;

but this does not commend itself, because there is implicitly a preliminary underlying statement ("this is a baby (girl)", or "it's a girl") to which (43) refers back. Indeed, Brecht's assumption is that (43) can be expressed as if in a linguistic vacuum, which is surely counter-intuitive. Compare Isenberg's comment on a similar sentence as "nicht normal interpretierbar.... nicht in jeder Hinsicht normal, weil unklar bleibt, worauf das Subjekt referiert" (1968:123). The converse of Brecht's argument, namely that I and II pronouns can be endophoric is supposedly proved by the transfer from direct to indirect speech. This is no more convincing than Brecht's rather laboured claim that his approach resolves difficult pronominal uses such as Lakoff's 'I' in reported dreams; this, he claims, can be explained naturally by interpreting it as "the rather unusual endophoric usage of the first person pronoun...the pronoun I in the complement does not directly refer to the speaker, but...instead points to the subject of the sentence, which itself is a pronoun referring to the speaker" (1974:516).

3.3.5 ROSENGREN

By far the most detailed modern treatment of Spanish pronouns is Rosengren (1974), which echoes the theoretical analyses just reviewed. He argues that the inclusion of I and II pronouns in that category would involve rejection of the traditional concept of a pronoun as a nominal substitute, "porque no se puede decir que yo, nosotros, sustituyan al nombre del hablante" (p.27). Like Benveniste, he stresses that

the substitutionary factor is the main characteristic of III, as opposed to I and II pronouns. He attempts, however, to enlarge upon this by drawing an inconvincing distinction based upon what he calls 'positive' and 'negative' characteristics, whereby I and II are classed as positive, and III as negative. The latter he calls essentially a negative notion because unlike I and II it does not necessarily refer to participants in "the situation of utterance" (p.277).

He goes further than Charandeu also. The fact that III is essentially substitutionary does not mean that it cannot be used deictically, although deixis is the essential characteristic of I and II, leaving anaphora as the main feature of III. He quotes Harweg's notion that a pronoun is to be interpreted as being used anaphorically when no supplementary extralinguistic indication is required to clarify its reference.¹

3.3.6 RODRIGUEZ-IZQUIERDO Y GAVALA

Rodríguez-Izquierdo (1976) claims that deixis is overlooked by most Spanish grammars, and provides in interpretation which would, in the main, support Benveniste, Charandeu, Jones, and Rosengren, rather than Brecht. He regards the early Greek grammarians' inclusion of personal pronouns among deictics as entirely justified; two of the former are the main examples of the latter: "las palabras más deícticas son yo y tú" (p.119).

1. "Als anaphorisch (verwendet) wird ein Pronomen dann interpretiert, wenn für die Spezifikation seiner Bedeutung, seine Bedeutungserfüllung, ...keine aussersprachliche situationsimminente Zeignilfe wie Gesten usw. vonnöten ist. Ein Beispiel für ein solches anaphorisch verwendetes Pronomen ist er bzw. dieser in der Satzfolge Ein Mann ging...Er (dieser) trug..." (Harweg (1968), quoted in Rosengren (1974:27).)

He cites Marín's helpful linking of the three groups of personal pronouns with the demonstratives, yo (este), tú (ese), and él (aquel); compare Iso Echegoyen (1974:463) and the excellent chart in Alcina and Blecua (1975:593). Rodríguez-Izquierdo's judgment is that I and II pronouns are only deictic, whereas III pronouns are partly "deícticos y anafóricos a la vez, en parte anafóricos sólo"; this may be compared and contrasted with Brecht's views.

Rodríguez-Izquierdo's article supports the synoptic view of articles and pronouns, although it lends greater weight to an (article=pronoun) analysis rather than the (pronoun=article) interpretation. Of the article he says "no podemos ignorar su entronque son la tercera persona de lengua", and concludes that a possible conception of "la actualización que proporciona el artículo sería precisamente concebir a éste como marca de tercera persona gramatical" (1976:121). The theoretical considerations raised by Benveniste, Charandeau, Jones, Rosengren, and Rodríguez-Izquierdo help to confirm the validity of the conclusion arrived at earlier concerning the status of articles and pronouns. This review of theories concerning pronouns in general has laid the foundation for the super-structure required for the third theoretical analysis: the construction of the feature characteristics of III pronouns. This stage will complete the feature matrix which has been established so far.

3.4 METHOD OF DESIGNATING PRONOUN FEATURES

3.4.1 SUMMARY OF TRADITIONAL DISTINCTIONS

A good summary of the traditional method of designating pronouns is provided by Alarcos Llorach (1961:12f). He notes that yo and tú serve only to mark emphasis, they do not indicate gender, and the notion of person is conveyed by the clearly distinctive endings which are found on the verb itself. This, like the statements by Freyre (1974:125 and 143; footnote 1): "the subject pronoun is commonly deleted in Spanish in the surface structure, the verbal form being unmistakably marked for person", is not exactly correct; compare, e.g., yo/él viera, and usted/él/ella está.) Their plural counterparts can add gender, which is not marked on the verb. He adds a footnote which confirms Charandeau: "para abreviar llamaremos 'plural' lo indicado por /nosotros/ etcétera, aunque en realidad no signifique 'varias primeras personas', sino 'primero persona + otras personas no primeras'." The 111 subject pronouns can also indicate gender. So the four characteristics which he lists for tonic pronouns are person, number, gender, and reflexivity or nonreflexivity. For the atonic pronouns he adduces a fifth characteristic: case. If we take reflexivity/nonreflexivity as an aspect of case, we can note that whereas the article has only the features [NUMBER, GENDER] of the above, the features to be developed under [PRONOMINALIZATION] are [PERSON, NUMBER, GENDER, CASE]. Whereas [PERSON] is relevant to possessive pronouns and possessive adjectives, the feature [CASE] is unique to pronouns.

3.4.2 ANALYSIS OF A MODERN METHOD : HADLICH

It is with regard to the feature specification for pronouns that Hadlich's (1971) prototype transformational analysis of Spanish comes into its own. He decides to use the term "interest object" to designate the traditional classifications of indirect object (IO) and dative of interest. One cannot be any more enthusiastic about this than about Bull's suggested re-christening of this pronoun area, mentioned above. Hadlich's reasoning is two-fold. The first consideration relates to linguistic representation, the second to semantic content. The IO is always represented in deep structure as object of the preposition a. This is a constant, whether the IO is a pronoun or not. (As stated by Hadlich (p.38), his notion of the deep structure is in this respect ambiguous; it is not clear whether he would accept Goldin's view, which limits the category [PRONOUN] to surface structure.) Hadlich formulates the rewrite rule for IO as

$$IO \rightarrow \underline{a} \text{ NP.}$$

The semantic content of IO includes the three different connotations indicated by the following three sentences:

- (i) el alumno le regaló una manzana a la profesora,
 - (ii) el policía le prohibió la entrada al periodista,
- and (iii) Carlos me compró el carro.

The issue is further complicated by the fact that the last example is rich in ambiguity, because the speaker may be the vendor, the recipient, or the purchaser by proxy. Hadlich comments: "since there is no clear demarcation line between the various shades of meaning between the indirect object and

dativ of interest, our grammar has only one category." This conclusion is acceptable from the viewpoint of the syntax of the linguistic description, but further consideration should have been given to the semantic problem which neither Bull nor Hadlich have solved. Hadlich's principle of having one comprehensive description is surely a decision taken despite, rather than because of, the range of meanings which it covers.

Hadlich uses the feature [pro] to represent pronouns and related forms. It represents disjunctive and conjunctive pronouns, and nominalized parts of speech, including demonstrative and possessive pronouns as well as other nominalizations. A full noun is designated [-pro]. One of his subcategorization rules is number 4 (p.62):

$$4. \quad [+N] \rightarrow [+pro, \pm masc, \pm pl, \pm emph].$$

It would probably have been better to relegate the feature of emphasis to the position of a feature development of [pro]; it is not immediately clear what is gained by adding it to the development of [N], but it is of course a vital distinction for the development of [pro]. In addition to distinguishing Ns from all the other categories subsumed under [pro], rule 4 assigns the features of gender and number. The feature [PERSON] is assigned by rules 5, 6 and 7:

5. [+pro] → [± 1]
6. [- 1] → [± 11]
7. [+11] → [± polite].

The choice of terminology is unfortunate, (although Haverkate (1976) uses it) because it carries the implication that some of the 11 pronouns are in some sense impolite. Better would

be "familiar" (Freyre (1974:124)) or "formal" (Roldán (1971:8)). In the present analysis the feature will be rendered redundant anyway, so it is accepted for the moment. A broader aspect of this general linguistic phenomenon is mentioned below. Another point which must be noted is that, in this interpretation of Hadlich's rules, I am following Charandeau and Benveniste in taking rules 5 to 7 as the specification for person. Hadlich does not discuss their theories, but he allows for their position when he introduces 8 as his next rule:

$$8. \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ 1}] \\ [+ \text{ 11}] \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow [+ \text{ hum}].$$

He later states that rule 8 is rendered necessary by the fact that the personal a transformation is applicable to pronouns as well as nouns. In a footnote he deals with an important related point, that of personification, for which an optional personification rule adds [+hum] to Ns which are usually characterized as [-hum]. "For this reason", he adds, "rule 8 may legitimately claim that yo and tú always refer to [+hum] entities" (p.67). Therefore he argues in favour of the retention of rule 8, even though the human feature for 1 and 11 could be provided instead as part of the lexical entries for those pronouns. This point will be taken up later in this treatment, when the preliminary discussion will have paved the way for an amended formulation. Hadlich finds no necessity to set up a subcategory of 111 pronouns; instead his rule 9 states:

$$9. \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [- \text{ 1}] \\ [- \text{ 11}] \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow [- \text{ hum}]$$

and allows "third person pronouns to be marked either [+hum] or [-hum] because they may be used to mark either persons or things."

This has the same effect as McCawley's suggestion (1970); unlike Bach's treatment, in the same volume, of pronouns as variables McCawley treats them as constants. After dealing with "question informative" and "imperative formative" utterances of the type "the speaker asks the listener whether/to...", he states his approval of Ross' view that not only these but all sentences have deep structures containing a first person subject, a second person indirect object, and in Austin's term a "performative" verb. Such a verb specifies the relationship which it mediates between speaker and hearer. It may be an overt performative verb, such as "I order you to...", or a deleted one, as in "Open the door!" It is, to say the least, very difficult to conceive how such a structure could underlie every sentence. McCawley adds that the subject of the performative verb defines the first person, and the indirect object the second, and he concludes that the deep structure needs only one undifferentiated personal pronoun, which is specified by the subset relations: I = 'I', II = 'you but not I', III = 'neither'. My own suggested formulation, based on the two theoretical conclusions drawn above, namely that [PROMOUN] may best be dealt with as a feature under the category [ARTICLE], and that III pronouns are of a different order from I and II pronouns for several reasons, may preclude the introduction of III by means of a redundancy rule. That will be discussed later. For the present critical appraisal of Hadlich, it is essential to preserve his formulation to illustrate the merits of his excellent feature matrices underlying the pronouns. Those matrices which are the most relevant to the present analysis are those for the subject pronouns and the object pronouns. To the subject pronouns Hadlich assigns these matrices:

<u>él</u>	<u>ella</u>	<u>ello</u>
$\left[\begin{array}{l} + N \\ + \text{pro} \\ + \text{masc} \\ + \text{emph} \\ - \text{pl} \\ - I \\ - II \\ + \text{hum} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + N \\ + \text{pro} \\ - \text{masc} \\ + \text{emph} \\ - \text{pl} \\ - I \\ - II \\ + \text{hum} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + N \\ + \text{pro} \\ - \text{masc} \\ + \text{emph} \\ - I \\ - II \\ - \text{fem} \\ - \text{indef} \end{array} \right]$

The corresponding plural forms ellos and ellas differ from the formulations for él and ella only in one respect, that of [NUMBER], so that Hadlich's matrices for them specify [+ pl] instead of [- pl]. It would be anticipating too much at this stage to expound the reasons why the dual values of positive and negative which he has assigned to the features [emph] and [hum] can be improved. The matter will be clarified towards the end of this chapter, where these particular subject pronouns will be reconsidered and a different formulation will be justified. In dealing with the object pronouns, Hadlich neatly includes the whole of the conjunctive pronoun paradigms of both direct objects and interest objects in two transformational rules which incorporate the machinery of their insertion. Those rules will not be recapitulated here, for two reasons. Many similar transformations of our own rendering have already been indicated in the earlier discussions concerning Goldin's theory, and at this stage we are more concerned with features than with manoeuvres. Moreover, as Hadlich himself points out, it would be possible to postulate only one of his rules, and to allow the morphophonemic component to assign the correct pronominal form. Hadlich observes that "the forms of the conjunctive interest object pronouns differ only from the direct objects in the third person". (This observation is not exactly correct, as the discussion relating to

se, below, will show.) Therefore his paradigms for the two object areas manifest identical features for the respective I and II forms, as for example:

<u>me</u>	<u>te</u>
+ pro - pl + I - II (+refl)	+ pro - pl - I + II - polite (+refl)

The specifications for nos and os differ from their singular counterparts only in having [+ pl] as their specification for number. The feature [polite] is a useful addition to the standard repertoire of features, and is necessary to deal with the problem found in Spanish pronouns, that usted has to be interpreted semantically as II but that it operates syntactically and morphologically as a member of the III pronouns. This phenomenon is not, of course, peculiar to Spanish. Italian and German both employ "polite" III forms for second person usage, and French and English have recourse to II plural forms to evade direct address. Cottle (1975:51) calls the selective loss of thou "preposterous" in the light of the singular and plural forms for other pronouns, and regards the result as "clumsy", but derives some consolation from the fact that English is "at least not so cluttered up with the etiquette of protocol that besets address in French, Spanish, German, the Scandinavian languages, and even egalitarian Russian." The semantic aspect of the Spanish situation is well summarized by Carnicer (1972:31): "este 'usted'...que...es, en efecto, de segunda persona,...es por su origen un nombre; de aquí que le corresponde...la forma verbal de tercera persona"; Rodríguez-

Izquierdo (1976:121) adds that by the use of usted the speaker "aleja a la segunda persona de la deixis de la interlocución, para convertirla en tercera persona." The morphological aspect causes Hadlich to set up dual feature specifications for the III forms. The conjunctive IO, accordingly, receives the following feature descriptions:

$$\begin{array}{c} \underline{le} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ pro} \\ - \text{ pl} \\ - \text{ I} \\ - \text{ II} \end{array} \right] \quad \text{or} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ pro} \\ - \text{ pl} \\ - \text{ I} \\ + \text{ II} \\ + \text{ polite} \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

The corresponding plural, les, has of course the one difference with regard to number that one would expect. The I and II forms me and te are marked (+refl), and presumably the brackets are inserted because Hadlich has not discussed reflexivity up to that point. The positive quality which he assigns to [refl] appears unacceptable, because me and te are optionally reflexive; it should be corrected, therefore, to read [\pm refl]. Hadlich correctly inserts the positive mark before the III pronoun matrix, which he defines as:

$$\begin{array}{c} \underline{se} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ pro} \\ + \text{ pl} \\ - \text{ I} \\ - \text{ II} \\ + \text{ refl} \end{array} \right] \quad \text{or} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ pro} \\ + \text{ pl} \\ - \text{ I} \\ + \text{ II} \\ + \text{ polite} \\ + \text{ refl} \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

The definitions for se, which are identical for both IOs and direct objects, contradict the statement made by Hadlich which was quoted above. Although Hadlich's ruling that no gender specification is necessary for le, les, and se, is acceptable because gender is not reflected in the surface form of the

conjunctive IOs, they definitely should be marked with respect to animateness. It is, therefore, suggested that an addition be made to the specifications of all three of these pronouns, so that [+ hum] is added under [- II] and [+ hum] under [+ II]. This is a necessary amendment to Hadlich, whatever decision is taken on the issue of leísmo versus loísmo. Although, like gender, the quality of animateness is not represented in the surface structure of the pronouns, it is part of the marking necessary to distinguish between the semantically I and semantically III forms. To be fair, it should be stated that Hadlich has not overlooked this point. His rules numbered 8 and 9 indicate how the same information could be conveyed by showing that the features of humanness is implicit in all pronouns which are marked [+II]:

$$\begin{array}{l} [+ II] \rightarrow [+ hum] \\ [- I] \rightarrow [+ hum] \\ [- II] \end{array}$$

The defect in these redundancy rules, however, resides in the fact that [+ II] as a feature of te and os would, quite superfluously, imply that these pronouns represent a person. Marking [hum] as a feature on le, for example, will preclude that superfluous information from being supplied, and it will also pave the way for a further refinement, as will be shown. I suggest therefore that le should receive the following dual specification:

$$\begin{array}{l} [+ pro] \\ [- pl] \\ [- I] \\ [- II] \\ [+ hum] \end{array} \quad \text{or} \quad \begin{array}{l} [+ pro] \\ [- pl] \\ [- I] \\ [+ II] \\ [+ polite] \\ [+ hum] \end{array}$$

so that only new phenomena will receive comment.

Hadlich's definition for lo is unsatisfactory:

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ pro} \\ + \text{ masc} \\ - \text{ pl} \\ - \text{ I} \\ - \text{ II} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{or} \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ pro} \\ + \text{ masc} \\ - \text{ pl} \\ - \text{ I} \\ + \text{ II} \\ + \text{ polite} \end{bmatrix} .$$

The defect consists in the failure to mark the triadic gender distinction found in III pronouns. The $- I, - II$ matrix must be amended to accommodate the neuter pronoun. The amendment takes the form of an optional masculine, followed by a negative feminine, gender. The optional feature for humanness is a relevant addition also, for reasons noted earlier. It is therefore suggested that lo be rendered

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ pro} \\ + \text{ masc} \\ - \text{ fem} \\ - \text{ pl} \\ - \text{ I} \\ - \text{ II} \\ + \text{ hum} \end{bmatrix} .$$

The $[-I, + II]$ matrix requires no parallel alteration for **[GENDER]**, because the II pronoun cannot be neuter, by definition, but for greater clarity a redundancy rule should be inserted in the grammar to the effect that

$$[+ II, - \text{ masc}] \rightarrow [+ II, + \text{ fem}] .$$

The only comment that is demanded by the difference between the direct object los and the IO les, according to Hadlich's scheme, is that the additional feature **[+ masc]** serves as a useful distinguishing factor. It should be noted that Hadlich has deliberately and explicitly simplified his corpus by opting for loísmo (p.71). His earlier decision to omit any **[GENDER]** feature

for the IOs, together with his position on lofsmo, has made it possible for him to reserve the marking of gender as the sole distinction between los and les. Although Hadlich ignored the possibility of neuter gender when drawing up his specification for lo, his prescription for la and las does appear to take it into account. His description of la includes [- masc, + fem]. His omission of [+ fem] in the matrix for the II object la is invalid as it stands, and the grammar should be made to incorporate the redundancy rule which I have just enunciated with respect to the second person object lo. As an alternative, it would be more economical to omit the feature [- masc] and to give the two second person feminine matrices the shapes:

<u>la</u>	<u>las</u>
+ pro	+ pro
+ fem	+ fem
- pl	+ pl
- I	- I
+ II	+ II
+ hum	+ hum

3.5 VALIDATION OF AMENDMENTS TO HADLICH'S FORMULATIONS

The object of devising matrices of features is to define distinctive characteristics, as is implied by the term 'distinctive feature matrices'. The merit of Hadlich's prototype generative grammar of Spanish has already been acknowledged;¹ although this critical analysis of his matrices

1. Contreras' review (1975:113) is critical in detail and in principle ("premature in its attempt to present an overall view of Spanish grammar"); Sánchez (1974) is equally critical of the Spanish translation.

for the object pronouns has resulted in several amendments, tribute must be paid to his basic methodology. The amended matrices which have been formulated for the object pronouns of usted and ustedes must be compared with those of tú and vosotros, to verify whether they are, in fact, distinctive. The respective matrices must stand at least in minimal contrast to one another. They may be juxtaposed for purposes of clarity, so that the degree of contrast with reference to the important feature [PERSON], which is one of the two main [PRONOUN] features to be taken into account, may be explored:

Figure 16

HADLICH'S MATRICES	MATRICES INCORPORATING MY AMENDMENTS			
<u>te</u> + pro - pl - l + ll - polite + refl	<u>le</u> + pro - pl - l + ll + hum	<u>lo</u> + pro + masc - pl - l + ll + hum	<u>la</u> + pro + fem - pl - l + ll + hum	<u>se</u> + pro + pl - l + ll + hum + refl
<u>os</u> + pro + pl - l + ll - polite + refl	<u>les</u> + pro + pl - l + ll + hum	<u>los</u> + pro + masc + pl - l + ll + hum	<u>las</u> + pro + fem + pl - l + ll + hum	

This juxtaposition helps to highlight the difference between the two sets of pronouns, which amount to four: [- polite], [+ refl], [+ hum], and [+ masc/+ fem]. For reasons which have been explained earlier, the gender distinction is not consistently marked throughout the object forms of usted, ustedes, so this fourth difference must be discounted for our present purposes.

In the interests of economy of description, [+ polite] is intended to be implied by [+ ll, + hum], so that the distinction of [- polite] in contrast to the implied [+ polite] can be exploited. The feature [+ refl] does distinguish te and os from le, lo, la, los, and las, but not from se, so that the presence or absence of [refl] cannot be relied on for contrast between the persons. The final difference lies in the feature [hum], which does help to draw a line of demarcation between the objects of tú, and vosotros on the one hand, and those of usted and ustedes on the other. The absence of the feature [hum] from the specifications for te and os is accounted for in Hadlich's eighth rule, which is accepted here because it implies acceptance of the theories discussed in 3.3 above. Further confirmation of my amendment in inserting the feature [hum] elsewhere in the specification for ll is provided here, because it can be demonstrated that the ll familiar pronouns can be contrasted with the ll "polite" pronouns on the basis of the marking or non-marking of this feature, as well as of the feature [polite]. There is therefore no unresolved ambiguity as regards the vital feature [PERSON]. The demand for unique recoverability is fully met, because the two contrasts indicated ensure that the rules may safely be applied in reverse to derive the correct pronoun.

The other main pronoun feature to be considered, because it is - like [PERSON]- not relevant to the category [ARTICLE], is [CASE]. Is this feature also clearly distinguished in the formulations which have been made? To investigate this, Hadlich's formulations for the subject pronouns usted and ustedes (which have not been considered before) will be quoted

and compared with the amended descriptions of the object pronouns. Then the same process must be applied to the subject pronouns él, ella, ellos, ellas, ello and their respective object pronouns.

Figure 17

HADLICH'S MATRICES	MATRICES INCORPORATING MY AMENDMENTS			
<u>usted</u>	<u>le</u>	<u>lo</u>	<u>la</u>	
+ pro	+ pro	+ pro	+ pro	
+ masc	- pl	+ masc	+ fem	
+ emph	- l	- pl	- pl	
- pl	+ ll	- l	- l	
+ ll	+ hum	+ ll	+ ll	<u>se</u>
+ polite		+ hum	+ hum	+ pro
+ hum				+ pl
				- l
<u>ustedes</u>	<u>les</u>	<u>los</u>	<u>las</u>	+ ll
+ pro	+ pro	+ pro	+ pro	+ hum
+ masc	+ pl	+ masc	+ fem	+ refl
+ emph	- l	+ pl	+ pl	
+ pl	+ ll	- l	- l	
+ ll	+ hum	+ ll	+ ll	
+ polite		+ hum	+ hum	
+ hum				

On the principle that [+ ll, + hum] can be made to imply [+ polite], which depends upon the theories that have been advanced earlier, the marking of the feature [polite] in Hadlich's original formulation should be omitted, and it cannot therefore be employed here as a contrast to establish [CASE]. The non-marking of gender in the le and les object descriptions cannot serve this purpose either, because it is not consistently absent throughout the object paradigm. The same disqualification applies to the reflexive characteristic of se. The only remaining contrast is that of [emphasis], which Hadlich rightly marks as optional on the subject pronouns. This is clearly relevant to the distinction of case, and, providing that it is

stipulated in the grammar that negative features be always marked, [emphasis] is adequate to fulfil the role of the distinctive feature for [CASE].

The original matrices for the subject pronouns él, ella, ellos, ellas and ello, must similarly show a minimal contrast with the suggested amended formulations for their respective object pronouns.

Figure 18

HADLICH'S MATRICES	MATRICES INCORPORATING MY AMENDMENTS		
<u>él</u> + N + pro + masc + emph - pl - l - ll + hum	<u>le</u> + pro - pl - l - ll + hum	<u>lo</u> + pro + masc - pl - l - ll + hum	
<u>ella</u> + N + pro - masc + emph - pl - l - ll + hum + fem		<u>la</u> + pro + fem - pl - l - ll + hum	
<u>ellos</u> + N + pro + masc + emph + pl - l - ll + hum	<u>les</u> + pro + pl - l - ll + hum	<u>los</u> + pro + masc + pl - l - ll + hum	<u>se</u> + pro + pl - l - ll + refl + hum
<u>ellas</u> + N + pro - masc + emph + pl - l - ll + hum		<u>las</u> + pro + fem + pl - l - ll + hum	
<u>ello</u> + N + pro - masc + emph - l - ll - fem - indef	(zero)	<u>lo</u> + pro - masc - fem - pl - l - ll - hum	

Before the chart is interpreted with regard to the question of the contrasts for [CASE], some preliminary remarks must be made. First, the amended formulations for lo indicated here differ from that provided above, where a single, comprehensive formulation was made, which included masculine and neuter genders in one matrix.

Secondly, one of the matrices for ello is rendered as zero, because I disagree with the implication in the Academy's chart (1973:204) that a dative case of the neuter pronoun exists. The relevant portion of the chart is:

		caso nominativo / caso preposicional	caso acusativo	caso dativo
3 ^a	Sing.	m. f. n.	él ella ello	lo (le) la le, se le(la), se le, se
	Pl.	m. f.	ellos ellas	los(les) las les, se les(las), se

That there is a reflexive pronoun, se, in the neuter paradigm is agreed (although, incidentally, I doubt the wisdom of denominating all the se occurrences as datives), but the existence of a neuter le may be regarded as open to challenge. It is noteworthy that Alonso (1968:57) agrees with the Academy (1973) when it states "se usan como neutras estas formas: ello (tónica) y las átonas le, lo, con sentido de dativo y acusativo, respectivamente", but Alonso's examples are only of the subject and accusative forms (no querían creerlo. Ello es cierto). Although Ramsey (1956:73) and Martínez Amador (1966:1216, without examples) sanction it, Alcina and Belcua (1975:598) omit it from their chart, and Roldán (1971:10) does not appear to recognize it: "the dative pronoun le is even more ambiguous than the accusative lo, as it covers both the masculine and the feminine genders." An examination of my chart, and a comparison of the matrices found in Hadlich for

the subject pronouns with those supplied with my amendments, reveal that the feature [+emph] is the only consistent contrast between the subject and object cases. The symmetry which is discovered in the fact that the same feature distinguishes the III pronoun subjects and their respective objects, as that which distinguishes the II polite subject and object pronoun forms, may be taken as a confirmation. Therefore the feature [CASE] can be unequivocally marked by a distinctive feature, just as can the feature [PERSON].

3.6 FINAL DEVELOPMENT OF FEATURES : A NEW SCHEME

It has already been noted that, whereas the article is traditionally assigned the features [NUMBER] and [GENDER], the category of pronoun carries additionally the features [PERSON] and [CASE]. It has now been demonstrated that these two features can be adequately defined in distinctive feature matrices for the semantically II but morphologically III object pronouns, and for the III subject and object pronouns proper. (The feature which distinguishes the object pronouns of both groups from each other is, of course, the positive or negative quality of II.) What must now be considered is the development of the feature matrix of the definite and indefinite articles which has been established earlier in this thesis, in the light of the pronominal features which have just been set up. These new features must be incorporated in the matrix under the category [ARTICLE], so that the object pronouns of usted and ustedes, and also the subject and object pronouns of the third class paradigm, may be designated as pronominalized articles.

This will take up the question posed above, as to whether the 111 pronouns may, in the light of the theoretical conclusions regarding the respective status of articles and pronouns, be introduced simply by means of a redundancy rule. Hadlich does handle them in that way:

There is no rule $[- 11] \rightarrow [+ 111]$ to mark third person pronouns (él, ella, etc.), because the information supplied by this rule, and the $[+ 111]$ feature itself, are redundant, since any $[+ \text{pro}]$ which is already $[- 1]$ and $[- 11]$ can only be third person. The feature marking for third person is thus $[- 1, - 11]$ (p.67).

The two theoretical conclusions arrived at earlier were:

(i) that $[\text{PRONOMINAL}]$, as it will be called, is a feature of the category $[\text{ARTICLE}]$;

and (ii) that 111 pronouns are of a different order from 1 and 11.

Taking these conclusions as our premises, let us now discuss whether a radical revision of Hadlich's schema can be suggested, which will cover both the 111 and the second-cum-third (11/111) classes of Spanish pronouns. The two theoretical premises preclude the treatment of these pronouns by a redundancy rule. The validity of the format which is now to be devised must be judged by the degree of ease with which it allows the two new features of $[\text{PERSON}]$ and $[\text{CASE}]$ to be incorporated in the matrix already established.

Hadlich's formulation for él will be analyzed as a representative of 111 subject pronouns; for ease and clarity the features which he assigns to it will be numbered:

	<u>él</u>	
(i)	+ N	
(ii)	+ pro	
(iii)	+ masc	
(iv)	+ emph	
(v)	- pl	
(vi)	- 1	
(vii)	- 11	
(viii)	+ hum	

By items (i) and (ii) Hadlich characterizes the filler of the N slot in a NP as a traditional pronoun; he states "a full noun (rather than a pronoun) will be inserted into all matrices having a [- pro] feature". My designation will replace (i) by the category symbol [+ ARTICLE]. The semi-hierarchical branching diagrams above show that items (iii) and (viii) are already included in the matrix for the article, so that they do not need to be specified again. As has been established, item (viii), in conjunction with items (vi) and (vii), is crucial to the distinction of person required to account for the objects of usted and ustedes, separating them from those of other 11 forms. That problem will be dealt with shortly. The subject pronouns usted and ustedes are semantically 11 but, like their objects, they are morphologically 111 forms, and they perform syntactically as 111 pronouns. To distinguish the 11 subject forms, usted and ustedes, from all 111 forms, a specification of the type [- Art, + pro...] might be possible; this is suggested as a provisional hint of their possible development, because they fall outside the scope of our immediate purpose. Confining our attention to 111 pronouns, we can state that items (vi) and (vii) are unnecessary to our formulation. Instead we propose a redundancy rule of the form:

$$[+ \text{ Art, } + \text{ pro}] \longrightarrow [+ \text{ pro, } - 1, - 11] .$$

Such a rule will eliminate the problem of catering for the feature [PERSON] in the pronominal features relating to the 111 pronouns. It precludes the necessity of defining a class 111 of pronouns in contradistinction to 1 and 11 pronouns. This accords with the theoretical decision of 3.3 above, which determines that the feature [PERSON] is apposite only to 1 and 11 pronouns. (The

redundancy rule which has just been formulated will also reinforce the suggestion concerning usted and ustedes; these 11 subject forms might be covered by another redundancy rule of the form:

$[- \text{Art}, + \text{pro}] \rightarrow [+ \text{pro}, - 1, + 11] .)$

Provisionally, therefore, él may be assigned the partial specification $[+ \text{Art}, + \text{pro}, + \text{emph}]$, bearing in mind that the features $[+ \text{gender}, + \text{number}, + \text{hum}]$ are already provided in the matrix of the article. This provisional designation handles the feature of **[PERSON]**.

The other feature which concerns us, that of **[CASE]**, presents a problem of greater complexity. It is more complex because it demands an explanation of the validity of the positive and negative values assigned to the features **[hum]** and **[emph]** as determined by Hadlich's specification for él and the other subject pronouns. These are items numbered (iv) and (viii) respectively in the formulation for él as set out above. Let us consider the question of emphasis first. The latest available treatment by the Spanish Academy is that in Esbozo (1973:421f), which states: "el sujeto pronominal se emplea correctamente en español por motivos de énfasis expresivo, o para evitar alguna ambigüedad posible". Unaccountably, the Grammar (1931) does not appear to explain this at all; there is no mention of it in chapter four, which deals with pronouns in general, nor in chapter eleven under omission of subjects, and I have been unable to trace it elsewhere in that edition. It is however an accepted position. Ramsey's succinct statement can therefore include both the cause and effect in a brief compass: "as the terminations of Spanish verbs vary for each person, the subject pronouns are usually dispensed with, except when required to give

emphasis or prevent vagueness", (1956:72). The statements quoted from both grammars deal comprehensively with subject pronouns, and have been so worded as to account for usted and ustedes as well as all the other subjects. Ambiguity is potentially more likely with the 11 formal subjects because of their unusual performance, so that the subject pronouns usted and ustedes are more often employed than the others (compare Rosengren's statistically-based conclusion (1974:233)), which are reserved for emphasis. I therefore suggest that [+ emph] rather than [± emph] is the correct designation for all the other subject pronouns. As regards the group of pronouns which have now been classed as [+ Art, + pro]; I hold that the ambiguity (or, to use Ramsey's term, "vagueness") which has to be resolved by an expansion of the type su ... de él is simply a facet of emphasis. Therefore the single feature [emph] is, in my view, acceptable to account for both factors, and it suggests an amendment of Hadlich's matrices for all the subject pronouns except usted and ustedes, so that the latter are characterized as [± emph] and all others as [+ emph].

Because of the way in which case disappears for these Spanish pronouns as a result of this analysis, it is profitable to see whether similar suggestions have been made for other languages. At first Kayne (1975:87) appears to uphold the conventional view, noting that clitics are the only French pronouns which are distinguished morphologically for case. Bull makes a similar statement for Spanish (1965:128); but such an observation, far from being evidence against the present reappraisal, could be cited in its favour. Indeed, it does not

prevent Bull making the radical re-assessment noted above. Nor does it inhibit Kayne from suggesting that, because case labels are mere notational aids, there is no "significance other than mnemonic" to the use of terms like 'dative' in French (1975:53, 149). If there were any significance it would need, he claims, to have not only a cross-linguistic validity, shown by some relationship with German or Russian cases or the English construction he gave John a book, but also some precise definition in linguistic theory which would demonstrate "that particular facts about (individual) languages follow from that theoretical framework." As if to confirm Kayne's doubts that this could be achieved, Cottle (1975:12) discusses the same type of English construction and describes the "pretence" that a dative case exists at all in English. Emonds (1976) agrees with Kayne, but takes the argument further, making a claim for French which is strikingly similar to that presented here for Spanish. He attaches a certain priority to the absence of case in all instances except that noted by Kayne: "if there is a single generalization to be made about French, it would seem to be that French is devoid of surface case", so that it is advisable to "avoid any ad hoc recourse to 'case' features such as 'dative'" in descriptions of French. Significantly he presents a rule for transforming "the (postverbal) direct object pronouns...into the preverbal DEFINITE ARTICLE forms le, la, les" (p.232f, emphasis mine). This mention of position is a reminder that case can be conceived of in two ways, which are often treated as either indissolubly linked or irretrievably separated, dependent on theoretical premises. On one view, grammatical case reveals (to borrow a phrase from Lybbert (1972:10)) a

"dependence on the linearity of speech"; Klima (1969:238) calls it "a concomitant of position" and adds that in some language descriptions the positional determination of case is extended" to cover also the predicative use of personal pronouns, so that "case becomes entirely a positional feature without functional reference." (See Meyer (1972) for an analysis of Spanish sentences containing a subject, an object, and a verb, to discover possible permutations of these constituents.) The other view dismisses these surface cases as not being susceptible to semantic definition;¹ Arutjunova (1975) comments on Fillmore's theory that it handles only case functions which can be defined in semantic terms, not "the so-called grammatical cases which are associated with the logico-communicative positions of the sentence" so that Fillmore establishes "an opposition between the denotative (semantic) principle of sentence description and the logico-communicative principle of traditional syntax" (p.6).

Although Goldin considers the latter undesirable as a method of indicating functional information, Langacker shows that Goldin's transformations could be used to account for case by position. Langacker does not, however, dismiss Goldin's principle of using features rather than case to identify grammatical roles, insisting "not that Goldin is wrong in claiming that features must be used to identify the subject and object, but only that he has provided no real evidence one way or another" (1970:174). My claim is less categorical, underlining not the necessity of employing features but the possibility and even desirability of doing so. A feature analysis avoids the

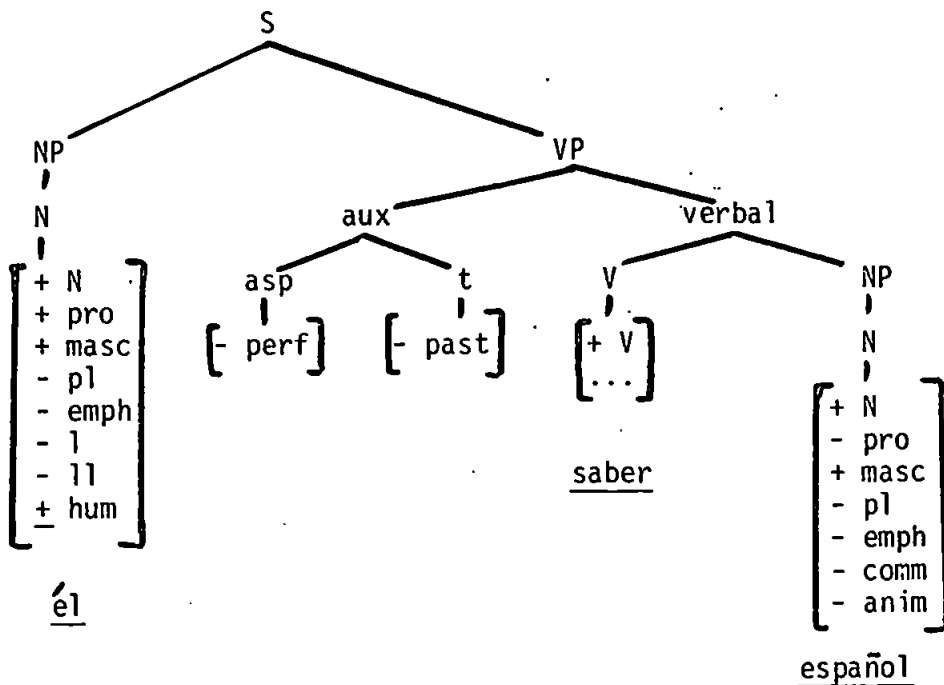
1. Abraham (1973) claims that the ethic dative in German is almost always described in terms that are "attempts at semantic descriptions."

arbitrary and complicating character which the alternative, case-marking method involves, according to Bach (1974:249f, 261), who can, however, see no viable alternative:

if a theory of generative grammar does not use complex elements in syntax...it has no natural means for expressing such agreements. The best we can do is to use abstract elements like Accusative... and then spell them out in the form of the appropriate endings.

My development of emphasis as an alternative to case finds some support in the statement in MSSE that case placement rules have a certain relationship to topicalization and focus marking "but those notions in turn are related to emphasis and stress marking in complex ways that have not been adequately studied" (1973:34). A greater degree of confirmation, and with particular reference to Spanish, is found in Rosengren (1974), who recalls the use of subject pronouns for emphasis rather than clarity in Latin, because the verb forms were sufficient in themselves to differentiate the subject when not expressed; to define the use of subject pronouns in Spanish he coins the terms "el uso diferenciativo" and "el uso contrastivo" for the notions of clarity and stress respectively. I would maintain that these are two sides of the same coin, emphasis being the basic element of both. Ways of reinforcing emphasis, stylistically, are fully exemplified in the data at the end of this chapter.

The reason why Hadlich prefers the dual value for emphasis is perhaps evident in the way in which he can thereby allow for the requirement of unique recoverability by reverse application of the transformational rules. This is illustrated by his diagram (p.64), with which I disagree on two counts.



In Hadlich's view, the sentence sabe español has as its subject a [+ pro] segment which has undergone deletion, because the subject pronoun was characterized as non-emphatic. On my analysis, non-emphatic is inappropriate as a description of él and, moreover, the diagram is inappropriate as a device for explaining the deep structure of sabe español. The situation may be clarified by comparing two surface structures:

- (a) Juan sabe español
- (b) Es Juan que sabe español.

Sentence (a) does not, in isolation, imply any emphasis; it could do so in other contexts, such as:

- (c) Juan sabe español, pero Pedro sabe francés.

Lacking any such emphasis, sentence (a) may undergo subject ellipsis in a context such as (d):

- (d) Juan es inteligente y sabe español.

The deep structure for (d) would be specified as two simple sentences, and the diagram indicating the structure would account for the ellipsis, without replacing Juan by él, but by indicating a third person feature on the verb. Sentence (b),

on the other hand, does imply emphasis, and in contexts where subject ellipsis would occur, the deep structure specification for Juan would be:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + N \\ + \text{masc} \\ - \text{pl} \\ - \text{comm} \\ + \text{anim} \\ + \text{hum} \\ + \text{emph} \end{array} \right],$$

and él would clearly be the appropriate substitute because it would be unequivocally recognized as emphatic. Freyre's discussion of subject ellipsis (1974:126) recognizes that "something which may vaguely be characterized as emphasis plays a role in the phenomenon", but she suggests that an (apparently three-pitch) contrastive stress may be involved and that "restrictions on subject deletion may be established in terms of output constraints."

The other respect in which I disagree with Hadlich's diagram is in the feature specification which he assigns to the nominalized adjective español. It would not need to be changed to fit my analysis, because it is in harmony with the view of the article and nominalization which has been described earlier, given the fact that this happens to be an example where predictable omission of the article occurs. Hadlich's specification for this nominalized adjective needs to be revised however, to be consistent with his own definitions. He stipulates that "the main use of the [+ pro] feature in nominal matrices is to serve as the defining characteristic of the traditional pronouns ... we include in this group ... nominalized adjectives". Hence the feature [+ pro] should, for his analysis, be assigned to español in his model sentence. Having postulated a [+ emph]

feature for all the subject pronouns which concern us, care must be taken to include that positive feature for the subject pronouns which serve as the post-prepositional objects, as will be demonstrated below.

The same will not apply to the feature [hum], which must now be similarly investigated in the light of the dual value which Hadlich assigns to this feature in composing his matrix for él and the other subject pronouns. The point is well expressed in a footnote in the Academy's Esbozo (1973:173):

las formas acentuadas del pronombre personal de tercera persona, él, ella, ellos, ellas. Cuando se emplean con preposiciones pueden realizar menciones de persona y de cosa. En cambio, cuando desempeñan función de sujeto, su mención es casi de un modo exclusivo de persona. Esta limitación no existe para las formas inacentuadas del pronombre personal de 3.a persona, ni para los restantes pronombres.

The partial restriction contained in the words "casi de un modo exclusivo", are confirmed by the corpus, which has only a few counter-examples, such as the animate, non-human referent in:

R17 besaba a los mulos en la frente como si solamente ellos supieran entenderle,

and the inanimate referent in:

N12 una personalidad...ella contiene el código moral de nuestras verdades.

Examples like the latter, incidentally, require the second part of Goldin's anaphora rule, above, to be stated in less absolute terms, but the contexts show that these few exceptions are to avoid ambiguity. They are sufficiently insignificant to justify reserving the non-human usage for the post-prepositional contexts which the Academy stresses. The positive marking represents an improvement in denoting subject pronouns. Since the dual positive or negative marking is applicable almost exclusively to the post-prepositional usage of these pronouns,

it is advantageous to allow for the latter by a subsidiary rule, such as:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ Art, + emph, + anim, + hum} \\ \text{env / prep +} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ Art, + emph + anim } \underline{+} \text{ hum} \end{array} \right] \text{ in}$$

The problem of case as regards the nominative is thus resolved by indicating a positive value to the feature of humanness, for all the subject pronouns except ello which will be dealt with below. Turning now to the dative case, let us enumerate the features assigned to le in the amended matrices which have been composed above, for the dative of él and ella; the dative of usted merits separate treatment later:

	<u>le</u>
[(i) + pro
	(ii) - pl
	(iii) - l
	(iv) - ll
	(v) <u>+</u> hum
]	

This cluster of features represents the stage of evolution for this person and case after certain specified amendments had been incorporated in Hadlich's original matrix; since that point, principles for creating an entirely revised formulation have been introduced. In accordance with these, some of the features may be changed, with a minimum of comment. Item (i) now should be preceded by the new designation [+ Art]; items (iii) and (iv) will therefore no longer be germane to the description because they apply to the former classification of ll as opposed to l and ll pronouns; item (v) will remain unchanged because the quality of humanness is optional in all but the subject case, which will help to separate subject from non-subject cases. Since it is a question of optional, rather than definitely negative humanness, it would be useful to reinforce the

distinction between subject and non-subject pronouns by adding as feature (vi) [- emph] for the latter.

As has been mentioned, ello is the sole exception to the [+ hum] marking for subject pronouns; the feature [+ emph] serves to denote it as a subject. (Roldán's view (1971:8) that ello is obsolescent is not endorsed by Ramsey, Martínez Amador, the Academy (1973), or Alcina and Belcua (1975), although Ramsey states that "it formerly had a greater variety of uses" (p.77), so the time-scale implicit in Roldán's remarks may be lengthy. The two most modern works in the corpus both use it, Náchér once and Candel five times.) A further distinction between subjects and non-subjects is required when all the features in the composite matrix for the article are taken into account, further to distinguish the dative case from the subject and object cases. As noted earlier, the feature [GENDER] is applicable to formulations for the article, and the subject pronouns, but not to the dative case. But gender must be marked. Simply to insert [- masc, - fem] as features under le would be erroneous, because that would imply that le was positively neuter, which would conflict with the dual value for the feature [hum]; to specify le as [- masc, - fem, - neuter] would be equally false, because the charts drawn earlier have indicated [+ GENDER] as a feature of the article. To accommodate le, according to the developing analysis, that feature must in retrospect, be altered to read [+ GENDER]. The final format of the chart, according to the full development of the thesis, will be indicated later. Juxtaposition of the almost finalized matrices for él and le illustrates the minimal contrasts which now exist between them:

<u>é</u> l	<u>l</u> e
$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ Art} \\ + \text{ pro} \\ + \text{ masc} \\ - \text{ pl} \\ + \text{ emph} \\ + \text{ hum} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ Art} \\ + \text{ pro} \\ - \text{ gender} \\ - \text{ pl} \\ - \text{ emph} \\ + \text{ hum} \end{array} \right]$

The object case remains to be discussed, as also dative and object cases of se. The provisional matrix for lo which has been set up so far may be enumerated thus:

<u>l</u> o
$\left[\begin{array}{l} (i) \quad + \text{ pro} \\ (ii) \quad + \text{ masc, - fem} \\ (iii) \quad - \text{ pl} \\ (iv) \quad - \text{ l} \\ (v) \quad - \text{ ll} \\ (vi) \quad + \text{ hum} \end{array} \right]$

Items (i) and (iii) to (vi) inclusive, will be dealt with exactly as for le. The only difference lies in the positive marking of gender, which serves as the essential contrast between the two non-subject forms; both are distinguished from the subject form by the value assigned to the features [emph] and [hum]. Sufficient contrasts therefore exist between the three former pronouns to ensure mutual distinction:

<u>é</u> l	<u>l</u> e	<u>l</u> o
$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ Art} \\ + \text{ pro} \\ + \text{ masc} \\ - \text{ pl} \\ + \text{ emph} \\ + \text{ hum} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ Art} \\ + \text{ pro} \\ - \text{ gender} \\ - \text{ pl} \\ - \text{ emph} \\ + \text{ hum} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ Art} \\ + \text{ pro} \\ + \text{ masc} \\ - \text{ fem} \\ - \text{ emph} \\ + \text{ hum} \end{array} \right]$

That raises, however, a searching question regarding the demarcation line between these newly-designated articles on the one hand and the definite article per se on the other: does a sufficiently

-
1. The matrix here is a combination of those which were separated for clarity in Figure 18 above.
 2. It is interesting to compare these matrices with their six features with those for their English counterparts, which contain thirteen features each, as detailed in MSSE (1973:128f).

unambiguous contrast exist to distinguish them? The answer presents no difficulty. The feature [PRONOMINAL] will rank alongside those at the lowest branches of the chart in Figure 14, so that [PRONOMINAL] will distinguish the usage which is at present under discussion from, for example, the role of the article as a nominalizer, a possessive, or a generic marker. This will be indicated more fully below. The one form se serves as both dative and object cases. Its formulation, as established earlier, was:

<u>se</u>	
(i)	+ pro
(ii)	+ pl
(iii)	- l
(iv)	- ll
(v)	+ refl

On the principles now enunciated, se may now be characterized as:

<u>se</u>	
+	Art
+	pro
-	gender
+	pl
-	emph
+	hum
+	refl

Provision must be made in the grammar's lexicon to distinguish morphologically between the so-called subject pronoun, the dative pronouns and the reflexive pronouns on one hand, and the so-called object pronouns and the definite articles on the other. (The phonological subcomponent can be made to deal with the factor of the tonic quality of those forms with an emphatic quality (see Academy 1973:204, 313), which is absent from the object cases and, of course, the articles.) There is therefore no necessity to add here a feature of the order [+ pre-alliterative]. That can be subsumed under [refl] and explained in the lexicon; for a succinct treatment, see Moliner (1974:77). It will be noted that se is

contrasted to all the other forms by the feature [refl] and also by the dual value for number. The new designation, therefore, of the so-called third-person pronouns as [+ Art] presents no problem as regards the two recognized pronoun features of [CASE] and [PERSON]. This is true of sí also. Hadlich's treatment provides two matrices for it:

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ pro} \\ + \text{ pl} \\ + \text{ emph} \\ - \text{ 1} \\ - \text{ 11} \\ + \text{ polite} \\ + \text{ refl} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{or} \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ pro} \\ + \text{ pl} \\ + \text{ emph} \\ - \text{ 1} \\ - \text{ 11} \\ + \text{ refl} \end{bmatrix}$$

The features for number and politeness have already been discussed, so the principles will not be considered here, although a mistake should be noted: Hadlich's treatment demands [+ 11] when the positive value appears for [polite]. The only feature deserving further comment is emphasis, which Hadlich uses for introducing mismo with sí despite the fact that he has used the same feature for subject pronoun emphasis with or without mismo. It would be preferable to specify mismo in the lexicon as an emphatic adjective, especially as, firstly, it appears in sentences without pronouns, and, secondly, there are other stylistic methods of expressing emphasis (see below). On that basis, and the question of person having already been settled above, a better provisional matrix for sí would be:

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ Art} \\ + \text{ pro} \\ - \text{ gender} \\ + \text{ pl} \\ - \text{ emph} \\ + \text{ hum} \\ + \text{ refl} \\ + \text{ postprep} \end{bmatrix}$$

but the only difference between this matrix and that for se is postprepositional distribution. So it would be simpler to make

a rule to subsume sí under se on the principle:

se → sí in env. ≠ prep/ ___ ≠ .

A further, necessarily lengthy digression on the question of reflexives must be introduced here, although, for three reasons, the process of reflexivization in Spanish will not be discussed here. Firstly, Langacker's definition that reflexivization and pronominalization are "two variants of the same process" (1969:163) appears valid; although Postal admits the danger of regarding the two rules as essentially one, his statement about the basic character of the true reflexive is applicable to Spanish: "the domains of pronominalization and reflexivization are essentially complementary, the latter operating on coreferents which are clause mates, the former on coreferents not meeting this condition" (1971:16). Secondly, there are clear distinctions between Spanish and English in the reflexive process; Lakoff (1970:4) reflects that the construction John dirtied himself is rare in English but frequent in Spanish, French and Russian, and moreover the PS analysis of English reflexives which Helke (1973) prefers is meaningless in the Spanish context; compare Dinnsen's rejection of Perlmutter's global and non-global constraints for Spanish (1972:176). Thirdly, there is a peculiar difficulty which demands priority of consideration, namely the high degree of controversy surrounding se. There has been an explosion of interest in it, as evidenced by the following specific analyses: Otero (1966), Bolinger (1969), Lozano (1971), Otero (1972), Contreras and Rojas (1972), Molina (1974), Urdiales (1974), Bobes Naves (1974), Fernández Lagunilla (1975), Santiago (1975), Schrotten (1975), Suñer (1976) and Manteca Alonso-Cortés (1976).

part of speech se was, which is why I have said that he made only partially explicit what Bolinger took to be Otero's implicit interpretation of se as subject. Some aspects of Otero's reply (1972) to Bolinger run parallel to themes treated by Lozano, presumably independently since neither quotes the other, but with sufficiently different emphasis to vitiate mutual confirmation. Both deal with the importance of features, but Lozano deals with them on the object nouns whereas Otero stresses the basically human character of se; both deal with passives and the indefinite, but whereas Lozano recognizes "semantic overlap but not synonymity" and prefers to separate them, Otero goes further, declaring that se is "in no way dependent on the passive". They entirely agree on the elusiveness of the fundamental issue: "even after studying these constructions for a number of years, it is not always instantly obvious to the speaker (which is correct). As for the hearer, ambiguity will haunt him more often than not" (Otero, 1972:241). This is borne out by his disagreeing (correctly, in my view) with one of Bolinger's counterexamples as "irremissibly ungrammatical, with all due respect to its highly qualified sponsors"; nevertheless, some of Otero's own models seem suspect: his ascriptions of grammatical to

17b se reunió los miembros de la junta

19a los apartamentos se los alquila

23a la puerta se la cerró

and of ungrammatical to (of all examples!)

11b se alquilan los apartamentos

seem worthy of serious challenge. Most surprising is that Otero does not take up Bolinger's point; he does not specifically state

part of speech se was, which is why I have said that he made only partially explicit what Bolinger took to be Otero's implicit interpretation of se as subject. Some aspects of Otero's reply (1972) to Bolinger run parallel to themes treated by Lozano, presumably independently since neither quotes the other, but with sufficiently different emphasis to vitiate mutual confirmation. Both deal with the importance of features, but Lozano deals with them on the object nouns whereas Otero stresses the basically human character of se; both deal with passives and the indefinite, but whereas Lozano recognizes "semantic overlap but not synonymy" and prefers to separate them, Otero goes further, declaring that se is "in no way dependent on the passive". They entirely agree on the elusiveness of the fundamental issue: "even after studying these constructions for a number of years, it is not always instantly obvious to the speaker (which is correct). As for the hearer, ambiguity will haunt him more often than not" (Otero, 1972:241). This is borne out by his disagreeing (correctly, in my view) with one of Bolinger's counterexamples as "irremissibly ungrammatical, with all due respect to its highly qualified sponsors"; nevertheless, some of Otero's own models seem suspect: his ascriptions of grammatical to

17b se reunió los miembros de la junta

19a los apartamentos se los alquila

23a la puerta se la cerró

and of ungrammatical to (of all examples!)

11b se alquilan los apartamentos

seem worthy of serious challenge. Most surprising is that Otero does not take up Bolinger's point; he does not specifically state

that se is the subject, nor that it is a pronoun; both must be deduced, the former from the statements: "SE can occur only in 'subject position', and excludes any type of overt subject", the latter from his glossing of it as PRO, following Perlmutter. Contrast Lozano's unequivocal statements to the same effect. (Molina (1974:16) rejects se as subject!)

Bobes Naves (1974) presents a radically different interpretation, representing a reassessment of her own previous analysis. She takes both the reflexive passive and impersonal se as NON-PRONOMINAL usage of se! It is impossible to do justice to a study which the author herself confesses to be necessarily long and involved. Her reasons for rejecting the traditional pronominal interpretation of se in the reflexive passive are:

- (i) it is non-anaphoric: "no tiene un denotatum extralingüístico ni lingüístico. Este rasgo es fundamental en los pronombres;"
- (ii) it is not a member of the personal pronoun series: contrast me/te/le venden pisos with se venden pisos;
- (iii) nor is it a member of the reflexive or reciprocal series, which all have a subject/object identity: yo-me/tú-te/él-se/etc., an identity which is conspicuously absent from the reflexive passive construction.

Bobes Naves concludes that the passive reflexive se "no es pronombre personal, ni reflexivo, ni recíproco, ni ningún otro tipo de pronombre, puesto que no tiene los caracteres específicos de aquéllos, no los caracteres mínimos que exige la categoría 'pronombre' en general" (p.304). She argues that the basic, invariable shape of (a) the reflexive passive comprises 'three elements (SE + V(active) + N), and (b) the impersonal se two (SE + V(active)). She claims that others have tried to base distinction only on concord between V and N, which is faulty

for (a) because the N is object, as Goldin and Schrotten¹ claim (compare, of course, Otero and Lagunilla (1975)), not object, as the Academy and Alarcos state, and is inappropriate for (b) because there is no N. Hence she conflates the two constructions, noting their similarity in the absence of an agent and that their difference resides in the presence or absence of a direct object. She claims that both are in essence impersonal.² Historically impersonal se derived from the reflexive passive (here, she stresses, like Otero and Lozano, the importance of [+ HUMAN]) which in turn arose from a III reflexive pronoun; now "ha dejado de ser pronombre para convertirse en un morfema verbal en un signo categorial del Verbo" (p.306). She cites some confirmation for her interpretation of both constructions; the Academy recognizes the special character of se in the reflexive passive, dissociating it from the reflexive, and calling it (although still a pronoun), a sign of the passive; as for the other construction, Goldin's view too is that it is part of the verbal apparatus. Bobes Naves defines se negatively in terms which contradict Lozano and Otero: "no puede interpretarse como Sujeto porque no admite conmutación con otros Sujetos nominales a pronominales, y no es pronombre porque no sustituye a ningún nombre" (p.319). She defines it positively as "un neutralizante sintáctico de la función de Sujeto." Its main principle of use is an intention not to express the subject, for which she adduces five reasons:

-
1. Schrotten (1975:390) regards it as self-evident that in se vende tabaco the N is object.
 2. Fernández Lagunilla (1975:177) gives four terms for impersonal se (passive, passive-reflexive, anomalous-quasi-reflexive, and pseudo-reflexive). Contreras and Rojas regard 'impersonal' se as a misnomer (1972:386).

- (i) to avoid personal pronouns, especially in direct questions when the choice between familiar and polite forms is problematical;
- (ii) to provide didactic objectivity;
- (iii) to express generalizations;
- (iv) to express imperatives indirectly;
- (v) when the subject is unknown.

Manteca Alonso-Cortés (1976) claims that the problem of concord between the N and the V in se alquilan (los) apartamentos which Otero, Contreras, and Schroten discussed, disappears if his thesis is accepted that the N is subject and the construction is merely one of postposition. Some linguists have, in his view, been unnecessarily confused by this postposition, although there is a large group of Vs which postpose inanimate subjects in various expressions which he details. As to the different uses of se, he can see no virtue in attempting to unify what are clearly three distinct uses; se is a polyvalent sign which in two cases is pronominal (in direct reflexives and in indirect reflexives) and in the other, non-pronominal but lexical instead. Although the last point leans, perhaps unwittingly, in the direction of Bobes Naves' analysis, this summary reveals fundamental differences. Langacker would disagree with Manteca Alonso-Cortés, because he optimistically states a preference for a unified treatment when commenting on Goldin's claim that there is no relation between se mató, se quejó, and se trabajó, although Langacker admits that it is "by no means obvious that a single rule can account in a natural way for all three types of reflexives" (1970:176). Fernández Lagunilla is more realistic to stress the "debatido tema de los diversos tipos de se" because "la forma se ha sido y es un punto clave en el estudio de nuestra gramática por la complejidad de funciones y valores que encierra" (1975:177f).

It is clearly, therefore, beyond the scope of this thesis to evaluate the different theories mentioned, or to attempt to solve the basic issue as to whether se is a pronoun in the type of sentences discussed, and, if so, whether it is a subject or (reflexive) object pronoun. Since the issue remains unsolved, the features for se do not reflect any decision. There is justification for this approach; if some types of se are not pronouns, it is not relevant to this analysis at all, and these particular uses can, when located, be ignored; if all types of se are pronouns, exactly how they can best be interpreted can only be resolved after a study of a much more considerable body of evidence than the isolated examples analyzed in the papers just discussed; therefore a decision would be premature. However, one purpose of this thesis is to facilitate the collation of data, so se is here indiscriminately, but deliberately, given the single characterization of reflexive (although this may eventually prove theoretically inadequate); such a step ensures that all uses are sought by the computer program, which may pave the way for a theoretical solution to a highly controversial point. Hence the following examples, which are relevant to the theories above, will be sought together with (more orthodox?) reflexives:

- S79 Está bien mientras se es joven
 K109 Se les negaba incluso el beneficio de un jurado
 K231 al fin se les concedió la libertad
 C43 se saca el puro de la boca y lo mira
 FC165 Hoy se es progresista, socialista o existencialista

[- Art, + pro] → [+ pro, - 1, + 11]
 and [+ Art, + pro] → [+ pro, - 1, - 11].

These two rules exercise the separate options offered by the dual value attached to the category definition, [+ Art], and contrive to distinguish the subject 11 pronouns from the object (that is, article) forms elsewhere in the paradigm of usted.

In adding [PRONOMINAL] as the further development of the chart of the matrix of the article, I do not therefore need to add extra branches leading to [CASE] and [PERSON]. These are adequately subsumed under [PRONOMINAL]. The new feature [PRONOMINAL] is applicable to both sides of the chart, because uno (etc.) is clearly the indefinite article in pronominal usage. There are however two problems in applying the new feature to that branch of the article's matrix which is characterized as [+ ARTICLE, - DEFINITE]. The first problem relates to the juncture at which the [PRONOMINAL] branch is attached to the tree: is it plus or minus [SPECIFIC]? The second problem lies in the fact that uno shares the same non-subject forms as él, so that extra contrasts must be incorporated to account for this.

To answer the first question, a recapitulation regarding the import of [SPECIFIC] will be useful. In assessing the performance of definite articles in chapter one above, [+ SPECIFIC] was introduced to indicate the context-sensitive quality of the article, and [-SPECIFIC] to indicate context-free usage. (It was argued, however, that [+ SPECIFIC] as an indefinite article feature may imply a certain freedom from the immediate context, indicated by [- ANAPHORIC].) The feature [PRONOMINAL] is

undoubtedly relevant to the indefinite article's sector of the composite matrix (see Academy 1973:230). It is appropriate that it should appear beneath [+ SPECIFIC], and that it should be able to carry the implication of context-sensitivity, as opposed to the sequence of features [+ SPECIFIC; - ANAPHORIC]. The presence of an antecedent, whether superficially implicit or explicit, is an indispensable prerequisite to pronominalization. This projected adaptation of the branching diagram, supplying the features [+ SPECIFIC, + PRONOMINAL, + ANAPHORIC] to the [- DEFINITE] sector, is applicable both to uno, una, unos, unas, and to their respective cases lo, la, los, las, le and les. Whereas uno, for example, may be characterized as [+ SPECIFIC, + PRONOMINAL, - ANAPHORIC] the cases lo, la, los, le and les all have reference to an antecedent. It is important therefore that the dual evaluation [+ ANAPHORIC] be attributed to the [- DEFINITE, + SPECIFIC] sector, and Figure 14 would have to be amended accordingly. (See Figure 20 below). The rest of the specifications for the IA forms are self-evident in the light of the foregoing discussions. Uno, una, unos, unas all are emphatic, on the principles enunciated above. The second problem relates to the non-subject forms, which are shared by that sector of the diagram leading from [+ DEFINITE] to the [+ SPECIFIC, + PRONOMINAL] branches under it. At least one minimal contrast must occur in the matrices for lo, la, le and their respective plurals, to determine whether they serve in the capacity of pronominal articles of the él or of the uno groups, in any given context. The necessary contrast is available in the composite matrix at the [DEFINITE] node, so that the matrices for lo, la, los, las, le,

and les, will contain the feature [+ def] when their antecedent carries, inter alia, the features [+ Art, + pro, + def]; the feature [- def] will, by contrast, occur when the antecedent is similarly specified as [- def]. Hence the comprehensive matrix for lo, for example, will manifest the feature [+ def], so that the rules will specify it as an appropriate substitute for either él or uno. As a further confirmation of aspects of the foregoing thesis, the ability to preserve the symmetry of the comprehensive chart of the matrix of the definite and indefinite articles, by adding [PRONOMINAL] to both wings (as in Figure 20) corroborates the arguments adduced in favour of the theoretical status of the indefinite article qua article.

3.7 CONCLUSIONS BASED ON THE SYNTACTICO-SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

To conclude the analysis, there follow : firstly illustrations from the corpus of these newly defined matrices (the first two of which additionally illustrate the stylistic methods of enforcing emphasis to which reference was made earlier); secondly, the comprehensive table showing the full range of the features which comprise the extended matrix of the definite and indefinite articles (Figure 19); thirdly, the completed branching diagram (Figure 20), which is superior to the table's format because it clearly separates the positive and negative features; and finally, the individual matrices of the various forms of the articles in their full composition (Figure 21), in the light of all the conclusions reached in the first three chapters of this thesis.

F138 él ya lo sabe, y allá él

N152 sólo él puede valorarse a sí mismo

R60 nadie delante, sólo él, con su locura de dinero;

or of similarity (también, tampoco, como):

M59 pero él, también era distinto

Z81 aunque tampoco él lo supiera a ciencia cierta

F147 el que tenga una hija, y tenga sólo ésa, como él
y como yo;

or of antithesis (pero, en cambio, or in paradigms):

M59/60 pero él...él no era como los otros...él no era
como los otros, y no podía parar

FC103 mi madre era sencilla...él, en cambio, tronera y
loco

N9 yo aprendo, tú aprendes, él aprende

N5 yo, tú, él, no somos ni yo, ni tú, ni él...

or by dint of repetition:

M62 pero él no era el Brusco, él no iría nunca a
buscarlo... él no era el Andrés...él no necesitaba
crecer...;

or by the presence of other emphatic words:

V31 él va a hablar, pero ella le hace señas de que se
calle

G100 si él pica un pan, yo pico otro pan

M43 ellos dos, el Andrés y él

M11 ella no quiere estar con él; él quiere estar con
ella

K13 los datos que tengo de él no son de primera mano -
tenía yo dos años cuando el murió.

It could be objected that the emphasis in K13 is really on murió; but it will be recalled that the idea of clarity is regarded as an aspect of emphasis, and the verb tenía would be ambiguous without its subject pronoun, which benefits further by the balancing presence of él; alternatively, this could be interpreted as a further type of antithetical usage.

C48 al muleto le puse Capitán; el otro día me daban el doble de lo que di por él.

The following are not only [-HUMAN] but also [-ANIMATE]:

MS9 hasta descubrir el pequeño tumor ingüinal y en él implantada la misteriosa muerta espontánea destructora

G28 el hotel estaba sólo unas manzanas del parque, y, al llegar a él

C27 un hermoso país... yo anduve por él unos días

A219 el comedor, en cuanto salía de él..., era cerrado con llave

G145 uno de los pueblos más nobles del mundo... vivir alejado de él sería para mí... un destierro

C28 de este pueblo... pocas cosas agradables podría decir de él

N8 el amor materno... mantuvo la línea filogenética, y gracias a él, apareció el hombre sobre la Tierra.

The minimally contrastive characterization [+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE] may be assigned

to the underlined "articles" in

A9 su mujer dormía profundamente... ella se despertaba con el sol... ella quedaba atrás en su sueño

FC154 comemos con el cura y esta mujer... Ella es un tanto desgavillada.

B137 ella siempre es la misma. Eternamente.

Z63 Ni ella lo sabía. Digo yo. ¿Ella?

R106 ¿Y tu madre? Ella no ¿verdad? Ella no estaba alegre.

Emphasis reinforced by the factors noticed above, is reflected

in:

B173 pero incluso ella misma había llegado a conocer que...

M126 sólo ella podía aromatizar los guisos

N151 sólo ella y usted, doctor, conocen su secreto

MS12 sólo ella sirve...sólo en ella se produce espontáneamente el fenómeno

M46 ella era a su vez también el espejo de otras voces

V49 ¿Perderla a ella también?;

and additionally by the phrase nadie más que:

M154 nadie más que ella las entendía.

It can be reinforced antithetically, by the phrases noted earlier, and also by aunque:

F63 pero fue ella la que logró derribar a Fernando

K288 pero ella es terca bajo su pacífica apariencia

S48 aunque ella no quiere decir quién fue.

Examples showing emphasis underlined by the presence of other emphatic words are:

M152 todo el mundo sabía lo que ella y él eran

V80 ella vale mil veces más que él

FC43 los amantes de Teruel: tonta ella, tonto él

R179 los aparatos de radio los destruyó él, pero el gran tocadiscos lo descompuso ella.

An example of repetition is

R28 será ella, tiene que ser ella, porque nadie se atreverá a llegar a mi finca tocando la bocina de esa forma.

Potential ambiguity is precluded by the presence of the emphatic "article" in

M46 a la madre del Andrés le asustaba el Galgo, porque (decía el Andrés) ella siempre le temió un poco.

Note the clarity achieved by the expansion formula in:

MS46 a ella la tenía yo camelá

R62 la había mirado a ella con ojos de burro,

and the different formula de ella to avoid the multiply ambiguous possessive adjective:

S41 bastante hizo el padre de ella;

yet another type of expansion is se...a ella:

S46 lo que más la divertía era que tratara de
ocultárselo a ella.

The following examples of postprepositional usage carry the same feature characterization as that delineated above:

M112 conviví con ella, pero nunca me ofrecí a ella

Z63 si no hubiese sido por ella, yo no salgo de
aquello

Z173 le pidió con toda delicadeza que se acostara con
ella

V26 volviéndose hacia su madre...yendo hacia ella,

but a difference in gender, giving the (partial) designation

[-MASCULINE, +FEMININE, -PLURAL, +ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE], is evident in:

D111 el águila...sujetó entre sus garras la cría...y se
remontó de nuevo con ella

S52 el dueño de la res...sin verla, pensaba en ella

N59 la pobre paloma huye...su enemigo más rápido que ella.

The only difference between the above and those which follow is inanimacy, so that the latter are [-MASCULINE, +FEMININE, -PLURAL, -ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

N18 la conciencia constituye nuestro mundo vivo...cuando
las ideas llegan a ella

D96 se despojó de la raída americana...y brincaba sobre
ella como enloquecido

G132 la zona del cabo permanecía incomunicada con el
resto de la isla, y para llegar a ella...

S40 la pregunta quedó en el aire como si en ella hubiesen
cristalizado las dudas de todos

M72 gracias a la fotografía, es gracias a ella que ahora
estoy aquí

N117 esto es...la cultura. Dependemos de ella...

The following serve as representative examples of the "article" characterized as [+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- M21 niña, que al mostrar las pantorillas, los señores las miraban con cierta turbación, no porque ellos la desearon
- V54 se vuelve a mirarlos, y ellos la miran
- S29 es que tienen miedo: Ellos dicen que es por el olor
- G104 también ellos han adquirido una nobleza nueva
- N40 y como ellos, en toda la superficie de la Tierra, otros grupos humanos
- FC108 ellos sí juegan
- G80 ellos se empeñaron a invitarme a su vez
- FC157 aunque ellos creen que no...
- FC163 pese a que ellos dicen que no finicas
- B169 para perjudicarles a ellos solos
- K40 como debe tratarse a los empleados: ser justo con ellos
- S31 el coche se detuvo, y la gasolina, tras ellos, batió las paredes de los bidones
- B161 un idioma comprensible para ellos
- Z23 el buen Dios se negaba a hacer para ellos el milagro del pan y los peces
- R16 hasta se inventaba para ellos nombres y detalles imaginarios
- MS126 olvidándose bruscamente de ellos

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +ANIMATE, -HUMAN +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- R40 los toros, después de tanto matar, se liquidaran entre ellos
- FC141 sólo mulos...los hombres tiran de ellos.

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
-ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- Z181 los aviones se alejaron...levándose con ellos la última esperanza
- N18 todos los órganos de los sentidos, y a través de ellos, recibe una constante información
- FC142 manzanas...las vieron en los árboles, en ellos verdes todavía
- R78 los párpados...hay que volcar sobre ellos todo el peso de la mirada al intentar moverlos
- N23 tan escondidos dejó sus huesos hasta que toparon con ellos las manos de la señora...tras...años de búsqueda.

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
(+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- Z155 ellas se sienten protegidas. Tienen de todo. Hasta la clientela les proporcionamos
- FC127 ellas cenan en la cocina
- S103 a pesar de sus palabras, ellas estaban orgullosas
- F183 ...las dos mujeres. Ellas miraron a un tiempo hacia el jardín
- F37 todos los venenillos y las reservas que tienen ellas
- K288 jamás quisieron salir a la calle con ellas

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
-ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- C155 ...temibles sensaciones...contra ellas hay que luchar
- F7 aguas...se pudo hacer con ellas una acequia muy corta
- FC111 las iglesias...en una de ellas...
- N62 se concentra en ciudades y, dentro de ellas,
- C27 las deudas...lo mejor es no hablar de ellas
- FC142 (manzanas) ...un cajoncillo de ellas...un mal año para ellas.

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, -FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

in this specification, the features of animacy and humanness are implied by the dual negative value for gender, so need not appear; that is why they are in brackets in Figures 19 and 21.

- F37 más daño...y esta vez, ¿qué fué ello?
- S58 había un gesto adusto en la cara del presidente, por ello su amabilidad chocaba más
- FC142 me ponía el neumó y no me cobraba nada por ello
- N42 imponer la cultura europea y con ello a impartir desdichas
- B156 no entraba en ello por ser capitán
- M118 por ello me han coronado rey
- Z53 se diría que lo olfateaba, aunque no por ello trataba de evitarlo
- MS63 el mal...se hace real con este hombre...a pesar de ello es llamado El Bueno
- S57 estuvo a punto de decírselo, pero en lugar de ello... se dispuso a salir.

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -GENDER, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- S53 ese chico...todos...le han visto y ninguno le ha entendido
- R149 he dejado de oírle, de temerle
- G23 cuando mi compañero le preguntó por la salud...
- Z56 fue el único insulto que le dolió.
- K120 el capitán le deseó suerte, ella le dió las gracias
- B177 le defendía si le atacaban
- S202 el le explicó que le gustaba oír su voz.

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -GENDER, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +ANIMATE,
-HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

D51 abrió la boca del animal y le puso una piedra dentro

G56 tanto le dan al buen manso que tira la pata

R40 apúntale a ése que encampana su cornamenta

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -GENDER, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, -ANIMATE,
(-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

D59 el fuego era su amigo y no podía jugarsela

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -GENDER, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE),
+HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

N135 un hombre solo no necesita perder el tiempo...si
le recuerdan los estatutos vigentes

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -GENDER, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +ANIMATE,
-HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

N60 la manada llega al borde del precipicio sin que
ninguno se le ocurre retroceder

C90 un perro sale...el viejo le tira unas piedras

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -GENDER, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, -ANIMATE;
(-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

N24 no es más que.. un descubrimiento de la Palaeontología.
Pero rindámosle todo el respeto que merece.

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -GENDER, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE),
+HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

Z77 les hizo saber que él nunca provocaba

K107 ni se emborrachaba ni les pegaba

F133 -Se os agradece la visita - les dijo

G69 nadie se preocupaba...de darles educación ni sustento

M110 les contaba cosas triviales, que les llenaba de paz

B170 animándoles, levantándoles el ánimo,, haciéndoles
tener fe

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -GENDER, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

D111 dos pollos...el niño...se entretuvo un rato provocándoles, aguijonéandoles, hasta hacerles desesperar

FC110 cogerá las moscas, les abrirá la boca y les introducirá el veneno dentro

N14 bastaba con hacer sonar la campanilla para que los perros empezaran a rezumar saliva cual si se les ofreciera un filete

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -GENDER, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, -ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

FC136 el nombre que debiera dárselos es el de "gruños", que es el nombre de las ciruelas silvestres.

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -GENDER, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

C42 tiran, uno detrás de otro, por un sendero que les acerca hasta el río

FC146 unos del pueblo jugaban a cartas...la televisión no les importaba nada

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -GENDER, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

N11 se puede sacar partido de un toro bravo y hasta de un hipopótamo para hacerles realizar trabajos inteligentes en la pista de un circo

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

G38 yo lo tomaba por un dios, por un santo,...y él me robaba la plusvalía

C46 algunos soldados, sentados a la puerta, lo miraron al pasar

V22 -Déjelo, señora...; -Te lo mereces, hija

S135 verás el día que el guardián lo coja

G25 como lo pondrían que lo dejaron por muerto

M112 lo inscribieron como Mario el Joven

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

D29 Cuélgalo patas arriba

D27 ...un cuervo muerto. Déjalo de mi mano.

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, -ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

C41 el dos de espadas lo tiene un hombre que ni sonríe siquiera

N20 aprendió este idioma. Pero al no utilizarlo lo olvidó

G56 el dinero lo pierde el que lo tiene

Z53 el peligro...lo olfateaba, aunque no trataba de evitarlo

C31 el primer libro que alcanza...no lo necesita para nada; en realidad, lo coge sin darse cuenta

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

R20 cruzó un chiquillo ante el descapotable y lo maté, bueno, lo mató mi coche

N44 pueden titularlo a uno de espía

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

C47 un muleto...lo quiero enjaezar de primera

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, -ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

C30 buscando un doble decímetro. Lo encuentra

G47 cuando veo un taxi, me adelanto y lo paro

S41 pidió un caso y, apurándolo, pidió un segundo

M112 el mundo se somete a Claudia como un perro faldero. Claudia lo mira, lo toma, lo volatiza

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, -FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
-ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- M143 no soy idiota, cuando lo explica, lo entiendo
 G112 la calle queda desierta, es como si de verdad lo
 hubiera soñado
 V28 tendrías que ahorrar, quitándolo de la comida, del
 vestido
 R52 ya sé que te lo hago repetir cientos de veces
 R64 no lo saben de fijo
 V30 aunque no lo creas, siempre necesitamos de los demás
 C28 este libro...al escribirlo me caigo pintado atrocidades

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
(+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- FC107 en el pueblo hay unos cuarenta mozos de veinticinco a
 treinta años. El cura los llama solterones
 C69 no hay duda que quien los bautizó era un imaginativo
 Z15 se escapaban muchos...a unos los cogían, a otros no

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
+ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- MS33 comprar perros no reclamaos, antes de que los reclamen

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
-ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- MS231 mira allí hay churros...voy a traértelos
 N57 producir bienes de consumo. Había que venderlos

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
(+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- R47 sus hijos...pobrecitos...tan pequeños, cuídalos
 S29 ya los ve, trabajando toda la vida para nada
 A16 el humo en los túneles los aislaba, los envolvía
 G72 los hizo poner en fila y los balaceó
 C199 es curioso observarlos, los hay de todos los pelos
 G18 tenía ganas de aproximarme a ellos y abrazarlos

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
+ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

R19 te llenas de bichos sabrosos de la mar y te pones a punto de aborrecerlos

G91 limpia los pescados antes de guardarlos en la nevera

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
-ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

N71 nuestros conocimientos. los hemos adquirido en la universidad de la calle

M133 esos pendientes valen una fortuna...recójalos y límpielos

G19 aquellos rostros...los conocía bien

D65 en vez de resolver los problemas vienen...a creármelos

R179 los aparatos de radio los destrozó él

S113 los mandamientos, ¿los sabes?

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
(+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

MS88 La amo. La amo. Quiero poseerla.

Z161 la mujer, como la camisa: la usas y la tiras al cubo de la basura

M95 yo ya la quería a mi madre, ahora ya la quiero más aún que la quería cuando la veía

S86 le gustaba verla por el pueblo...verla moverse...verla erguida pasear...la quiso convencer...apenas la veía al cabo del día

V41 va a besarla, pero ella le detiene

R18 tu madre...has llegado a olvidarla, o...a no intentar entenderla

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
+ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

D27 la perra se adelantó...más el hombre...la oprimía el hocico

FC47 todas las aves poseen...sus paradas de amor: para atraer a la hembra o camelarla

D55 cuando la perra llegaba...él...la amendrentaba con una vara

D25 la perra se enredó en las piernas del niño y él
le acarició el lomo...sin mirarla

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
-ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

B171 (palabra) por haberla oído en películas de carácter
deportivo la juzgó muy apropiada

FC11 la crítica...su delicadeza en hacermela

S25 la lista del médico. Como no la encontré...

C85 la pregunta debió de hacerla muchas veces ya

R42 tuve que coger la botella de coñac y vacilarla

G118 aquella vida no la quiero.

S153 la moneda...-; La cogió, la cogió, la tiene!

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

C157 una de la chiquitas...es lástima que no la conociera
usted

S125 tres hombres fumaban en torno a una mujer, contemplándola
con ávidos ojos. El también la miró

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
-ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

D47 alquilaba una vaca de desecho para que los mozos la
corriesen

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
-ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

C28 le mando una flor...la tuve metida en un libro

G17 la conclusión, la sostenía...con perfecta naturalidad

FC142 llenamos una enorme cesta y se la llevé al doctor

N71 Nos basta la imagen de una botella para identificarla

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, +PLURAL; +SPECIFIC,
+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

C155 Elena y María...lo han dejado solo, pero...entre
sueños las adivina hablando

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
+ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

FC135 dice de las ovejas que tiene que sacrificar "las
mato y las desuello"

N50 las grullas coronadas, que no tuvieron el honor de
tan ilustre antepasado, sí saben lo que quieren porque
nadie se molestó en aleccionarlas en ciertos principios
morales

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
-ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

M160 había dejado gotas de sangre en el primer peldaño de
la escalera, estuve mirándolas, hasta que...las fregó

D48 sus tierras...las tenían dadas en arriendo

C34 las canciones no sabe sino empezarlas

N78 mis primeras experiencias...las tuve hace muchos años

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
(+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

FC147 se veían chicas y sus padres que las despedían
abrumándolas a recomendaciones

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
+ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

C67 el viajero da unas perras al niño...al principio, no
quería cogerlas

C38 unas ovejas calvas...los dos hombres que las conducen
les pegan bastonazos

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
-ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

B120 un día probó con una carta. Acabó por abrirlas todas.

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -GENDER, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE),
+HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, +REFLEXIVE]:

S44 resignándose se preguntó como sería el médico nuevo

V31 ella se vuelve y se contemplan

C78 alguien que se mereciese llevarselos

- S200 la mujer se enderezó pero no dijo nada, contentándose se
con mirar
- G67 al principio tuvimos que enseñárselo todo
- F12 ...la mano mojada. Se la secó
- A52 el miedo le trepaba por las piernas, debilitándoseselas
- MS203 ella había visto, con sus propios ojos, ísele la
vida preciosísima
- S104 pensó en sí mismo...consecuencias para sí mismo...su
deseo de tenerla junto a sí
- K50 los ojos de Mauricio...el espejo en donde...
descubrirse a sí misma

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -GENDER, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +ANIMATE,
-HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, +REFLEXIVE]:

- D55 el animal, al verse sorprendido, dio un brinco
gigantesco
- C93 el burro va unos pasos delante. A veces se para
- FC145 cuando los gusanos se comen este archivador de
recuerdos que es el cerebro
- D55 el zorro se comportaba espontáneamente
- MS60 la pescadilla...tan perfecta en sí misma

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -GENDER, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, -ANIMATE,
(-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, +REFLEXIVE]:

- B181 no se oía más que el débil estertor del agonizante
- C94 el cielo se aclara
- G70 el rostro se le enfosca y baja la vista
- K231 al fin se les concedió la libertad
- M124 se iniciaba la primavera
- A19 aquel tren se les presentaba como humanizado
- MS23 la radiación alfa...es (en sí) silenciosa
- S37 en el pozo la corriente...se revolvía, girando
sobre sí

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -GENDER, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE),
+HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, +REFLEXIVE]:

FC147 se veían chicas

Z66 se la miraron los tíos

S97 se lo dices a ellos en lugar de contármelo a mí

V83 ellos se han dejado vencer por la vida

D64 si entraban por la fuerza tendrían que vérselas
con el señor juez

FC132 los hombres desaparecen de sí mismos

S38 las hijas, esperando en casa...con la farol ante sí

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -GENDER, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +ANIMATE,
-HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, +REFLEXIVE]:

D49 los pajaros se alborotaban, peleándose por ser los
primeros

C73 dos perros se aman a pleno sol

M28 a los pájaros que se asfixian se les debe sonreír

S146 si usted viera a los pobres animales cómo se quedan

N7 el polluelo no llega a conocer a sus padres, se
bastan a sí mismos para sobrevivir

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, -GENDER, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, -ANIMATE,
(-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, +REFLEXIVE]:

B182 a medida que hablaba, se le iban encendiendo las
mejillas y la voz se le enronquecía

C30 el entrecejo arrugado para que no se le llenen los
ojos de humo

Z181 los aviones se alejaron

S23 las casas...los dos puentes y la carretera parecían
desiertos...como si su único fin consistiera en
existir por sí mismos.

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -GENDER, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE),
+HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, +REFLEXIVE]:

C47 se lo voy a regalar a un tío

R49 uno que acaba de librarse de la muerte

S115 una de las mujeres se los llevó fuera

N22 cada uno, servidor de sí mismo.

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -GENDER, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, +REFLEXIVE]:

N10 un gatito se enredó jugando con ovillo de hilo

D55 una condenada liebre...se llevó al campo

N9 un cangrejo se encuentra con una vida que tiene que defender

N10 cuanto más desarrollada la inteligencia de un animal, menos capaz es éste de valerse por sí mismo

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -GENDER, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, -ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, +REFLEXIVE]:

M35 no se filtraba...ni un destello, ni una voz

C90 podrá vérsese una sangrante matadura

C133 no se le escapa detalle

F191 de caérsele a uno la cara, si mi hija se me casa con un individuo semejante

MS31 como un hecho en sí deseable

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -GENDER, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, +REFLEXIVE]:

C179 gitanos sedentarios que se inscriben

S56 unos se acostumbran antes a esta clase de cosas

Z71 se la llevaron de allí unos soldados

F42 se miraban unas a otras...se comparaban entre sí con las miradas

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -GENDER, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, +REFLEXIVE]:

D81 Conejos, en cambio, se hallaban con facilidad en el páramo

D79 las cabras acudían por sí solas a concentrarse en torno al Pastor

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -GENDER, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, -ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, +REFLEXIVE]:

- N25 reflejos condicionados...se añaden al contenido genético
- FC147 colocaron las motos estratégicamente...distanciadas entre sí
- N42 estas ex colonias...se llaman a sí mismas tercer mundo.

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- K70 no está bien prometer cosas si uno no está en situación de cumplirlas
- G13 en la estructura del mundo que rodea a uno uno no advierte...la imperiosa necesidad del cambio
- S79 se aburre uno mucho en estos pueblos
- A53 uno de ellos silbaba mientras se iba desnudando
- F91 no lo dejan a uno ni comer

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, +ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- D111 dos pollos, uno de mayor tamaño que otro
- MS15 los pájaros se suicidan uno a uno
- C185 uno de los gansos le dio semejante picotazo en las posaderas que...
- R40 mata, uno por uno, esos cuatro novillos

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, -ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

- K113 uno de los ojos lo tenía bizco
- M72 mis años fueron cayendo, uno a uno
- R32 descoyuntando, uno por uno, sus intentos de alegría
- C40 dos trenes...uno al lado del otro
- MS16 venden los pitillos uno a uno

- R57 quince extranjeras, casi todas suecas, de las de piernas largas
- S57 el tacto de sus manos...las de los otros,... las de don Prudencio
- M153 las pinturas (no las de los lienzos, sino...)
- D61 cuando sale con lo de las cuevas no me lo dice
- N95 lo del consumo, lo de la basura y otras menudencias
- C102 vamos a lo de la Singoga.

The cohesion evinced by such phrases is shown by the resistance to a second contraction in:

- B148 un encuentro de la importancia de el del domingo.

Lapesa's mention of this as an example of the substantival performance of the article has been referred to in chapter one, where I tentatively argued instead for an interpretation of the DA as nominalizer, which would make this usage a nominalized NP. However, the absence of the N (dinero in V64, reino in MS89, and so on) recalls the new type of relative clause defined in chapter two, namely "Replacives"; that makes these phrases, similarly, a new type of NP, which is not expounded in the grammars. The parallel with the Replacive clauses is inescapable. More importantly, the usage confirms the theory of chapter three, because it is not the (traditional) article used pronominally; that is the force of Lapesa's remark. Every "article" exemplified in this usage has been characterized already except el, which in V64, MS89 and G133 is [+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC, -ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE].

The partial specification of [+ANIMATE, -HUMAN] belongs to el in:

- M163 el caballo..., el de la estrella, mordisqueaba por allí,

and of [(-ANIMATE), +HUMAN] in:

C134 va hablando con el del carro

M55 tenía por amigo al Andrés, el de las chabolas

Z48 le dijo el de la boina roja.

Significantly, the absent human referents are here reflected, not by the pronoun but by the replacive article employed pronominally.

Figure 20

FINAL FORMAT OF BRANCHING DIAGRAM TO REFLECT THE PERFORMANCE OF THE ARTICLES IN MODERN SPANISH

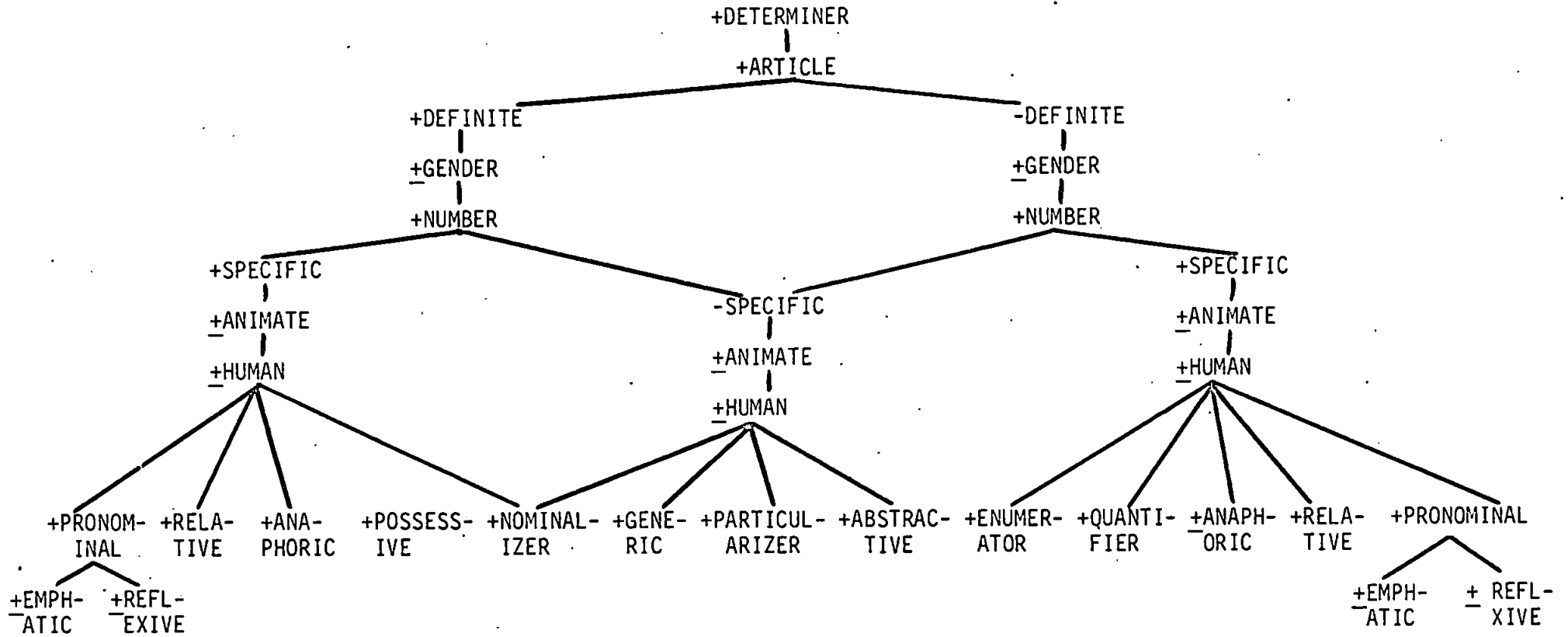


Figure 2I

FINAL COMPOSITION OF INDIVIDUAL MATRICES OF DISTINCTIVE FEATURES			
<u>el</u>	<u>él</u>	<u>un</u>	<u>uno</u>
+DETERMINER +ARTICLE +DEFINITE +MASCULINE -FEMININE -PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN -PRONOMINAL -EMPHATIC +RELATIVE +ANAPHORIC +POSSESSIVE +NOMINALIZER +GENERIC +PARTICULARIZER +ABSTRACTIVE	+DETERMINER +ARTICLE +DEFINITE +MASCULINE -FEMININE -PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL +EMPHATIC +ANAPHORIC -REFLEXIVE	+DETERMINER +ARTICLE -DEFINITE +MASCULINE -FEMININE -PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN -PRONOMINAL -EMPHATIC +RELATIVE -ANAPHORIC +GENERIC +PARTICULARIZER +ABSTRACTIVE +ENUMERATOR -QUANTIFIER	+DETERMINER +ARTICLE -DEFINITE +MASCULINE -FEMININE -PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL -EMPHATIC +ANAPHORIC
<u>la</u>	<u>ella</u>	<u>una</u>	
+DETERMINER +ARTICLE +DEFINITE -MASCULINE +FEMININE -PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL -EMPHATIC +RELATIVE -REFLEXIVE +ANAPHORIC +POSSESSIVE +NOMINALIZER +GENERIC +PARTICULARIZER +ABSTRACTIVE	+DETERMINER +ARTICLE +DEFINITE -MASCULINE +FEMININE -PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL +EMPHATIC -REFLEXIVE +ANAPHORIC	+DETERMINER +ARTICLE -DEFINITE -MASCULINE +FEMININE -PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL +EMPHATIC +RELATIVE +ANAPHORIC +ENUMERATOR +GENERIC +PARTICULARIZER +ABSTRACTIVE -QUANTIFIER	
<u>lo</u>	<u>ello</u>	<u>los</u>	<u>ellos</u>
+DETERMINER +ARTICLE +DEFINITE +MASCULINE -FEMININE -PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL	+DETERMINER +ARTICLE +DEFINITE -MASCULINE -FEMININE -PLURAL +SPECIFIC +PRONOMINAL +EMPHATIC -REFLEXIVE (-ANIMATE) (-HUMAN)	+DETERMINER +ARTICLE +DEFINITE +MASCULINE -FEMININE +PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN	+DETERMINER +ARTICLE +DEFINITE +MASCULINE -FEMININE +PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL

CHAPTER 4

4. THE MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE "ARTICLE"

This chapter looks specifically at the morphological features of the parts of speech which have been subsumed under the term "Article", but, unlike earlier chapters, does not include any review of recent theory. Indeed, the paucity of such treatments virtually precludes this. Matthews (1974:3) claims that the current neglect of morphology would amaze a structural linguist of the pre-1960s, and states: "the analysis of words is a subject which is momentarily out of fashion in linguistic theory: few theorists have devoted books to it in recent years". There is, of course, even less attention given to the morphology of Spanish. Unfortunately, of the analyses which are available, neither Foley (1965) "Spanish morphology", nor Martínez Celdrán (1975) "Estudio morfológico de la vocal temática en español", is relevant to the present study.

Stockwell, Bowen, and Martin do make some contribution: "Morphology is the study of words and their components, which in Spanish and English are STEMS and AFFIXES. Morphological analysis is the study of the formal characteristics, shapes and variations of words or lexical units" (1966:41). As regards Spanish personal pronouns, possessive adjectives, possessive pronouns, and articles, the vast majority of the affixes are inflectional. (Only the infix -otr- and its allomorph -str- in I and II plural personal pronouns and possessive adjectives respectively may be taken as derivational affixes.) Inflectional affixes mark grammatical features such as number, gender, and person.

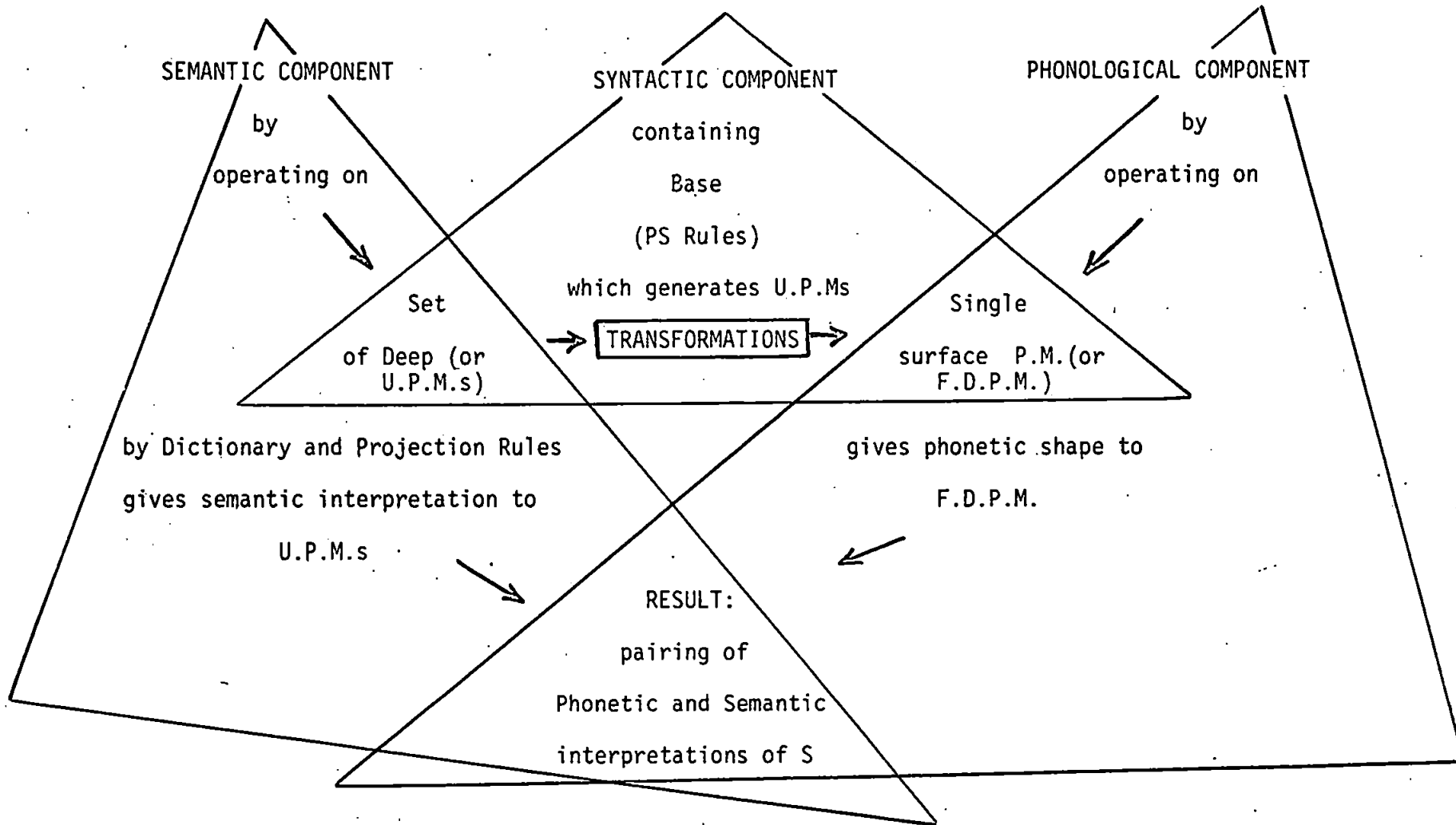
Long attaches relatively little importance to morphology,

because the morpheme is of little value to a grammar which begins with clause structure; to call reactions a cluster of four morphemes is "grammatically less significant than to say that it is the plural form of a complex noun whose components are the prefix re, the word act, and the suffix ion" (1961:2). As Bach says, it is a question of theory how one traces such derivations (1974:59), and Long may perhaps be accused here of attacking a home-made straw-man, because his statement stresses a distinction without a difference, but he is correct in stating that the problems confronting morphological analysis can be "enormously intricate". The purpose of the present attempt to provide a thorough morphological analysis of an area of Spanish syntax is to establish a fully integrated set of morpheme inflections which may be unerringly selected for attachment to clearly designated roots, on the principle of automatic application of a strict set of rules. The (literally) operative word is "automatic", because of the two-fold practical application which this analysis may facilitate.

Firstly, it would be suitable for inclusion in the morphological subcomponent of a generative grammar of Spanish on the principles enunciated by Chomsky. He expressed his opinion of linguistic descriptions in the two or three decades preceding publication of his Syntactic Structures (1957) in the form of a paradox: they were too ambitious and too limited. Their over-ambition lay in the unrealistic expectancy of being able to devise rules for the extraction of a perfect grammar from a mass of data; their limitation consisted in their impotency of prediction. For Chomsky, a grammar should be a hypothesis concerning the function of a language, and the hypothesis should, like any scientific theory, be subject to

Figure 22

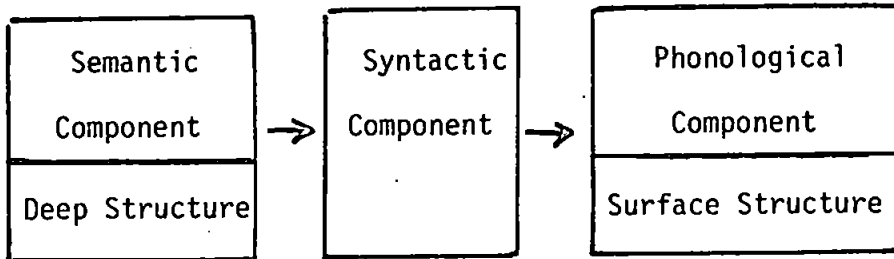
DIAGRAM TO ILLUSTRATE LOGICAL PAIRING OF PHONETIC AND SEMANTIC INTERPRETATIONS OF S



362.

Legend U.P.M. = underlying Phrase Marker; F.D.P.M. = final derived phrase marker

and add that the concept of the relationship between the semantic and syntactic components changes if, however, the deep structure is closely related to meaning and includes clues of meaning. The result is a linear progression from the semantic component to the phonological component, as in:



This would presumably be called in question by Chomsky's (1976) view of Trace and the semantic interpretation being restricted to surface structures. All such diagrams are anathema to Robinson (1975:135), who complains of "the sort of diagram by which linguists traditionally puzzle readers"; he also disapproves of the terms 'semantic component', 'semantic interpretation', and 'semantic representation' as being "very misleading"(p.139).

PS and Generative Grammars are understood to be automatic processes. Chomsky rightly held that PS grammars were too blinkered a mechanical operation, having an initial state (e.g. Sentence) and moving through several others (e.g. NP \rightarrow T + N, or VP \rightarrow Verb + NP). Each rule was to be applied independently without retrospective or prospective considerations (see Dineen, 1967:367). Chomsky therefore proposed a "more powerful MACHINE ...which can look back to earlier strings in the derivation to determine how to produce the next step" (1965:38, emphasis mine). Still the emphasis is upon the mechanical operation.

This chapter attempts to demonstrate that a comprehensive

RULE 5 ^a√I Su (m → y).

RULE 6 √-Po Sf: -u

^a√-i with √I prenominals

^a√-í with √I elsewhere

^a√-ue with √non-III-Mu.

RULE 7 GAf √-Fe: -a

^a√-ø: III MS and Ppnr0 and DAMS

^a√-o: non-Fe elsewhere

^a√-ed(-) with √II/III Su and Ppnr0.

RULE 8 √PSf: -s

^a√-es: in env./C.

RULE 9 Ordering:

I	2	3	4
i	e	o	
í	otr	a	s
u			
ú			

RULE 10 Inf -y- in env./between two rounded Vs

RULE 11 √(-)Su and Pp0: √-str- with $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \sqrt{I, II-Mu Po} \\ \sqrt{II, III Su and nPp0} \end{array} \right\}$

√-otr- elsewhere with √(I,II)-Mu

√é- with √III MSnPo

√e- elsewhere with √III nPo and DAMS

RULE 12 √II/III Su and Ppnr0: -r- → ∅ in env./CCV.

RULE 13 No √B may occur as a DA form.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED

Apart from the conventional symbols used so far in this thesis, namely:

→ may be rewritten as

* the form indicated does not exist

± the item indicated may or may not occur,

the symbols and abbreviations used in this chapter are as follows:

Af affix

B Base

Cn common

CG common gender

DO(s) direct object(s)

(e) loss of this vowel from the Base under stated conditions

Fe feminine

FP feminine plural

FS feminine singular

G gender

Inf infix

IO(s) indirect object(s)

MP masculine plural

MS masculine singular

Mu multiple (= plural)

npa non-prealliterative

nPo non-possessive

nPp(O) non-postprepositional (object)

nr(O) non-reflexive (object)

NS neuter singular

P plural

pa prealliterative

Po possessive

Pp(O) post-prepositional(object)

PP (in this chapter) personal pronouns

- PSf plural suffix
 r(0) reflexive (object)
 r(s) reflexive(s)
 S singular
 Sf suffix
 Su subject
 V(s) vowel(s)
 II/III indicates second-cum-third person pronoun (usted, etc.)
 ∅ zero affix
 / precedes morphemes
 - hyphen indicates affixation, on the principles that, for example, u- means prefix, -u means suffix, -u- means infix.

Some of the methodology employed in this analysis reveals a dependence upon a short study based on corresponding areas of French syntax, entitled "French Morphology: personal pronouns and the 'definite article'" by Trager (1958).^I I have been unable to find references to any similar treatments of other languages in the two decades since Trager's work was published, although Faust (1964:95) states that "the paradigm of morphological pronouns, a notoriously irregular set, has been the occasion for a good deal of experimenting." The much more intractable nature of this whole area of Spanish syntax accounts for most of the differences between Trager's treatment and mine. Moreover, his analysis stops short of any attempt to synthesize his results into formulae, which is, as outlined above, the specific aim of the present study.

I. It is surprising that Trager omitted the relative pronouns lequel, etc., from his consideration, since they would appear to be an extension to his analysis, unlike their Spanish counterparts. Their combined forms of the series auquel and duquel would, however, strain his analysis.

The corpus of the forms of the Spanish personal pronouns, the possessive adjectives, and possessive pronouns, are displayed separately by the Academy (1973:204 and 210),^I but it is more constructive to merge the two charts, and to expand them. (Compare and contrast Trager; at first sight his display looks open to improvement, in that column 3 of section I.2. would naturally appear more appropriately in section I.4., because the reflexives adduced in the third column belong to the III forms. He justifiably claims, however, that the ordering of his display conforms to "convenience of exhibition"). Traditional labels will be retained initially, subject to certain re-interpretations, and will be replaced by mutually exclusive labels (e.g. +Fe versus non-Fe, where 'non-Fe' indicates masculine and neuter forms) as appropriate to a more symmetrical description.

The Spanish personal pronouns, possessive adjectives, possessive pronouns, and definite articles have forms which are differentiated for singular in three genders, and for plural in two, with the exception of the common-gender I and II singular personal pronouns. (Trager's parallel explanation lacks clarity because his statement that "the pronouns as such are found as singular and plural in three persons, with a masculine-feminine division in the third person, and a third-person reflexive", requires two sentences of qualification to indicate the exceptions with which it bristles.) Distinction must be made between an 'inherited' and an 'inherent' division into masculine and feminine. By 'inherent' I mean a masculine versus

I. This presentation is superior to that of the Academy's 1931 Grammar, pp.33f, but the 1973 format omits usted and also the reflexives, which should appear here rather than be deferred to p.343.

feminine gender distinction which is semantic (e.g. él as opposed to ella, and nosotros to nosotras), rather than an 'inherent' gender, derived from that of an associated noun (e.g. nuestro libro).

The charts depicting the corpus of forms, Figures 23 and 24 below, are designed to juxtapose the forms to reveal the maximum morphological correspondences. Trager had to deal with less than 50% of the number of forms entailed in the parallel Spanish area, and whereas he could permit himself a certain inconsistency in allowing some forms to coalesce ("all pronominal uses nous...vous") but distinguishing others ("indirect object: me, te, se, object me, te, se"), the exigencies of the complexity of the Spanish forms demands detailed display of II/III and III forms proper in all genders. As some of the I and II plural forms also mark gender, it is consistent to repeat the common-gender I and II plural forms.

This analysis simply uses the terms 'reflexive' and 'prealliterative indirect object' for se. It is worth considering that, quite apart from the other theories concerning se which are mentioned in chapter three above, a recent study has provided a more extensive sub-division of some of its pronominal forms; in "Separating the uses of se in Spanish" (1971), de Fazio uses the term 'reflexive' only when se represents an underlying NP object which is identical to the subject of the verb. Different names are attached to other uses of se to clarify terminologically their relationship to the verb. First, reflexive se is itself further sub-divided into direct object, indirect object, and subject of a second underlying clause; then nine other uses of se are specified: (1) reflexive, (2) possessive, (3) reciprocal, (4) indefinite, (5) replacive, (6) intransitive, (7) passive, (8) constant, (9) significant, and (10) optional. My analysis makes

FIGURE 23

No. & I	I	II	II	III	II/III	III	III	II/III	III	II/III	III	II/III	I	I	II	II	
Gender	MS	FS	MS	FS	MS	NS	FS	FS	MP	MP	FP	FP	MP	FP	MP	FP	
Case																	
0	me	me	te	te	lo (le)	lo	la	la	los (les)	los (les)	las	las	nos	nos	os	os	
npaIO	me	me	te	te	le	le	le (la)	le (la)	les	les	les (las)	les (las)	nos	nos	os	os	
paIO	me	me	te	te	se	se	se	se	se	se	se	se	nos	nos	os	os	
r(DO/IO)	me	me	te	te	se	se	se	se	se	se	se	se	nos	nos	os	os	
Ppr	mí	mí	ti	ti	sí	sí	sí	sí	sí	sí	sí	sí	sí	nos- otr- os	nos- otr- as	vos- otr- os	vos- otr- as
Ppnr	mí	mí	ti	ti	él	usted	ello	ella	usted	ellos	ustedes	ellas	ustedes	nos- otr- os	nos- otr- as	vos- otr- os	vos- otr- as
Su	yo	yo	tú	tú	él	usted	ello	ella	usted	ellos	ustedes	ellas	ustedes	nos- otr- os	nos- otr- as	vos- otr- os	vos- otr- as

CORPUS OF FORMS : PARADIGM OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

It is more helpful to distinguish the Ppnr0 from the corresponding r0 at this initial stage than to deal with it separately (or in any other way). In the same way, the distinction between pa and npaIOs will benefit the treatment of II/III and III forms.

FIGURE 24.

CORPUS OF FORMS, continued : POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES ANDPOSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

P O S S E S S I V E		I	II	II/III	I	II
		S	S	& III S/P	P	P
		MS	mi tu	su	nuestro	vuestro
	Prenominal	FS	mi tu	su	nuestra	vuestra
		MP	mis tus	suş	nuestros	vuestros
	FP	mis tus	sus	nuestras	vuestras	

A D J E C T I V E		MS	mío tuyo	suyo	nuestro	vuestro
	Postnominal	FS	mía tuya	suya	nuestra	vuestra
	& Predicativa	MP	míos tuyos	suyos	nuestros	vuestros
		FP	mías tuyas	suyas	nuestras	vuestras

P O S S E S S I V E		NonFe ^I S	mío tuyo	suyo	nuestro	vuestro
		FS	mía tuya	suya	nuestra	vuestra
	Pronominal	MP	míos tuyos	suyos	nuestros	vuestros
		FP	mías tuyas	suyas	nuestras	vuestras

This chart categorizes all the uses of the possessive adjectives and possessive pronouns, as follows:

POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE Prenominal : mi libro
Postnominal/Predicativa : el libro mío; es mío

POSSESSIVE PRONOUN Pronominal : el mío.

I. NonFe replaces Masculine here, to permit pronominal neuter.

meaningful way than traditional grammars, to that of finding some method of reducing to the schema the more intractable shapes of the subject pronouns yo, usted, ustedes, nosotros, nosotras, vosotros, vosotras, which are clearly not as readily segmentable as any other form in the charts.

In this presentation of the analysis, rules will be introduced where necessary to deal with specific cases. To clarify the methodology, amendments to the rules which are required to treat subsequent forms will be introduced only when those forms are under consideration. Redefinition of any rule does not imply, therefore, that the apparatus of the analysis is faulty. All forms will be segmented into a Base ($\sqrt{B(-)}$) and affixes of various kinds.

FIRST PERSON SINGULAR

RULE I

Reference to Figure 23 shows that I singular has a common root beginning with m- everywhere except in the Su form. Let us call this Base $\sqrt{I-}$, and designate it as having the shape me rather than m-. This is a matter of judgment involving a finely-balanced decision. The Base could be called \sqrt{m} , and the affixes -e, -o, -a, could be taken as common gender, masculine and feminine, affixes respectively. On the other hand, me is the four-fold object form interpreted as D0, pa and npaI0s, and r0. Designating this as the basic or primary form, and allowing it to contain the Base morpheme only, without affixes, will provide an unmarked category (Greenberg 1966) which will in itself account for no less than eight of the total of fourteen forms of the I masculine and feminine personal pronouns. As stated earlier, it is in the interests of clarity not to anticipate subsequent sections of the analysis, but this is

so fundamental a decision that it is worth pointing out that a similar step for te, and for le/se, will raise the number of forms embraced by the respective Bases to forty-three, which is ample justification for this modus operandi. Treatment of II/III and III forms later will further underline the constructive effect of these decisions, because it will be demonstrated that the alternative (Base = l-) procedure would have rendered Rule 7 difficult to apply.

RULE 2

The four identical Pp forms mi can be analyzed as $\sqrt{B-} = \sqrt{me}$ combined with the postprepositional suffix, the morpheme named \sqrt{Pp} , of the shape i. Application of this rule would supply the forms *mei in the four positions indicated.

RULE 3

To block *mei, the morphophonemic rule may be formulated stipulating that the Base $\sqrt{-e}$, when found in any combination with the V Sf -i suffers apocopation. However, despite the foregoing strictures on anticipating subsequent sections, it is convenient to formulate a rule that will cover every contingency with regard to a rule as general as Rule I. (Most rule amendments are minor adjustments only.) Instead, therefore, of diagnosing $\sqrt{-e} + \underline{-i}$ as the causative factor of this apocopation, the morphophonemic Rule 3 should have the capacity to cause the apocopation with any vowel combination, so that the rule should be worded "the Base $\sqrt{-e}$ is reduced to \emptyset when any V Sf is attached to B". This rule is now more 'powerful', on transformational principles, because it is more general. (It cannot be made even more general by deriving apocopation from any V- + -V combination, as the possessive

postnominal-predicative adjectives and possessive pronouns of the I forms show.)

Application of the three Rules I, 2, and 3, derives the correct I Pp forms mí.

RULE 4

Treatment of the subject pronoun yo requires two stages. The morphophonemic rule just stated will transform the Base me, when combined with a non-III Su Af of common gender (the morpheme named $\sqrt{-Cn}$ non-III, Rule 4) of the shape -o, into *mo.

RULE 5

By invoking the notion of 'process-morphemes' to which Trager referred^I Rule 5 may be stipulated to the effect that $\sqrt{I-}$ has a subject allomorph, the process 'm replaced by y', symbolized as $\sqrt{-}(\underline{m} \rightarrow \underline{y})$. Hence $\sqrt{me} + \sqrt{-Cn}$ non-III (Rule 4) + \sqrt{Su} : $\sqrt{-}(\underline{m} \rightarrow \underline{y})$ will yield yo.

RULE 6

Jointly viewing the sixty forms comprising the possessive adjective and possessive pronouns suggests that the basic possessive suffix (Po Sf) could best be analyzed as -u, and symbolized as $\sqrt{-Po}$. The I prenominal possessive adjective will thus have the composition $\sqrt{B-} = \sqrt{me}$ combined with $\sqrt{-Po} = \underline{-u}$.² From this, the form *mu would be derived by the application of Rule 3. To block this, the $\sqrt{-Po}$ morpheme must be provided with allomorphs: $\sqrt{-i}(-)$ in I prenominals. As a further allomorph:

1. He fails to define this concept, which is clearly a stratagem to overcome an obstacle. As yo is not central to my overall study, I follow him. How the clearly unrelated form ego/me arose is uncertain, possibly by phonological concordance with the verb: ego amo, yo amo.
2. Base + $\sqrt{-Po}$ is reminiscent of the Latin possessives (declined as II adjectives) having the nom. sing. forms meus, tuus, suus, etc.

$\overset{a}{\sqrt{-i}}(-)$ elsewhere in I possessives will handle all non-prenominals.

Application of Rule 3 and then Rule 6 will thus produce mi from $\overset{a}{\sqrt{B-}} + \underline{-i}$ and mi from $\overset{a}{\sqrt{B-}} + \underline{-i}$ in combination with $\sqrt{-Po}$.

RULE 7

The remaining I suffixes (postnominal and possessive pronoun endings) can be analyzed as $\sqrt{-Fe} = \sqrt{-a}$ for feminine G Af, with the allomorph $\overset{a}{\sqrt{-o}}$ elsewhere, and then Rule 8 deals with plural suffixes.

RULE 8

Plural suffix (P Sf) = $\sqrt{-s}$.

RULE 9

To complete the treatment of I singular personal pronouns, Rule 9 is designed to effect the correct ordering of suffixes. This ordering is essential to block such combinations as, for example, *miso instead of mios, a possibility which arises from the fact that -o and -a may be infixes or suffixes. Affixation must be implemented in the following prescribed order:

1	2	3	4
i			
i	e	o	s
u		a	

SECOND PERSON SINGULAR

Analysis of the morphology of the II forms will benefit from the treatment of the parallel I forms above. The Rules established to set up the I forms will, with minor amendments comprising the insertion of two allomorphs, non-application of one rule, and addition

of another, set up the II forms.

RULE 1 stet

The II Base has the primary shape t- everywhere, and on the analogy of $\sqrt{I-} = \sqrt{me}$, $\sqrt{II} = \sqrt{te}$.

RULE 2 amendment

A minor amendment is required to account for the unique II singular ending -i. This is effected by the provision of a $\sqrt{-Pp}$ allomorph: ^a $\sqrt{-i}$ with \sqrt{II} .

RULE 3 stet

RULE 4 amendment

This rule would give *to as the subject pronoun, unless blocked by the amendment ^a $\sqrt{-ú}$ with \sqrt{II} .

RULE 5 not applicable

RULE 6 stet

RULE 7 stet

RULE 8 stet

RULE 9 stet

RULE 10 addition

The morpheme y must occur between two rounded vowels. The addition of this Rule will transform *tuo, *tuos, *tua, *tuas, which will have been established from $\sqrt{B-}$ (Rule I) plus -u (Rule 6) plus Gaf (gender affix, Rule 7), plus PSf (plural suffix, Rule 8), into the correct forms:

tuyo, tuyos, tuya, tuyas.

As established by Hadlich, [+ II] cannot imply [+ polite], because that would conflict with the semantic content of te and os. Under the amended formulation, however, the specification with regard to politeness can be rendered redundant in the II matrix by a judicious employment of the new feature [+ hum] in conjunction with the feature for [PERSON]:

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ II} \\ + \text{ hum} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{ polite}].$$

This finds confirmation in the fact that a parallel redundancy rule is already implicit in the absence of any reference to politeness under the pronoun le specified as [- I, - II]. So the final format which can be suggested, within Hadlich's framework, for the dual specification of le is

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ pro} \\ - \text{ pl} \\ - \text{ I} \\ - \text{ II} \\ + \text{ hum} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{or} \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ pro} \\ - \text{ pl} \\ - \text{ I} \\ + \text{ II} \\ + \text{ hum} \end{bmatrix}.$$

Now his formulations for the remaining direct object pronouns can be analyzed. Having already commented on the I and II specifications, and having also noted by way of dissension that there is in fact no difference between the features for se, we shall be able to confine our consideration to his features for lo, la, los and las. Hadlich's treatment of all four of these object pronouns requires the addition of the [hum] feature as indicated for the so-called IO above. On the same principles as enunciated earlier, the feature politeness may be regarded as redundant if [+ hum] is added to the specification for the [- I, + II] forms. Rather than re-trace all those steps, the validity of those amendments discussed earlier will be assumed;

Otero (1966) disagreed with Rosenblatt's view of se vende(n) naranjas, se alquila(n) casas, that the Ns are subjects and therefore the Vs should be plural; he claimed instead that, firstly, simple sentences do not have subjects comprising common Ns without determiners, and secondly, that the sentences se sienta a las señoras and se vende naranjas are syntactically the same. Otero's first claim called forth Bolinger's denial (1969) that "undetermined" Ns cannot be surface structure subjects with normal verbal concord, and the implication of the second claim, that a las señoras is a direct object phrase, Bolinger rejected in favour of a dative interpretation (which is unconvincing despite the reference to Bello). Bolinger categorically denied the basic implication in Otero's analysis that "(this) se is a kind of subject pronoun", an implication which Lozano was to make partially explicit because he found it more realistic to separate indefinite se from the reflexive, "despite clear historical relationships to the reflexive", adding that, even to his informants, they are "so similar as to be confusing" (1971:452).¹ Stressing what he regards as the crucial distinctions of [+ ANIMATE, + HUMAN] with regard to certain model sentences, Lozano presented the generalization that "the indefinite se as distinct from the reflexive se (including pseudo-passive and substitute passive) is a subject regardless of the type of noun" (p.455). (Compare Contreras and Rojas (1972:386) for the feature human with impersonal se, and Hadlich (1971:36) for the indistinguishability of both constructions with singular, non-human nouns.) Note that Lozano did not actually state what

1. Compare Fernández Lagunilla's claim that he cannot present an exact solution (1975:80).

- Z14 se peleaba con las monjas por mi culpa
 Z142 se miraba las manos
 Z86 en el silencio del alba, se oyó una voz del alto
 N38 se dijera que cada confesionalismo asentara su
 verdad en el número de los iniciados
 N113 no se puede estar ni alto ni bajo. Se es.
 D64 se las come.

As was suggested above, the 11 person subject forms usted and ustedes must be separated from the subject pronouns which are now designated [+Art, + pro] ; the suggestion made was to characterize usted as, perhaps, [- Art, + pro] . The corresponding object forms, however, are identical to those which have been discussed here, so that the proposed matrices must be made applicable to them. Hitherto, it was accepted that [-1, + 11, ± hum] were features crucial to the distinction of the object forms of usted from the subject, which would carry the feature [+ hum] . Now it is evident that the object forms should be characterized as [+ Art] , which will render the references to the 1 and 11 classes unnecessary. As a provisional hint to the possible development of usted, the features [-Art, + pro] were suggested to distinguish these 11 subjects from all 111 forms. If, instead, usted receives the characterization [+ Art, + pro] , it will be easier for an application of the rules to proceed from the subject to the article formulations for the objects, which would otherwise be blocked by the distinctions in category. That this is acceptable is proved by reference to the two redundancy rules suggested earlier, namely:

3.7.1. ILLUSTRATIONS OF NEWLY-DEFINED MATRICES

These newly defined matrices may now be illustrated by data from the corpus. Unlike the procedure in chapters one and two, consideration of the data for chapter three has been left until the final format of the matrices has evolved. The features delineated here are limited to those which are relevant to pronominalization, but Figure 21 below shows the full spectrum of features for each "article". The particular "article" under consideration in each sentence will be underlined, and in the case of the first two specifications (él and ella) the procedure is explained at length, so that a list of examples suffices for the remainder.

In the following, the "article" should be characterized as

[+ARTICLE, +DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, -PLURAL,
+ SPECIFIC, (+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC,
+EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

A171 A tu hijo no le ha pasado nada...él tiene la culpa

N66 me dijo un amigo que él no necesitaba mas que un sillón para leer

S49 Buen mozo él: moreno.

Emphatic usage is often reinforced by other factors, such as indications of identity (mismo):

N123 Este sujeto es él mismo

Z64 fue él mismo el que vino a buscarme

M11 o,acaso, él mismo, era un barco hundido

R61 él mismo se lo dijo...a su amigo;

or of uniqueness (ya, sólo):

A further aspect of the (clarity=emphasis) analysis is that of expansion such as le a él:

M59 la ira de Andrés le invadaba a él de calma

FC117 oigámosle a él

R63 a él le gustaría comprarlo ya vacío

M39 para mirarle a él

M21 lo dijo así, señalándole a él;

and lo a él:

F115 me da vergüenza que nos hayamos traído hasta el vino, en lugar de consumírselo a él

MS18 a él no me lo imagino corriendo;

and se a él:

K255 toda la ciencia...a él se la debemos

This brings us to other characteristics of the postprepositional pronouns. The straightforward use of the emphatic pronouns for human antecedents which follows from that just illustrated is exemplified by:

G40 me aproximé a él y contemplé su camisa roja

B153 la elección recayó sobre él por ser el más serio

K27 podía hacer de él un buen calculador

Z145 un abuelo mío trabajó para él

G70 ¿Qué piensas tú de él?

V41 ¡Es un buen chico! Yo estoy loca por él.

However, a redundancy rule was introduced to specify the postprepositional environment as a conditioning factor in understanding both positive and negative values for the features animate and human. The following example has the (partial) characterization [+MASCULINE, -FEMININE, -PLURAL, +ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE], as the underlining of the antecedent helps to show:

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
 (+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

K194 después de haber escuchado a unos y a otros

Z209 Te matarán. Unos u otros. La calle es un infierno

M79 para unos es una cosa, para otros, otra

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
 +ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

M151 caballos...unos, acaso la mayoría negros, pero había
 uno blanco

MS158 estos gusanos...mezclados unos con otros en el nido

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, +MASCULINE, -FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
 -ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

C118 va apuntando apellidos...unos son de un lado, otros
 de otro

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
 (+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

FC105 una de las mujeres es joven

MS10 sus dos hijas, una de dieciséis años

B19 una matándose para darle de comer y el sinvergüenza
 gastándose los cuartos

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
 +ANIMATE, -HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

D67 metía el dedo en la cloaca de las gallinas, una
 por una

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, -PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
 -ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, +EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

N139 todos a una gritan

R148 las quinientas botellas, me bebí una de un trago

K160 la Bahía de la Habana, una de las más hermosas del
 mundo

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
(+ANIMATE), +HUMAN, +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

F42 se miraban unas a otras, dubitantes, recogiendo
las ropas

[+ARTICLE, -DEFINITE, -MASCULINE, +FEMININE, +PLURAL, +SPECIFIC,
-ANIMATE, (-HUMAN), +PRONOMINAL, +ANAPHORIC, -EMPHATIC, -REFLEXIVE]:

A33 las máquinas...unas libres y otras ocupadas.

One final specification remains to be discussed. It has been left until last because it is a usage which serves as a bridge between the first three chapters. It has been referred to as an example of nominalization in chapter one; it can be further defined as an extension to the "Replacive" concept of chapter two; and it emphasizes the validity of adopting the theoretical standpoint of chapter three. The usage is reflected in:

V64 mi dinero vale menos que el de ellos

MS89 el reino de la razón entró en competencia con el de
la pasión

G133 los dos azules - el de detrás de los cayos y el de
la parte de dentro

C103 no puede ignorar a los de C, y a los de A, a los de
T, y a los de Uceda

M77 el sol estropee los muebles, los de arriba, los de
los años, no los de la cocina

R48 no son hijos de puta los toros todos, los de
cúcharos, los de antes y los de ahora y los de
mañana

Z38 abriendo puertas. La de la sala..., la de la
enfermería, la de la capilla

K111 su misión no era la de capitán, simplemente la de
negociante

C100 una cabeza de dos caras, como la de Jano

Figure 19

COMPREHENSIVE TABLE SHOWING THE FULL RANGE OF FEATURES WHICH COMPRISE THE EXTENDED MATRIX OF THE ARTICLES IN MODERN SPANISH

TRADITIONAL DESIGNATION	article	pronoun	article	pronoun	article	pronoun	article or pronoun	pronoun	pronoun	article	pronoun	article or pronoun	pronoun	article	pronoun	article or pronoun	pronoun	pronoun	article	pronoun	pronoun	pronoun	pronoun
"ARTICLE"	e1	é1	un	lo	la	ella	una	la	le	los	ellos	unos	los	las	ellas	unas	las	les	lo	ello	uno	lo	se
FEATURES																							
DETERMINER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ARTICLE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DEFINITE	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
GENDER MASCULINE	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	minus	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	minus	-	-	+	-	minus
FEMININE	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	gender	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	gender	-	-	-	-	gender
NUMBER: PLURAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
SPECIFIC	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ANIMATE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(-)	+	-	+
HUMAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(-)	+	-	+
ANAPHORIC	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
POSSESSIVE	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
GENERIC	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
PARTICULARIZER	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
ABSTRACTIVE	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
NOMINALIZER	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
PRONOMINAL	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
EMPHATIC	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
REFLEXIVE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
ENUMERATOR	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
QUANTIFIER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Figure 21 continued

<u>lo</u> (contd)	<u>ello</u>	<u>los</u> (contd)	<u>ellos</u> (contd)
+RELATIVE -EMPHATIC -REFLEXIVE +ANAPHORIC +POSSESSIVE +NOMINALIZER +GENERIC +PARTICULARIZER +ABSTRACTIVE	Completed on page 356	+PRONOMINAL +RELATIVE -EMPHATIC -REFLEXIVE +ANAPHORIC +POSSESSIVE +NOMINALIZER +GENERIC +PARTICULARIZER +ABSTRACTIVE	+ANAPHORIC +EMPHATIC -REFLEXIVE
<u>unos</u>	<u>las</u>	<u>ellas</u>	<u>unas</u>
+DETERMINER +ARTICLE -DEFINITE +MASCULINE -FEMININE +PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL +EMPHATIC +RELATIVE +ANAPHORIC -ENUMERATOR +QUANTIFIER	+DETERMINER +ARTICLE +DEFINITE -MASCULINE +FEMININE +PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL -EMPHATIC +RELATIVE -REFLEXIVE +ANAPHORIC +POSSESSIVE +NOMINALIZER +GENERIC +PARTICULARIZER +ABSTRACTIVE	+DETERMINER +ARTICLE +DEFINITE -MASCULINE +FEMININE +PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL +EMPHATIC -REFLEXIVE +ANAPHORIC	+DETERMINER +ARTICLE -DEFINITE -MASCULINE +FEMININE +PLURAL +SPECIFIC +ANIMATE +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL +EMPHATIC +RELATIVE +ANAPHORIC -ENUMERATOR +QUANTIFIER
<u>le</u>	<u>les</u>	<u>se</u>	
+DETERMINER +ARTICLE +DEFINITE -GENDER -PLURAL +SPECIFIC +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL -EMPHATIC +ANAPHORIC -REFLEXIVE	+DETERMINER +ARTICLE +DEFINITE -GENDER +PLURAL +SPECIFIC +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL -EMPHATIC +ANAPHORIC -REFLEXIVE	+DETERMINER +ARTICLE +DEFINITE -GENDER +PLURAL +SPECIFIC +HUMAN +PRONOMINAL -EMPHATIC +ANAPHORIC -REFLEXIVE	

morphological analysis of a whole range of parts of speech will enable a subset of rules to be enunciated which may form part of the morphological subcomponent of a generative grammar of Spanish. The rules will be susceptible to automatic application with a view to generating correct forms. The second practical application of the findings of the analysis lies in the field of computer work on Spanish texts. Consideration of that aspect will be reserved until after the analysis has been established, when it will be shown how it can be used to posit formulae for all the parts of speech concerned. The indefinite article, which is much less complex, will be dealt with last, by analogy with the definite article. The scope of this chapter extends beyond the morphology of the "Article" alone, to embrace not only those pronouns which have been assimilated to articles in chapter three above, but all personal pronouns, possessive adjectives and possessive pronouns. (It must be stressed, however, that Postal's inclusion of we/us/you as article forms goes further than my claim for articles, and is not associated with the extension here.) There is both a theoretical and a pragmatic justification for extending the morphological analysis in the way described. The theoretical justification may be stated negatively: there is less merit in establishing an analysis which treats certain forms in isolation, and ignores the necessity of producing a framework which has the capacity to embrace related forms. From the pragmatic point of view, to begin with the morphology of I and II pronouns and adjectives establishes the necessary parameters before the not inconsiderable complexity of the III pronouns and of the DA forms are tackled. Keightley rightly states that

the third-person pronouns are the only ones to create any real difficulties, and it is through them that we most readily perceive the variety of functions assignable to the simple forms me, te, nos, and os (p.69, n.d.)

The indefinite article and pronouns will be dealt with separately because they will be seen, in retrospect, to fall easily in line with the formulae established for the definite article and its associated pronouns.

To date, no such analysis appears to have been attempted for Spanish. The aim of this comprehensive analysis of forms is to establish machinery which will enable the morphology of the articles and personal pronouns, possessive adjectives and possessive pronouns, to be reduced to interrelated formulae. The investigation will take the form of a list of rules of morphological derivation, and an exposition of the set of rules showing the evolutionary process which underlay their final formulation.

DEFINITIVE SET OF RULES FOR THE MORPHOLOGY OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS, POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS, POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES, AND DEFINITE ARTICLES:

RULE 1 $\sqrt{\text{BI-Mu}} = \underline{n}$; ${}^a\sqrt{m(e)}$ elsewhere. (Exception is Rule 5, below).

$$\sqrt{\text{BII-Mu}} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \text{ in monosyllabic forms} \\ \underline{v} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}; {}^a\sqrt{t(e)} \text{ elsewhere.}$$

$\sqrt{\text{BIII}} = \underline{l(e)}$; ${}^a\sqrt{\text{III}} = \emptyset$ with $\sqrt{\text{II/III}}$ Su and Ppnr0,

and ${}^a\sqrt{\text{III}} = \underline{-ll-}$ in env./ $\neq V \underline{V} \neq$,

and ${}^a\sqrt{\text{III}} = \underline{s(e)}$ with paIOr, Ppr, and Po.

RULE 2 $\sqrt{-Pp}$ suffix = ${}^a\sqrt{-i}$ with $\sqrt{\text{II}}$

$\sqrt{-í}$ with $\sqrt{\text{I}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{(II/III and III) Pp0}}$

RULE 3 Base $\sqrt{-(e)}$ --- \emptyset in env./ \underline{V}

$$\sqrt{\text{CGAf}} = \underline{-o} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \sqrt{\text{I}} \text{ Su Af} \\ \sqrt{\text{(I and II)-Mu all-case Af}} \end{array} \right\};$$

${}^a\sqrt{-ú}$ with $\sqrt{\text{II}}$ Su,

${}^a\sqrt{-u}$ with $\sqrt{\text{II/III (S and -Mu) Su and Ppnr0}}$.

no distinction between numbers (1) to (4) and (6) to (10), assigning the traditional label to all. Number (5) terms 'replacive' what I describe as the prealliterative indirect object; 'replacive' is a good term for that process, but it has the demerit that all pronouns are by definition replacive, and, of course, the term has been used in chapter two above for a different phenomenon. The other uses discussed by de Fazio may all be tenable too, but the reason why my analysis fails to sub-divide the other nine is that se has been left as an unresolved problem in chapter three above, and, in any case, my purpose is very different from hers. Although perhaps all nine sub-divisions could be made within all the other personal pronouns, exactly the same form would occur each time. Such a step would unnecessarily expand the corpus and either overburden the analysis by requiring the listing of superfluous differentiations, or render the expansion unjustifiable by vitiating it by employing a comprehensive blanket label to cover all the sub-divisions.

EVOLUTION OF THE SET OF RULES AND THEIR FINAL FORMAT

With reference to Figures 23 and 24 below, and the chart of the definite article which appears much later, the juxtaposition provided by this method of presentation is seen to be beneficial in two ways. Firstly, it highlights the degree of overlapping and therefore potential ambiguity within the II/III and III forms proper. They could be treated as homonyms but are best regarded as "the same form used in different ways" (following Trager and for the same reason); secondly, it reveals that morphemic representation for many of the forms represents minimal difficulty. The problem will range from the simple expedient of classifying identical forms in a more

The ease with which the rules established for \sqrt{I} have been able to accommodate the variations of \sqrt{II} would appear to justify the method employed so far. It is useful at this stage to provide Figures 25 and 26, which are diagrammatic summaries of (i) the application of the morphological rules for I and II singular personal pronouns and possessive adjectives and pronouns, and (ii) the affixations which result from the rules having been applied. Those Figures are found on the next two pages.

FIRST PERSON PLURAL

Trager is, of course, quite right to state that "nous and vous both have a plural suffix, but their 'pluralness' is not limited to this". This is another way of stating the problem referred to above in the discussion of 'inherent' versus 'inherited' gender division. The same terminology could be employed here in discussing the plural versus singular divisions involved in dealing with plural pronouns. This would designate the personal pronouns themselves as 'inherent' plurals, and the possessive adjectives and pronouns as 'inherited' plurals. Trager's solution is neater: "we assign the term 'multiple' to the relation of nous and vous respectively to \sqrt{I} and $\sqrt{2}$...(this) leaves 'plural' for the nominal category represented here by $\sqrt{-Pl}$ ". I prefer the terms 'inherited' and 'inherent' because they are diagnostic, not just descriptive, but accept and adopt Trager's 'plural' and 'multiple' terminology because it is both shorter and more distinctive, two factors which facilitate the type of abbreviated references used here.

FIGURE 25

DIAGRAMMATIC SUMMARY OF APPLICATION OF RULES OF MORPHOLOGY TO
FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SINGULAR

PERSONAL PRONOUNS		POSSESSIVES (ADJECTIVES & PRONOUNS)		
PERSON BASE	DO (RULE)	ALL (R) IOs	ALL (R) rOs (R) PpOs	
I	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{a/I=Su} \\ \text{a/I=} \\ \text{else-where} \end{array} \right\} \text{B (I)}$	B (I)	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{mí (2)} \\ \text{(3)} \end{array} \right\} \text{yo (4) (5)}$	Prenom (R) CnS CnP Postnom (R) Predic & Pronom S P (6) <u>mío míos</u> (6A 8) & <u>mi mis</u> (6A) <u>mía mías</u> (7 9) (8)
II	$\sqrt{\text{II=t(e)}}$ B (I)	B (I)	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ti (2A)} \\ \text{tú (4A)} \end{array} \right\}$	<u>tuyo tuyos</u> (6, 7, 8, 9, <u>tu tus</u> (6) <u>tuya tuyas</u> & IO)

Notes (R) = (RULE)
 A = amendment to Rule shown

"ALL IOs" = convenient merging of important distinction made in Figure 22 between paIOs and npaIOs. This distinction was drawn to handle II/III and III forms.
 "ALL PpOs" = this similarly merges for convenience of diagramming the distinction between r and nr forms relevant to II/III and III forms.

FIGURE 26

DIAGRAMMATIC SUMMARY OF FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SINGULAR AFFIXES

ON BASES : PRONOUNS AND POSSESSIVES

PERSONAL PRONOUNS			POSSESSIVES (ADJECTIVES & PRONOUNS)			
PERSON	BASE	nPp0 Pp0 non0	PrenomAf	PrenomSf	Postnom infix	PostnomSf
I	/I= $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{non-obj : } \underline{y(e)} \\ \text{elsewhere: } \underline{m(e)} \end{array} \right\}$	B $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{-i} \quad \underline{-o} \\ \underline{-i} \quad \underline{-u} \end{array} \right\}$	$\underline{-i(-)}$	GSf= \emptyset Plur=-s	$\underline{-i-}$	Fem= $\underline{-a}$ nonFe= $\underline{-o}$ inter (round) = $\underline{-y-}$ vocalic Plur= $\underline{-s}$
II	/II= $\underline{t(e)}$					

RULE I

Rule I can now be reworded to read: $\sqrt{I-} : \underline{n-}$ before $\sqrt{-Mu}$
 $\sqrt{I-} : \overset{a}{\sqrt{m(e)}}$ elsewhere.

RULE 2 not applicable

That rule must therefore be supplied with a restriction so that it applies only to the singular form. As formulated, above, it was originally introduced as a general rule. It was amended to fit the II singular form by the addition of an allomorph:

$\sqrt{-Pp} : \overset{a}{\sqrt{-i}}$ with \sqrt{II}
 $\sqrt{-i}$ elsewhere.

If this is now reworded to read $\sqrt{-i}$ with \sqrt{I} , it is automatically restricted to the singular by virtue of the absence of $-Mu$.

RULE 3

This rule is not invoked here to provide an obstacle to incorrect formulations as a result of Rule 2, because, of course, Rule 2 has not been applied.

RULE 4 amendment

The amendment reads:

$$\underline{-o} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} I \text{ and } II \text{ S Su Af} \\ (I \text{ and } II) -Mu \text{ all-case Af} \end{array} \right\}$$

Enforcement of Rule 4 will provide the $\sqrt{-Mu}$ Base with the morpheme $\sqrt{-Cn}$ non-III: $\underline{-o}$, deriving the form $*\underline{no}$, to which the application of Rule 8,

RULE 8 stet,

will affix $\underline{-s}$, and produce \underline{nos} .

As Figure 27 below will show, the application of these few rules has already derived the D0, the I0 (pa and npa), and the r0. That covers every object form other than the Pp0, which in the case of the

I and II plural has identical forms for the r and nrPp0. This Pp0 and the Su form, both of which are nosotros, necessitate the introduction of a new rule, Rule II.

RULE II

This rule supplies the following morpheme:

√Su and Pp morpheme: √-otr- with √I-Mu.

Accordingly, this rule will now derive *nosotr-, providing that Rule 9 is amended, to include -otr- in column two;

RULE 9 amendment

Inclusion of -otr-, and also of -ú as detailed in the recent amendment to Rule 4, provides the following chart of ordering:

I	2	3	4
i			
í	e	o	s
u	otr	a	
ú			

With the application of Rule 7,

RULE 7 stet,

the forms Fe *nosotra- and non-Fe *nosotro- evolve, and the fact that the Base is √I-Mu will automatically enforce Rule 8,

RULE 8 stet,

producing the correct forms nosotras, nosotros.

The next set to look at is the possessives. Contreras (1968:23) rightly defines de nosotros and nuestro as "morphophonemic

variations of the same string", and adds that "other similar strings have only one phonological representation in a given environment, e.g. de + [Noun + Pro, I person, I number] is only mío, 'mine', not *de mí". Contreras' view is a confirmation of the synoptic approach to possessive adjectives and possessive pronouns which is adopted here. To form the possessives, an amendment is required for Rule 6.

RULE 6 amendment

The $\sqrt{-Po}$ which has been set up so far can be summarized as:

$\overset{a}{\sqrt{-i}}$ with \sqrt{I} prenominals

$\overset{a}{\sqrt{-í}}$ with \sqrt{I} elsewhere;

now it can be amended to state additionally

$\overset{a}{\sqrt{-ue-}}$ with $\sqrt{I-Mu}$.

This amendment will derive the form *nue-. Then, application of:

RULE II stet,

will further derive *nueotr-, so an allomorph must be provided.

This amendment to Rule II reads:

$$\sqrt{Su} \text{ and } Pp0: \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \sqrt{-otr-} \text{ infix with } (I,II)\text{-Mu} \\ \sqrt{-str-} \text{ infix with } (I,II)\text{-Mu Po} \end{array} \right\}$$

Hence a transformation of *nueotr- into *nuestr- is produced.

Straightforward enforcement of Rules 7, 8, and 9, then derives the correct forms nuestra, nuestro, nuestras, and nuestros.

SECOND PERSON PLURAL

On the principles which have been set up for the treatment of I plural, a simple rewording of Rule I is necessary to establish the Base of II plural.

RULE I amendment

√II- : v- before √-Mu

√II- : ^a√t(e) elsewhere.

RULES 4 and 8, both stet,

are now applied to derive *vos for all object forms. Loss of v- must therefore be postulated in monosyllabic object forms; care has been taken to restrict this loss to object forms, in view of the existence of vos as a II singular subject in the Americas (see Academy (1973:203). Therefore Rule I must be further amended.

RULE I amendment

Rule I now receives the following wording:

√II- : ∅ before -Mu in monosyllabic objects

√II- : v- before -Mu elsewhere

√II- : ^a√t(e) elsewhere.

Proceeding, as everywhere, to derive subject forms from primary object forms, an automatic application of Rule II would be the next step. Rule II will, however, require modification.

RULE II amendment

As formulated before, it applied to √I only (√Su and Pp morpheme: √-otr- with √I-Mu). By replacing the symbol "√-Mu" with "√(I and II)-Mu", the necessary modification could be effected. However, "√non-III-Mu" is a more generalized, and therefore better, wording. The rule will therefore stipulate:

√Su and Pp morpheme : √-otr- with √non-III-Mu,

and will effectively produce *vosotr-. Then application of:

RULE 7 stet,

derives the forms *vosotra-, *vosotro-, and the fact that the Base

is /II-Mu means that Rule 8 will automatically be enforced, which will produce the forms vosotras and vosotros.

The formation of the possessives takes advantage of the amendment written into Rule 6 (^a/-ue- with /-Mu), improves it to read "with /non-III-Mu", and then applies this refined Rule 6,

RULE 6 amendment,

(as stated) to produce *vue-. Then,

RULE II

converts this to *vustr-, and from this,

RULES 7 and 8, both stet,

derive the correct versions vuestra, vestro, vuestras, vuestros.

Figures 27 and 28 succinctly summarize these rule-applications and their resulting affixations, after which consideration can be given to the forms closely related to the DA.

SECOND-cum-THIRD and THIRD PERSON SINGULAR AND PLURAL

Fifty-six pronouns are subsumed under this heading, which includes the II/III forms of usted as well as all the III forms proper. This section departs in two ways from the procedure employed hitherto; firstly, in dealing with two persons simultaneously, and secondly, because singular and plural forms are all studied together.

RULE I

The Base form for II/III and III forms, S and P, is /III = /I(e). The strength of this decision will now be demonstrated. Had the (/III = /I-) choice been made, the following procedure would have been dictated.

RULE 7 amendment

To the gender suffixes established so far, the suffix -e may be

FIGURE 27

DIAGRAMMATIC SUMMARY OF APPLICATION OF RULES OF MORPHOLOGY TO FIRST AND SECOND PERSONS PLURAL

PERSONAL PRONOUNS					POSSESSIVES			
PERSON	BASE	DOs IOs rOs	(RULES)	Su and PpOs (R)	Pp Po Sf (R)	Su and PpSf (R)	Gaf PSf (R)	(R)
I	$\sqrt{I-Mu}$ = <u>n-</u>		B + Afs (I) <u>nos</u> (4) <u>os</u> (8) <u>vos</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +CGAf (I) \\ +PSf (4) \\ B+(I,II)-(8) \\ Mu Su + \\ Pp infix(II) \\ +Gaf (7) \\ +PSf (8) \end{array} \right\}$		B + <u>ue</u> (6A)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -str- (IIA) \\ +Gaf (7) \\ +PSf (8) \end{array} \right\}$	
II	$\sqrt{II-Mu}$ = \emptyset $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} DO, \\ IO, \\ rO \end{array} \right\}$ = <u>v-</u> else- where			<u>nosotras</u> <u>nosotros</u> <u>vosotras</u> <u>vosotros</u>	<u>n-</u> <u>ue</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -str- \\ -o \\ -a \end{array} \right\}$ -s		

FIGURE 28

DIAGRAMMATIC SUMMARY OF FIRST AND SECOND PERSON PLURAL AFFIXES ON BASES:

PRONOUNS AND POSSESSIVES

PERSONAL PRONOUNS				ALL POSSESSIVES		
PERSON	BASE	ALL nPp0s	Su and Pp0s	PpPoSf	Su and Pp0	GAF PSf
I	√-I-Mu = <u>n-</u>	+ GAF + PSf	+ GAF + PSf			
II	√II-Mu = <u>v-</u>	B+ <u>-o-</u> <u>+-s</u>	B+ <u>-otr-</u> + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -a \\ -o \end{array} \right\}$ + <u>-s</u>	B	<u>ue-</u> <u>-str-</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -a \\ -o \end{array} \right\} \\ + \underline{-s} \end{array} \right\}$

added. It is only in the II/III and III D0 and npaI0 that a gender distinction need be drawn. The I and II S have common-gender forms throughout, and the corresponding plurals have sixteen out of twenty-eight forms which are likewise common. In the case of the I and II/III plural forms it is only the Su and the Pp0 forms which distinguish gender. The II/III and III forms do so more often.

An amendment to Rule 7 could account for this in the object case, as it would allow for optional "leísmo" in non-Fe forms. Rule 7 amended could therefore read:

$$\begin{aligned} \sqrt{-\text{Fe}} &: -a \\ {}^a\sqrt{-\text{Fe}} &: \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (-o) \\ (-e) \end{array} \right\} \text{ elsewhere.} \end{aligned}$$

To account for "loísmo" in npaI0 forms, it should be noted that the above variations occur only on Fe forms, observing a basic pattern of symmetry, that is, that the "leísmo"/"loísmo" contrast occurs on mutually exclusive gender forms. (It will be recalled that the basic problem in these dialectal variations has been mentioned in chapter three above as lying outside the scope of this thesis; however, if the assumptions of Roldán (1975) were adopted, there would be no need to treat them together.)

At this point it becomes clear that to account for this problem by a further amendment to Rule 7, such as:

$$\begin{aligned} \sqrt{-\text{Fe}} &: \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -a \\ -e \end{array} \right\} \\ {}^a\sqrt{-\text{Fe}} &: \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -o \\ -e \end{array} \right\} \text{ elsewhere,} \end{aligned}$$

would so emasculate Rule 7 as to render it unhelpful in generating the correct forms. It is much more effective to legislate for the B to occur optionally in the D0 forms to account for "leísmo", and for the B to be the prime form of the npaI0, with the provision of optional "laísmo" occurring as indicated, that is, in Fe forms.

In the original discussion of Rule I, the choice of a B in I singular of the shape m(e) rather than m- was made because the prime form would then in itself provide a considerable number of forms 'ready-made', particularly by extension of the rule to include II, II/III, and III forms. The benefits accruing from that decision are seen at their clearest here, because the alternative would have made any gender-affix rule open to so many interpretations that the Rules as a whole would have become inexplicit or would have required frequent adjustment by way of disambiguation. (See the final comment in the first exposition of Rule I above.)

Rule 7 will, therefore, not need the amendments indicated above, but will apply in its 'pure' form to the object of II/III and III, deriving all the unbracketed forms in Figure 23. The alternative B forms for non-Fe S, and Base + Rule 8 for non-Fe plural must therefore be written into the subset of procedures for deriving II/III and III forms, with clear indication that these are optional variants.

Likewise, occurrence of Base + Rule 7 for FS, and of Base + Rules 7 and 8 for FP forms, again as optional variants, in the npaI0, must be stipulated in the subset of procedures referred to.

RULES I and 7 (together with these two subset procedures) are sufficient therefore to account for the eighteen Cn forms and also for the eight bracketed variations which together comprise

the DO and npaIO of II/III and III.

It is the paIO of these persons which causes the terminological distinction within the indirect object, as explained in the notes to Figure 23 above. A simple amendment to Rule I will account for these forms of the shape se rather than le, which occur in the reflexive.

RULE I amendment

${}^a\sqrt{\text{III}}$ = se in paIO

$\sqrt{\text{III}}$ = l(e) elsewhere.

Eighteen forms are derived by this device, and a further nine are provided with their root, s-. The latter are the PprOs, si, which, as in the case of all previous persons which have been discussed, are derived straightforwardly by Base + Rule 2. Again, however, the II/III and III forms represent a block exception. Formerly, all PpOs (r and nr) could be treated jointly, having the same form whether reflexive or not. In fact, as for the bipartite IO, it is the II/III and III forms which necessitate subdivision. For the PpO the subdivision is into r and nr. Rule 2 must, therefore, be amended to carry the additional allomorph ${}^a\sqrt{\text{-Ppnr}}$ with $\sqrt{\text{(II/III and III)}}$.

RULE 2 amendment

Rule 2 will therefore be refined, retrospectively, to read:

${}^a\sqrt{\text{-Pp}}$: -i with $\sqrt{\text{II}}$

${}^a\sqrt{\text{-Pp}}$: (actual formulation to be discussed below)

$\sqrt{\text{-Pp}}$: -i elsewhere.

With this built-in restriction, the nine forms having the shape si are straightforwardly derived without the procedure producing nr forms,

which would clearly be inappropriate.

The formulation of the ^a√-Pp allomorph with II/III and III nr forms is next seen to be further complicated by the facts that, firstly, the II/III and III Ppnr forms are identical with their respective Su forms; secondly, for the first time prefixes are involved; and thirdly, the exceptional forms usted and ustedes appear (at first sight) to defy segmentation on the principles enunciated so far.

Taking these complicating factors in the order in which they have been stated, the identical forms of the Ppnr0s and their respective Su forms present the first obstacle. It will be recalled, however, that a similar problem was dealt with in treating the I and II plural forms. For them, Rule II was formulated. It stated : √Su and -Pp : -otr- with √non-III-Mu and -str- with non-III-Mu Po. That is, the distinctive subject and postprepositional forms, which require no subdivision, were established by a Su and Pp0 infix -otr-, which was transformed to -str- in the case of possessives. It can now be observed that this rule can be amended to accommodate the II/III and III Su and Ppnr0 forms rather than to attempt to write them into Rule 2, as provisionally intended above. Upon mature reflection, therefore, Rule 2 may be left with the partial amendment:

√-Pp : -í with /I and √II/III and III Ppnr0s

^a√-Pp : -i with √II.

The second complicating factor noted above was that prefixes now occur. Hence Rule II must be reworded to accommodate II/III and III Su and Ppnr0s, and also to be made flexible enough to allow for their prefixation. The forms concerned are él, ella, ello, ellos, ellas,

which are to be derived from $\sqrt{III} = \sqrt{I(e)}$. Then usted, ustedes, must be considered.

Before reformulating Rule II to take all the above into account, it would be judicious to observe that a viable scheme could be set up operating from a different Base, which would work for III and for DA forms as well. The B could be established as é1, and the other forms could then be segmented on the principle: é1 + 1a, é1 + 1o, é1 + 1os, and é1 + 1as. This, in fact, amounts to the suffixing of object pronouns to the Base as postulated. The orthographic accent on é- could be removed by the restriction:

é : in env. / VC ≠,

OR : in env. / penultimate letter,

OR : in env. / ultimate vowel.

The DA would have to be accounted for by contextual restrictions such as:

III MS and DAMS = B + Ø Af

DAMP, DAFS, and DAFP = Ø B + Sfs, that is, DA elsewhere.

However, the analysis established so far in this thesis need not be disturbed to fit in all the forms of $\sqrt{II/III}$ and \sqrt{III} . A simple application of the Rules with the occasional adjustments that, in retrospect, new forms demand, will enable all the forms concerned to be derived without complications.

RULE II amendment

$\sqrt{(-)}$ (Su and Pp0)-

-str-	{	with $\sqrt{II/III}$ Su and Ppnr0	}
		with $\sqrt{(I, II)}$ -Mu Po	
-otr-		elsewhere with $\sqrt{I, II}$	}
é-		with \sqrt{III} MS nPo	
e-		with other \sqrt{III} nPo	

Ppr and nr
Ppnr only

In this formulation, brackets are used to show that, for example, -str- occurs with both /I and /II, and with both in the multiple and possessive. As shown originally in the legend of symbols, (-) indicates that (Su and Ppnr0) may be either a prefix or an infix.

RULE 7, in conjunction with RULE 8, will then operate on the III prefixes + Base to give:

- III FS *elea, which RULE 3 converts to *ela
- III FP *eleas, which RULE 3 converts to *elas
- III NS *eleo, which RULE 3 converts to *elo
- III MP *eleos, which RULE 3 converts to *elos.

RULE I amendment

Rule I, which defines the B, now simply requires a second allomorph for /III of the shape:

^a/III = -ll- intervocalically, i.e. ^a/-ll- : in env. /## V_V##.

Therefore, RULES 7 and I (again in conjunction with RULE 8) derive:

- III FS *elea → *ela → ella
- III FP *eleas → *elas → ellas
- III NS *eleo → *elo → ello
- III MP *eleos → *elos → ellos.

On the same principle, III MS would be derived as follows:

III MS *éle → *élo → *élo,

because the suffix -o had been designated non-Fe, to account for M and N shared endings everywhere else. Rule 7 is, therefore, to be provided with an improved wording.

RULE 7 amendment

/GAf : /-a = Fe

^a/-∅ = III MS Su and Ppnr0

^a/-o = non-Fe elsewhere.

The III MS Su and Ppnr0 would, therefore, be derived as:

*éle → *élo → él.

The third complicating factor which was mentioned above was the usted form and its plural. These II/III forms, semantically II but syntactically and morphologically III, have of course in the Su and Ppnr0 had to be separated from their III equivalents. Although usted and ustedes at first appear to defy segmentation to such an extent that they might reasonably be expected to be classified as exceptions to this analysis, it will now be demonstrated that the Rules can cope with them.

The prefix Ø has already been set up, as the Su and Ppnr0 prefix for √II/III nPo forms. The amendment with which Rule 4 has already been furnished, above, provides a CGAf of the shape:

-ú for II S Su

-o for I S Su, (I and II)-Mu all-cases.

A further allomorph can now be inserted to extend this affix to the II/III S and P Su and Ppnr0 forms.

RULE 4 amendment

The Rule will now read as follows:

CGAf : -o with √(I and II)-Mu, all cases, and with √I Su

: -ú with √II Su

: -u with √II/III (S and -Mu) Su and Ppnr0.

RULES I and 4 amended will therefore combine to produce:

√III + -u = *l(e)u,

which RULE 3 converts to *lu.

At this stage a further amendment must be incorporated into Rule I, in connection with B III.

RULE I amendment

$\sqrt{\text{III}} = \text{Cn B}$ for all II/III and III forms

$^a\sqrt{\text{III}} = \emptyset$ for $\sqrt{\text{II/III}}$ Su and Ppr0s

$$^a\sqrt{\text{III}} = \underline{s(e)} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{paI0} \\ \text{rs} \\ \text{Ppr0} \end{array} \right\}$$

$^a\sqrt{\text{III}} = \underline{l(e)}$ elsewhere.

RULES I amended, 4 amended, II amended, 9 and 3, all now cooperate to derive the steps:

$(^*lu + \emptyset B) + \underline{-str-} \rightarrow ^*ustr-$.

Now an amendment is required to Rule 7.

RULE 7 amendment

This Rule now stands in need of a further Gaf, namely:

$^a\sqrt{-ed}$: with $\sqrt{\text{II/III}}$ Su and Ppr0.

Furthermore, Rule 8 requires an additional allomorph.

RULE 8 amendment

The new allomorph is : $^a\sqrt{-es}$ after a Consonant.

The output of Rules I, 4, II (all amended), 9 and 3 above, was $^*ustr-$; and now the application of RULES 7 and 8 to this produces the derivation:

$^*ustr- + \underline{-ed} + \underline{-es} \rightarrow ^*ustred, ^*ustredes.$

Finally, Rule 12 may be enacted.

RULE 12

This new Rule states that:

$\underline{-r-} \rightarrow \emptyset$ in env. $/CC_V$ with $\sqrt{\text{II/III}}$ Su and Ppr0.

Application of this rule to the forms which have evolved so far will

give the derivations:

*ustred → usted, and *ustredes → ustedes.

Note that the restriction to $\sqrt{\text{II/III Su}}$ and Ppnr0 prevents the two series nuestro (etc.) and vuestro (etc.) from being subject to a wrong transformation.

The final stage in the analysis is comparatively easy. It is to generate the II/III and III Po forms, all of which share the same shape. To the scope of the allomorph $\overset{a}{\sqrt{\text{III}}} = \underline{s(e)}$ (for paIO , rs , and Pprs) must be added the wider application "and Pos".

RULES 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, all stet, are now applied in order, and the forms which are derived are:

su, sus, suyo, suya, suyos, and suyas.

No less than seventy-eight forms of the II/III and III pronouns and an additional twelve forms of the possessive pronouns have thus been generated by the Rules established in this analysis. The power of the analysis is best demonstrated by the diagrammatic summary of Figure 29, which may be contrasted for its succinct presentation and synthesis with the previous charts relating to the I and II forms, in Figure 28.

A further interesting aspect of the analysis is that it also serves to accommodate a morphological survey of the DA.

THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

Num	Masc	Fem	Neut
Sing	el	la	lo
Plur	los	las	Ø

FIGURE 29

DIAGRAMMATIC SUMMARY OF SECOND-cum-THIRD AND THIRD PERSON MORPHOLOGY:

PERSONAL PRONOUNS							ALL
PERSON/BASE	npaIO	DO	paIO and rO	Ppr and Su	GAF PSf		POSSESSIVES
$\sqrt{\emptyset}$ {with II/III Su and PprO}							
$\sqrt{s(e)}$ {pa with √II/III and III IOs, rOs, and Ppr, Possessive Pronoun and Adjective}	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Fem} = B + \underline{a} \\ \text{nonFe} = \underline{B+} \\ \text{Plurals} = \\ B + \underline{s} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Fem} = B \\ \text{nonFe} = B + \underline{o} \\ \text{Plur} = B + \\ \text{GAF} + \underline{s} \end{array} \right\}$	B	B + \underline{i}	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{II/III} \\ = \underline{u-} \\ B + \underline{-str-} \\ \text{IIIMS} = \\ \underline{e} + B; \\ \text{elsewhere} \\ = e + B \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} +\text{GAF} \\ +\text{PSf} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} B + \text{Po} + \underline{y} \\ +\text{GAF} \\ +\text{PSf} \end{array} \right\}$
$\sqrt{l(e)}$ elsewhere							

Four of these five forms, that is all except eI, have already been subsumed under the direct objects of the III MS and MP, F \bar{S} and FP, and NS forms, respectively. The following display reveals the comparisons and contrasts:

DEFINITE ARTICLES			DIRECT OBJECT PRONOUNS		
Masc	Fem	Neut	Masc	Fem	Neut
<u>eI</u>	la	lo	<u>lo(1e)</u>	la	lo
los	las	∅	los(les)	las	∅

How to cater for eI is the problem. The first thing to note is that, on the basis of the theoretical discussion in the earlier chapters of this thesis, the DA can be regarded as falling within the scope of B III, so that the DAMS form is covered, initially, by Rule I.

RULE I stet

This provides as \sqrt{BIII} the form l(e).

A new rule must be enacted, to specify that no B form can remain as a DA.

RULE I3

This new rule makes that stipulation, so that the provisional derivation is *l(e), or rather, exercising the option indicated by the brackets, *le.

If the e- prefix which was introduced in the reformulation of Rule II above is extended in application to apply to the DAMS also,

RULE II amendment

√e- elsewhere with √III nPo and DAMS, the form *ele is derived. But an allomorph of √BIII in Rule I will immediately convert this to *elle. Then an amendment is required to Rule 7, which provides for a zero allomorph on III MS Su and Ppnr0, extending this ruling to apply to the DAMS:

RULE 7 amendment

GAf : ^a√-∅ III MS Su and Ppnr0, and DAMS.

The effect of applying Rule 7, amended, is to make the following change:

*elle → *ell;

but Rule I stipulates that the infix -ll- as an allomorph of √BIII has a contextual restriction to the effect that it can only occur intervocalically. Therefore Rule I makes a further, final change:

*ell → el.

The overlapping which is indicated in the display above can be disambiguated by contextual restrictions. Figure 30 below indicates how these restrictions operate. It also suggests a further step forward in the analysis.

Figure 30 provides two important conclusions. Firstly, it makes clear that the problem of disambiguation does not, in reality, exist. The syntagmatic occurrences of DAs and III object pronouns are proved to be mutually exclusive. The DA always occurs as part of a NP (where N may be a N or any part of speech which can undergo nominalization), whereas an object pronoun is always part of a VP, either preceding a finite V, or affixed to an imperative or to an infinitive. Multiple affixation of object pronouns can occur, but that factor does not affect the issue. Therefore the only possibility of confusion would lie in the area of (DA versus non-affixed PPs). Where any such isolated word occurs which is a Cn (DA = PP) form,

FIGURE 30

DIAGRAM OF SYNTAGMATIC OCCURRENCES WHICH CAN ACT AS CONTEXTUAL RESTRICTIONS
TO DISAMBIGUATE THIRD PERSON OBJECT PRONOUNS AND DEFINITE ARTICLES (+TOTALS)

GENDER and NUMBER	SYNTACT- IC ROLE	MORPHO- LOGICAL FORM	in	in	in	in	in	env.	of	any	in	in	TOTALS						
			env. N _{ms}	env. N _{fs}	env. N _{mp}	env. N _{fp}	ms	fs	mp	fp		ns	env. V	env. V(imper or infin Sf)	DA	PP	Cn		
MS	DA	e1	✓	(✓)	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	3	0	0				
MS	PP	1o(1e)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	0	2	0				
MP	DA/PP	1os	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	0	0	4				
MP	PP	(1es)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	0	2	0				
FS	DA/PP	1a	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	✓	0	0	4				
FP	DA/PP	1as	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	0	0	4				
NS	DA/PP	1o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	0	0	3				
TOTALS			1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	6	22	3	4	15	(22)

contextual restrictions will indicate what syntactic role the Cn morpheme is performing, and therefore what its (traditional) syntactic identity is.

Secondly, the totals supplied in Figure 30 are illuminating. The lower, horizontal line compares the number of possible different environments in which DAs and PPs may appear, and the finding is that the aggregate total of twenty-two comprises almost equal sub-totals (10, 12). The vertical columns total possible occurrences of those forms which are solely DAs, or solely PPs, and those which are Cn, that is, articles or pronouns. These totals reveal the preponderance of potential occurrences of the Cn forms over those which can be classified solely as DAs (15 to 3) and those which can be classified solely as PPs (15 to 4).

These two results of the morphological analysis, together with the interrelated segmentability of the forms which has been established in this chapter as a whole, and together with the conclusions of the syntactico-semantic analysis of the earlier chapters, do suggest that there is every justification for treating the definite article and the third-person object and subject forms as suppletive variants.

Note, firstly, from the syntactic point of view, their syntagmatic occurrences are mutually exclusive; secondly, from the morphological point of view, their common forms comprise a majority; thirdly, again from the standpoint of the morphological evidence, the definite article forms are so readily derivable by employing the Rules for deriving pronouns; fourthly, the parallel situation of the indefinite articles and indefinite pronouns can be considered (it will be shown below that these easily conform to the patterns established already); fifthly, it may not be without significance that the Academy (1973:140)

makes no mention of la, los, or las, when dealing with the use of accents to distinguish homophones of different grammatical categories; although it is an argument from silence, this might imply that la (DA) and la (PP), for example, are not homophones but identical; sixthly, the syntactico-semantic analysis made earlier strongly argues in favour of such an identification, which, the present chapter suggests, is mirrored in the relevant morphological features of the parts of speech concerned. Compare Rodríguez-Izquierdo's comment (1976:121): "el artículo, relacionado...por su forma con el pronombre de tercera persona (el/él, etc.)"; his use of the strong definition "su entronque con la tercera persona" has been quoted earlier. The whole point is further taken up in the Conclusion below.

A partial challenge to the conclusions reached here comes from Luján (1972), who attacks the traditional notion that lo in lo bueno is a neuter article, arguing instead for its having pronominal status. She is supported by Contreras (1975:113) who refers to "the myth that there is a neuter gender in Spanish". Luján maintains that the masculine and feminine forms in

el bueno (he who is good) (the good one (masc.))

la buena (she who is good) (the good one (fem.))

lo bueno (that which is good)

have two deep structure readings, reflected in the glosses, which show that el, la, are articles and pronouns, whereas lo has a single reading. Her paper leaves several unanswered problems, as enumerated below:

I. On her analysis, one rule (N-deletion) simultaneously changes the categorial content of both other members of the original NP:

el	hombre	bueno	→	el	bueno
Art	N	Adj		Pron	Adj(substantivized),

which appears too radical a change from the application of a single rule;

2. Luján distinguishes between a "substantivized adjective" and a noun ("the assumption that the so-called substantivized adjectives are, in fact, nouns", p. 163), without really defining what, in essence, the distinction amounts to, in syntactic reality;

3. The examples which she adduces to prove that lo is not an article depend more upon the character of this "substantivized adjective" than upon the character of lo, because her claim rests on the fact that such adjectives do not function as nouns;

4. The argument which she establishes based upon the plural pronoun object in (39) and the singular ones in (38) and (40) is spurious:

(38) les dije que Juan estaba loco, pero no me lo creyeron

(39) la mesa y la silla las compré yo

(40) les dije que Juan estaba loco y que se había escapado,
pero no me lo creyeron.

That lo is singular in (38) and (40) has no significance beyond the fact that it enjoys elasticity of reference, to use Vargas-Barón's term (1952:411);

5. Lujan defines as an important consequence of her analysis of lo as a pronoun that "it eradicates the anomaly of having a three-way gender distinction in the forms of the definite article when there is only a two-way distinction in nouns. There is no neuter gender in Spanish". She further claims that absence of neuter gender is obvious in sentential nominals, which would be assigned neuter, not masculine, gender if lo were the neuter definite article (el que Ana lo sepa..., and el tener amigos...); "precisely because there is no neuter gender, masculine functions as the unmarked member of the

masculine-feminine opposition, and thus is present when gender distinctions are neutralized" (p. 169). There are some fallacies here. Firstly, the masculine form may have less to do with Greenberg than with a reduction of the NPs el hecho de que Ana lo sepa, and el hecho de tener amigos: compare Hadlich's notion that all NPs "have something akin to el hecho de in their deep structure" (1971:159). Secondly, her objection to Spanish having triple gender for pronouns while only dual gender for Ns ignores the English phenomenon on triple pronominal gender but (with minor exceptions) virtually zero lexical gender for Ns: compare Hlavsa and Svozilová (1971:7). Thirdly, it is doubtful whether the putative distinctions which she sets up for pronouns based on animacy is more important than the (rejected) contrast in gender, especially as it leads her to refer to English as "among languages that lack gender";

6. She states that all her examples are singular in the interests of simplicity (p. 173, fn. 2), which may have caused her to overlook expressions like lo buenos que son, which could be interpreted as contrary to her analysis.

The traditional view is perpetuated by the Academy (1973:215), which cites Spanish as "la única lengua románica que ha conservado un artículo neutro e invariable con el cual pueden sustantivarse los adjetivos". The grammar by Alcina and Blecua (1975) mentions that some grammarians prefer to interpret lo as a pronoun, but it unequivocally retains the neuter definition itself (pp. 568, 584). I find Luján's analysis unconvincing, for the reasons stated, and also submit that it is unsatisfactory to assign two glosses to (71) el que te dice la verdad te estima (he who...the one who...) and to

state that "in its first reading, el must be analyzed as a pronoun. In its second reading it is the definite article", because the distinction exists only in the glosses, and is more imaginary than real. Contreras (1973 :10) regards her claim concerning the the pronominal status of lo as ill-founded, although he agrees with part of her argument, as noted earlier;^I significantly, Contreras suggests instead a fusion in certain contexts, "producing a node which INCLUDES ARTICLE AND PRONOMINAL FEATURES" (emphasis mine). It is better to assign the single, natural reading to Luján's (71), and to conflate the two categories, as attempted here. Haden's two tenets are relevant to such a step: "a difference of form marks a difference in function or value, but a difference of value is not always signalled by a difference of form. Some forms do multiple duty" (1973:31).

Identification of the DA with the III object pronouns leads to a further potentially useful analysis. Is it possible, on the basis of the whole analysis which has been undertaken so far, to set up formulae which could summarize the morphological interrelation between all the respective forms of I, II and III pronouns, and their possessive adjectives and pronouns? To determine the viability of establishing such formulae, there follows a catalogue of all the forms so far considered, with morphological segmentation symbolized thus:

I. Contreras refers to Lujan's article as Gough (1970); my reference is to an article with the same title in Casagrande and Saciuk (1972). As Contreras gives only a passing reference, there is no way of checking whether the paper (read at a conference) underwent any revision. Certainly, the main concept is unchanged.

BASES

 $\sqrt{BI} = m(e); \quad {}^a\sqrt{I} = y-$
 $\sqrt{BII} = t(e)$
 $\sqrt{BIII} = l(e); \quad {}^a\sqrt{III} = s(e); \quad {}^a\sqrt{III} = -ll-; \quad {}^a\sqrt{III} = \emptyset$
 $\sqrt{BI-Mu} = n-$
 $\sqrt{BII-Mu} = v-$

VOWELS

 $V_B = (e)$
 $\acute{V}_B = \acute{e}$
 $V_I = o$
 $V_2 = a$
 $V_3 = i$
 $\acute{V}_3 = \acute{i}$
 $V_4 = u$
 $\acute{V}_4 = \acute{u}$

CONSONANTS

 $C_I = (-)d(-)$
 $C_2 = -r-$
 $C_3 = -s-$
 $C_4 = -t-$
 $C_5 = -y-$

OTHER

SYMBOLS

PSf = -s, used to distinguish from C3

() = items enclosed may or may not be found; this

symbol differs from \pm in that $((\pm x) + z)$

shows that if z is found, x must also be found,

but z may occur alone. Example: presence of

optional d- prefix allows for de + DAMS contracting

to del. The brackets show that d cannot be joined

direct to B: $((\underline{+d}) \underline{+VI}) + \sqrt{III}$ precludes $*d\underline{l(e)}$.

MORPHOLOGICAL SEGMENTATION

le	=	√BIII
les	=	√BIII + PSf
lo	=	√BIII + VI
los	=	√BIII + VI + PSf
la	=	√BIII + V2
las	=	√BIII + V2 + PSf
él	=	√B + √BIII
al	=	V2 + √BIII
del	=	CI + VB + √BIII
ella	=	VB + a ² √III + V2
ello	=	VB + a ² √III + VI
ellos	=	VB + a ² √III + VI + PSf
ellas	=	VB + a ² √III + V2 + PSf
se	=	a ¹ √III
sí	=	a ¹ √III + √3
su	=	a ¹ √III + V4
usted	=	a ³ √III + V4 + C3 + C4 + VB + CI
ustedes	=	a ³ √III + V4 + C3 + C4 + VB + CI + VB + PSf
me	=	√BI
yo	=	a ¹ √I + VI
mí	=	√BI + √3
mi	=	√BI + V3
mis	=	√BI + V3 + PSf
mío	=	√BI + √3 + VI
mía	=	√BI + √3 + V2
míos	=	√BI + √3 + VI + PSf
mías	=	√BI + √3 + V2 + PSf
te	=	√BII
tú	=	√BII + √4
tu	=	√BII + V4
ti	=	√BII + V3
tus	=	√BII + V4 + PSf
tuyo	=	√BII + V4 + C5 + VI
tuyá	=	√BII + V4 + C5 + V2

tuyos = $\sqrt{\text{BII} + \text{V4} + \text{C5} + \text{VI} + \text{PSf}}$
 tuyas = $\sqrt{\text{BII} + \text{V4} + \text{C5} + \text{V2} + \text{PSf}}$
 nosotros = $\sqrt{\text{BI-Mu} + \text{VI} + \text{C2} + \text{VI} + \text{C4} + \text{C2} + \text{VI} + \text{PSf}}$
 nosotras = $\sqrt{\text{BI-Mu} + \text{VI} + \text{C2} + \text{VI} + \text{C4} + \text{C2} + \text{V2} + \text{PSf}}$
 nos = $\sqrt{\text{BI-Mu} + \text{VI} + \text{PSf}}$
 vosotros = $\sqrt{\text{BII-Mu} + \text{VI} + \text{C2} + \text{VI} + \text{C4} + \text{C2} + \text{VI} + \text{PSf}}$
 vosotras = $\sqrt{\text{BII-Mu} + \text{VI} + \text{C2} + \text{VI} + \text{C4} + \text{C2} + \text{V2} + \text{PSf}}$
 os = $\sqrt{\text{BII-Mu} + \text{PSf}}$
 nuestro = $\sqrt{\text{BI-Mu} + \text{V4} + \text{VB} + \text{C3} + \text{C4} + \text{C2} + \text{VI}}$
 nuestra = $\sqrt{\text{BI-Mu} + \text{V4} + \text{VB} + \text{C3} + \text{C4} + \text{C2} + \text{V2}}$
 nuestros = $\sqrt{\text{BI-Mu} + \text{V4} + \text{VB} + \text{C3} + \text{C4} + \text{C2} + \text{VI} + \text{PSf}}$
 nuestras = $\sqrt{\text{BI-Mu} + \text{V4} + \text{VB} + \text{C3} + \text{C4} + \text{C2} + \text{V2} + \text{PSf}}$
 vuestro = $\sqrt{\text{BII-Mu} + \text{V4} + \text{VB} + \text{C3} + \text{C4} + \text{C2} + \text{VI}}$
 vuestra = $\sqrt{\text{BII-Mu} + \text{V4} + \text{VB} + \text{C3} + \text{C4} + \text{C2} + \text{V2}}$
 vuestros = $\sqrt{\text{BII-Mu} + \text{V4} + \text{VB} + \text{C3} + \text{C4} + \text{C2} + \text{VI} + \text{PSf}}$
 vuestras = $\sqrt{\text{BII-Mu} + \text{V4} + \text{VB} + \text{C3} + \text{C4} + \text{C2} + \text{V2} + \text{PSf}}$

An attempt will now be made to reduce these individual symbolic segmentations to a synthesis in order to establish formulae.

SYNTHESIS OF SEGMENTATION

This synthesis is designed to establish formulae to show the morphological interrelation between the forms of the words concerned. Some alternative presentations will be indicated.

FIRST PERSON SINGULAR : PRONOUNS AND POSSESSIVES

$$\text{FORMULA } \sqrt{\text{I}} = \neq \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a} \sqrt{\text{I} + \text{VI}} \\ \dots \\ \sqrt{\text{BI} + \text{V3} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VI} \\ \text{V2} \end{array} \right\} + \text{PSf}} \end{array} \right\} \neq$$

Alternative presentation:

$$\neq \text{ (a) } \sqrt{\text{BI} + \text{V3} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VI} \\ \text{V2} \end{array} \right\} + \text{PSf}} \neq$$

SECOND PERSON SINGULAR : PRONOUNS AND POSSESSIVES

$$\text{FORMULA } \sqrt{\text{II}} = \neq \sqrt{\text{BII}} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pm \sqrt[4]{\text{V}} \pm (C5 + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{VI} \\ \text{V2} \end{Bmatrix} \pm \text{PSf}) \neq \\ \pm \text{V3} \neq \end{array} \right\}$$

Alternative presentation:

$$\neq \sqrt{\text{BII}} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pm \text{V3} \neq \\ \pm \sqrt[4]{\text{V}} \end{array} \right\} \pm (C5 + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{VI} \\ \text{V2} \end{Bmatrix} \pm \text{PSf}) \neq$$

FIRST AND SECOND PERSONS PLURAL : PRONOUNS

$$\text{FORMULA } \begin{Bmatrix} \sqrt{\text{I-Mu}} \\ \sqrt{\text{II-Mu}} \end{Bmatrix} = \neq \begin{Bmatrix} \sqrt{\text{BI-Mu}} \\ \sqrt{\text{BII-Mu}} \end{Bmatrix} + \text{VI} \pm (C2 + \text{VI} + C4 + C2 + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{VI} \\ \text{V2} \end{Bmatrix}) + \text{PSf} \neq$$

FIRST AND SECOND PERSONS PLURAL : POSSESSIVES

$$\text{FORMULA } \begin{Bmatrix} \sqrt{\text{I-Po}} \\ \sqrt{\text{II-Po}} \end{Bmatrix} = \neq \begin{Bmatrix} \sqrt{\text{BI-Mu}} \\ \sqrt{\text{BII-Mu}} \end{Bmatrix} + \text{V4} + \text{VB} + C3 + C4 + C2 + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{VI} \\ \text{V2} \end{Bmatrix} + \text{PSf} \neq$$

SECOND-cum-THIRD PERSONS SINGULAR AND PLURAL : SUBJECT AND POSTPREPOSITIONAL NON-REFLEXIVE OBJECT PRONOUNS

$$\text{FORMULA } \sqrt{\text{II/III}} = \neq a^3 \sqrt{\text{III}} + \text{V4} + C3 + C4 + \text{VB} + C1 \pm \text{VB} \pm \text{PSf} \neq$$

THIRD PERSON, AND SECOND-cum-THIRD PERSON OTHER THAN SUBJECT AND POSTPREPOSITIONAL NON-REFLEXIVE OBJECT PRONOUNS, SINGULAR AND PLURAL : PRONOUNS, POSSESSIVES, AND DEFINITE ARTICLES

$$\text{FORMULA } \sqrt{3} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \neq a^I \sqrt{\text{III}} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{V4} \\ \sqrt{\text{V3}} \end{array} \right\} \neq \\ \neq \text{VB} + a^2 \sqrt{\text{III}} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VI} \\ \text{V2} \end{array} \right\} + \text{PSf} \neq \\ \neq + \text{CI} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{V}) \\ \text{VB} \\ \text{V2} \end{array} \right\} + \sqrt{\text{BIII}} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VI} \\ \text{V2} \end{array} \right\} + \text{PSf} \neq \end{array} \right\}$$

Alternative presentation:

$$\left(\text{CI} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{V}) \\ \text{VB} \\ \text{V2} \end{array} \right\} \right) + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} a^I \sqrt{\text{III}} \\ a^2 \sqrt{\text{III}} \\ \sqrt{\text{BIII}} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{V4} \\ \sqrt{\text{V3}} \\ \text{VI} \\ \text{V2} \end{array} \right\} + \text{PSf} \neq$$

As mentioned above, the synthesis provided here could constitute part of the morphological subcomponent of a generative grammar of modern Spanish, and could also be useful in writing a computer program such as that found in the next chapter. For the latter, the full details in each case may need to be included in a foreword for the analyst programmer. Should simpler formulae be desired, for any such purpose, they may be devised by omitting the indicated numerals for vowels and consonants. For example, the formulae would then appear as:

$$\text{FORMULA } \sqrt{\text{I}} = \sqrt{\text{I}} + \text{V} + \text{PSf}$$

$$\text{FORMULA } \sqrt{\text{II}} = \sqrt{\text{II}} + \text{V} + (\text{C} + \text{V}) + \text{PSf}$$

$$\text{FORMULA } \sqrt{\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I} \\ \text{II} \end{array} \right\}}^{-\text{Mu}} = \sqrt{\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I} \\ \text{II} \end{array} \right\}}^{-\text{Mu}} + \text{V} + (\text{C} + \text{V} + \text{C} + \text{C} + \text{V}) + \text{PSf}$$

$$\text{FORMULA } \sqrt{\begin{Bmatrix} \text{I} \\ \text{II} \end{Bmatrix}} -\text{Mu Po} = \sqrt{\begin{Bmatrix} \text{I} \\ \text{II} \end{Bmatrix}} -\text{Mu} +\text{V} +\text{V} +\text{C} +\text{C} +\text{C} +\text{V} + \text{PSf}$$

$$\text{FORMULA } \sqrt{\text{II/III}} = \overset{a}{\sqrt[3]{\text{III} +\text{V} +\text{C} +\text{C} +\text{V} +\text{C} + \text{V} + \text{PSf}}}$$

$$\text{FORMULA } \sqrt{\text{III}} = ((\pm \text{C}) \pm \text{V}) + \sqrt{\text{III} \pm \text{V} \pm \text{PSf}}$$

Restrictions could be supplied to indicate such defining factors as word-divisions, consonant and vowel identification, and other definitive aspects, most of which are already indicated in the morphological analysis contained here (for example, that $\sqrt{\text{III}}$ is -ll- only intervocalically), and to which other ad hoc details could be added. To give specific indication of how these restrictions could be implemented, the treatment of the DA and III subject and object pronouns and possessive adjectives may be cited, before the specimen computer program written to display these particular items is considered.

The detailed complex underlying formula which has been established above is:

$$\# \left((\pm \text{CI}) \pm \begin{Bmatrix} \text{VB} \\ \text{V2} \end{Bmatrix} \right) + \begin{Bmatrix} \overset{a1}{\sqrt{\text{III}}} \\ \overset{a2}{\sqrt{\text{III}}} \\ \sqrt{\text{BIII}} \end{Bmatrix} \pm \begin{Bmatrix} \text{V4} \\ \overset{\vee}{\text{V3}} \\ \text{VI} \\ \text{V2} \end{Bmatrix} \pm \text{PSf} \#$$

and the simpler version has been formulated as:

$$\# \left((\pm \text{C}) \pm \text{V} \right) + \sqrt{\text{III}} \pm (\text{V} \pm \text{PSf}) \#$$

The interpretative rules for this formulation will explain the simpler on the basis of the more complex formula. They will provide a legend for the symbols, which will be dealt with in order of occurrence from left to right:

C = CI = <u>d</u>	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \{e\} \\ \{e'\} \\ \{a\} \end{array} \right\} \text{ followed by } \underline{-l} \neq$
V preceding $\sqrt{\text{III}}$ = VB or $\dot{\text{V}}\text{B}$ or V2 =	$\left. \begin{array}{l} e \text{ followed by } \underline{-ll-} + \\ \text{affixes} \end{array} \right\}$
V following $\sqrt{\text{III}}$ = V4, $\dot{\text{V}}\text{3}$, VI, or V2 =	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \{o\} \\ \{a\} \end{array} \right\} \text{ preceded by } \underline{(-)l-} \text{ or } \underline{-ll-}$ $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{i\} \\ \{u\} \end{array} \right\} \text{ preceded by } \underline{s-}$ (e) in Base, preceded by $\underline{l-}$ or $\underline{s-}$
Consonant of $\sqrt{\text{III}}$ =	$\left. \begin{array}{l} a^1 \sqrt{\text{III}} = \underline{s-} : \text{ word-initial only, and} \\ \text{followed by } \underline{-e} \text{ or } \underline{-i'} \\ a^2 \sqrt{\text{III}} = \underline{-ll-} : \text{ intervocalically only.} \\ \sqrt{\text{BIII}} = \underline{(-)l(-)} : \text{ preceded or followed} \\ \text{by single vowel} \end{array} \right\}$
PSf = <u>s</u> : always word-finally.	

Finally, other restrictions may be incorporated, namely:

(i) that a maximum of only two letters may appear before or after $\sqrt{\text{III}}$;

(ii) that only words commencing with e- may exceed three letters; and

(iii) that no word longer than five letters is covered by the formula.

The justification for these restrictions is a search in a medium-sized dictionary (Cassell's 1959, which has a Spanish-English section of

fifty thousand words) for words which the computer might automatically pick up according to the formula but which do not fall within the field of interest. Restriction (i) was formulated to eliminate all except two-letter or three-letter words beginning with d- or l-.

The former would have to terminate in $\sqrt{\text{III}}$, and none were found.

Eighteen nouns, one adjective, and ten verbal forms beginning with $\sqrt{\text{III}}$ and composed of only two or three letters were discovered.

For identification, the English translation is added:

NOUNS

la : n.m. (mus.) 6th sound of scale (A)

lay : n.m. (poet.) lay, ballad

Leo : n.m. (astron.) Leo, a constellation

ley : n.f. law, enactment

lfa : n.f. plaited bass-rope, dregs

lid : n.f. conflict, dispute

lio : n.m. bundle, pack

lis : n.f. lily, iris

loa : n.f. praise

lof, lo : n.m. (naut.) luff, weather side of ship

lua : n.f. esparto glove for cleaning horses

lue : n.f. infection

luz : n.f. light

ADJECTIVE

len : a. soft, untwisted

VERBAL FORMS

leer : lea, leo, lee, lei

loar : loa, loe, loé, loo, loó

luir : lui.

In the case of the verb luir, insertion of -y- in the present indicative, present subjunctive, and imperative singular, eliminates several potential forms, as the Academy (1973:297) shows. Only the forms listed would be confused with the definite article-cum-pronoun by the computer on the basis of a letter-count. The reason for employing the symbol PSf rather than C to indicate word-final s now becomes clear. The computer will accordingly reject lay, ley, lid, lof, luz, and len. Moreover, the formula excludes three-letter words ending other than in PSf, so that Leo, lío, loa, lúa, lúe, lea, leo, lee, lef, loo, loó, loa (verb), loe, loé, and lui will also be discarded. That leaves only four forms, namely la, lis (singular), and lo(s) (alternative to lof), singular and plural, as problems. Lis will be excluded by earlier restrictions (V following \sqrt{III} is only VI, V2, V3, or V4). The computer will therefore print out the two masculine nouns la and lo, because it will identify them as among the objects of its search. That there are only two such words in this large sample (and both are, significantly, technical terms)^I does not exceed the parameters of tolerance which would be desirable for the computer program.

Let us now consider restrictions (ii) and (iii). These concerned words commencing with e-. Only such words could exceed three letters, and no word longer than five letters was covered by the formula. The same dictionary contained the following potential forms:

elche : n.m. apostate

ele : n.f. Spanish name of letter l

elfo : n.m. elf

I. Neither occurs in the Nuevo pequeño Larousse ilustrado, edited Larousse, Buenos Aires, 1964, which has 15,000 entries.

elijo : present indicative form of the verb elegir

elija : present subjunctive form of the same verb

elle : n.f. Spanish name of letter ll.

Since the formula does not permit words ending in a vowel to be considered, elijo is eliminated outright. Elche and elija do not qualify either, at least in those respective forms; nor would elches (plural) or elijas (II person) be permissible, as they exceed the maximum length of words covered by the formula. The consonant of $\sqrt{\text{III}}$ intervocalically must be $a^2\sqrt{\text{III}}$, so that ele and elfo will be discarded also. The only remaining form is elle, which the formula rejects because V following $\sqrt{\text{III}}$ is never -e, except as (e) on the Base, which appears only when the Base does not carry prefixes or suffixes.

One further problem remains. The formula, with the restrictions which have been built in so far, would permit the following combination:

+ C + V + $\sqrt{\text{III}}$ + V.

That this is undesirable is proved by the following words which the dictionary contains: dala (n.f. pump-dale of ship), dale! (and other imperatives such as dala, dalas, dales, dalo, dalos, dele, deles).

Restrictions upon the shape of V before $\sqrt{\text{III}}$ do cut out dolo (n.m. fraud) and dula (common pastureground), but not the forms listed.

A further restriction is demanded which will preclude any suffixation on words covered by the formula which commence with + C; even (e) on the Base must be precluded. The first line of the legend above must therefore be reworded as follows:

C = CI = d : occurs only + V + word-final l.

Further specification regarding the shape of V in this instance is unnecessary, as *del and *dal cannot occur.

The morphology of the Spanish definite article may, therefore, be expressed effectively in a single formula:

$$((\pm C) . \pm V) + \sqrt{\text{III}} (\pm V (\pm \text{PSf}))$$

Justification for the setting up of this formula is three-fold. Firstly, it has the power, by virtue of being a single generalization, to generate the morphological variations within the definite article's set as a whole. Secondly, it embraces, in addition and without extension, all the more complex variations within the Spanish III pronouns. There is, as shown, considerable overlapping in the morphology of the DA and III object pronouns. Hence, without digressing to debate which derives from which,¹ we can state that a joint treatment is clearly desirable. Moreover, the formula has an inbuilt capacity to handle, not only III object pronouns, but the subject pronouns, the possessive adjectives, and the possessive pronouns as well. This area covered by the comprehensive formula might be termed "Definite Article-cum-Third Person Pronouns",² and conveniently abbreviated to "DAP". Thirdly, the principles upon which the formula was constructed were first applied to the morphology of I and II singular and plural pronouns, together with their respective possessive adjectives and pronouns, so that a comprehensively viable procedure might be established ab initio, before the much more complex DAP morphology was tackled. Therefore the formula specified above is only one of an interrelated set of formulae which embrace a wide spectrum of Spanish syntax.

-
1. From the historical angle, primacy would of course have to be accorded to the pronominal forms, but this synchronic analysis concentrates on the modern forms per se.
 2. This description is not intended to beg the question implicit in the first footnote, which is not germane to the subject here.

The validity of the total resulting schema can be assessed on the basis of its capacity to deal with even the most intractable cases. I submit that the formulae's competence to treat such a mass of morphological variations is their own self-justification.

As part of this system, on the same basis as the DAP formula, a formula can easily be constructed for the indefinite article, which similarly (but, of course, less extensively) overlaps with pronominal usage, as shown in earlier chapters. Its morphology presents none of the complexities of that of the definite article, so that it was best to defer it until the end. It may be formulated straightforwardly (employing the parallel abbreviation "IAP") as:

FORMULA $\sqrt{\text{IAP}} = \sqrt{\text{IAP}} \underline{+} (\text{V} \underline{+} \text{PSf})$.

The formula has the following interpretation:

$\sqrt{\text{IAP}}$ = Indefinite Article-cum-Pronoun = Base un

V = o or a

PSf = s.

The corpus of forms is : un, uno, una, unos, unas.

Bull devotes only two pages to his entire chapter entitled "Morphology of Pronouns", because his view is that "pronouns are so few in number and so well known that there is no need for an exhaustive analysis of forms" (1965:127). That would be correct if the analysis were simply to re-state the predictable, to err on the side of cataloguing and not, in fact, analyzing. But a scheme to interpret each form on the basis of comprehensive principles of structure, revealing the inner cohesion of the forms, such as attempted here, does

not fall within the scope of Bull's stricture. Indeed the system established here could be described as Gestalt. As Chorley and Kennedy put it (1971:2):

a system is a structured set of objects and/or attributes. These...consist of components or variables...that exhibit discernible relationships with one another and operate together as a complex whole, according to some observed pattern. Interdependence of parts is a diagnostic property of systems. As every system is made up of a unique set of parts, related in a specific manner,... such structures are Gestalt: that is, the whole is greater than the sum of the parts.

The system which has been highlighted here by the redefinition of the category "Article" is based upon a consideration of the syntactic, semantic, and morphological features which all the members of the set have in common. It now remains to be seen how the redefinition of the category can provide a method of facilitating a computer-assisted textual analysis of modern Spanish.

CHAPTER 5

5. PROTOTYPE COMPUTER PROGRAM BASED ON THE "ARTICLE"

5.1. PROGRAM NOTES

5.2. PROGRAM FUNCTIONS

5.2.1. PROGRAM FUNCTION I : location of all occurrences of the "Article"
in sequence

5.2.2. PROGRAM FUNCTION 2 : location of nominalized infinitives

5.2.3. PROGRAM FUNCTION 3 : location of nominalized possessive adjectives and possessive pronouns

5.2.4. PROGRAM FUNCTION 4 : location of nominalized past participles

5.2.5. PROGRAM FUNCTION 5 : location of nominalized IAPs

5.2.6. PROGRAM FUNCTION 6 : location of nominalized interjections or quotations

5.2.7. PROGRAM FUNCTION 7 : location of superlative adjectives and adverbs

5.2.8. PROGRAM FUNCTION 8 : location of relative clauses introduced by the compound relative series el que (etc.)

5.2.9. PROGRAM FUNCTION 9 : location of relative clauses introduced by the compound relative pronoun series el cual (etc.)

5.2.10. PROGRAM FUNCTION 10 : location of relative clauses introduced by the simple relative pronoun que where there is a DAP or IAP in the antecedent NP

5.2.11. PROGRAM FUNCTION 11 : location of IAP + simple relative pronoun

5.2.12. PROGRAM FUNCTION 12 : location of Replacive NPs containing DAPs

5.2.13. PROGRAM FUNCTION 13 : location of Replacive NPs containing IAPs

- 5.2.14. PROGRAM FUNCTION I4 : location of (traditional) subject pronouns and postprepositional object pronouns
 - 5.2.15. PROGRAM FUNCTION I5 : location of (traditional) object pronouns which occur as suffixes
 - 5.2.16. PROGRAM FUNCTION I6 : location of (traditional) reflexive pronoun (as separate word, or suffix, or infix)
 - 5.2.17. PROGRAM FUNCTION I7 : location of capital letters preceded by DAP or IAP
 - 5.2.18. PROGRAM FUNCTION I8 : location of miscellaneous occurrences of DAP and IAP
 - 5.2.19. PROGRAM FUNCTION I9 : statistical analysis
- 5.3. SAMPLE PRINT OUTS

5. THE PROTOTYPE COMPUTER PROGRAM WITH SAMPLE PRINT-OUTS

Chapter five does not refer to other computer-assisted analyses because there would appear to be none with similar aims or methods, and few in Spanish.^I The chapter begins with introductory notes for a prototype computer program; secondly, it specifies a program function which shows how the analyses of chapters one to four inclusive enable the occurrences of all the members of the redefined "Article" to be located and displayed; thirdly, other program functions are specified which effect an analysis of the various aspects of syntax which have been discussed in earlier chapters, namely the "Article" in NPs, in relative clauses, and in VPs; fourthly, sample print-outs of data are provided: of all the "Articles" found in the first chapter of

-
- I. Of those which I have been able to consult, Svartik and Carvell (1969) proved, unfortunately, not to be relevant, despite its promising title; Computational experiments in grammatical classification. Friedman (1968) reviews interesting work on English TG. Morin (1973) also tests a TG, in this case French, and has sections on clitic placement, and the morphology of relative and personal pronouns. Rameh (1970) and Wyatt (1972) both deal with spoken Brazilian Portuguese; the former is intended to determine the basic patterns of the language based on 19,000 words of conversation monitored on amateur radio frequencies; the latter is a bi-lingual comparative study using a common core approach, based on the underlying structures which are common to English and Portuguese. Wang, Chan, and T'Sou (1973) deal with Chinese phonology and Chinese-English contrastive grammatical studies. Kock and Bossaert (1974) deal with Spanish, but concentrate on the segmentation of 16,277 forms taken from Juilland and Chang Rodriguez' Frequency dictionary of Spanish words, which are treated in isolation and not in context. Magnusson (1976) also works on Spanish, but, again, his aim and procedure are entirely different from mine; he is concerned with the interconversion of Spanish texts between orthographic and orthophonemic versions.

the computerized novel, and of the specific syntactic analyses of the "Article" in NPs, relative clauses, and VPs, as found in the first nine chapters of the novel.^I The whole text of the novel was processed, but the data from the first nine chapters are deemed sufficient to illustrate the program because they represent one fifth of the total text.

In this way, Pountain's criticism of Wyatt is avoided: "signposts to the reader's thought are practically non-existent...he is simply left to wade through 334 pages of computer print-out...to make his own judgment of how adequate...the proposed grammar was". (1975:67). The parallels between writing rules for grammatical theory and writing a program for a computer are stressed by Bach (1964:27): "an operation that is relatively simple for a human intelligence must be broken down into a large number of exceedingly simple and exasperatingly moronic steps". The superiority of the computer is, however, humorously expressed by Mey (1971:55); the machine is not subject to human problems such as

tiredness and forgetfulness, absence of mind or presence of physical obstacles such as blood clots in the brain or food particles in the vocal tract, or other, less desirable features.

Magnusson (1976:43), like Bach, mentions the demanding analytic approach for the human participant, and likens his activity to that of an architect: "he writes a program as he would build an edifice, with all the component parts made according to his own specifications".

Let us now look closely at the present blueprint.

I. There are two minor exceptions to this procedure: the data for the relative clauses introduced by que which contain a DAP or IAP in their antecedent show that there are 19 examples in the first chapter, which are sufficient to illustrate that feature, so the data from chapters two to nine inclusive are suppressed; and the 22 examples of se in the first chapter are similarly sufficient for that item.

5.I. PROGRAM NOTES

5.I.I. The Spanish alphabet

5.I.I.1. The Spanish alphabet contains twenty-nine letters. These are:

a b c ch d e f g h i j k l ll m n ñ o p q r s t u v w x y z.¹

5.I.I.2. The following six accented vowels occur: á é í ó ú ü.

For the purposes of this computer program, only two symbols need be utilized for this accentuation, namely (´) and (¨).

5.I.I.3. The combinations ch and ll need not receive special treatment in the punching of the text, but the program should indicate that word-initial ch and word-initial ll each count as single letters for the purposes of arranging words in alphabetical order, and that they occur in the positions shown above, following c and l respectively.

5.I.I.4. A symbol must be selected to indicate the tilde, the accent (˜) which occurs suprasegmentally on the consonant n when it is palatalized. Words commencing with ñ are markedly infrequent (the New revised Velázquez Spanish and English Dictionary (1967:479) lists only thirteen, and six of these at least are loan-words of Latin American origin), but must appear in the position immediately following words having word-initial n in any alphabetical ordering.

I. Because these notes were written to clarify the essential elements of Spanish for programmers unacquainted with the language, an unequivocal stance had to be taken on certain theoretical issues. The alphabet is defined as in 5.I.I.1. by the Academy (1973:133), but Ramsey (1956:1) quotes an earlier formulation by the Academy as his authority for recognizing "25 simple and 4 compound letters, which are alike regarded as representing distinct sounds. To these may be added w". Ramsey does not identify the fourth of these compound letters, but the third is rr. It would appear that the Academy has now accepted w, which Ramsey added, but has kept the number of letters constant, having excised rr. Justification for this is self-evident in the absence of word-initial rr. The Academy's treatment (1973) shows, although not stated in those terms, that r and rr are found in complementary distribution. For the reason stated in the first sentence of this footnote, abbreviations which are used earlier are not employed in these notes, unless redefined.

5.1.2. Spanish punctuation

5.1.2.1. For the punching of the text which is to be employed in the computer program, attention must be drawn to those symbols which are utilized in Spanish to indicate commencement of a speaker's (or writer's) mood of exclamation or interrogation which are not common to the English system of punctuation. These are the inverted versions of the conventional symbols for exclamation marks and question marks, namely (¡) and (¿). Providing that the computer is made to distinguish between the first occurrence of any pair of these marks and the second (conventionally placed) occurrence, the two unusual Spanish symbols may conveniently be replaced by their upright English counterparts (!) and (?). Note that Spanish (¡) and (¿) can occur other than sentence-initially. The computer should be instructed to locate these symbols and display the intervening words, where this is appropriate to any program function. It must not, for example, be allowed to reproduce the text which occurs between (?) and (¿) :

Because of its relatively unlikely occurrence, no provision need be made here for the possible combination referred to by Ramsey: "since some sentences are to a degree both interrogations and exclamations, a combination of signs (¿ ... ¡ , ! ... ?) will be encountered on occasion".^I In any case, the computer will concentrate on one symbol at a time, so that the print out would be satisfactory should such a combination appear.

I. Ramsey (1956:43). This is part of Ramsey's brief treatment of the subject, which devotes a disproportionate amount of space to capitals and to Spanish terminology, and still covers little more than two pages. The Academy (1973:I46ff) accords nine pages to the subject.

5.1.2.2. Inverted commas are variously indicated, five conventions being employed:

- (i) « »;
- (ii) " ";
- (iii) „ ”;
- (iv) ' ';
- (v) , '.

These are all rated as standard by the Academy (1973:146,151) and Martínez Amador (1966:251), in contrast to Ramsey's reference to only one device: "the use of the dash instead of the quotation marks of English and in general to indicate a change of speaker is customary". The latter is a convention which does not meet with Martínez Amador's approval, but its frequency of usage is its justification, and it is certainly useful to juxtapose a set of quotation marks with a dash. This is well exemplified by the following extract from the corpus, where the dash indicates direct conversation, whereas the quotation marks show utterances as opposed to conversation:

MI35 Rugía como un viejo león:

-No es un suicidio, es un crimen, un crimen,
lo que se va a cometer...

El vino tinto mezclado al whisky ascendía a
la superficie.

"Una mala mezcla", se dijo.

The use of quotation marks under such circumstances is not always tantamount to a theatrical aside, as this extract from the computer corpus (p. 64, line 23) shows:

uno de ellos decía los números: "Ciento
veintitrés, ciento veinticuatro..."

Such a juxtaposition is superior to the clumsy method of using

double and single quotation marks for contrast in English. It would be sufficient, however, to reduce the variety of Spanish symbols for quotation to one single symbol in punching the text. Otherwise, too many of the computer's limited contrastive markers will be expended on one linguistic device. It must be noted that, where a dash is used in the text, some further marker to indicate the end of the utterance might be useful for any program function which wants to rely on the termination of speech as a conditioning environment; perhaps the full-stop which follows the introductory dash and the speech could be highlighted in some way.

- 5.I.2.3. If the punching process does not utilize lower-case letters, initial capital letters should be distinctively marked in the punching stage, because they could be profitable in some linguistic analysis, such as the usage of the definite article with names of countries, titles of books, names of persons, and so on.

Restrictions are: to ignore predictable capital letters immediately following full-stops, or (where so used) in chapter headings.

- 5.I.2.4. Should the number of symbols available permit, a marking of italics could be useful.

5.I.3. The definite article

5.I.3.1. Masculine singular el

5.I.3.2. Masculine plural los

5.I.3.3. Feminine singular la

5.I.3.4. Feminine plural las

5.I.3.5. Neuter lo

5.I.3.6. Contracted forms, masculine singular:

$$\underline{a} + \underline{el} = \underline{al}$$

$$\underline{de} + \underline{el} = \underline{del.}$$

5.I.3.7. Object pronouns which are morphologically third person forms, as discussed in chapter four above, and which have semantically second and/or third person referents, as discussed in chapter three above, may be viewed synoptically or jointly with the article. The forms concerned are:

5.I.3.7.1. Masculine singular lo, le

5.I.3.7.2. Masculine plural los, les

5.I.3.7.3. Feminine singular la, le

5.I.3.7.4. Feminine plural las, les

5.I.3.7.5. Neuter lo.

5.I.3.8. The theoretical principles advanced in the earlier chapters of this thesis have established the relationship which exists between all the forms detailed in sections 5.I.3.1. to 5.I.3.7.5. inclusive. It is valuable in writing instructions for the computer to link all the forms together as a basic modus operandi, and to designate them all as "DAP" forms, meaning definite article-cum-object pronoun.

5.I.3.8.1. DAP Formula

5.I.3.8.1.2. The DAP Formula is:

$$((\underline{\pm} C) \underline{\pm} V) + \sqrt{III} \underline{\pm} (V \underline{\pm} PSf)$$

5.I.3.8.1.3. Interpretation of symbols, from left to right, is as follows:

(a) brackets are used as in Algebra

(b) C = letter d; this occurs only: (i) word-initially

(ii) preceding letter e

(iii) when \sqrt{III} = word-final letter !

(c) V preceding \sqrt{III} is either:

(i) a, or e, or é, immediately preceding word-final l

or (ii) e word-initially and immediately preceding ll.

(d) \sqrt{III} represents either:

(i) letter s word-initially and followed by e or í

or (ii) ll intervocalically

or (iii) l other than intervocalically, that is, in word-initial or word-final positions.

(e) V following \sqrt{III} is either:

(i) letter e only, after l and not following ll

or (ii) a or o after l or ll.

(f) PSf represents plural suffix s.

This can occur only word-finally, following a vowel.

5.I.3.8.I.4. Restrictions:

the following restrictions must be stipulated:

- (a) only a maximum of two letters may precede or follow \sqrt{III}
- (b) only words beginning with letter e may exceed three letters
- (c) no word longer than five letters is covered by the formula
- (d) when DAP occurs as a suffix, it is covered only by the second half of the formula, namely: $\sqrt{III} = \pm (V \pm \text{PSf})$.

5.I.3.8.I.5. Forms covered by the formula are:

al, del, el,

lo, le, la,

los, les, las,

él, ello, ella,

ellos, ellas,

se, sí.

5.I.3.8.2. Abbreviations to indicate the features of gender and number

5.I.3.8.2.1. The abbreviation M indicates masculine, both singular and plural

5.I.3.8.2.2. The abbreviation F indicates feminine, both singular and plural

5.I.3.8.2.3. The abbreviations MS, MP, FS, FP, specify masculine singular, masculine plural, feminine singular, and feminine plural, respectively

5.I.3.8.3. The computer is to be instructed that the abbreviations DAPMS, DAPMP, DAPFS, DAPFP, which are clarified below, will
 (a) individually designate the forms shown respectively below
 (b) collectively all be subsumed under the term "DAP".

5.I.3.9. Relation of the separate abbreviations to the forms subsumed under them, on the principles enunciated in 5.I.3.8.

5.I.3.9.1. DAPMS covers the following forms:

el, al, del,

lo, le,

él, ello,

se, sí.

5.I.3.9.2. DAPMP covers the forms:

los, les, ellos.

5.I.3.9.3. DAPFS will be taken to cover only the forms:

la, ella,

which are unequivocally feminine. The forms se and sí will, for convenience, always occur in the print out under DAPM listing, where these separate listings may be

profitable for any particular linguistic analysis. Separate listing will then, of course, be specified. Although lo may at times be [-MASCULINE, -FEMININE] , it too will be assigned to the DAPM group in such listings. This is to avoid duplication of display where common forms are concerned.

5.I.3.9.4. Similarly, the abbreviation DAPFP will be taken to cover only the forms las and ellas, because the form les, which is common in gender, will be listed under DAPM.

5.I.3.9.5. In fact, for the particular program functions which are to be demonstrated in this prototype program, separate listings are not required.

5.I.4. The indefinite article

5.I.4.1. Masculine singular un

5.I.4.2. Masculine plural unos

5.I.4.3. Feminine singular una

5.I.4.4. Feminine plural unas

5.I.4.5. Pronominal forms which may, as discussed in chapter four above, be viewed jointly or synoptically with the indefinite article are:

5.I.4.5.1. Masculine singular uno

5.I.4.5.2. Masculine plural unos

5.I.4.5.3. Feminine singular una

5.I.4.5.4. Feminine plural unas

5.I.4.6. On the same principle as the DAP designation, as explained above, the forms listed in 5.I.4.5.1. to 5.I.4.5.4. inclusive, may be designated as "IAP" forms (indefinite article-cum-pronoun).

5.I.4.6.1. IAP Formula

5.I.4.6.I.2. The IAP Formula is:

$$\sqrt{IAP + (V + PSf)}$$

5.I.4.6.I.3. Interpretation of symbols, from left to right, is as follows:

(a) brackets are as specified in 5.I.3.8.I.3. above

(b) $\sqrt{IAP} = \underline{un}$

(c) V represents either:

(i) o

or (ii) a

(d) PSf is as specified in 5.I.3.8.I.3. above.

5.I.4.6.I.4. Forms covered by the formula are:

un, uno,

unos,

una,

unas

5.I.4.6.2. Abbreviations to indicate the features of gender and number are the same as those employed in the DAP formulations, as defined in 5.I.3.8.2.1. to 5.I.3.8.2.3. inclusive above.

5.I.4.6.2.I. The computer is to be instructed that the abbreviations IAPMS, IAPMP, IAPFS, IAPFP, which are clarified below, will:

(a) individually designate the forms shown respectively below

(b) collectively all be subsumed under the term "IAP"

5.I.4.7. Relation of the separate abbreviations to the forms subsumed under them, on the principles enunciated in 5.I.4.6.2. and 5.I.4.6.2.I.

5.I.4.7.1. IAPMS covers the following forms:

un, uno

5.I.4.7.2. IAPMP covers the form:

unos

5.I.4.7.3. IAPFS covers the form:

una

5.I.4.7.4. IAPFP covers the form:

unas.

5.I.5. Gender suffixes

5.I.5.1. Characteristic MS suffix = -o(-)

5.I.5.2. Characteristic FS suffix = -a(-)

5.I.5.3. Plural suffix = s

This occurs in word-final position only.

5.I.5.4. MSSf, MPSf, FSSf, FPSf, indicate masculine singular, masculine plural, feminine singular, feminine plural suffixes, respectively.

5.I.5.5. The abbreviation GSf, meaning "gender suffix", will indicate collectively all the suffixes detailed in 5.I.5.4.

5.I.6. Ordering of data within certain displays

5.I.6.1. Wherever, according to the principles enunciated in 5.I.3.9.3. to 5.I.3.9.5. above, separate listings are required for any particular analysis, the data should be ordered according to the order shown in 5.I.3.9.1. to 5.I.3.9.4. and in 5.I.4.7.1. to 5.I.4.7.4. inclusive, namely:

DAPMS

DAPMP

DAPFS

DAPFP

IAPMS

IAPMP

IAPFS

IAPFP,

although, of course, exceptionally other orderings may be specified.

- 5.I.6.I. Occurrences of DAP or IAP are to be displayed in order of appearance in the text under analysis; exceptionally, an alternative ordering may be specified, such as, for example, alphabetical sequence.
- 5.I.7. Statistical analysis
- 5.I.7.I. It may be useful in certain analyses for all program functions to count and express:
- (a) the number of occurrences of individual words or items which the particular function instructs the computer to locate; and
 - (b) the aggregate of the occurrences of all words or items so specified;
- and to express (i) and (ii) as a percentage of the total number of words in the text under analysis.
- 5.I.7.2. As the data to be supplied here are only samples, this particular program function was not specified in the prototype program.
- 5.I.8. Location of data
- 5.I.8.I. Indication of the text's page and line numbers is to be provided for each item displayed. Also at the top of each

display the function's title should be provided.

5.I.9. Length of display

- 5.I.9.I. Where a certain number of words are to be included before and/or after a particular item in any display, there is a general restriction that an intervening full-stop, or semi-colon, or a question mark occurring in sentence-final position, will represent the parameter, taking precedence in marking the beginning or end of the display.

5.2. PROGRAM FUNCTIONS

5.2.1. PROGRAM FUNCTION I: LOCATION OF ALL OCCURRENCES OF THE "ARTICLE"
IN SEQUENCE

5.2.1.1. Find and display all occurrences of DAP and IAP as separate words, as detailed in the general system specifications given in the Program Notes in section 5.1. above.

5.2.1.2. Find and include within the same display all occurrences of DAP attached as a suffix or incorporated as an infix.

5.2.1.2.1. Consider only those words in which the DAP suffix or infix is immediately preceded by any of the following combinations:

(/)
-ar-

(/)
-er-

(/)
-ir-
-ándo-
-iéndo-

As indicated by the brackets, an accent is optional on the first three combinations, but obligatory on the last two.

5.2.1.2.2. The infix referred to in 5.2.1.2. is -se-. This may occur as a suffix (for example, encontrarse), but it may also occur optionally as an infix placed between any of the combinations specified in 5.2.1.2.1. and any other DAP employed as a suffix, as in dárselo, dándoselas, and so on.

5.2.1.3. In all displays, include the five words preceding and the five words following the DAP or the word which incorporates the DAP form(s).

5.2.2. PROGRAM FUNCTION 2: LOCATION OF NOMINALIZED INFINITIVES

5.2.2.I. Find the DAPMS el followed immediately by words ending in:

-ar

or -er

or -ir

5.2.2.2. Find the DAP specified, where followed immediately by words containing the combinations specified in 5.2.2.I., where any of these combinations is immediately followed by the DAP se occurring as a suffix.

5.2.2.3. Find the DAP specified, where followed immediately by words which, in addition to meeting the specifications of 5.2.2.I. and 5.2.2.2., have any DAP as a word-final suffix.

(The purpose of this program function is to discover nominalized infinitives, including those which carry enclitic pronouns. There is some cross-referencing to another function below, which deals with certain other instances of suffixation; therefore that function will embody an exemption clause to exclude the data provided by 5.2.2.I.)

5.2.2.4. Repeat for the IAPMS un.

5.2.2.5. Display the DAP or IAP specified, as the penultimate word in the line of display, with the word meeting any of the specifications of 5.2.2.I. to 5.2.2.3. inclusive occurring as the last word in the line. Include in the display the five words preceding and the five words following the DAP or IAP.

5.2.3. PROGRAM FUNCTION 3: LOCATION OF NOMINALIZED POSSESSIVE
ADJECTIVES AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

5.2.3.1. Find words comprising^I

mí-

or tuy-

or suy-

or nuestr-

or vuestr-

and GSf.

5.2.3.2. Display when the word is immediately preceded by the DAP which is the counterpart of its GSf, that is, when the GSf is, for example, MSSf, and the DAP is DAPMS; the correspondences are as follows:

DAPMS...MSSf

DAPMP...MPSf

DAPFS...FSSf

DAPFP...FPSf.

5.2.3.3. Display when the corresponding DAP occurs within the preceding three words.

5.2.3.4. Repeat for IAP.

I. This is a wording which has been refined with hindsight, because the original wording stated "Find words which begin with mí-, etc., and end in GSf". That loose rendering produced such inappropriate data as:

I56-28 se quedaron en la orilla mientras Caronglo se internaba
I65-15 porque tan sólo el mismo Alfanhui hubiera podido escribirlo
I63-21 observando largo tiempo los minuciosos retoños
I58-7 aquellas camisas blancas y la mirada triste y sufrida
I59-7 se reía mientras Alfanhui lo miraba
I09-28 funcionaba la mirilla como el respiradero
97-II ante el escándolo de los miembros hizo
87-9 se quedó un rato mirando
50-I guardaban la cabecera un mirlo y un abejaruco.

5.2.4. PROGRAM FUNCTION 4: LOCATION OF NOMINALIZED PAST PARTICIPLES^I

5.2.4.1. Find words which have the termination:

-ad- + GSf

or -id- + GSf.

5.2.4.2. Display if the DAP counterpart, as specified in 5.2.3.2., occurs within the two words which immediately precede the form specified in 5.2.4.1.

5.2.4.3. Repeat for IAP.

5.2.5. PROGRAM FUNCTION 5: LOCATION OF NOMINALIZED IAPs

5.2.5.1. Find DAP where immediately followed by its IAP counterpart, as specified in 5.2.5.2.

5.2.5.2. The correspondences which are looked for are:

DAPMS...IAPMS

DAPMP...IAPMP

DAPFS...IAPFS

DAPFP...IAPFP.

5.2.5.3. Display the DAP specified, as the penultimate word in the line of display, with the IAP specified occurring as the last word in the line. Include in the display the five words preceding and the five words following the DAP.

I. It is appreciated that this wording is not absolutely satisfactory, for two reasons:

(a) many words which meet the specification in 5.2.4.1. are not past participles;

(b) some past participles which are found by the program function are not nominalized.

The following false data were provided from the first nine chapters: maullido, criada, resoplido, lápida, salida, sonido, ruido, nido, tejado, nevada, and mirada. Of these eleven, seven have undergone full lexical conversion, so, technically, they are not "false" data.

5.2.6. PROGRAM FUNCTION 6: LOCATION OF NOMINALIZED INTERJECTIONS
OR QUOTATIONS

- 5.2.6.1. Find each pair of exclamation marks, as specified in 5.1.2.
- 5.2.6.2. If the DAPMS el occurs within the two words preceding the first exclamation mark, display the DAP and every word between the DAP and the second, closing exclamation mark.
- 5.2.6.3. Repeat for the IAPMS un.
- 5.2.6.4. Repeat all procedures from 5.2.6.1. to 5.2.6.3. inclusive, substituting inverted commas as the target item instead of exclamation marks. Inverted commas are specified in 5.1.2.

5.2.7. PROGRAM FUNCTION 7: LOCATION OF SUPERLATIVE ADJECTIVES AND
ADVERBS

- 5.2.7.1. Find DAP where followed, immediately or within the next three words, by más.
- 5.2.7.2. Display DAP and the five words which precede and the five words which follow it.
- 5.2.7.3. Find DAP immediately followed by:
- mejor
- peor
- mayor
- menor,
- in each case with or without the suffix -es.
- 5.2.7.4. Find DAP immediately followed by words having the termination -erior, with or without the suffix -es.
- 5.2.7.5. Include the occurrences specified in 5.2.7.3. and 5.2.7.4. in

a single display, with the usual number of words.

5.2.7.6. Repeat all procedures from 5.2.7.1. to 5.2.7.5. inclusive for IAP.

5.2.8. PROGRAM FUNCTION 8: LOCATION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY THE COMPOUND RELATIVE SERIES el que (etc.)

5.2.8.1. Find DAP immediately followed by que.

5.2.8.2. Display DAP as the penultimate word in the line of display, with que occurring as the last word in the line. Include in the display the five words preceding and the five words following DAP.

5.2.9. PROGRAM FUNCTION 9: LOCATION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY THE COMPOUND RELATIVE SERIES el cual (etc.)

5.2.9.1. Find DAP followed immediately by cual or cuales.

5.2.9.2. Display DAP as the penultimate word in the line of display, with cual or cuales occurring as the last word in the line. Include in the display the five words preceding and the five words following DAP.

5.2.10. PROGRAM FUNCTION 10: LOCATION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY THE SIMPLE RELATIVE PRONOUN que WHERE THERE IS A DAP OR IAP IN THE ANTECEDENT NP

5.2.10.1. Find que where it is not immediately preceded by DAP.

5.2.10.2. Display where DAP or IAP occurs in the six words preceding que, unless the conjunction y intervenes. Include in the display the six words preceding and the six words following que.

5.2.II. PROGRAM F : LOCATION OF IAP + SIMPLE RELATIVE
PRONOUN

5.2.II.1. Find IAI immediately by que.

5.2.II.2. Display penultimate word in the line of
display. occurring as the last word in the
line. the display the five words preceding
and the following IAP.

5.2.I2. PROGRAM FU LOCATION OF REPLACIVE NPs CONTAINING
DAPs

5.2.I2.1. Find DAI ly followed by de.

5.2.I2.2. Display penultimate word in the line of display
with de s the last word in the line. Include
in the five words preceding and the five words
following

5.2.I3. PROGRAM FU LOCATION OF REPLACIVE NPs CONTAINING
IAPs

5.2.I3.1. Find IAI ly followed by de.

5.2.I3.2. Display penultimate word in the line of display
with de as the last word in the line. Include
in the five words preceding and the five words
following

5.2.I4. PROGRAM FU : LOCATION OF (TRADITIONAL) SUBJECT
PRONOUNS A POSITIONAL OBJECT PRONOUNS

5.2.I4.1. Find the ch meet the specification:

√ III + V + PSf.

5.2.14.2. Display the DAP specified, and include in the display the five words preceding and the five words following it.

5.2.15. PROGRAM FUNCTION 15: LOCATION OF (TRADITIONAL) OBJECT PRONOUNS WHICH OCCUR AS SUFFIXES

5.2.15.1. Find all words ending in DAP attached as a suffix.

5.2.15.2. Consider only those words in which the DAP suffix is immediately preceded by any one of the following combinations:

()
-ar-
 ()
-er-
 ()
-ir-
-ando-
-iendo-

5.2.15.3. Ignore all words preceded by DAP as specified in 5.2.2.

5.2.15.4. Display the word containing DAP as specified, and include in the display the five words preceding and the five words following it.

5.2.16. PROGRAM FUNCTION 16: LOCATION OF (TRADITIONAL) REFLEXIVE PRONOUN (AS A SEPARATE WORD, OR AS A SUFFIX, OR AS AN INFIX)

5.2.16.1. Find the DAPMS se.

5.2.16.2. Display all occurrences of this DAP as a separate word, ordering the display in the two ways listed in 5.2.16.3 and 5.2.16.4., and presenting them as separate displays.

5.2.16.3. Display all occurrences in which the DAP specified is immediately followed by any other DAP.

- 5.2.16.4. Display all occurrences in which the DAP specified is not immediately followed by any other DAP.
- 5.2.16.5. Display all occurrences of the DAP specified acting as a suffix, as detailed in 5.2.I.2.2.
- 5.2.16.6. Display all occurrences of the DAP sepecified acting as an infix, as detailed in 5.2.I.2.2.
- 5.2.16.7. Find and display the DAPMS si.
- 5.2.16.8. Include in all the displays specified in 5.2.16. the five words preceding and the five words following the DAP, or, where appropriate, containing the DAP. In all displays the DAP or the word containing it is to appear at the end of the line of display, except in 5.2.16.3., where this DAP and the DAP which it precedes should occur as penultimate and final word respectively.

5.2.17 PROGRAM FUNCTION 17: LOCATION OF CAPITAL LETTERS PRECEDED BY DAP OR IAP.

- 5.2.17.1. Subject to the restriction stated in 5.1.2.3. above, find all words commencing with a capital letter.
- 5.2.17.2. Display only those occurrences which are immediately preceded by DAP.
- 5.2.17.3. Repeat for IAP.

5.2.18. PROGRAM FUNCTION 18: LOCATION OF MISCELLANEOUS OCCURRENCES OF DAP AND IAP

- 5.2.18.1. Display any occurrence of DAP which has not already featured in any of the displays specified in 5.2.2 to

to 5.2.17. inclusive.

5.2.18.2. Repeat for IAP.

(The purpose of this program function is to uncover potentially useful occurrences of DAP or IAP which have not been considered in preparing the analyses. Inappropriate data will be easily discarded, and, conceivably, the remainder could highlight areas deserving to be probed. It would have been superfluous to let this function operate in this purely prototype program, especially as the aggregate of occurrences is already requested by 5.2.1., so no data is included in the sample below which relates to this section. The function itself is included here as an indication of the safety procedure which could usefully be incorporated in a fully developed processing.)

5.2.19. PROGRAM FUNCTION 19: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

5.2.19.1. Count the total number of words punched for the text.

5.2.19.2. Count and express (i) as a number;

and (ii) as a percentage of the total:

(a) the individual number of occurrences of each member of DAP ; and

(b) the total number of occurrences of each member of DAP.

5.2.19.3. Repeat all operations for IAP.

(Again, this is a useful operation for a fully developed processing, but is inappropriate to the partial operation of the program which this purely illustrative section has been able to provide.)

5.3. SAMPLE PRINT-OUTS

In all the sample print-outs, the number which occurs before the hyphen indicates the page number of the entry in the text, and the number which follows the hyphen refers to the line on that page.

It was arranged that DAP (or the word incorporating DAP as a suffix) and IAP should normally be featured at the end of each line of the display, and should be underlined for ease of reference.

In the first entry in the sample, 43-0, because de is the first word in the sentence a long gap occurs in the display to enable the IAP, in this case, to appear at the end of the display line.

For the purposes of most displays, an environment of up to five words on either side of the DAP or IAP was requested. This was to enable recognition of the role of each item to be more readily achieved, without necessitating recourse to the original text for verification. In the case of that first entry, 43-0, the first few words are actually the title of the chapter, but the computer rightly includes them in the reckoning because no full-stop intervenes, as stipulated in 5.I.7., and lower-case letters are not employed, which would have differentiated title from text.

5.3.I. LOCATION OF ALL OCCURRENCES OF THE "ARTICLE" IN SEQUENCE

43-0	DE GALLO DE VELETA QUE CAZO	<u>UN</u>
43-0	GALLO DE VELETA QUE CAZO LAGARTOS Y LO QUE CON	<u>UNOS</u>
43-0	QUE CAZO UNOS LAGARTOS Y QUE CON ELLOS HIZO UN	<u>LO</u>
43-0	LAGARTOS Y LO QUE CON HIZO UN NINO EL GALLO	<u>ELLOS</u>
43-0	LO QUE CON ELLOS HIZO NINO EL GALLO DE LA	<u>UN</u>

43-1	ELLOS HIZO UN NINO GALLO DE LA VELETA RECORTADO	<u>EL</u>
43-1	UN NINO EL GALLO DE VELETA RECORTADO EN UN CHAPA	<u>LA</u>
43-1	DE LA VELETA RECORTADO EN CHAPA DE HIERRO QUE SE	<u>UNA</u>
43-2	UNA CHAPA DE HIERRO QUE CANTEA AL VIENTO SIN MOVERSE	<u>SE</u>
43-2	DE HIERRO QUE SE CANTEA VIENTO SIN MOVERSE Y QUE	<u>AL</u>
43-2	SE CANTEA AL VIENTO SIN Y QUE TIENE UN OJO	<u>MOVERSE</u>
43-2	SIN MOVERSE Y QUE TIENE OJO SOLO QUE SE VE	<u>UN</u>
43-2	TIENE UN OJO SOLO QUE VE POR LAS DOS PARTES	<u>SE</u>
43-3	SOLO QUE SE VE POR DOS PARTES PERO ES UN	<u>LAS</u>
43-3	LAS DOS PARTES PERO ES SOLO OJO SE BAJO UNA	<u>UN</u>
43-3	PERO ES UN SOLO OJO BAJO UNA NOCHE DE LA	<u>SE</u>
43-3	UN SOLO OJO SE BAJO NOCHE DE LA CASA Y	<u>UNA</u>
43-3	SE BAJO UNA NOCHE DE CASA Y SE FUE A	<u>LA</u>
43-4	NOCHE DE LA CASA Y FUE A LAS PIEDRAS A	<u>SE</u>
43-4	CASA Y SE FUE A PIEDRAS A CAZAR LAGARTOS HACIA ^I	<u>LAS</u>
43-5	Y A PICOTAZOS DE HIERRO MATABA	<u>LOS</u>
43-5	COLGO AL TRESBOLILLO EN LA	<u>LOS</u>
43-5	LOS COLGO TRESBOLILLO EN LA BLANCA PARED	<u>AL</u>

I. Hacia should not occur here; a printer's error placed a comma instead of a stop after lagartos.

- 43-5 COLGO AL TRESBOLILLO EN LA
BLANCA PARED DE LEVANTE QUE
- 43-7 LOS
MAS GRANDES PUSO ARRIBA Y
- 43-8 LOS
CUANDO
LAGARTOS ESTABAN FRESCOS TODAVIA PASABAN
- 43-9 SE
VERGUENZA AUNQUE MUERTOS PORQUE NO
LES HABIA AUN SECADO LA
- 43-9 LES
AUNQUE MUERTOS PORQUE NO SE
HABIA AUN SECADO LA GLANDULITA
- 43-10 LA
SE LES HABIA AUN SECADO
GLANDULITA QUE SEGREGA EL RUBOR
- 43-10 EL
SECADO LA GLANDULITA QUE SEGREGA
RUBOR QUE EN LOS LAGARTOS
- 43-10 LOS
SEGREGA EL RUBOR QUE EN
LAGARTOS SE LLAMA AMARILLOR PUES
- 43-10 SE
RUBOR QUE EN LOS LAGARTOS
LLAMA AMARILLOR PUES TIENEN UNA
- 43-11 UNA
SE LLAMA AMARILLOR PUES TIENEN
VERGUENZA AMARILLA Y FRIA
- 43-12 EL
PERO ANDANDO
TIEMPO SE FUERON SECANDO AL
- 43-12 SE
PERO ANDANDO EL TIEMPO
FUERON SECANDO AL SOL Y
- 43-12 AL
EL TIEMPO SE FUERON SECANDO
SOL Y SE PUSIERON DE
- 43-12 SE
FUERON SECANDO AL SOL Y
PUSIERON DE UN COLOR NEGRUZCO
- 43-13 SE
DE UN COLOR NEGRUZCO Y
ENCOGIO SU PIEL Y SE
- 43-13 SE
SE ENCOGIO SU PIEL Y
ARRUGO
- 43-13 LA
COLA SE LES DOBLO HACIA
- 43-14 SE
LA COLA
LES DOBLO HACIA EL MEDIODIA
- 43-14 LES
LA COLA SE
DOBLO HACIA EL MEDIODIA PORQUE

- 43-14 COLA SE LES DOBLO HACIA EL
MEDIODIA PORQUE ESA PARTE SE
- 43-14 EL MEDIODIA PORQUE ESA PARTE SE
HABIA ENCOGIDO AL SOL MAS
- 43-15 ESA PARTE SE HABIA ENCOGIDO AL
SOL MAS QUE LA DEL
- 43-15 ENCOGIDO AL SOL MAS QUE LA
DEL SEPTENTRION ADONDE NO VA
- 43-15 AL SOL MAS QUE LA DEL
SEPTENTRION ADONDE NO VA NUNCA
- 43-16 Y ASI VINIERON A QUEDAR LOS
LAGARTOS CON LA POSTURA DE
- 43-16 A QUEDAR LOS LAGARTOS CON LA
POSTURA DE LOS ALACRANES TODOS
- 43-17 LAGARTOS CON LA POSTURA DE LOS
ALACRANES TODOS HACIA UNA MISMA
- 43-17 DE LOS ALACRANES TODOS HACIA UNA
UNA MISMA PARTE Y YA COMO
- 43-18 Y YA COMO HABIAN PERDIDO LOS
COLORES Y LA TERSURA DE
- 43-18 HABIAN PERDIDO LOS COLORES Y LA
TERSURA DE LA PIEL NO
- 43-18 COLORES Y LA TERSURA DE LA
PIEL NO PASABAN VERGUENZA
- 43-20 ANDANDO MAS TIEMPO TODAVIA VINO EL
DE LA LLUVIA QUE SE
- 43-20 TIEMPO TODAVIA VINO EL DE LA
LLUVIA QUE SE PUSO A
- 43-20 EL DE LA LLUVIA QUE SE
PUSO A FLAGELAR LA PARED
- 43-21 QUE SE PUSO A FLAGELAR LA
PARED DONDE ELLOS ESTABAN COLGADOS
- 43-21 A FLAGELAR LA PARED DONDE ELLOS
ESTABAN COLGADOS Y LOS EMPAPABA
- 43-21 DONDE ELLOS ESTABAN COLGADOS Y LOS
EMPAPABA BIEN Y DESTENIA DE
- 43-22 Y DESTENIA DE SUS PIELES UN
ZUMILLO COMO DE HERRUMBRE VERDINEGRA

43-23	QUE COLABA EN REGUERO POR PARED HASTA LA TIERRA	<u>LA</u>
43-24	REGUERO POR LA PARED HASTA TIERRA	<u>LA</u>
43-24	NINO PUSO UN BOTE AL	<u>UN</u>
43-24	UN NINO PUSO BOTE AL PIE DE CADA	<u>UN</u>
43-24	UN NINO PUSO UN BOTE PIE DE CADA REGUERILLO Y	<u>AL</u>
43-24	PIE DE CADA REGUERILLO Y CABO DE LAS LLUVIAS HABIA	<u>AL</u>
43-25	REGUERILLO Y AL CABO DE LLUVIAS HABIA LLENADO LOS BOTES	<u>LAS</u>
43-25	DE LA LLUVIAS HABIA LLENADO BOTES DE AQUEL ZUMO Y	<u>LOS</u>
43-25	BOTES DE AQUEL ZUMO Y JUNTO TODO EN UNA PALANGANA	<u>LO</u>
43-26	Y LO JUNTO TODO EN PALANGANA PARA PONERLO SECO	<u>UNA</u>
43-26	TODO EN UNA PALANGANA PARA SECO	<u>PONERLO</u>
44-1	YA LAGARTOS HABIAN DESTENIDO TODO LO	<u>LOS</u>
44-1	LOS LAGARTOS HABIAN DESTENIDO TODO SUYO Y CUANDO VOLVIERON LOS	<u>LO</u>
44-2	LO SUYO Y CUANDO VOLVIERON DIAS DE SOL TAN SOLO	<u>LOS</u>
44-2	DIAS DE SOL TAN SOLO VEIAN EN LA PARED UNOS	<u>SE</u>
44-2	TAN SOLO SE VEIAN EN PARED UNOS ESQUELETITOS BLANCOS CON	<u>LA</u>
44-2	SE VEIAN EN LA PARED ESQUELETITOS BLANCOS CON LA PELICULA	<u>UNOS</u>
44-3	PARED UNOS ESQUELETITOS BLANCOS CON PELICULA FINA Y TRANSPARENTE COMO	<u>LA</u>
44-4	PELICULA FINA Y TRANSPARENTE COMO CAMISAS DE LAS CULEBRAS Y	<u>LAS</u>

44-4	TRANSPARENTE COMO LAS CAMISAS DE CULEBRAS Y QUE APENAS DESTACABAN	<u>LAS</u>
44-4	CULEBRAS Y QUE APENAS DESTACABAN ENCLADO	<u>DEL</u>
44-6	PERO NINO ERA MAS HERMANO DE	<u>EL</u>
44-6	NINO ERA MAS HERMANO DE LAGARTOS QUE DEL GALLO DE	<u>LOS</u>
44-6	HERMANO DE LOS LAGARTOS QUE GALLO DE LA VELETA Y	<u>DEL</u>
44-7	LAGARTOS QUE DEL GALLO DE VELETA Y UN DIA QUE	<u>LA</u>
44-7	GALLO DE LA VELETA Y DIA QUE NO HACIA VIENTO	<u>UN</u>
44-7	QUE NO HACIA VIENTO Y GALLO NO PODIA DEFENDERSE SUBIO	<u>EL</u>
44-8	Y EL GALLO NO PODIA SUBIO AL TEJADO Y LO	<u>DEFENDERSE</u>
44-8	GALLO NO PODIA DEFENDERSE SUBIO TEJADO Y LO ARRANCO DE	<u>AL</u>
44-8	DEFENDERSE SUBIO AL TEJADO Y ARRANCO DE ALLI Y LO	<u>LO</u>
44-8	LO ARRANCO DE ALLI Y ECHO A LA FRAGUA Y	<u>LO</u>
44-9	FRAGUA Y EMPEZO A MOVER FUELLE	<u>EL</u>
44-9	GALLO CHIRRIABA EN LOS TIZONES	<u>EL</u>
44-9	EL GALLO CHIRRIABA EN TIZONES COMO SI HICIERA VIENTO	<u>LOS</u>
44-10	COMO SI HICIERA VIENTO Y FUE PONIENDO ROJO AMARILLO BLANCO	<u>SE</u>
44-II	CUANDO NOTO QUE EMPEZABA A SE DOBLO Y SE ABRAZO	<u>REBLANDECERSE</u>
44-II	NOTO QUE EMPEZABA A REBLANDECERSE DOBLO Y SE ABRAZO CON	<u>SE</u>
44-12	A REBLANDECERSE SE DOBLO Y ABRAZO CON LAS FUERZAS QUE	<u>SE</u>

44-12 DOBLO Y SE ABRAZO CON FUERZAS QUE LE QUEDABAN A	<u>LAS</u>
44-12 ABRAZO CON LAS FUERZAS QUE QUEDABAN A UN CARBON GRANDE	<u>LE</u>
44-12 FUERZAS QUE LE QUEDABAN A CARBON GRANDE PARA NO PERDERSE	<u>UN</u>
44-13 UN CARBON GRANDE PARA NO DEL TODO	<u>PERDERSE</u>
44-13 CARBO GRANDE PARA NO PERDERSE TODO	<u>DEL</u>
44-13 NINO PARO EL FUELLE Y	<u>EL</u>
44-13 EL NINO PARO FUELLE Y ECHO UN CUBO	<u>EL</u>
44-14 PARO EL FUELLE Y ECHO CUBO DE AGUA SOBRE EL	<u>UN</u>
44-14 UN CUBO DE AGUA SOBRE FUEGO QUE SE APAGO RESOPLANDO	<u>EL</u>
44-14 AGUA SOBRE EL FUEGO QUE APAGO RESOPLANDO COMO UN GATO	<u>SE</u>
44-15 QUE SE APAGO RESOPLANDO COMO GATO Y EL GALLO DE	<u>UN</u>
44-15 RESOPLANDO COMO UN GATO Y GALLO DE LA VELETA QUEDO ASIDO	<u>EL</u>
44-15 VELETA QUEDO ASIDO PARA SIEMPRE TROZO DE CARBON	<u>AL</u>
44-17 VOLVIO NINO A SU PALANGANA Y	<u>EL</u>
44-18 VIO COMO HABIA QUEDADO EN FONDO UN POSO PARDO COMO	<u>EL</u>
44-18 HABIA QUEDADO EN EL FONDO POSO PARDO COMO UN BARRILLO	<u>UN</u>
44-18 FONDO UN POSO PARDO COMO BARRILLO FINO	<u>UN</u>
44-18 A DIAS TODA EL AGUA SE	<u>LOS</u>
44-19 A LOS DIAS TODA AGUA SE HABIA IDO POR	<u>EL</u>

44-19	LOS DIAS TODA EL AGUA HABIA IDO POR EL CALOR	<u>SE</u>
44-19	AGUA SE HABIA IDO POR CALOR QUE HACIA Y QUEDO	<u>EL</u>
44-20	NINO LO DESGRANO Y PUSO	<u>EL</u>
44-20	EL NINO DESGRANO Y PUSO EL MONTONCITO	<u>LO</u>
44-20	NINO LO DESGRANO Y PUSO MONTONCITO SOBRE UN PANUELO BLANCO	<u>EL</u>
44-20	Y PUSO EL MONTONCITO SOBRE PANUELO BLANCO PARA VERLE EL	<u>UN</u>
44-21	SOBRE UN PANUELO BLANCO PARA EL COLOR	<u>VERLE</u>
44-21	UN PANUELO BLANCO PARA VERLE COLOR	<u>EL</u>
44-21	Y VIO QUE POLVILLO ESTABA HECHO DE CUATRO	<u>EL</u>
44-23	LUEGO COGIO SEDA Y PASO EL ORO	<u>UNA</u>
44-23	COGIO UNA SEDA Y PASO ORO QUE ERA LO MAS	<u>EL</u>
44-23	PASO EL ORO QUE ERA MAS FINO	<u>LO</u>
44-24	EN TELA DE LINO PASO EL	<u>UNA</u>
44-24	UNA TELA DE LINO PASO AZUL EN UN HARNERO EL	<u>EL</u>
44-24	LINO PASO EL AZUL EN HARNERO EL VERDE Y QUEDO	<u>UN</u>
44-24	EL AZUL EN UN HARNERO VERDE Y QUEDO EL NEGRO	<u>EL</u>
44-25	HARNERO EL VERDE Y QUEDO NEGRO	<u>EL</u>
44-26	DE CUATRO POLVILLOS USO EL PRIMERO	<u>LOS</u>
44-26	DE LOS CUATRO POLVILLOS USO PRIMERO QUE ERA EL DE	<u>EL</u>

- 44-26 USO EL PRIMERO QUE ERA DE ORO PARA DORAR PICAPORTES EL
- 44-27 CON SEGUNDO QUE ERA AZUL SE EL
- 44-27 EL SEGUNDO QUE ERA AZUL HIZO UN RELOJITO DE ARENA SE
- 44-27 QUE ERA AZUL SE HIZO RELOJITO DE ARENA UN
- 44-28 TERCERO QUE ERA EL VERDE EL
- 44-28 EL TERCERO QUE ERA VERDE LO DIO A SU EL
- 44-28 TERCERO QUE ERA EL VERDE DIO A SU MADRE PAR LO
- 44-29 PAR TENER VISILLOS Y CON NEGRO TINTA PARA APRENDER A EL
- 44-31 MADRE SE PUSO MUY CONTENTA LA
- 44-31 LA MADRE PUSO MUY CONTENTA AL VER SE
- 44-31 MADRE SE PUSO MUY CONTENTA VER LAS INDUSTRIAS DE SU AL
- 44-31 PUSO MUY CONTENTA AL VER INDUSTRIAS DE SU HIJO Y LAS
- 44-32 SU HIJO Y EN PREMIO MANDO A LA ESCUELA LO
- 44-32 EN PREMIO LO MANDO A ESCUELA LA
- 44-32 TODOS COMPANEROS LE ENVIDIABAN ALLI LA LOS
- 44-33 TODOS LOS COMPANEROS ENVIDIABAN ALLI LA TINTA POR LE
- 44-33 LOS COMPANEROS LE ENVIDIABAN ALLI TINTA POR LO BRILLANTE Y LA
- 44-33 ENVIDIABAN ALLI LA TINTA POR BRILLANTE Y LO BONITA QUE LO
- 44-33 TINTA POR LO BRILLANTE Y BONITA QUE ERA PORQUE DABA LO

- 44-34 BONITA QUE ERA PORQUE DABA UN
TONO SEPIA COMO NO SE
- 44-34 UN TONO SEPIA COMO NO SE
HABIA VISTO
- 44-34 PERO EL
NINO APRENDIO UN ALFABETO RARO
- 44-34 PERO EL NINO APRENDIO UN
ALFABETO RARO QUE NADIE LE
- 44-35 UN ALFABETO RARO QUE NADIE LE
ENTENDIA Y TUVO QUE IRSE
- 44-36 NADIE ENTENDIA Y TUVO QUE IRSE
DE LA ESCUELA PORQUE EL
- 44-36 Y TUVO QUE IRSE DE LA
ESCUELA PORQUE EL MAESTRO DECIA
- 44-36 IRSE DE LA ESCUELA PORQUE EL
MAESTRO DECIA QUE DABA MAL
- 44-37 SU MADRE LO
ENCERRO EN UN CUARTO CON
- 44-37 SU MADRE LO EN CERRO EN UN
CUARTO CON UNA PLUMA UN
- 44-37 EN CERRO EN UN CUARTO CON UNA
PLUMA UN TINTERO Y UN
- 44-37 UN CUARTO CON UNA PLUMA UN
TINTERO Y UN PAPEL Y
- 45-1 UNA PLUMA UN TINTERO Y UN
PAPEL Y LE DIJO QUE
- 45-1 TINTERO Y UN PAPEL Y LE
DIJO QUE NO SALDRIA DE
- 45-2 HASTA QUE NO ESCRIBIERA COMO LOS
DEMÁS
- 45-2 PERO EL
NINO CUANDO SE VEIA SOLO
- 45-2 PERO EL NINO CUANDO SE
VEIA SOLO SACABA EL TINTERO
- 45-2 CUANDO SE VEIA SOLO SACABA EL
TINTERO Y SE PONIA A
- 45-3 SOLO SACABA EL TINTERO Y SE
PONIA A ESCRIBIR EN SU

45-3 EN SU EXTRANO ALFABETO EN UN
RASGON DE CAMISA BLANCA QUE

45-4 QUE HABIA ENCONTRADO COLGANDO DE UN
ARBOL

5.3.2. LOCATION OF NOMINALIZED INFINITIVES

59.6 INDECISA Y VAGAMENTE COMO EN UN DESPERTAR
INESPERADO

59.10 ALFANHUI VIO DESDE SU CAMA EL AGITARSE
DE AQUELLAS SOMBRAS EN

60.31 DE SU ESPECIE Y VOLVIA EL ENTRECruzARSE
DE LAS BANDADAS HACIA

62.5 MUY CALIENTE Y SE OIA EL DESPEREZARSE
DE LAS TEJAS ACHICHARRADAS

62.26 NO OIR MAS VOZ QUE EL PIAR
EXTERNO Y AMORTIGUADO DE

5.3.3. LOCATION OF NOMINALIZED POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES AND NOMINALIZED
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

44.1 LOS LAGARTOS HABIAN DESTENIDO TODO LO SUYO
Y CUANDO VOLVIERON LOS DIAS

5.3.4. LOCATION OF NOMINALIZED PAST PARTICIPLES

44.4 CULEBRAS Y QUE APENAS DESTACABAN DEL ENCALADO

5.3.5. LOCATION OF NOMINALIZED IAPs

49-13 LOS ALCARAVANES SE GRITAN LOS UNOS
A LOS OTROS

59.7 LAS ESQUINAS Y SE CRUZABAN LAS UNAS
CON LAS OTRAS

62.20 FONDO DE LA LAGUNA ENTRECruzANDOSE LAS UNAS
CON LAS OTRAS COMO UNA

64-18 EL UNO
TENIA UNA BOINA RAIDADA Y

5.3.6. LOCATION OF NOMINALIZED INTERJECTIONS or QUOTATIONSNO DATA AVAILABLE IN THE FIRST NINE CHAPTERS^I5.3.7. LOCATION OF SUPERLATIVE ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

43-15	ESA PARTE SE HABIA ENCOGIDO SOL <u>MAS</u> QUE LA DEL SEPTENTRION	<u>AL</u>
43-7	<u>MAS</u> GRANDES PUSO ARRIBA Y	<u>LOS</u>
43-23	PASO EL ORO QUE ERA <u>MAS</u> FINO EN UNA TELA	<u>LO</u>
46-I	QUE TUVO AQUEL CUARTO ERA <u>MAS</u> FEO DE LA CASA	<u>EL</u>
46-14	ESTO FUE LO QUE NINO <u>MAS</u> LE GUSTO DE	<u>AL</u>
46-26	DE CUANDO EN CUANDO PASABA VETA <u>MAS</u> CLARA VERDE O	<u>UNA</u>
56-9	LO HUBIERAN ENTERRADO ESCOGI YO LAMPARA <u>MAS</u> BONITA QUE PUDE	<u>LA</u>
57-4	A ALFANHUI GUSTABA <u>MAS</u> LA DE LA	<u>LE</u>
58-5	PREPARAR TRES ANILLITOS DE ORO POCO <u>MAS</u> ANCHOS QUE EL	<u>UN</u>
58-8	LA CULEBRA SALIA EL SEGUNDO POCO <u>MAS</u> ADELANTE Y EL	<u>UN</u>
66-21	Y LOS RATONES SE ACERCARON POCO <u>MAS</u> HASTA LOS MISMOS	<u>UN</u>
54-2	TENIA TAMBIEN <u>MEJORES</u> LIBROS QUE SE HABIAN	<u>LOS</u>

5.3.8. LOCATION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY COMPOUNDRELATIVE PRONOUN SERIES el que (etc.)

43-0	QUE CAZO UNOS LAGARTOS Y CON ELLOS HIZO UN NINO	<u>LO</u> QUE
------	--	---------------

I. The following inappropriate data were supplied:

43-II se llama "amarillor"; 54-4 la "piedra de vetas"; 64-23 los números: "Ciento..."; and 65-22 se llama "faulo".

- 46-14 ESTO FUE AL NINO MAS LE LO QUE
- 49-16 EL NINO CONTO HABIA HECHO CON LA LO QUE
- 53-8 QUE DABAN LLAMAS TRISTES Y DABAN LLAMAS ALEGRES LOS QUE
- 53-8 HACIAN HOGUERAS FUERTES Y LOS QUE
- 53-9 HACIAN HOGUERAS FUERTES Y OSCURAS CLARAS Y BAILARINAS LOS QUE
- 53-10 LOS QUE CLARAS Y BAILARINAS DEJABAN RESCOLDO FEMENINO PARA LOS QUE
- 53-11 PARA CALENTAR EL SUENO DE DEJABAN RESCOLDOS VIRILES PARA LOS QUE
- 54-25 FIN DE DESPOJOS PORQUE TODO SE ROMPIA IBAN A LO QUE
- 56-13 LUEGO LA ENCENDI CON TRAIA Y MIRE EL LA QUE
- 57-8 CON SU TRONCO MUSCULOSO EN VIVIAN DOES ROEDORES BLANCOS EL QUE
- 62-0 DONDE SE CUENTA HABIA EN EL DESVAN LO QUE
- 63-2 VEIA NUNCA DESDE EL TEJADO HABIA EN EL DESVAN LO QUE
- 64-10 DEL TEJADO UN VENTANUCO POR ENTRABAN Y SALIAN MURCIELAGOS EL QUE
- 65-7 CONTADME HACEIS LO QUE
- 65-27 SON IMPARES Y SOBRA ES MIA PORQUE LA QUE

66-II UN LARGO RATO SILENCIOSO EN LO QUE
TAN SOLO SE OIAN

5.3.9. LOCATION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY COMPOUND
RELATIVE PRONOUN SERIES el cual (etc.)

65-30 EN LA CAPA NEGRA SOBRE LA CUAL
ESTABA SENTADO Y DIJO

5.3.10. LOCATION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY SIMPLE
RELATIVE PRONOUN que WHERE THERE IS A DAP OR IAP
IN THE ANTECEDENT NP

43-0 DE UN
GALLO DE VELETA QUE CAZO UNOS LAGARTOS Y LO QUE

43-I RECORTADO EN UNA
CHAPA DE HIERRO QUE SE CANTEA AL VIENTO SIN MOVERSE

43-2 Y QUE TIENE UN
OJO QUE SOLO SE VE POR LAS DOS

43-6 EN LA
BLANCA PARED DE LEVANTE QUE NO TIENE VENTANAS
PRENDIDOS DE MUCHOS

43-10 LES HABIA AUN SECADO LA
GLANDULITA QUE SEGREGA EL RUBOR QUE EN LOS

43-10 LA GLANDULITA QUE SEGREGA EL
RUBOR QUE EN LOS LAGARTOS SE LLAMA AMARILLOR

43-20 TODAVIA VINO EL DE LA
LLUVIA QUE SE PUSO A FLAGELAR LA PARED

43-22 UN
ZUMILLO COMO DE HERRUMBRE VERDINEGRA QUE COLABA EN

REGUERO POR LA PARED¹

44-6	ERA MAS HERMANO DE LAGARTOS <u>QUE</u> DEL GALLO DE LA VELETA Y	<u>LOS</u>
44-7	DE LA VELETA Y DIA <u>QUE</u> NO HACIA VIENTO Y EL GALLO	<u>UN</u>
44-12	Y SE ABRAZO CON FUERZAS <u>QUE</u> LE QUEDABAN A UN CARBON GRANDE	<u>LAS</u>
44-14	CUBO DE AGUA SOBRE FUEGO <u>QUE</u> SE APAGO RESOPLANDO COMO UN GATO	<u>EL</u>
44-19	SE HABIA IDO POR CALOR <u>QUE</u> HACIA Y QUEDO TAN SOLO POLVO	<u>EL</u>
44-23	UNA SEDA Y PASO ORO <u>QUE</u> ERA LO MAS FINO	<u>EL</u>
44-26	LOS CUATRO POLVILLOS USO PRIMERO <u>QUE</u> ERA EL DE ORO PARA DORAR	<u>EL</u>
44-27	CON SEGUNDO <u>QUE</u> ERA AZUL SE HIZO UN RELOJITO	<u>EL</u>
44-28	TERCERO <u>QUE</u> ERA EL VERDE LO DIO A	<u>EL</u>
44-35	EL NINO APRENDIO ALFABETO RARO <u>QUE</u> NADIE LE ENTENDIA Y TUVO QUE	<u>UN</u>
45-4	EN RASGON DE CAMISA BLANCA <u>QUE</u> HABIA ENCONTRADO COLGANDOSE DE UN ARBOL	<u>UN</u>

5.3.II. LOCATION OF IAP + SIMPLE RELATIVE PRONOUN²

NO DATA AVAILABLE IN FIRST NINE CHAPTERS

5.3.I2. LOCATION OF "REPLACIVE" NPs CONTAINING DAPs

43-15	ENCOGIDO AL SOL MAS QUE SEPTENTRION ADONDE NO VA	<u>LA DEL</u>
43-20	ANDANDO MAS TIEMPO TODAVIA VINO LA LLUVIA QUE SE	<u>EL DE</u>

-
1. This example would have been overlooked, if the display had not been extended to include six words on either side of the item sought.
 2. Again, this section has been separated from other parts of the display, as it would be by anyone analyzing the data found.

44-26	USO EL PRIMERO QUE ERA ORO PARA DORAR PICAPORTES	<u>EL DE</u>
57-1	LA CASA TENIA DOS PARTES SOL Y LA DE	<u>LA DEL</u>
57-1	PARTES LA DEL SOL Y LA LUNA	<u>LA DE</u>
57-4	A ALFANHUI LE GUSTABA MAS LA LUNA PORQUE TENIA	<u>LA DE</u>
64-24	CUANDO ALFANHUI LLEGO A ELLOS SOMBRERO LE DIJO CASI	<u>EL DEL</u>

5.3.I3. LOCATION OF REPLACIVE NPs CONTAINING IAPs^I

49-21	EL MAESTRO ABRIO LAS PUERTAS	<u>UNA DE</u>
54-3	EN ELLOS SE HABLABA DE	<u>UNO DE</u>
54-19	UN DIA SALI PARA MIS VIAJES	<u>UNO DE</u>
64-22	MONEDAS SOBRE EL PANUELO Y ELLOS DECIA LOS NUMEROS	<u>UNO DE</u>
66-23	REY SE LE SUBIO A LAS RODILLAS Y EL	<u>UNA DE</u>

5.3.I4. LOCATION OF (TRADITIONAL) SUBJECT PRONOUNS AND POST- PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT PRONOUNS

43-0	LAGARTOS Y LO QUE CON HIZO UN NINO EL GALLO	<u>ELLOS</u>
43-21	A FLAGELAR LA PARED DONDE ESTABAN COLGADOS Y LOS EMPAPABA	<u>ELLOS</u>
46-3	SE PUSO A HABLAR CON Y EL POBRE GALLO CON	<u>EL</u>
46.9	ESCONDIA PORQUE NO QUERIAN QUE	<u>ELLA</u>

I. This point was not included in the theoretical discussions, but it is included in the programming as a further extension.

	SUPIERA QUE UN GALLO DE	
47-7	DE COBRE Y VOLVIA CON AL AIRE PARA QUE SE	<u>ELLAS</u>
49-18	TUVIERA SECRETO PUESTO QUE ERA EL PRIMERO QUE LA HABIA	<u>EL</u>
54-3	EN UNO DE SE HABLABA DE LA PIEDRA	<u>ELLOS</u>
55-21	PASE LA TARDE HABLANDO CON Y SE NOS VINO LA	<u>EL</u>
55-23	UN RATO Y LLEGAMOS A	<u>ELLA</u>
55-35	TODOS ESTABAN ALREDEDOR DE QUIETOS Y CALLADOS	<u>EL</u>
56-7	QUE ALFANHUI HABIA ENCENDIDO PARA	<u>EL</u>
64-17	Y SE PARO JUNTO A	<u>ELLOS</u>
64-22	EL PANUELO Y UNO DE DECIA LOS NUMEROS CIENTO VEINTITRES	<u>ELLOS</u>
64-24	CUANDO ALFANHUI LLEGO A EL DEL SOMBRERO LE DIJO	<u>ELLOS</u>
65-17	DE CONTAR Y DORMIMOS EN	<u>ELLA</u>
65-33	QUE PARECIA QUE SILBABA CON	<u>ELLOS</u>
66-17	Y LLEGABAN HASTA CERCA DE Y SE QUEDABAN PARADOS DETRAS	<u>ELLOS</u>
66-28	RATONES QUE HABIA IDO HACIA	<u>EL</u>
67-6	ALFANHUI VOLVIO HACIA Y EL CAPITAN LE TENDIO	<u>ELLOS</u>

5.3.15. LOCATION OF (TRADITIONAL) OBJECT PRONOUNS WHICH OCCUR AS
SUFFIXES

43-26	JUNTO TODO EN UNA PALANGANA PARA SECO	<u>PONERLO</u>
44-21	SOBRE UN PANUELO BLANCO PARA EL COLOR	<u>VERLE</u>

47-6	SABANAS Y SE PUSO A EN EL AIRE HASTA QUE	<u>SACUDIRLAS</u>
47-26	LO IBA MADURANDO TODO HASTA	<u>PUDRIRLO</u>
48-17	SER DISECADOR Y TUVIERON QUE DE APRENDIZ CON UN MAESTRO	<u>MANDARLO</u>
51-14	LE DABA MIEDO NO SABIA	<u>SOLTARLO</u>
51-21	VOLVIO A EN BRAZOS EL MAESTRO Y	<u>COGERLA</u>
54-10	ENTONCES BASTABA UNA TORCIDA Y ENCENDER PARA	<u>PONERLE</u>
54-25	QUE SE ROMPIA IBAN A A AQUELLA TIERRA	<u>TIRARLO</u>
55-15	DEMAS Y QUE HABIA QUE EN MEDIO DE UN GRAN	<u>TOCARLA</u>
58-2	CULEBRA Y TENIA GANAS DE	<u>CAPTURARLA</u>

5.3.16. LOCATION OF (TRADITIONAL) REFLEXIVE PRONOUN AS A
SEPARATE WORD OR SUFFIX OR INFIX

5.3.16.3. DAP + DAP^I

43-9	VERGÜENZA AUNQUE MUERTOS PORQUE NO HABIA AUN SECADO LA	<u>SE LES</u>
43-14	LA COLA DOBLO HACIA EL MEDIODIA	<u>SE LES</u>
46-4	COSAS QUE LO LIBRARA Y ENSENARIA	<u>SE LAS</u>
47-28	LA SANGRE Y LOS COLORES IBAN AL FETO QUE	<u>SE LE</u>
51-26	Y HECHA GIRONES Y LUEGO SALIA EL RELLENO	<u>SE LE</u>
52-6	A LA CRIADA SECARON PRONTO AQUELLOS	<u>SE LA</u>
52-7	PERO OTRO DIA DEJARON A LA LLUVIA	<u>SE LA</u>

I. For easier correlation, these subsections follow the enumeration of 5.2.

- 53-20 PRIMERA LLAMA DE ALFANHUI Y PUSIERON BRILLANTES LAS PUPILAS SE LE
- 53-25 NOMBRE DE ALFANHUI PORQUE EL HABIA PUESTO SE LO
- 55-12 QUE CUANDO VENIA LA PRIMAVERA SECABAN AQUEL MUSGO Y SE LE
- 55-12 MUSGO Y AQUELLAS PLANTAS Y CAIAN PARA QUE NACIERAN SE LE
- 55-37 EN UNA VENDA BLANCA Y VEIA TAN SOLO LA SE LE
- 58-4 NARANJAS Y LOS LIMONES Y OCURRIO PREPARAR TRES ANILLITOS SE LE
- 65-7 NO DIRE A NADIE SE LO
- 66-22 LUEGO EL REY SUBIO A UNA DE SE LE
- 66-24 DOBLECES DE SU PANTALON Y DIO A COMER EN SE LOS
- 66-26 LA SACO DEL BOLSILLO Y DIO SE LA

5.3.16.4 DAP ALONE.

- 43-2 UNA CHAPA DE HIERRO QUE CANTEA AL VIENTO SIN MOVERSE SE
- 43-2 TIENE UN OJO SOLO QUE VE POR LAS DOS PARTES SE
- 43-3 PERO ES UN SOLO OJO BAJO UNA NOCHE DE LA SE
- 43-4 NOCHE DE LA CASA Y FUE A LAS PIEDRAS A SE
- 43-10 RUBOR QUE EN LOS LAGARTOS LLAMA AMARILLOR PUES TIENEN UNA SE
- 43-12 PERO ANDANDO EL TIEMPO FUERON SECANDO AL SOL Y SE
- 43-12 FUERON SECANDO AL SOL Y PUSIERON DE UN COLOR NEGRUZCO SE
- 43-13 DE UN COLOR NEGRUZCO Y ENCOGIO SU PIEL Y SE SE

43-13	SE ENCOGIO SU PIEL Y ARRUGO	<u>SE</u>
43-14	EL MEDIODIA PORQUE ESA PARTE HABIA ENCOGIDO AL SOL MAS	<u>SE</u>
43-20	EL DE LA LLUVIA QUE PUSO A FLAGELAR LA PARED	<u>SE</u>
44-2	DIAS DE SOL TAN SOLO VEIAN EN LA PARED UNOS	<u>SE</u>
44-10	COMO SI HICIERA VIENTO Y FUE PONIENDO ROJO AMARILLO BLANCO	<u>SE</u>
44-11	NOTO QUE EMPEZABA A REBLANDECERSE DOBLO Y SE ABRAZO CON	<u>SE</u>
44-12	A REBALNDECERSE SE DOBLO Y ABRAZO CON LAS FUERZAS QUE	<u>SE</u>
44-14	AGUA SOBRE EL FUEGO QUE APAGO RESOPLANDO COMO UN GATO	<u>SE</u>
44-18	LOS DIAS TODO EL AGUA HABIA IDO POR EL CALOR	<u>SE</u>
44-27	EL SEGUNDO QUE ERA AZUL HIZO UN RELOJITO DE ARENA	<u>SE</u>
44-31	LA MADRE PUSO MUY CONTENTA AL VER	<u>SE</u>
44-34	UN TONO SEPIA COMO NO HABIA VISTO	<u>SE</u>
45-2	PERO EL NINO CUANDO VEIA SOLO SACABA EL TINTERO	<u>SE</u>
45-3	SOLO SACABA EL TINTERO Y PONIA A ESCRIBIR EN SU	<u>SE</u>

5.3.16.5. DAP SUFFIX

43-2	SE CANTEA AL VIENTO SIN Y QUE TIENE UN SOLO	<u>MOVEERSE</u>
44-8	EL GALLO NO PODIA SUBIO AL TEJADO Y LO	<u>DEFENDERSE</u>
44-II	CUANDO NOTO QUE EMPEZABA A SE DOBLO Y SE ABRAZO	<u>REBLANDECERSE</u>

44-13	UN CARBON GRANDE PARA NO DEL TODO	<u>PERDERSE</u>
44-36	LE ENTENDIA Y TUVO QUE DE LA ESCUELA PORQUE EL	<u>IRSE</u>
47-30	LUEGO VOLVIO A Y SE MARCHO LENTAMENTE	<u>LEVANTARSE</u>
50-18	HISTORIA TERMINABA Y LO DEJABA	<u>APAGARSE</u>
53-19	VIO POR FIN VIVA Y ALEGRE LA PRIMERA	<u>ENCENDERSE</u>
54-12	CUANDO SE QUERIA TAMBIEN PODIA	<u>APAGARSE</u>
57-14	ALFNAHUI SOLIA CONTEMPLANDO EL JARDIN Y EL	<u>QUEDARSE</u>
57-22	Y AL LA SUPERFICIE DEL ESTANQUE EN	<u>AGITARSE</u>
58-25	AL SE ESTRECHARON Y LA APRETARON	<u>TOCARSE</u>
59-6	VIO DESDE SU CAMA EL DE AQUELLAS SOMBRAS EN LAS	<u>AGITARSE</u>
59-9	AGRANDABA Y SE AGRANDABA HASTA UN INMENSO SALON	<u>HACERSE</u>
59-10	TAMBIEN Y SE MULTIPLICABAN AL DE LA LLAMA PEQUENA DE	<u>AGITARSE</u>
60-2	Y DESPERTARON VISIONES OLIVIDADAS AL LA MUSICA DEL VIENTO Y	<u>ENCONTRARSE</u>
60-4	PARECIO EN MEDIO DE LA RUEDA	<u>ABRIRSE</u>
60-31	SU ESPECIE Y VOLVIA EL DE LAS BANDADAS HACIA LOS	<u>ENTRECRUZARSE</u>
61-10	MOMENTO ENCANDESCENTES Y REPETIAN AL CADA COLOR VIVO Y LEJANO	<u>QUEMARSE</u>
61-11	LEJANO DE LAS VISIONES PARA DE NUEVO EN LA LUZ	<u>PERDERSE</u>
61-12	TODO VOLVIA A EN SI	<u>RECÓGERSE</u>
61-15	SUBIA A LA LLAMA EXTENUADO POR LOS HILOS DE LA	<u>AHOGANDOSE</u>

62-5	CALIENTE Y SE OIA EL DE LAS TEJAS ACHICHARRADAS	<u>DESPEREZARSE</u>
62-20	EL FONDO DE LA LAGUNA LAS UNAS CON LAS OTRAS	<u>ENTRECRUZANDOSE</u>
62-28	DESDE EL DESVAN PODIA SU SILUETA DIFUMINADA POR LOS	<u>VERSE</u>
63-14	CERRABA LOS OJOS Y VEIA SOBRE LA PELICULA TRASLUCIDA DE	<u>PROYECTARSE</u>
5.3.16.6. <u>DAP INFIX</u>		
54-13	ACEITE SOLO UNA LECHUZA SABIA HASTA DEJAR LA PIEDRA ENJUTA	<u>SACARSELO</u>
5.3.16.7. <u>DAP</u>		
61-12	TODO VOLVIA A RECOGERSE EN	<u>SI</u>
5.3.17. <u>LOCATION OF CAPITAL LETTERS PRECEDED BY DAP OR IAP</u>		
65-22	YO ME LLAMO BATO Y SOY EL CAPITANFFI	<u>EL</u>
65-29	BATO HIZO UN SITIO PARA	<u>EL</u>
66-6	BATO SE VOLVIO HACIA ALFANHUI	<u>EL</u>
66-15	SE QUEDABA PARADO MIRANDO A BATO Y A FAULO Y	<u>EL</u>
66-19	BATO DIJO ESTAN RECELOSOS PORQUE	<u>EL</u>
66-22	HASTA LOS MISMOS PIES DE BATO	<u>EL</u>
66-25	CUANDO EL REY HUBO TERMINADO BATO ECHO GRANOS DE TRIGO	<u>EL</u>
66-34	BATO LO MIRO DE ARRIBA	<u>EL</u>

67-4 IBA A ABRIR OYO QUE
BATO LE LLAMABA DE NUEVO¹

EL

5.3.18. LOCATION OF MISCELLANEOUS OCCURRENCES OF DAP AND IAP²

5.3.19. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS²

-
- I. As it happens, these nine examples are all of the same name. However, although the data happen to be unenlightening in this instance, they prove that the function is operating properly. Its purpose is to locate names, titles, and examples of anomastasia; later data exemplify these: 106-35 (geographical name) el Tajo, 97-8 (title) el Director-Gerente, 72-18 (anomastasia) un San Jerónimo.
 2. For reasons stated in section 5.2., these functions were not run.

CONCLUSION

As Chomsky (1976:118) admits that the restriction of some of his discussions to English is a serious limitation, it is not surprising that Casagrande (1972:5) assesses the twin prominence of English in Linguistics as "both the linguistic vehicle of the exposition of the theory and the illustrative language", whereas applications to Romance languages suffer delay. To obey Hill (1966:231) would involve waiting to discover the Erehwon of unanimity before proceeding to deal with other languages; he recommended as good practice to concentrate on one language and to provide as accurate a description of it as possible, and "to AGREE ON THAT DESCRIPTION, before we move on to comparison" (emphasis mine).

The current delay is, perhaps, reflected in the fact that Postal's suggestion regarding a joint study of articles and pronouns in Spanish appears to have been ignored. This thesis is an attempt to respond in part to Postal's challenge (1966:198):

an analysis like that proposed here for English is to me even more obvious for languages like German and Spanish where, for example, the respective pronoun-definite article similarities between er-der, sie-die, and el-el, ella-la are evidently no accidents.

The nature of the response conforms to the spirit rather than the letter of his suggestion, because the present analysis differs completely from Postal's in method and rightly so. Langacker (1970:167) justifiably states that there are limitations to what can be learned "about the validity of a conception by going over, in a related language the same ground that has already been covered in English". Postal's analysis has met with a mixed

reception. Delorme and Dougherty (1972)¹ consider that Postal's examples contradict his viewpoint. Sommerstein (1972) goes further, arguing that the examples in fact support the opposite conclusion and does so convincingly enough to convert Thorne (1974) from his previous acceptance of Postal. However, Delorme and Dougherty contest only the practice, not the principle:

we do not doubt that there is an interesting intuitive notion behind Postal's idea that definite articles and pronouns are somehow related. But his paper sheds little, if any, light...on the nature of this relationship" (p.27).

Moreover, Rosenbaum (1968) and Fillmore² find Postal convincing, and, as noted above, Goldin (1968:61) relates Postal's view to one of the highest authorities, Bello's grammar of Spain, confirmed by that of Fernandez in this century.

Our problem has been less than that of Meyerstein (1972:29), who discusses Czech articles and deictics but cannot resolve whether the latter should be classed as articles, because of the intractability of determining what an article in Czech is. However, an attempt to define word classes for any language confronts difficulty, even for English, which has been intensively studied in this respect (Crystal 1967:24). The problem is one of establishing acceptable criteria for defining word classes. Stevens (1966:1) gives this as the reason for a failure to arrive at a totally satisfactory theory of parts of speech, adding that many linguists who "insist on a formal approach to such classifications use a combination of both morphological and

1. Emonds (1976:228) claims that their arguments are "very convincing for French, especially in that much of the evidence that is taken as crucial in Postal for establishing that pronouns ARE articles in English is lacking in French". This comment is strange for three reasons: (i) they deal exclusively with English; (ii) Postal makes no reference to French; and (iii) Emonds provides no evidence to support his claim.
2. Unpublished paper, see MSSE (1973:95).

syntactic information to define word classes" (p.5). That, basically, is the approach adopted here. Crystal (1967:42) assigns greater theoretical importance to syntax, although recognizing that, in practice, morphology may be a prior methodological consideration; he claims that descriptive adequacy is possible only when preconceived traditional notions are ignored and instead the data are allowed to define the classes. That, again, is basically the approach adopted here. Werth (1974:56) agrees with Crystal in blaming the effect of tradition in assigning words a "spurious fixity and exactitude".

Given the complexity of the problem, which Crystal stresses (p.55), it is surprising that linguists tend so radically to diverge from Hill's suggestion as to insist on the universality of categories. Chomsky (1976:118) still upholds the general principle of universality, and McCawley's foreword to Lakoff (1970) does so specifically for categories. Compare Bach's reference (1970), quoted above, to the similarities between English and Japanese which one categorical redefinition suggests; Delorme and Dougherty (1972:3) give other derivations; and Chomsky (1970:199) mentions the view that the categories may reflect a deeper feature structure, "each being a combination of features of a more abstract sort. In this way the various relations among the categories might be expressible". Language-specifically, at least, the quest has been in evidence for a long time; see Michael's review (1970:67f) of the reluctance to recast the categories which Classical scholars had established: "this inertia, which makes for stability, has so far proved even more powerful than the (at times forceful) recognition that the traditional category of pronoun is an inconsistent combination of somewhat unrelated functions, which, if it is not unstable, ought to be".

Lipka (1971) reviews many contributions regarding grammatical categories, and quotes Sapir's view that an examination of different parts of speech can show them to be "to an astonishing degree actually convertible into each other", and Anderson (1973:20) refers to Key's attempt (1847) to demonstrate the relation between demonstratives, DAS, III pronouns, relative and interrogative pronouns, and compares this with Postal (1966). Sommerstein (1972:198) stresses that language-specific analyses are less desirable. Bach (1974:22f), after complaining about the assumptions made by traditional grammarians concerning the recognized meaning of categorial terms, declares: "we can discard immediately the notion that there are no language-independent categories or theoretical terms." He does not claim that such concepts are "the same in detail from one language to another, but rather that they are far from totally different." He later (p.260) singles out Aux and Determiner as pre-eminently language-independent in character. Elements comprising the Determiner might, though, be very reduced if Spangler (1975) is followed; he puts forward what he calls a new approach to a problem which is not receiving "much current concern...the broader aspects of the Determiner category". Because the symbol is unsatisfactory owing to the many divergent terms which it covers, he advances successive stages of pruning it, so that it eventually comprises cardinal numbers, quantity terms, deictics, and the. According to MSSE, however, Postal's view (1966) would abolish the Determiner node, because only the article is non-optional among all its constituents (1973:70). (Compare the elimination of the category VP by Case Grammar: see Contreras (1975:14).)

Faust (1964:92) is right to denigrate a worship of terms, which are merely tools, the important thing being "the discovery of a pattern, or of...a method for bringing patterns to light." This thesis has attempted to highlight such patterns for the area of Spanish under consideration, and to do so in line with Crystal's suggestion (1967:50) that, in defining word classes, "what is primarily needed is facts about the function of the words in question, a survey of their distributional properties". (Even the English articles have been too little studied in these respects, according to Yotsukura (1970:19).) From a study of the function and distribution of the Spanish articles and III pronouns, a pattern has emerged which evinces such an isomorphic affinity between them as to justify the assimilation of the pronouns to articles. Such a redefinition of the Spanish "Article" is necessarily language-specific; Bierwisch and Kiefer (1969:56) decide not to discuss articles for two good reasons: "because the syntactic behaviour of articles is anything but clear...and also because our considerations should not be restricted to English ...the use of articles is highly language-specific." Nevertheless, the assimilation attempted here, and the associated feature analysis,¹ is not without possible parallel for German (Postal 1966), and also for English; see the comment in MSSE (1973:73, emphasis mine): "feature analysis permits the relating of the definite article the to OTHER ARTICLES also obviously definite (e.g. RELATIVE, DEMONSTRATIVE and PERSONAL PRONOUNS.)" MSSE recalls that pronouns and articles were separated, traditionally, and in early TG analyses, but that Postal's proposition of he, she, it, they, as

1. Bach says (1974:67) that there is "no very good evidence" whether syntactic features are "merely handy mnemonic devices or have some systematic significance".

suppletive variants of the was accepted, in a somewhat modified form, by Fillmore (unpublished paper, 1966). MSSE's position is stated to be close to Fillmore's; it accepts that the personal pronouns are fundamentally articles, that the person features must originate on the article, although number and gender are derived by agreement with the noun: "the feature copying rule... will copy the...features from the noun on the definite article which later becomes him, her etc." (p.209, Compare pp 95f, and 126); it summarizes Postal's and Fillmore's suggestion as

"a prior agreement rule which transfers certain features of the noun to the determiner (whereby) the definite article can have a number of feature combinations in its surface structure; these complex symbols are all realized as the when one of their features is [-PRO], and as the various pronouns if [+PRO] is included" (p.173).

Postal himself states it thus: "the so-called third person pronouns ...are exactly the articles assigned to nouns containing the features [+Pro, +Definite, -Demonstrative, +111, -11, -1]" (p.189). See MSSE (1973:69) for the advantages for linguistic metatheory of a feature analysis both for a language-specific and for a more universal description, and Kayne (1975:134) for a re-analysis of categorial symbols as complexes of features, with reference to French.

How a purely morphological analysis of pronouns has contributed to their being "coherently included...within the bounds of some other category with which they share a common morphology" is mentioned by Freyre (1974:1). She also recalls good historical precedents for doing precisely what this thesis has adopted as its procedure, viewing jointly the two articles, the personal pronouns, and the relative pronouns. That historical approach is not dead, at least as regards "a relationship between pronouns and articles, which has been reassumed in modern times by some generative grammarians". Of these, Freyre notes that only Postal (1966)

rejects the concept of pronouns as derived transformationally from NPs, and disagrees with his analysis, on syntactic and semantic grounds. Her own assumption is to regard the deep structure origin of pronouns as NPs which are "marked as [+Anaphoric] and pronominalized by means of transformations" at some stage of the derivation (p.35f). Significantly, this is basically the same premise as that of Jacobs and Rosenbaum who, by contrast, discern a relationship between articles and pronouns:

even though the explanation may appear to be unlikely at first consideration...personal pronouns, in deep structure, are nouns; but pronouns are not nouns in surface structure. In surface structure, pronouns must be articles (1968:94).

Turning specifically to Spanish, let us summarize the arguments for a similar analysis which this thesis has presented. As regards the Spanish situation, it is noteworthy that Lackstrom virtually identifies his suggestion (1967), that the 111 pronouns arise from a process of fusion of the DA and a pro-form, with Postal's slightly different view of "the similarity between articles and pronouns as one of extraction" (p.12). The Academy (1931:40) based an identity of the two part parts of speech on two criteria: identical morphology and mutually exclusive position:

el pronombre de tercera persona tiene también...las formas él, la, lo, los, las, idénticas a las del artículo, y para no confundirlas en el uso adviértase que el artículo sólo puede juntarse con nombres o con otros vocablos que hagan oficio de nombres, y precediéndolos.

(Because of complementary distribution, Liefrink (1976:68f) regards these English parts of speech as "absolutely identical", a suggestion which (surprisingly) he calls "quite novel...and controversial".) My analysis has similarly attempted to redefine the relationship between the Spanish articles and pronouns on the basis (i) of their common morphological features (chapter four); (ii) of the syntactic and semantic features which they share (chapters one to three

inclusive): compare Bennett's comment (1977:49) that "syntax and semantics interplay to enable the movement of items between categories"); and (iii) of a consideration of their complementary distribution (especially chapters two to four inclusive). I have thereby attempted to provide, from the theoretical standpoint, a totally new definition for the categorial term "Article" in modern Spanish. On the basis of the theoretical reduction of the morphology of articles and pronouns to interrelated formulae (chapter four), a practical application has been made possible in the form of a prototype computer-assisted textual analysis (chapter five).

The many parts of speech comprising the redefined "Article" amount to an average of twenty-four per cent of the words in a section of continuous prose. As the Introduction stated, this may be contrasted with Anderson's nineteen subclasses for a less complex area for which the data had first been simplified; contrast also Stevens' eight rules to account for much fewer phenomena (1966: 91f). Because of, firstly, the statistically high frequency of the "Article", and, secondly, its widespread potential distribution (in NPs, relative clauses, VPs), it may represent the key to a study of a wide range of syntactic problems. For example, the following statistics from the sample chapter are significant:

1. of the 158 N(P)s, 124 have articles, and 34 do not, so the formulae help to locate 78.48% of all NPs;
2. of finite Vs, 46 out of 123 occur with "Articles" (i.e. traditional subject or object pronouns); add to this the infinitives and participles (with or without "Article"), all of which the Computer can locate, and of which there are 20 in the sample, and the ratio of V(P)s which can be located by the program as it stands is $(66 : 123 = 53.65\%)$.

3. there are 20 relative clauses (one being a Replative) all the rest having articles within the antecedent, as detailed in chapter two above, so the discovery rate for relatives in the sample happens to be 100%. Now all relative clauses, introduced by quien(es), cual(es) or que, with or without articles, can be located by the program, and the deliberately omitted item cuyo could be programmed without difficulty.
4. furthermore, of the total number of continuous words in the sample (763), the program has discovered not only the "Articles" (184 occurrences), but also que, de, mas, and the infinitives and participles mentioned earlier: occurrences of these which have not been counted already because they are anarthrous, amount to nil, 26, 5 and 20, respectively (total 51); adding these 51 miscellaneous items to the 184 "Articles" gives a subtotal of 235 out of 763 words, that is no less than 30.79% of the total content is embraced by the program.

The thesis title refers to "a method of facilitating a computer-assisted textual analysis", and does not make the pretentious claims of being either the only or the best method. However, it is hard to conceive of an approach which would be so all-embracing as to locate economically over half of all VPs; over three-quarters of all NPs, and all relative clauses, not to mention items which have been specified in program requirements other than those detailed above, such as regular comparative and superlative adjectives, present participles, regular past participles, and so on. This answers the possible criticism that the prototype computer program is useful only to handle "Article" insertion. That is not to say that its effectiveness could not be improved by punching also a large dictionary, and including the categorial abbreviations in the

information stored; such a step would have simplified some of the programming undertaken here (although it would, of course, have been more costly in man-hours and machine-hours), and would, in conjunction with these formulae and program, represent a very flexible tool for textual analysis.

It would, for example, facilitate a study of the unresolved problem of article insertion and omission in Spanish. To approach this from the angle of omission after certain Vs would certainly underline the Kantian notion of presuppositions being premises of all arguments; it would presuppose (i) a prior study to determine what might be the causative factors of omission (which is, of course, co-terminous with the problem one is seeking to solve!); (ii) the possibility of pre-conceived notions determining which Vs (or what other factors) might be involved; and (iii) the problem of programming the computer to locate the Vs concerned, which demands a breakdown of all their possible conjugations. Suppose, for example, that the Vs estar, ir, ser, volver, and impersonal haber, were the only Vs involved (which is to oversimplify presuppositions (i) and (ii)), problem (iii), programming them, might be approached as follows, which I advance without any great conviction that it would be at all adequate:

1. estar
- 1.2 Ignore este and esta (unless the final vowel carries an accent), and estos, estas, and esto; also estado (if the immediately preceding word commences with h-).
- 1.3 Find all other words commencing est-.
2. ir
- 2.1 Find fue, fué, fui, fuí, íbamos, fuéramos, fuésemos, iríamos, iré, iremos, voy, vamos, yendo, vayamos.
- 2.2 Find the following words; ignore unless followed immediately by a word-break, or unless carrying a suffix of one or two letters:

fuera, fuese, iba, va, vaya.

2.3 Find ir followed immediately by a word-break, or an accented vowel, or a suffix of no more than three letters.

2.4 Find ido preceded immediately by a word commencing with h-.

3. ser

3.1 Find éramos, es, se, seamos, sed, seremos, seríamos, siendo, soy.

3.2 Find ser followed immediately by a word-break or an accented e, a, i, ± one or two more letters.

3.3 Find sea- followed by a word-break or one or two more letters.

3.4 Find er- followed by vowels -a, -e or -i + one or two more letters.

3.5 Find sido preceded immediately by word commencing h-.

4. volver

4.1 Find all words commencing volv- or vuelv-.

4.2 Find vuelto preceded immediately by word commencing h-.

5. impersonal haber

5.1 Find the words haber, había, habiendo, habrá, habría, ha + habido, hay, haya, hubiera, hubiese, hubo.

Even this amount of detail leaves this as a very ineffective program requirement, quite apart from the unjustifiable pre-suppositions indicated. Compare the solution which the present procedure could help to supply: over 75% of all NPs are already located anyway; also, virtually 31% of all items are locatable; the remaining 69% of items (which will include the 25% of anarthrous NPs) could be located, checked against the dictionary in store to verify whether they are specified as Hs, and if so, displayed.

Other syntactic problems which the program, as it stands at present, could probe, include some which have been mentioned above: the matter of comparison of adjectives; the problems of leísmo,

loísmo, and laísmo; and the problem of se; and others, such as collocation of adjectives and nouns, apocopation of adjectives, and stylistic considerations. Moreover, the other formulae which were established in chapter four, but not exploited, could also be employed in further analyses.

Khlebnikova (1975:99) expresses the opinion that the article provides a good basis for the examination of the nature of language in all its aspects. If this is true for English, using the two articles per se, how much more for Spanish, using the redefined "Article", especially in the light of Contreras' remarks (1975:110) concerning "our abysmal ignorance about the structure of language in general and that of Spanish in particular" (compare Schroten (1975:399)), and that "Spanish lacks the necessary spadework (for a TG) in most of its syntax and semantics". Perhaps this thesis, even if it has, in itself, made only a negligible theoretical contribution to that spadework, has devised practical machinery which may enable more hands to work more effectively over more extensive terrain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following recognized abbreviations are employed here:

- AO = Archivum (Oviedo)
 IRAL = International Review of Linguistics in Language Teaching
 RSEL = Revista Española de Lingüística
 ZFRPh = Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie.

- Abraham, W. (1973) "The Ethic dative in German", in Kiefer and Ruwet, eds., vol. 13, pp. 1-19.
- Abraham, W. (1974) Review of Wisbey, ed., Linguistics 141, 97-102.
- Ahlgren, A. (1951) "On the use of the definite article with nouns of possession in English", reviewed by R. Davis (1951) Archivum Linguisticum 3, 78-79.
- Aldarcos Llorach, E. (1951) Gramática Estructural, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica III, Madrid.
- Aldarcos Llorach, E. (1961) "Los pronombres personales en español", AO 11, 6-16.
- Aldarcos Llorach, E. (1963) "Español 'que'", AO 13, 5-17.
- Aldarcos Llorach, E. (1968) "'Un', el número y los indefinidos", AO 18, 11-20.
- Aldarcos Llorach, E. (1970) Estudios de gramática funcional del español, Gredos, Madrid.
- Alcina Franch, J. and Blecua, J.M. (1975) Gramática española, Ariel, Barcelona.
- Allan, K. (1976) "Collectivizing", Archivum Linguisticum 7 (new series), 99-117.
- Alonso, A. (1961) Estudios lingüísticos, temas españoles, second edition, Gredos, Madrid.
- Alonso, M. (1968) Gramática del español contemporáneo, Guadarrama, Madrid.
- Anderson, J.M. (1961) "The morphophonemics of gender in Spanish nouns", Lingua 10, 285-296.
- Anderson, J.M. (1973) "Maximi Planudis in memoriam", in Kiefer and Ruwet, eds., vol. 13, 20-47.
- Arlotto, A. (1972) Introduction to historical linguistics, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston.
- Arteaga, F. de (1915) Practical Spanish, John Murray, London.
- Arutjunova, N.D. (1975) "Problems of syntax and semantics in the works of C.J. Fillmore", Linguistics 150, 5-14.

- Bach, E. (1964) Introduction to transformational grammar, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Bach, E. (1970) "Nouns and noun phrases", in Bach and Harms, eds., pp. 90-122.
- Bach, E. (1970b) "Problominalization", Linguistic Inquiry 1, 121-122.
- Bach, E. (1974) Syntactic theory, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Bach, E. and Harms, R.J., eds., (1970) Universals in linguistic theory, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, London.
- Barrenechea, A.M. (1963) "Las clases de palabras en español como clases funcionales", Romance Philology 17, 301-309.
- Barri, N. (1975) "Nucleus and satellite in nominal syntagmatics", Linguistics 157, 67-86.
- Bello, A. and Cuervo, R.J. (1952) Gramática de la lengua castellana, con observaciones por N. Alcañá-Zamora y Torres, third edition, Editorial Sopena Argentina, Buenos Aires.
- Bennett, W.A. (1975) "Clitics in French - a performance viewpoint", Linguistics 156, 5-22.
- Bennett, W.A. (1977) "Verb and article colligation in French and English", IRAL 15, 47-54.
- Benveniste, E. (1956) "La nature des pronoms", in For Ramon Jakobson, Mouton, The Hague.
- Bickerton, D. (1969) "The linguistic validity of verb-nominalizing transformations", Lingua 22, 47-62.
- Bierwisch, M. (1970) "On classifying semantic features", in Bierwisch and Heidolph, eds.
- Bierwisch, M. (1970b) "Semantics", in J. Lyons, ed.
- Bierwisch, M. and Heidolph, eds. (1970) Progress in Linguistics, Mouton, The Hague.
- Bierwisch, M. and Kiefer, F., (1969) "Remarks on definitions in natural language", in F. Kiefer, ed., vol. 10, 55-79.
- Blumenthal, P. (1976) "Komplexe Sätze im Französischen", ZFRPh 92, 59-89.
- Bobes Naves, M. (1974) "Construcciones castellanas con 'SE'. Análisis transformacional", RSEL julio-diciembre, 301-326.
- Bobes Naves, M. (1975) "Sistema, norma y uso del gerundio castellano", RSEL enero-junio, 1-34.
- Bolinger, D.L. (1954) "Articles in old familiar places", Hispania 37, 79-82.

- Bolinger, D.L. (1969) "Of undetermined nouns and indeterminate reflexives", Romance Philology 22, 484-489.
- Bowers, F. (1969) "The deep structure of abstract nouns", Foundations of Language 5, 520-533.
- Brecht, R.D. (1974) "Deixis in embedded structures", Foundations of Language II, 489-518.
- Bull, W.E. (1965) Spanish for teachers: applied linguistics, The Ronald Press Co., New York.
- Burton-Roberts, N. (1976) "On the generic indefinite article", Language 52, 427-448.
- Carnicer, R. (1969) Sobre el lenguaje de hoy, Editorial Prensa Espanola, Madrid.
- Carnicer, R. (1972) Nuevas reflexiones sobre el lenguaje, Editorial Prensa Madrid.
- Casagrande, J. (1972) "Syntactic studies in Romance", in Casagrande and Saciuk, eds., pp. 1-22.
- Casagrande, J. and Saciuk, B. (1972) Generative studies in Romance languages, Newbury House, Massachusetts.
- Cassell's Spanish-English, English Spanish Dictionary (1959), ed. E.A. Peers et al., Cassell, London.
- Charandeau, P. (1971) "Le système des démonstratifs en espagnol", Les Langues Modernes 65, 95-102.
- Chevalier, J.C. (1969) "Remarques comparées sur l'infinitif espagnol et l'infinitif français", Bulletin Hispanique 71, 140-173.
- Chomsky, N. (1963) Syntactic Structures, third edition, Mouton, The Hague.
- Chomsky, N. (1965) Aspects of the theory of syntax, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Chomsky, N. (1976) Reflections on language, Temple Smith Ltd., London.
- Chorley, R.J. and Kennedy, B.A. (1971) Physical geography, a systems approach, Prentice Hall International, London.
- Coester, A. (1927) "Again the Spanish superlative", Hispania 10, 176-180.
- Cofer, T.M. (1975) "Performance constraints on relative pronoun deletion", Linguistics 157, 13-32.
- Comrie, B. (1976) "The syntax of action nominals: a cross-language study", Lingua 40, 177-201.
- Contreras, H. (1968) "The structure of the determiner in Spanish", Lingua 44, 22-28.

- Contreras, H. (1970) Review of Goldin, Lingua 25, 12-29.
- Contreras, H. (1973) "Spanish non-anaphoric lo", Linguistics 3, 5-29.
- Contreras, H. (1973b) "Grammaticality versus acceptability: the Spanish SE case", Linguistic Inquiry 3, 83-88.
- Contreras, H. (1975) Review of Hadlich, Linguistics 143, 110-117.
- Contreras, H. and Rojas, J.N. (1972) "Some remarks on Spanish clitics", Linguistic Inquiry 3, 385-392.
- Cooper, W.E. (1976) "Inclusions", Lingua 40, 203-232.
- Cottle, B. (1975) The Plight of English, David and Charles, Newton Abbot.
- Cressey, W. (1968) "Relative adverbs in Spanish: a transformational analysis", Language 44, 487-500.
- Cressey, W. (1970) "Relatives and interrogatives in Spanish: a transformational analysis", Linguistics 58, 5-17.
- Criado de Val, M. (1958) Gramática española, SAETA, Madrid.
- Crystal, D. (1967) "English", Lingua 17, 24-56.
- Curme, G.O. (1952) A grammar of the German language, second edition, revised, Fred Ungar Publishing Co., New York.
- Davis, J.C. (19) "The indirect object of possession in Spanish", Language Quarterly 7: 2-6.
- Delorme, E. and Dougherty, R.C. (1972) "Appositive NP constructions", Foundations of Language 8, 2-29.
- Dineen, F.P. (1967) An introduction to general linguistics, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967.
- Dinnsen, D.A. (1972) "Additional constraints on clitic order in Spanish", in Casagrande and Saciuk, eds., pp. 176-183.
- Dougherty, R.C. (1969) "An interpretive theory of pronominal reference", Foundations of Language 5, 488-519.
- Dubois, J. (1969) Grammaire structurale du français: la phrase et les transformations, Larousse, Paris.
- Dubsky, J. (1965) "Intercambio de componentes en las formas descompuestas españolas", Bulletin Hispanique 67, 343-352.
- Emonds, J.E. (1976) A transformational approach to English syntax, Academic Press, London.
- Falk, J.S. (1968) "Nominalizations in Spanish", University of Spanish Studies in Linguistics and Language Learning 5, Seattle.

- Faust, G.P. (1964) "Something of Morphemics", Readings in Applied Linguistics, ed. H.B. Allen, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York.
- Fazio, S.C. de (1971) "Separating the uses of 'se' in Spanish", Georgetown University Ph.D. thesis.
- Fernández, S. (1950) Gramática Española, Revista de Occidente, Madrid.
- Fernández Lagunilla, M. (1975) "Acerca de la secuencia 'SE impersonal y enclítico de tercera persona': una restricción superficial?", RSEL enero-julio, 177-195.
- Fillmore, C.J. (1966) "A proposal concerning English prepositions", Georgetown University Monograph series on Languages and Linguistics 19, 19-34.
- Fillmore, C.J. (1968) "The case for case", in Bach and Harms, eds.
- Fish, G.T. (1967) "'A' with Spanish direct object", Hispania 50, 80-85.
- Fletcher, P. (1971) "Case grammar. Its viability as an alternative grammatical model", Lingua 28, 237-250.
- Fowler, R. (1971) "The design of rules for 'Det'", Archivum Linguisticum II (new series), 129-145.
- Freyre, M.L. (1974) "Personal pronominalization in Spanish", University of Illinois Ph.D. thesis.
- Friedman, J. ed. (1968) Computer experiments in transformational grammar, Stanford University.
- Gaetone, D. (1976) "Les pronoms conjoints dans la construction factive", Revue de Linguistique Romane, 40, 165-182.
- Galton, H. (1973) "The function of the definite article in some Indo-European languages: the grammatical category of determinacy", Linguistics 107, 5-13.
- Gamillscheg, E. (1966) "Zum Spanischen Artikel und Personalpronomen", Revue de Linguistique Romane 30, 250-256.
- García Bacca, J.D. (1964) "La importancia de los artículos el, la, lo", Revista Nacional de Cultura, Caracas, 165, 23-30.
- Garvin, P. (1962) "Computer participation in linguistic research", Language 38, 385-389.
- Gili y Gaya, S. (1969) Curso superior de sintaxis española, ninth edition, Publicaciones y Ediciones Spes, Barcelona.
- Goldin, M.G. (1968) Spanish Case and Function, Georgetown University Press.
- Grannis, O.C. (1974) "Notes on 'On the notion "Definite"', Foundations of Language II, 105-110.

- Green, J.N. (1975) "Reflections on Spanish reflexives", Lingua 35, 345-391.
- Greenberg, J. (1966) "Language universals", Current Trends in Linguistics 3, 61-112.
- Gross, M. (1973) "On grammatical reference", in Kiefer and Ruwet, eds., vol. 13, pp. 203-217.
- Grosu, A. (1977) Review of Chomsky, Lingua 44, 169-183.
- Haden, E.F. (1973) "The determiners in French", Linguistics III, 31-41.
- Hadlich, R. (1971) A transformational grammar of Spanish, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs N.J.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. (1976) Cohesion in English, Longman, London.
- Haverkate, H. "Pragmatic and linguistic aspects of the prepositional infinitive in Spanish", Lingua 40, 223-245.
- Hawkins, J.A. (1974) "Definiteness and indefiniteness", Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis.
- Hemphill, G. (1973) A mathematical grammar of English, Mouton, The Hague.
- Heinrichs, H.M. (1954) "Studien zum bestimmten Artikel in den germanischen Sprachen", Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie I, Wilhelm Schmidt Verlag, Giessen.
- Helke, m. (1973) "On reflexives in English", Linguistics 106, 5-23.
- Hensey, F. (1973) "Grammatical variables in southwestern American Spanish", Linguistics 108, 5-26.
- Hewson, J. (1972) Article and noun in English, Mouton, The Hague.
- Hill, A.A. (1966) "A re-examination of the English articles", in Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 19, 217-232.
- Hlavsa, Z. and Svozilová, N. (1971) "On the character of pronominal meaning", Linguistics 74, 5-10.
- Hurst, D.A. (1951) "Spanish case: influence of subject and connotation of force", Hispania 34, 74-78.
- Isenberg, H. (1968) Das direkte Objekt im Spanischen, Studia Grammatica 9, 1-277.
- Iso Echegoyen, J.J. (1974) "En torno al sistema deíctico pronominal en Latín, y su paso a las lenguas románicas", RSEL julio-diciembre, 459-472.

- Jacobs, R.A. and Rosenbaum, P.S. (1970) Readings in English transformational grammar, Ginn and Co., Waltham, Mass.
- Jones, R.L. (1970) "A study of German determiners", University of Illinois Ph.D. thesis.
- Jones, W.K. (1948) "Spanish relative pronouns and adjectives", Hispania 31, 401-404.
- Joyes, M.L. (1966) "Automatic verification of phrase structure description", Computation in Linguistics, a case book, ed. P.L. Garvin and B. Spolsky, Indiana University Press.
- Juilland, A. and Chang Rodríguez, E. (1964) A frequency dictionary of Spanish words, Mouton, The Hague.
- Kahane, H.R. and Pietrangeli, A. (1959) Structural studies on Spanish themes, University of Illinois Press.
- Kalepky, T. (1927) "Vom Sinn und Wesen des sogenannten 'bestimmten Artikels' im Französischen, nebst einer Erläuterung einer besonderen Gebrauchsweise im Spanischen", Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache 49, 135-147.
- Karttunen, L. (1971) "Definite descriptions with crossing coreference", Foundations of Language 7, 157-182.
- Katz, J.J. (1966) The philosophy of language, Harper and Row, New York.
- Katz, J.J. (1966) "Mr Pfeiffer on questions of reference", Foundations of Language 2, 234-246.
- Katz, J.J. (1967) "Recent issues in semantic theory", Foundations of Language 3, 156-169.
- Katz, J.J. and Fodor, J.A. (1964) "The structure of a semantic theory", The structure of Language, Prentice Hall, London, pp.479-520.
- Katz, J.J. and Postal, P.M. (1964) "An integrated theory of language descriptions", MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Kayne, R.S. (1971) "A pronominalization paradox in French", Linguistic Inquiry 2, 237-241.
- Kayne, R.S. (1972) "Subject inversion in French interrogatives", in Casagrande and Saciuk, eds., pp. 70-126.
- Kayne, R.S. (1975) French Syntax, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Keightley, R.G. (n.d.) "A transformational grammar of Spanish", unpublished notes.
- Keightley, R.G. (1973) Review of Isenberg, Journal of Linguistics 9, 204-208.
- Keniston, H. (1937) Spanish syntax list, Holt and Co., New York.

- Key, T.H. (1847) "On the origin of the demonstrative pronouns, the definite article, the pronouns of the third person, the relative, and the interrogative", Proceedings of the Philological Society of London 3, 57-70.
- Khlebnikova, I. (1975) Review of Hewson, Linguistics 150, 93-99.
- Kiefer, F., ed., (1969) Studies in syntax and semantics, Reidel, Dordrecht.
- Kimball, J., ed., (1972) Syntax and semantics, Seminar Press, London.
- Kiparsky, P. (1971) "Historical linguistics", in J. Lyons, ed., pp. 302-315.
- Klima, E.S. (1969) "Relatedness between grammatical systems", in Reibel and Schane, eds., pp. 227-246.
- Knittlová, D. (n.d.) "El infinitivo sujeto en el español actual", Philológica Pragensia 14, 144-152.
- Kock, J. de and Bossaert, W. (1974) "Una segmentación morfológica formal y automático del español", Boletín de la Real Academia Espanola LIV, 17-64.
- Kramsky, J. (1972) The article and the concept of definiteness in language, Mouton, The Hague.
- Kucera, H. and Nelson Francis, W. (1967) Computational analysis of present-day American English, Brown University Press, Providence R.I.
- Kuroda, S-Y. (1969) "Remarks on selectional restrictions", in F. Kiefer, ed., vol. 10, pp. 138-167
- Kuroda, S-Y. (1969b) "English relativization and certain related problems", in Reibel and Schane, eds., pp. 264-287.
- Kuroda, S-Y. (1971) "Two remarks on pronominalization", Foundations of Language 7, 183-198.
- Lackstrom, J.E. (1967) "Pro-Forms in the Spanish noun phrase", University of Washington Studies in Linguistics and Language Learning 3, Seattle.
- Lakoff, G. (1970) Irregularity in Syntax, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Lang, A. (1976) "The semantic base of gender in German", Lingua 40, 55-68.
- Langacker, R.W. (1969) "On pronominalization and the chain of command", in Reibel and Schane, eds., pp. 160-186.
- Langacker, R.W. (1970) Review of Goldin, Language 46, 167-185.
- Langendoen, T. (1971) The study of syntax, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, London.

- Lapesa, R. (1961) "Del demostrativo al artículo", Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica 15, 22-44.
- Lapesa, R. (1966) "El artículo como antecedente de relativo en español", Homenaje, 287-298.
- Lapesa, R. (1970) "El artículo con calificativos o participios no adjuntos a sustantivos en español", Revue de Linguistique Romane 34, 78-86.
- Lavandera, B. (1971) "La forma QUE del español y su contribución al mensaje", Revista de Filología Española 54, 13-36.
- Lee, D.A. (1971) "Quantifiers and identity in relativization", Lingua 27, 1-19.
- Leed, J. (1966) The computer and literary style, Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio.
- Lees, R.B. and Klima, E.S. (1969) "Rules for English pronominalization", in Reibel and Schane, eds., pp. 145-159.
- Lenz, R. (1925) La oración y sus partes, second edition, no publisher quoted, Madrid.
- Lerner, J. (1975) Review of Posner, Foundations of Language 12, 383-396.
- Liefcrink, F. (1973) Semantico-syntax, Longman, London.
- Lipka, L. (1971) "Grammatical categories, lexical items and word-formation", Foundations of Language 7, 211-238.
- Long, R.B. (1961) The sentence and its parts, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Losada Durán, J.R. (1975) "Análisis comparativo de los usos y funciones del artículo determinado en español y en inglés", RSEL enero-julio, 201-203.
- Lozano, A.G. (1971) "Non-reflexivity of indefinite 'se' in Spanish", Hispania 54, 75-80.
- Lucas, M.A. (1974) "The surface structure of relative clauses", Linguistics 139, 83-120.
- Lucas, M.A. (1975) "The syntactic classes of antenominal adjectives in English", Lingua 35, 155-171.
- Luján, M. (1972) "On the so-called neuter article in Spanish", in Casagrande and Saciuk, eds., pp. 162-175.
- Lybbert, E.K. (1972) "Substitutes as 'replacements'", Linguistics 91, 5-16.
- Lyons, J., ed., (1971) New horizons in linguistics, Pelican, Harmondsworth.

- Magnusson, W.L. (1976) "Preliminaries to textual interconversion in Spanish", Linguistics 180, 43-60.
- Malkiel, Y. (1975) "Etymology and modern linguistics", Lingua 36, 101-120.
- Manteca Alonso-Cortés, A. (1976) "En torno al 'SE' impersonal", RSEL enero-julio, 167-180.
- Martínez Amador, E.M. (1966) Diccionario Gramatical, Editorial Sopena, Barcelona.
- Martínez Celdrán, E. (1975) "Estudio morfológico de la vocal temática en español", RSEL enero-julio, 165-175.
- Mason, K.L. (1970) Advanced Spanish course, Pergamon, Oxford.
- Matthews, P.H. (1974) Morphology, Cambridge University Press.
- McCawley, J.D. (1970) "The role of semantics in a grammar", in Bach and Harms, eds., pp. 127-170.
- McCawley, J.D. (1972) "Kac and Shibatani on the grammar of Killing", in J. Kimball, ed., pp. 139-149.
- Mellema, P. (1974) "A brief against case grammar", Foundations of Language II, 39-76.
- Mey, J. "Computational linguistics in the 'Seventies'", Linguistics 74, 36-61.
- Meyer, P.L. (1972) "Some observations on constituent-order in Spanish", in Casagrande and Saciuk, eds., pp. 184-195.
- Meyerstein, Z.P. (1972) "Czech deictics: pronouns and articles?", Linguistics 91, 17-30.
- Michaël, I. (1970) English grammatical categories, Cambridge University Press.
- Mok, Q.I.M. (1968) "Contribution à l'étude des catégories morphologiques du genre et du nombre dans le français parlé actuel", Janua Linguarum Series Practica, Mouton, The Hague.
- Molina, J.A. de (1974) Usos de 'SE', Sociedad General Española de Librería, Madrid.
- Morin, Y.C. (1973) "A computer tested transformational grammar of French", Linguistics 116, 49-113.
- Otero, C. (1966) "Gramaticalidad y normativismo", Romance Philology I, 53-68.
- Otero, C. (1972) "Acceptable ungrammatical sentences in Spanish", Linguistic Inquiry 3, 233-242.

- Parker, E.F. (1926) "The Spanish superlative - an illusion", Hispania 9, 353-356.
- Parker, F. (1976) "Refining the notion of distinctive feature", Lingua 38, 61-70.
- Perlmutter, D. (1970) "On the article in English", in Bierwisch and Heidolph, eds., pp. 233-248.
- Pfeiffer, D. (1966) "On Katz on Analyticity", Foundations of Language 2, 142-147.
- Postal, P.M. (1966) "On so-called 'pronouns' in English", Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 19, 177-206.
- Postal, P.M. (1972) "A global constraint on pronominalization", Linguistic Inquiry 3, 35-59.
- Poston, L. (1953) "The redundant object pronoun in contemporary Spanish", Hispania 36, 263-272.
- Pottier, B. (1962) "L'absence de l'article en français et sa motivation", Revue de Linguistique Romane 26, 158-162.
- Pottier, B. (1968) Lingüística moderna y filología hispánica, Editorial Gredos, Madrid.
- Pountain, C.J. (1975) Review of Wyatt, Lingua 36, 268-273.
- Rameh, C.A. (1970) "Toward a computerized syntactic analysis of Portuguese", Georgetown University Ph.D. thesis.
- Ramsey, M.M. (1956) A textbook of modern Spanish, revised by R.K. Spaulding, Henry Holt and Co., New York.
- Reibel, D.A. and Schane, S.A. (1969) Modern studies in English, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
- Rivero, M-L. (1977) "Specificity and existence: a reply", Language 53, 70-85.
- Robbins, B.L. (1968) The definite article in English transformations, Mouton, The Hague.
- Robinson, I. (1975) The new grammarians' funeral, Cambridge University Press.
- Robinson, J.J. (1969) "Case, category and configuration", Journal of Linguistics 6, 57-80.
- Rodríguez-Izquierdo y Gavala, F. (1976) "La deixis anafórica en el artículo español. Comparación de textos de poesía y conversación", RSEL enero-julio, 113-132.
- Rojas, N. (1977) "Referentiality in Spanish noun phrases", Language 53, 61-69.

- Roldán, M. (1971) "The double object constructions of Spanish", Language Sciences 15, 8-14.
- Roldán, M. (1975) "The great Spanish le-lo controversy", Linguistics 147, 15-30.
- Rosengren, P. (1974) Presencia y ausencia de los pronombres personales sujetos en español moderno, Romanica Gothoburgensia 14, Almqvist and Wiksell, Stockholm.
- Rosoff, G.H. (1973) "The definite article: a distinctive feature approach to the development of a French plural noun marker", Linguistics III, 83-90.
- Ross, J.R. (1967) "On the cyclic nature of English pronominalization", in Reibel and Schane, eds., pp. 187-200.
- Ruwet, N. (1973) An introduction to generative grammar, translated by N. Smith, North Holland Linguistic Series, Amsterdam.
- Rydén, M. (1970) Review of Carlota Smith, English studies 51, 47-52.
- Sánchez de Zavala, V. (1974) Review of Hadlich (Spanish translation), RSEL julio-diciembre, 529-535.
- Santiago, R. (1975) "'Impersonal' se le(s), se lo(s), se la(s)", Boletín de la Real Academia Española LV, 83-107.
- Schlesinger, I.M. (1975) "Why a sentence in which a sentence in which a sentence is embedded is embedded is difficult", Linguistics 153, 53-66.
- Schroten, J. (1975) "Sobre unidades gramaticales en una gramática transformacional del español", RSEL, julio-diciembre, 383-400.
- Schwartz, A. (1971) "General aspects of relative clause formation", Working Papers on Language Universals 6, Stanford University, 139-171.
- Seco, R. (1967) Manual de gramática española, ninth edition, revised by M. Seco, Aguilar, Madrid.
- Seuren, P.A. (1974) Semantic syntax, Oxford University Press.
- Smith, C.S. (1964) "Determiners and relative clauses in a generative grammar of English", Language 40, 37-52.
- Smith, N.V. (forthcoming) "On generics".
- Sommerstein, A.H. (1972) "On the so-called definite article in English", Linguistic Inquiry 3, 197-210.
- Spangler, W.E. (1975) "Rethinking the category 'Determiner'", Linguistics 143, 61-73.
- Spaulding, R.K. (1962) "De (l, la, lo, los, las) que vs. que (el, la, lo, los, las) que or the force of tradition", Hispania 45, 309-314.

- Stahlke, H.F.W. (1976) "Which that", Language 52, 584-610.
- Stevens, C. (1966) "A characterization of Spanish nouns and adjectives", University of Washington Studies in Linguistics and Language Learning 2, Seattle.
- Stockwell, R.P., Bowen, J.D., and Martin, J.W. (1966) The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish, second impression, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Stockwell, R.P., Schachter, P., and Partee, B.H. (1973, "MSSE") The major syntactic structures of English, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Stork, F.C. and Widdowson, J.D. (1974) Learning about linguistics, Hutchinson Educational, London.
- Suñer, M. (1976) "Looking down the tree in Spanish", Lingua 39, 201-225.
- Svartik, J. and Carvell, H.T. Computational experiments in grammatical classification, Mouton, The Hague.
- Taglicht, J. (1972) "A new look at English relative constructions", Lingua 29, 1-22.
- Thorne, J.P. (1972) "On the notion 'Definite'", Foundations of Language 8, 562-568.
- Thorne, J.P. (1974) "Notes on 'On the notion 'Definite''", Foundations of Language II, III-III4.
- Toro y Gisbert, M., ed., (1964) Nuevo pequeño Larousse ilustrado, Editorial Larousse, Buenos Aires.
- Trager, G.L. (1958) "French morphology: personal pronouns and the 'definite article'", Language 34, 225-231.
- Tutescu, M. (1969) "Le type nominal - ce fripon de valet", Revue de Linguistique Romane 33, 299-304.
- Urdiales, M. (1974) "Los pronombres complementos del imperativo en el español y en el francés hablados", Filologia Moderna 50, 425-438.
- Vargas-Baron, A. (1952) "The function of the definite article in Spanish", Hispania 35, 410-414.
- Vignolle, V. (1942, 1943) "Le pronom espagnol "le" et ses dérivés", Revue des Langues Vivantes, Brussels 8, 237-246, and 9, 18-27.
- Vorster, J. (1975) "Mommy linguist: the case for motherese", Lingua 37, 281-312.
- Voyles, J. (1970) "The infinitive and participle in Indo-European: a syntactic reconstruction", Linguistics 58, 68-91.
- Wachal, R.S. (1966) "On using a computer", in J. Leed, ed., pp. 14-37.

- Wang, W.S-Y., Chan, S.W., and T'Sou, B.K. (1973) "Chinese linguistics and the computer", Linguistics 118, 89-117.
- Warburton, I. and Prabu, N.S. (1972) "Anaphoric pronouns: syntax versus semantics", Journal of Linguistics 8, 289-292.
- Weinreich, U. (1966) "Explorations in semantic theory", Current Trends in Linguistics 3, 434-477.
- Werth, P. (1974) "Some thoughts on non-restrictive relatives", Linguistics 142, 33-68.
- Wyatt, J.L. (1972) "An automated Portuguese to English transformational grammar", University of Texas Ph.D. thesis.
- Yasui, I. (1975) "Can the indefinite article be derived from one?", Linguistic Inquiry 6, 511-512.
- Yotsukura, S. (1970) The articles in English, Mouton, The Hague.