


2010

Unexpected Case Assignment and Preposition Doubling in Pronoun Coordination in Spanish

Carlos Gonzalex-Vergara
Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile

Hernan Labbe G.
Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile

Follow this and additional works at: <https://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu/ijlasw>

 Part of the [Linguistics Commons](#), and the [Spanish and Portuguese Language and Literature Commons](#)

[How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!](#)

Recommended Citation

Gonzalex-Vergara, Carlos and Labbe G., Hernan (2010) "Unexpected Case Assignment and Preposition Doubling in Pronoun Coordination in Spanish," *International Journal of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest*: Vol. 29: No. 2, Article 4.

Available at: <https://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu/ijlasw/vol29/iss2/4>

This Research Paper is brought to you for free and open access by EngagedScholarship@CSU. It has been accepted for inclusion in International Journal of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest by an authorized editor of EngagedScholarship@CSU. For more information, please contact library.es@csuohio.edu.

UNEXPECTED CASE ASSIGNMENT AND PREPOSITION DOUBLING IN PRONOUN COORDINATION IN SPANISH¹

CARLOS GONZÁLEZ-VERGARA
HERNÁN LABBÉ G.
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

ABSTRACT. The following paper is based on the observation of two related phenomena in Spanish. First, when two personal pronouns acting as prepositional objects are coordinated, they are usually constructed by repeating the preposition before each member of the coordination. Secondly, when this does not happen, the second member of the coordination does not appear in oblique case (which would be expected to happen through government), but it appears in nominative case. This can be clearly appreciated in the coordination of pronouns that display morphological case. The purpose of this paper is to explain these phenomena within the Minimalist Program. The conclusions suggest that the irregular case of the second member of the coordination can be explained by Johannessen's structure for coordination (1996) and default case valuation principle (2008), while the duplication of the preposition can be accounted for through reasons of economy.

1. INTRODUCTION. In Spanish, the most frequent type of structure found when coordinating two personal pronouns acting as objects of a preposition is that in which the preposition is repeated before the second coordinated element. If any of the pronouns is a first or second person singular, or also a third person singular or plural in its reflexive use, it is morphologically expressed in the oblique ca

- (1) a. *El regalo de Juan es para ti y para mí*
The present of Juan is for you.OBL and for I.OBL
Juan's present is for you and for me

¹A preliminary version of this article appeared with the title : *Asignación irregular de caso y doblado de la preposición en la coordinación de pronombres* in Cuadernos de Lingüística 12 (2006), working papers on Linguistics by Instituto Universitario Ortega y Gasset, Madrid.

- b. *El regalo de Juan es para ti y para sí mismo.*

The present of Juan is for you.OBL and for he-self.OBL

Juan's present is for you and for himself

It is not unusual for Spanish speakers, however, to express structures in which the preposition is not duplicated. Curiously, in these sentences the second coordinated element does not maintain the oblique morphological case, but rather changes to the nominative case:

- (2) a. *El regalo de Juan es para ti y yo*

The present of Juan is for you.OBL and I.NOM

Juan's present is for you and I

- b. *El regalo de Juan es para ti y él mismo*

The present of Juan is for you.OBL and he-self.NOM

Juan's present is for you and himself

Thus, when two pronouns in the first, second person or third person singular reflexive are coordinated, a structure with the doubling of the preposition (1a, 1b) or without the doubling (2a, 2b) can occur. As previously mentioned, in the second type of construction, only the first pronoun keeps its oblique case, while the second one is expressed in the nominative case.

A construction such as this one can be seen, for example, in the poem *Pequeño funeral*, from the Costarrican poet, Jorge Debravo:

- (3) **Para ti y yo** *acabaron los diciembres*

de viento frío y alcoba sola.

Tu patria se ha ido lejos de mi patria

y tu boca no encaja ya en mi boca...

[**For you and I** (lit: for you.OBL and I.NOM) the Decembers have ended
of cold winds and lone room

Your homeland has gone away from my homeland

and your mouth no longer fits in my mouth]

The observation of this phenomenon poses the following questions: (i) Why is there a tendency to repeat the preposition before each pronoun when they are coordinated? And (ii) when this does not occur, why is only the first pronoun expressed in the oblique case, while the second pronoun is in nominative case? The objective of the present research is to present an answer to these questions within the framework of the Minimalist Program.

It is important to point out that the phenomenon described above does not occur only with pronoun coordination, but also in any statement in which the first coordinated element is a noun phrase with the second element a pronoun as in (4a) and (4b), and when both coordinated elements are noun phrases, as in (5a) and (5b). This study, however, will be mainly focused on the aforementioned pronoun coordination, particularly when it occurs between first and second person singular pronouns, since it is precisely in these instances where the difference in case assignment can best be observed.

- (4) a. *Prestaron juramento ante el rey y ante ti*
 took.3pl oath before the king.OBL and before you.OBL
 They took their oaths before the king and before you
- b. *Prestaron juramento ante el rey y tú*
 took.3pl oath before the king.OBL and you.NOM
 They took their oaths before the king and you
- (5) a. *Prestaron juramento ante el rey y ante sus ministros*
 took.3pl oath before the king.OBL and before his ministers.OBL
 They took their oath before the king and before his ministers
- b. *Prestaron juramento ante el rey y sus ministros*
 took.3pl oath before the king.OBL and his ministers.NOM
 They took their oath before the king and his ministers.

2. TRADITIONAL GRAMMARIANS' ACCOUNTS. The irregular case assignment in coordination structures does not seem to have been considered in depth in most descriptive studies of Spanish grammar. The works of this kind that were reviewed: Gili Gaya (1944), RAE (1973), Alcina y Bleuca (1975) and Alarcos (1995) do not mention the phenomenon in chapters dedicated to pronouns, coordination or prepositions. In these works, the commentary that stands out the most about the relation between prepositions and pronouns is that the latter take on a peculiar form in the case of the first and second person singular pronouns, and that their form is dependent on the preposition that precedes them.

Pavón (1999: 593), within the framework of his study about prepositions, does consider the coordination between two pronouns in the oblique case, but only to later deny this possibility if the preposition is not duplicated before each coordinated element²:

²All translations from Spanish to English throughout the paper are ours.

Como muestran (110a) y (110b), por otra parte, no es posible coordinar dos pronombres en caso oblicuo, siendo en tal caso necesario el doblado de la preposición, tal como vemos en (111a) y (111b):

[As it is shown in (110a) and (110b), on the other hand, it is not possible to coordinate two pronouns in the oblique case, being in such cases necessary to duplicate the preposition, as can be seen in (111a) and (111b):]

- (110) a. **Lo hizo por ti y mí*
 3sg.ACC did.3sg for you.OBL and I.OBL
 He did it for you and me
- b. **Arrastraba la desgracia tras sí y ella*
 dragged.3sg the disgrace after 3sg.REFL.OBL and she.NOM
 He dragged disgrace for himself and her
- (111) a. *Lo hizo por ti y por mí*
 3sg.ACC for you.OBL and for I.OBL
 He did it for you and for me
- b. *Arrastraba la desgracia tras sí y tras ella*
 dragged.3sg the disgrace after 3sg.REFL.OBL and after she.NOM
 He dragged disgrace for himself and for her

Traditionally, Bello (1954: 315) has been one of the few authors to describe this phenomenon in more depth. In a similar way to the studies presented above, the author makes the observation that it is not frequent for a pronoun in the oblique case (*terminal case* in his nomenclature) to appear far from the preposition. He does mention, however, two possibilities in which this can be seen:

Es preciso pues en ocasiones semejantes [en la coordinación de pronombres con caso terminal], o repetir la preposición (a mí y a ti, (lit.: to I. OBL and to you.OBL), a su hermano y a sí mismo, (lit.: to his brother.OBL and to he-self.OBL) de nadie sino de mí y de ti (lit.: from no one but from I. OBL and from you.OBL), o alterar el orden de los términos de manera que nada medie entre la preposición y el caso terminal a sí mismo y su hermano (lit.: to he-self.OBL and his brother.NOM).

[It is precisely, then, on similar occasions [in the coordination of pronouns in the terminal case] to either repeat the preposition (*a mí y a ti* (lit.: to I.OBL and to you.OBL), *a su hermano y a sí mismo* (lit.: to his brother.OBL and to he-self.OBL), *de nadie sino de mí y de ti* (lit.: from no one but from I.OBL and from you.OBL), or to alter the order of the terms in a way that nothing mediates between the preposition and the terminal case *a sí mismo y su hermano* (lit.: to he-self.OBL and his brother.NOM)]

Note that, despite the fact that for Bello it is not common for a pronoun in the terminal case to appear separated from the preposition, a case such as *a sí mismo y él* (lit: to he-self.OBL and he.NOM) would not be awkward as can be deduced from the last example of the quote. This impression is further confirmed in Cuervo's commentary on these paragraphs (note 123). The author makes the following judgment: '*Yo, por mi parte diré que no me disuena la expresión 'ante Marcelo y yo'*' lit.:before Marcelo.OBL and I.NOM, *que leo en un eximio escritor mexicano*' [I, for once, shall say that the expression 'ante Marcelo y yo' (lit.: before Marcelo.OBL and I.NOM) that I read in a well known Mexican writer, does not sound awkward to me].

Consequently, it could be argued that, possibly both Bello and Cuervo would agree with the proposal that the pronoun, as the second conjunct of coordination, can appear without a preceding preposition when it is not in the oblique case. Unfortunately, this assumption cannot be confirmed, since the authors do not go deeper into the subject.

In Spanish, Camacho (1999: 2654) has been the author who has treated the issue of irregular case assignment in pronoun coordination more explicitly:

Cuando el pronombre no aparece en coordinación, el término requiere un pronombre en caso terminal u oblicuo [...]. Sin embargo, cuando se coordinan dos pronombres el segundo no puede ser oblicuo [...]. Cabe señalar también que el caso terminal u oblicuo vuelve a ser obligatorio si la coordinación se hace entre dos sintagmas preposicionales.

[When the pronoun does not appear in coordination, the object of the proposition requires a pronoun in the terminal or oblique case [...]. However, when two pronouns are coordinated, the second cannot be in the oblique case [...]. It is also worth mentioning that the terminal or oblique case becomes mandatory again if the coordination occurs between two prepositional phrases].

In this quote, the author clearly presents the phenomenon, but unfortunately, does not devote more to the issue. It can therefore be stated that the irregularity of case assignment in coordination is a phenomenon to which insufficient attention has been paid in grammatical studies about Spanish.

3. UNBALANCED COORDINATION. Progovac (1998a), within the framework of a description of the structure of coordination, talks about the phenomenon that she calls 'unexpected case assignment in coordination phrases.' For this author, it is possible in some dialects of English for there to be instances of accusative case assignment to a subject (6a), of nominative case assignment to objects (7a) or

even to be mixtures of both case assignments (6b) and (7b), when they are joined by a conjunction:

- (6) a. Them and us are going to the game together
- b. She and him will drive to the movie

- (7) a. All debts are cleared between you and I
- b. I really wanted my mother to live with my husband and I

The absence of a preposition before the pronoun in an example such as (7a) can be explained with Bello's postulate (1954: 315) that 'between' implies a reciprocal relation between the terms and, therefore, an expression such as 'between you and between me' is not acceptable. However, example (7b), which can be paraphrased as (8a) and (8b), corresponds exactly to the statements shown at the beginning of this paper. In these examples it can be seen that only the first pronoun maintains the oblique case, whereas the second term takes on the nominative case.

- (8) a. I really wanted my mother to live with him and I
- b. *Realmente quería que mi madre viviese con él y yo*

Johannessen (1993) presents data from 32 languages in which the unexpected case assignment in coordination phrases can be found. This proves that this is a quite extended phenomenon. According to this author, examples such as those in (8) correspond to a case of UNBALANCED COORDINATION. This phenomenon is characterized by having one of the elements in the coordination behaving differently from the other and also behaving differently from what would normally be expected by rule. In the examples presented here, this irregular behaviour corresponds to the manifestation of the pronoun in nominative case when it appears as the second coordinated element, opposite of what happens with the first element, and against expectation through prepositional government.

Unbalanced coordination does not present itself randomly, but it rather follows a well-defined pattern, corresponding to the correlation in (9) (Progovac 1998b: 4):

- (9) Johannessen's Correlation:

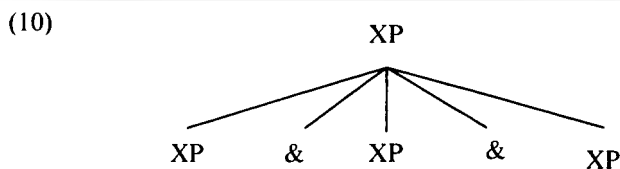
'There is a very strong correlation between, on the one hand, the order of verb + object, and on the other, that of normal conjunct + deviant conjunct (usually the same as that between conjunction + deviant conjunct)'

Thus, according to (9), in an SVO language such as Spanish, there will be a tendency towards the second element of a coordination phrase to present irregular behaviour, which, for this work is an unexpected case assignment. Johannessen explicitly supports this proposal, indicating that out of 14 languages with an SVO structure that were studied, all present the coordinated element that shows an exceptional case assignment in the second position³.

It can be stated, then, that phenomena such as those shown in the introduction don't exist only on Spanish, but rather are part of a group of cases described for various different languages, and that can be found systematically. Given these observations, it is worth questioning why the second term of the conjunction can take this 'unexpected case,' and whether this has any relation to the structure of coordination itself. In the following sections an answer is suggested.

4. THE STRUCTURE OF COORDINATION. Progovac's order of presentation in her article structure for coordination (1998a, 1998b) is followed here to present some of the most representative models of coordination that have been proposed within the generative grammatical framework.

4.1 MULTINUCLEAR COORDINATION. The first proposals that came from generative grammar tried to integrate the conjunction in the structure of the phrase resulted in a model like the one shown in



Johannessen (1993) discusses cases of what she calls extraordinary balanced coordination, where neither of the conjuncts shows the expected morphological behaviour (as we can see in "Them and us are going to the game together") and unbalanced coordination, where only one of the conjuncts shows unexpected case. As would be expected based on Johannessen's correlation, the data she examined showed that coordination phrases in 11 SOV languages (Amharic, Burushaski, Eastern Mari, Hopi, Japanese, Latin, Qafar, Sidaamu Afo, Swahili, Tamil and Turkic) have the first conjunct as the one that shows unexpected morphology. Also, the coordination phrases in 14 SVO languages (Czech, English, Fulfulde, Ga, Italian, Norwegian, Old Hebrew, Old Irish, Old Norse, Palestinian Arabic, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Tokelauan and Welsh) show the unexpected case assignment on the second member of the coordination. On the other hand, the data from languages such as Afrikaans, Dutch, Estonian, German, Homeric Greek and Vedic do not follow this correlation.

This model explicitly acknowledged the intuition that coordination between two or more phrases of a given kind (two noun phrases, for example) result in a phrase of the same kind (in this case, another NP). However, as Camacho points out (1999), this impression is not always correct. Thus, it is possible to find cases in which, for example, an adjectival and a prepositional phrase are coordinated, as in (11), where it is not easy to say to which category the resulting phrase belongs.

- (11) *Juan es* [_{AP?} / _{PP?} [_{AP} *alto*] y [_{PP} *de contextura delgada*]]
 Juan is tall and of thin build

Another problem in this structure is that it cannot account for the phenomenon of Ross Asymmetry (Ross, 1967). Where the conjunction seems to establish a closer relationship with the second coordinated term than the first. This can be observed as it is possible to place pauses or orthographical elements such as commas or periods between the first conjunct and the conjunction, but not between the conjunction and the second conjunct, as can be seen from (12):

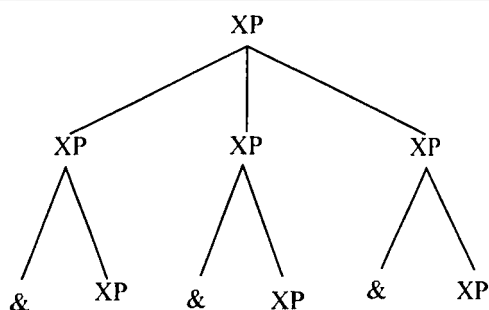
- (12) a. *Juan se fue y ni siquiera dijo adiós*
 Juan left and he didn't even say goodbye
 b. *Juan se fue. Y ni siquiera dijo adiós*
 Juan left. And he didn't even say goodbye
 c. **Juan se fue y. Ni siquiera dijo adiós*
 *Juan left and. He didn't even say goodbye

In support of this consideration, Zoerner points out (1995), 'etcetera' is an element where the conjunction and the second coordinated element form one word. This is reinforced by the fact that in standard speech the conjunction does not usually appear before the term, as can be seen in (13). The model in (10) cannot explain this situation either.

- (13) a. *Realmente es millonario. Tiene mansiones, autos, propiedades, etc.*
 He really is a millionaire. He has mansions, cars, properties, etc.
 b. **Realmente es millonario. Tiene mansiones, autos, propiedades y etc.*
 *He really is a millionaire. He has mansions, cars, properties and etc.

The structure of (10) also predicts that there would be symmetric c-command between all conjuncts, which seems not to be the case (Progovac 1998a: 3-4 for further references on this matter). In response to these deficiencies, Lakoff and Peters (1969) propose the following structure to describe coordination:

(14)



This model does explain the phenomena related to Ross Asymmetry, as well as the fact that coordinated elements do not c-command one another. But with a structure such as this, however, there remains the notion that the category of the resulting phrase corresponds to the category of the conjuncts, which is contradictory to the example in (11), and with those presented in (15).

- (15) a. *Juan es* [_{AdjP?/NP?} [_{AdjP} *bastante conservador*]] y [_{NP} *un influyente miembro del Partido Republicano*]]
 Juan is quite conservative and a very influential member of the Republican Party
- b. *Pedro está* [_{AdjP?/PP?} [_{AdjP} *sensible*]] y [_{pp} *de muy mal genio*]]
 Pedro is sensitive and in a very bad mood
- c. *María es* [_{AdjP?/PP/NP?} [_{AdjP} *atenta*]], [_{pp} *de gran conciencia social*]] y [_{NP} *una ecologista muy activa*]]
 Maria is attentive, of a great social consciousness and a very active ecologist

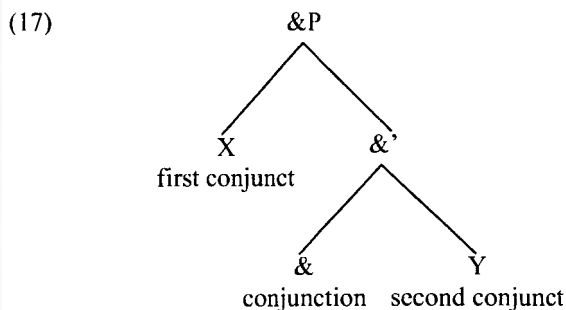
Because of cases such as these, alternatives in which the phrase does not inherit the category of the coordinated elements have been proposed. One alternative postulates that the features projected towards the top node constitute an intersection of the features being coordinated (Gazdar et al 1985). The problem here stems from not knowing exactly which features can be shared by a nominal phrase ([+N, -V]), an adjectival phrase ([+N, +V]) and a prepositional phrase ([-N, -V]) and which, additionally, a verbal phrase ([-N, +V]) does not have. Furthermore, this proposal should be able to explain what features are shared by nouns and complementary phrases, which allow both to coordinate so easily, as it is shown in (16):

- (16) [_{NP} *El empeño que pones en tu trabajo*]] y [_{CP} *que no hayas faltado nunca a las reuniones*]] *te hacen destacar por sobre todos*

The effort you put into your work and that you haven't missed any meetings makes you stand out above the rest

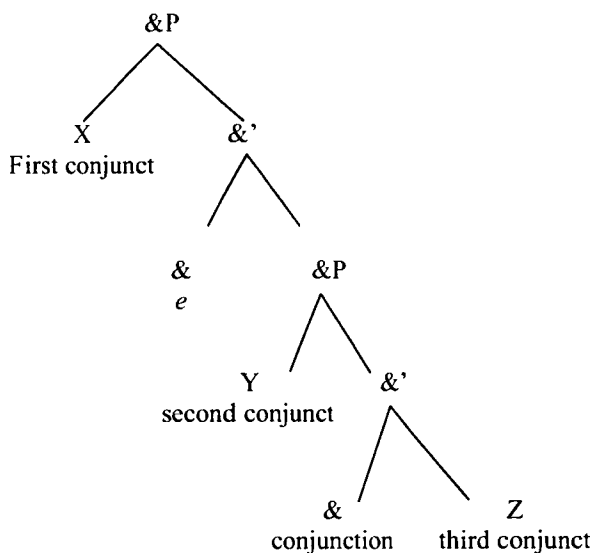
Another clear problem of the models just presented is that they do not follow the principle of binary branching; therefore, they do not properly adjust to the framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995). Also, the conjunction is portrayed as having no clear grammatical status.

4.2. THE CONJUNCTION PHRASE. THE JOHANESSEN-ZOERNER MODEL. A possible solution to the problems posed by the multinuclear vision of coordination can be found in Johannessen's proposal (1993, 1996), according to which coordination corresponds to a phrase whose functional head is the conjunction and which is structured according to the X-Bar model. Thus, Johannessen (1996: 669), proposes that the first conjunct acts as the specifier of the conjunction phrase (&P), while the second conjunct appears in the complement position. The structure is represented in figure (17).



As a corollary, Zoerner (1995) postulates that in instances of multiple coordination there is only one coordination head (&), which projects several structure layers, in a similar way to Larson's VP construction (1998). In this way, only the last of the heads & is generated, while the rest of the & positions are filled by a head movement which, usually, takes place at the Logic Form. The structure proposed by Zoerner is in (18).

(18)



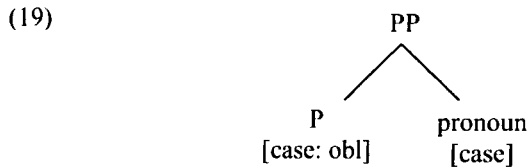
According to Johannessen (1996: 669), in models such as those presented in (17) and (18), the features of the &P are inherited not only from the head &, but also from the specifier, by means of an agreement operation between both elements. The features of the conjunct that appears in the complement position, however, are not inherited at the maximal level. In her own words:

In a minimalist spirit, let the only relevant relation between elements in the &P [CoP in the original] be specifier-head agreement. Since a conjunction, the head of the &P, must be considered a functional category, we shall regard specifier-head agreement as involving unification of features, so that the head projects the features of its specifier. Thus, the features of the specifier will also be present at the maximal level, since this is a projection of the head, thereby bestowing lexical features on &P. The conjunct in the complement position takes no part in agreement and offers no syntactic features to the &P itself.

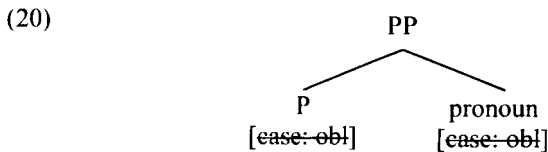
We think that this coordination structure offers the best explanation of the statements shown in the introduction of this paper, which exemplify unexpected case marking⁴.

5. IRREGULAR CASE ASSIGNMENT. Following Adger's view (2003), we propose that the oblique case assignment to a prepositional object pronoun is realized by means of a feature checking operation between the head of the prepositional phrase and its complement. Thus, the preposition would have an uninterpretable oblique case feature, which licenses the case feature of the pronoun by agreement. Note that both the case feature of the preposition and of the pronoun are uninterpretable.

In this way, the preposition selects a pronoun and merges with it to constitute a PP:



As can be seen in figure (19), at first, the preposition has an uninterpretable oblique case feature, while the pronoun has an unvalued, uninterpretable case feature. The preposition assigns oblique case to the pronoun and the case feature in the head P matches the case feature in its complement. By means of the checking operation, both the preposition and the pronoun erase their case feature and the derivation converges. As shown in (20)

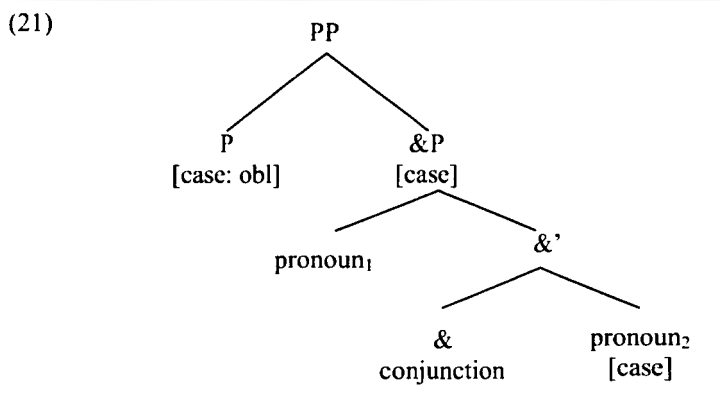


⁴One of the anonymous referees pointed out that the specifier-head agreement mechanism proposed by Johansson does not fit properly in a Minimalist point of view, where the only valid operations are Merge and Agree. This is correct. However a mechanism of this kind seems to be needed in order to account for the phenomena related to the conjuncts behavior and, therefore, it seems to be empirically motivated. We would like to thank the referee for this valuable observation.

It is now convenient to address one of the questions formulated at the beginning of this work. When the object of a preposition is formed by a coordination of pronouns, why is only the first pronoun expressed in the oblique case, while the second pronoun remains in the nominative case? If we take into account the structure of coordination proposed by Johannessen, a possible answer can be proposed.

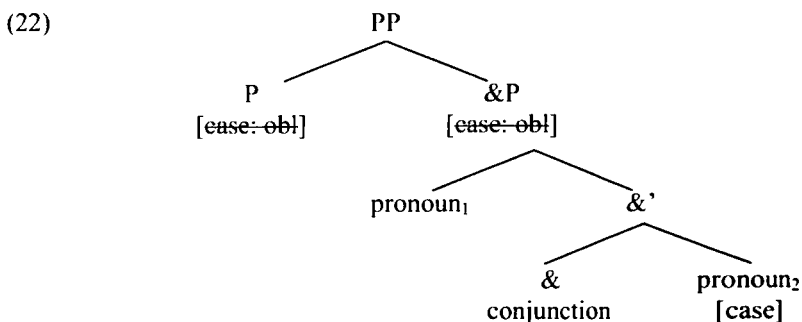
As previously stated according to Johannessen (1993, 1996), when a &P is formed, it inherits the features of the head & as well as the specifier of the phrase, the first conjunct. Thus, the case feature relevant to the concordance relation between P and &P is inherited only from the first coordinated pronoun. The second conjunct (the pronoun which is the complement of &P) is not relevant for this operation and its case is unaffected.

Therefore, the case assignment of the preposition to an &P happens as in (21):



Notice that the unassigned case feature has been inherited from the pronoun₁ category to the whole &P and it is in this position where the checking against the head P happens. Therefore, agreement will occur just as it is proposed in (19) and (20). Johannessen (1996: 670) justifies that the checking happens between the head P and the whole &P saying: 'It is the &P [CoP in the original], and none of its conjuncts, that interacts with other categories in the sentence. Nevertheless, one conjunct has projected its features to the &P...'

The checking operation proposed takes place in the following manner: The head P assigns oblique case to the unvalued case feature of &P, inherited from the pronoun₁ category, and it is erased from both. Since the only element pertinent for the feature checking with the preposition is the first conjunct, it is precisely this one which reflects morphologically the oblique case assignment. This operation can be seen in (22):



Notice that although this proposal can explain why the second pronoun does not receive oblique case, it does not explain why pronoun₂ is morphologically expressed in the nominative case. At the end of the checking operation, the second conjunct maintains its unvalued case feature. What happens, then, with case assignment to pronoun₂? This question and its implications have been expressed quite precisely by Camacho (1999: 2655):

La pregunta que viene a la mente en el caso de los términos pronominales coordinados es qué determina el caso del segundo término. Hay dos posibles respuestas. La primera, que el caso nominativo es el caso no marcado en español, y aparece si no hay otro. La segunda, es que la conjunción exija que el pronombre que la sigue esté en caso nominativo.

[The question that comes to mind in the case of prepositional objects in the form of coordinated pronouns is what determines the case of the second pronoun. There are two possibilities. The first, that the nominative case is the unmarked case in Spanish, and it appears when no other is present. The second is that the conjunction demands that the second coordinated pronoun be in nominative case].

It has been previously remarked that, from Johannessen's perspective, the conjunction does not establish any type of relation with the second conjunct. If this model is followed, then Camacho's second proposal should be ruled out. The first option, however, seems much more plausible. In fact, Radford (2008) proposes the existence of a default case assignment operation, which he describes in the following terms:

(23) Default case valuation:

'A case feature which remains unvalued at the end of a (given phase in a) syntactic derivation is assigned the default value (accusative in English [nominative in Spanish]) and deleted.'

Since at the end of the checking operation between the head P and the &P, the second conjunct maintains its case feature unvalued, it is subjected to the default case assignment of (23).

Summing up, an example such as (24) is justified because the preposition, according to Joannessen's structure of the &P, only checks the feature of the first conjunct. The first pronoun, accordingly, adopts the morphological form of the oblique case, whereas the second, which is not under the domain of any case assigner, adopts the default nominative case.

- (24) *El regalo de Juan es para ti y yo (*mí)*
 the present of Juan is for you.OBL and I.NOM (*I.OBL)
 Juan's present is for you and I

This model of case assignment makes some interesting predictions. For example, in statements with multiple coordination, it would be expected to find that only the first element receives oblique case, while the rest adopt the default nominative case:

- (25) *El regalo de Juan es para ti, yo y él mismo*
 the present of Juan is for you.OBL, I.NOM and he-self.NOM
 Juan's present is for you, I and himself

Although (25) is theoretically possible, in practice it is hard to find instances of such constructions. This can be due to the fact that pronouns that are coordinated in this example are usually represented by the pronoun *nosotros* 'us.'

Another interesting thing to point out is the fact that, in spite of being the first and second person singular pronouns and, in their reflexive use, the third person singular and plural pronouns (the only pronouns which morphologically exhibit the oblique case), the process of case assignment described in (21) and (22) would be identical if the first coordinated element were any other pronoun or even a nominal phrase. Thus, if the NP *tu hermano* 'your brother' is coordinated with a pronoun like *tú* 'you' or *él mismo* 'himself' in the second position, this pronoun will appear in the default and not the oblique case, as can be seen in (26):

- (26) *El regalo de Juan es para tu hermano y {tú / él mismo} (*ti / *sí mismo)*
 the present of Juan is for your brother and {you.NOM / he-self.NOM}
 (*you.OBL / *he-self.OBL)
 Juan's present is for your brother and {you / himself}

Here we propose that the preposition assigns oblique case to the NP *tu hermano*, which is not morphologically manifested in Spanish (abstract case). The pronoun in the complement position of &P takes on the default nominative.

6. THE DOUBLING OF THE PREPOSITION. A question that is still unanswered is why, even though a statement like (24) is possible in Spanish, the most frequent construction is that which appears with a doubled preposition before the second conjunct, as it was shown in example (1a), which is reproduced as (27).

- (27) *El regalo de Juan es para ti y para mí*
 the present of Juan is for you.OBL and I.OBL
 Juan's present is for you and for me

A way of approaching this phenomenon is proposed in Haspelmath (2007) as follows. The possibility of the preposition being doubled in a structure of coordination is directly related to the degree of gramaticalization of the preposition. Thus, an example from French is quoted, in which the preposition *à* is not repeated when it expresses locative meaning (28a), but it is repeated when it serves the more gramaticalized function of introducing an indirect object (28b):

- (28) a. *Je vais à Turin et Venise*
 I go to Turin and Venice
 b. *J'ai emprunté ce livre à Jean et à Marie*
 I have borrowed this book to Jean and to Marie

If this tendency was followed in Spanish, it could be expected that highly grammaticalized prepositions, such as the direct object introductory *a* 'to' or *de* 'of' for noun complements, would be doubled with greater frequency than other, more lexically rich, prepositions, like *ante* 'before.' In this way, (29a) would likely be a more probable statement than (29b), while (30a) would be less likely than (30b).

- (29) a. *Les di a tu hermana y a ti una buena reprimenda*
 3pl.DAT gave.1sg to your sister and to you.OBL a good rebuke
 I rebuked your sister and you
 b. *Les di a tu hermana y tú una buena reprimenda*
 3pl.DAT gave.1sg to your sister and you.NOM a good rebuke
 I rebuked your sister and you

- (30) a. *Prestaron juramento ante el rey y ante ti*
 took.3pl oath before the king and before you.OBL
 They took their oaths before the king and before you
- b. *Prestaron juramento ante el rey y tú*
 took.3pl oath before the king and you.NOM
 They took their oaths before the king and you

This, however, does not truly reflect the situation of this type of structures in Spanish. The statement in (29b) seems as probable (or improbable) as that in (30b) and, in both cases, the construction with the repetition of the preposition seems more likely to occur. Consequently, Haspelmath's proposal on the relationship between the degree of grammaticalization of a preposition and its tendency to be doubled in coordination structures cannot be confirmed for Spanish.

The explanation of this phenomenon that best suits this work is based on the general principle of economy in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995). To obtain pronoun coordination without doubling of the preposition, as examples (29b) and (30b) show, an additional operation would become necessary, namely, that of default case valuation, introduced in (23). This would not be necessary if, in the course of the derivation, each of the conjuncts checks its case against a preposition.

The resulting derivation of (31a) turns out to be more economical than that of (31b), since in the latter an additional operation must be performed. Default case valuation is a last resort strategy, the purpose of which is to avoid leaving the case of the second pronoun unvalued, which would cause the derivation to crash. In (31a), on the other hand, such an operation is not necessary; thus (31a) is more economical and thus more frequent.

- (31) a. *Lo hago por ti y por mí*
 3sg.ACC do.1sg for you.OBL and for I.OBL
 I do it for you and for me
- b. *Lo hago por ti y yo*
 3sg.ACC do.1sg for you.OBL and I.NOM

7. CONCLUSION. There were two main motivations of this work: (1) the observation that Spanish shows a tendency to repeat the preposition in pronoun coordination structures and (2) that, when this does not happen, the second coordinated element does not take on the expected oblique morphological case, but rather uses expresses a nominative case. The purpose of this article has been to show that the research framework of the Minimalist Program supplies the necessary means to satisfactorily explain both phenomena.

The fact that the second pronoun in a coordinated structure shows an unexpected case is explained on the basis of the conjunction phrase (&P) model of Johannessen and Zoerner, which posits that the second element does not inherit its features to the maximal level and therefore does not participate in the feature checking with the preposition. We suggest that the nominative case that it ultimately expresses is assigned by the operation of default case valuation proposed by Radford (2008). Finally, the fact that this additional operation implies a higher cost for the derivation explains why pronoun coordination structures tend to repeat the preposition, so that each coordinated element can check its features. Such explanation of the derivation turns out to be in accordance with the economy principle. Consequently, from a minimalist perspective it is not only possible to offer an appropriate explanation for these facts, but also it can be said that both are really manifestations of a single phenomenon, caused by the general properties of the structure of coordination.

REFERENCES

- ADGER, DAVID. 2003. *Core syntax*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ALARCOS LLORACH, EMILIO. 1995. *Gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe
- ALCINA, JUAN and JOSÉ MANUEL BLECUA. 1975. *Gramática española*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- BELLO, ANDRÉS. 1954. *Gramática de la lengua castellana*. Buenos Aires: Sopena.
- CAMACHO, JOSÉ. 1999. La coordinación. *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, ed. by Ignacio Bosque and Violeta Demonte, 2635-2695. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- CHOMSKY, NOAM. 1995. *The minimalist program*. Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- GAZDAR, GERALD, EWAN KLEIN, GEOFFEY PULLUM and IVAN SAG. 1985. *Generalized phrase structure grammar*. Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- GILI GAYA, SAMUEL. 1964. *Curso superior de sintaxis española*. Madrid: Bibliograf.
- HASPELMATH, MARTIN. 2007. Coordination. *Language typology and linguistic description*, ed. by Timothy Shopen, 1-51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- JOHANNESSEN, JANNE BONDI. 1993. Coordination. A minimalist approach. University of Oslo dissertation.
- JOHANNESSEN, JANNE BONDI. 1996. Partial agreement and coordination. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27. 661-676
- LAKOFF, GEORGE and STANLEY PETERS. 1969. Phrasal conjunction and symmetric predicates. *Modern studies in English: Readings in transformational grammar*, ed. by D.A. Reibel and S. Shane, 113-142. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- LARSON, RICHARD. 1988. On the double object construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19. 335-391
- LAVÓN, MARÍA VICTORIA. 1999. Clases de partículas: preposición, conjunción y adverbio. *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, ed. by Ignacio Bosque and Violeta Demonte, 2635-2695. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- PROGOVAC, LJILJANA. 1998a. Structure for coordination. Part I. *Glott International*. 3, 7 : 3-6
- PROGOVAC, LJILJANA. 1998b. Structure for coordination. Part II. *Glott International*. 3, 8: 3-6
- RADFORD, ANDREW. 2008. Feature correlations in nominative case-marking by L1 and L2 learners of English. The role of formal features in second language acquisition, ed. by J. Liceras, 82-104. London: Psychology Press.
- REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA (RAE). 1973. *Esbozo de una nueva gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- ROSS, JOHN ROBERT. 1967. Constraints on variables in syntax. MIT dissertation.
- ZOERNER, EDWARD. 1995. Coordination: The syntax of &P. University of California, Irvine dissertation.