

THE STRUCTURE PRESERVING CONSTRAINT IN SPANISH

by

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ABSTRACT

This study attempted to verify whether Emonds (1970-1976) Structure Preserving Constraint could be applied to a group of Spanish transformations. A secondary objective of comparing root transformations in English and Spanish was also established. For this reason, the sample of transformations used to test the validity of the constraint was chosen to correspond to English root transformations. To accomplish the secondary objective, the processes that in English are defined as root were compared to similar processes in Spanish.

In general, the transformations that are root in English are not in the same category in Spanish. Only Adverbial Dislocation was root in both languages. The English root transformation of Topicalization, however, behaves as structure preserving in Spanish. Some English root transformations did not have Spanish counterparts. These transformations were: Verbal Phrase Preposing, Right Dislocation, Tag Formation, Subject Auxiliary Inversion and Subject-Single Verb Inversion.

Negative Constituent Preposing, Directional Adverb Preposing and the transformations that prepose around BE do not exist in Spanish as separate transformations but they could be collapsed

into a general movement that was named Pre-Sentential Transportation. This movement could be classified as neither root, structure preserving nor as a local transformation, therefore, it constitutes a counterargument to the SPC. Two other Spanish transformations that could not be classified in the three categories were Left Dislocation and Subject Verb Inversion. However, only the second proved to be a true counterargument for SPC. Further study of Left Dislocation showed that this transformation does not account adequately for all the data and that a base derivation seems more adequate.

It is concluded that Emonds (1970, 1976) constraint does not apply to Spanish in the form as was proposed for English. This is demonstrated by the fact that the transformations of Subject-Verb Inversion and Pre-Sentential Transportation could not be classified as root, structure preserving or local transformations. In order to preserve the validity of SPC for Spanish, a modification of Emond's concept seems necessary.

DEDICATION

TO RENE AND CLAUDIO

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Introduction

Chomsky pointed out in "Conditions on Transformations" (1973), that the fundamental empirical problem of linguistics is to explain how a person can acquire knowledge of language. This knowledge can be expressed in the form of a system of rules or grammar that generates the language. However, a universal grammar is necessary to restrict the form and the function of the many possible grammars that can be generated .

Much research has been done to determine the conditions that restrict the descriptive power of grammars. The majority of the investigation has been concentrated on searching for conditions on grammatical transformations (Emonds 1970, Bresnan 1972, Chomsky 1973). Conditions on transformations operate in different ways, for instance, they can limit the type of operations that can be performed by a transformation (deletion, insertion, etc.); or they can determine their order of application (cyclical, pre or post cyclical, or of unordered application).

With regard to movement transformations, there are constraints that specify structural configurations from which no element can be moved out. These conditions apply on the

structural description of the transformation. This is the case of the "A over A" principle of Chomsky (1964) and the Complex NP constraint of Ross (1967), among others. Other constraints attempt to define the conditions that are necessary in order for the structural change of a transformation to apply. These restrictions act on the structural change of a transformation in such a way that no transformation can be formulated whose structural change does not obey these conditions. The Structure Preserving Constraint (SPC) of Emonds (1970, 1976) belongs to this group.

The Structure Preserving Constraint specifies that English grammatical transformations can only be of three categories: structure preserving, root or local. Structure preserving are transformations that move nodes into a position in which a node of the same category has been generated by the phrase structure rules. Root transformations may move a node into non-phrase positions, but they are not allowed to apply in embedded clauses. Local rules are transformations that affect two adjacent constituents that are ^{immediately} dominated by the same node, one of them belonging to a minor category. According to Emonds (1976), this constraint is a principle of the universal grammar; he admitted, however, that stylistic rules, an additional class, may or may not obey this restriction.

with a
KARIN 6/6
(Emonds 1976)
7.6)

The importance of generalizing this hypothesis is that it makes possible to predict the resulting structural change produced by a transformation.

This research will attempt to verify whether the SPC is also valid for a group of rules in the Spanish language, that is, whether they can be classified in the three categories established by Emonds. The sample of Spanish transformations studied here are the analogues of Emonds root transformations for the English language. This group was selected because it is a small, compact group for which some information has already been gathered (Terrel 1976, Rivero 1978).

The underlying assumption in this study is that English root transformations or some variety of them, exist in Spanish. A secondary goal of this study is to elucidate whether English root transformations operate in Spanish without modification. Each transformation is studied in order to determine whether they can be defined as root or structure preserving in Spanish language. Those that do not fall into these categories are considered violations of SPC, unless they can be classified as local or stylistic transformations. As a consequence of this

study several transformations will probably have to be redefined and new phrase structure rules for Spanish will have to be proposed.

BACKGROUND

The Structure Preserving Constraint of Emonds (1970, 1976) states that English grammatical transformations can only be of three categories: structure preserving, root, or local. According to Emonds (1976), this constraint is a principle of the universal grammar. He admitted, however, that stylistic rules, an additional class, may or may not obey this restriction.

A root transformation is a transformation (or a transformational operation, in the case of a transformation performing several operations) that moves, copies, or inserts a node into a position in which the node is immediately dominated by a root sentence in the derived structure.

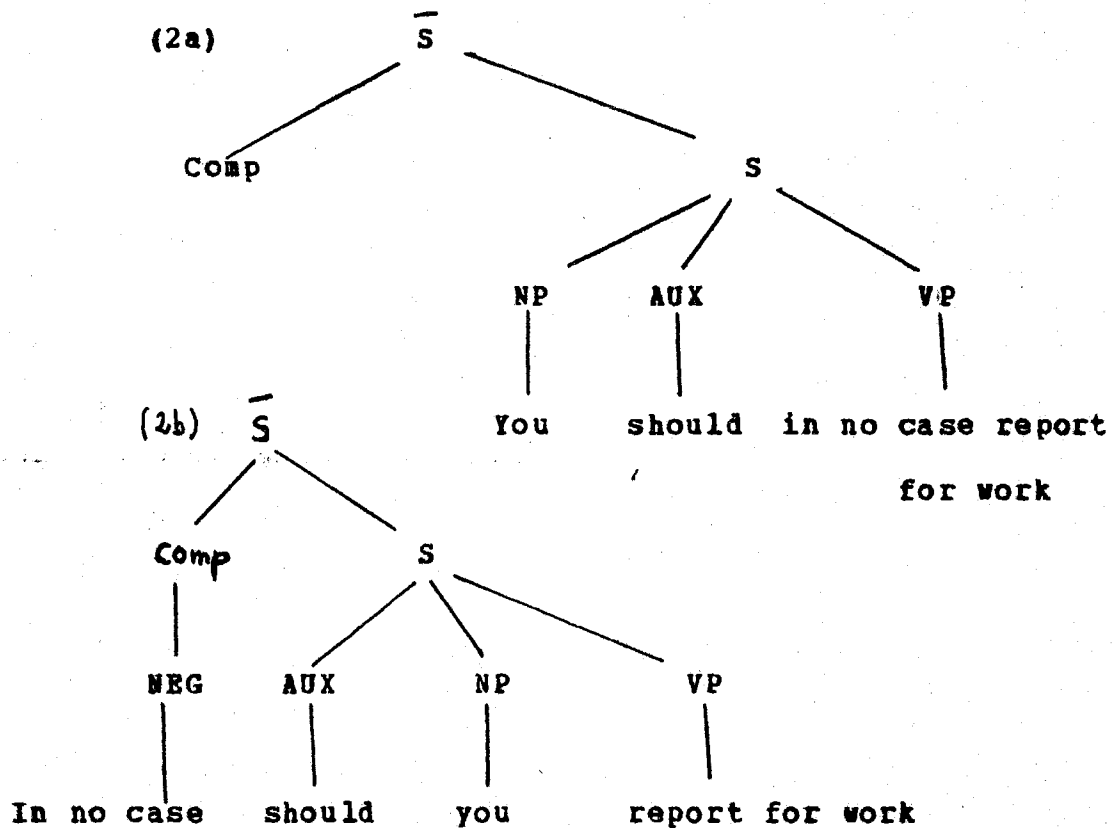
Emonds (1970, 1976) defines root sentences as a sentence that is not dominated by any node other than S. He states that

the notion of root sentence is not equivalent with the notion of independent clause taken from traditional grammar (even though they are closely related) since there are cases where a root S is apparently derived from a clause that may be dependent or even absent in deep structure. The notion "independent clause" is therefore more closely related to the generative notion "deep structure root S" than to the more general "root S" which can exist at the level of deep structure as well as the level of surface structure. As an example of root transformation Emonds considers the transformation named Negative Constituent Preposing which relates sentences (1a) and (1b).

(1a) you should in no case report for work.

(1b) In no case should you report for work.

Negative Constituent Preposing fronts a negative constituent and triggers Subject Auxiliary Inversion (Emonds 1970, 1976). The structure of (1a) and (1b) is given roughly in (2a) and (2b).



The two elements, Neg and Aux, that were moved by the root transformations are now immediately dominated by the highest S.

Emond's hypothesis predicts that Negative Constituent Preposing cannot apply in embedded clauses. This fact is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of sentence (3).

(3) *The employees are happy that in not many years
will Christmas fall on Sunday.

English root transformations are classified in three categories by Emonds (1970, 1976):

I Root transformations that induce comma intonation:

Right Dislocation

Left Dislocation

Tag Formation

Adverbial Dislocation

II Root transformations which do not induce comma intonation and which he assumes are substitutions of the complementizer node. These transformations are:

Negative Constituent Preposing

Directional Adverb Preposing

Topicalization

Verbal Phrase Preposing

Comparative Substitution

Participle Preposing

Prepositional Phrase Substitution

III Root transformations that neither induce comma intonation nor are complementizer substitutions. They are two inversion rules

Subject Auxiliary Inversion

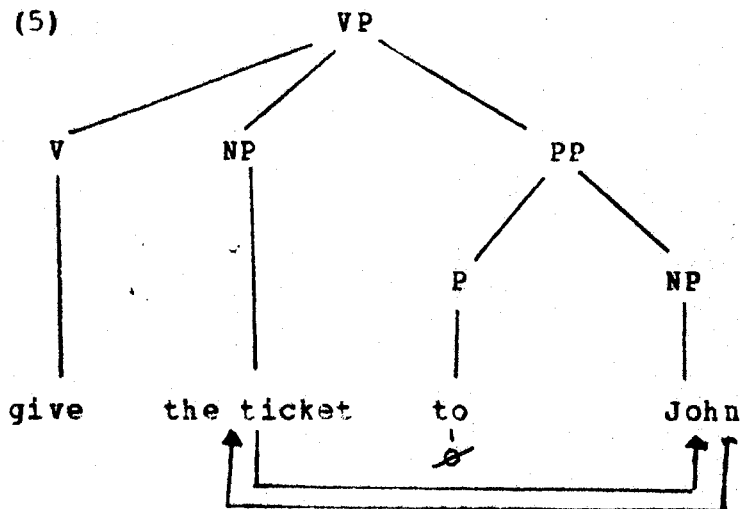
Subject Single Verb Inversion

Structure Preserving transformation is a transformation (or a transformational operation in the case of a transformation performing several operations) that introduces or substitutes a constituent into a position in a phrase marker held by a node of the same category. As an example of this transformation Emonds cites the rule of Indirect Object Movement. This rule relates pairs of sentences such as those given below:

(4a) I give the ticket to John

(4b) I give John the ticket

The rule of Indirect Object Movement has two functions: (i) it deletes a preposition (to or for), and (ii) it reverses the order of two postverbal NPs. The effect of this transformation is illustrated in (5).

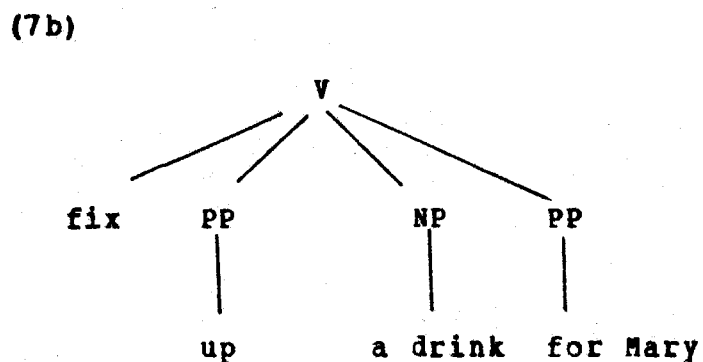
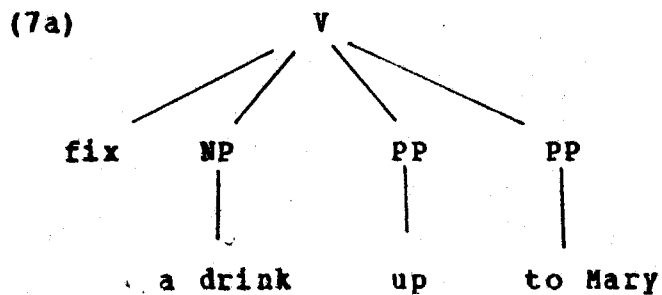


Local rules are transformations that affect a sequence of two nodes, one of which must be a non-phrasal node. This sequence must be stated without variables nor exterior condition. One of the constituents must be directly dominated by a node that also dominates the other one. Emonds exemplifies this transformation with the rule of Post-Verbal Movement that relates the pair of sentences in (6).

(6a) Bill fix a drink up for Mary

(6b) Bill fix up a drink for Mary

The underlying structure and the result of this transformation are illustrated in (7a) and (7b) respectively



Stylistic transformations move phrasal constituents freely within a sentence. They can be recognized because they exhibit formal characteristics that differentiate them from strictly grammatical transformations: 1) they cannot be triggered by the presence or absence of specific morphemes in the tree; 2) they cannot introduce or delete morphemes (except under identity); 3) they do not seem to be statable in terms of the left to right analyzability condition that are appropriate for grammatical transformations; 4) they appear to be subject to some version of the "Up To Ambiguity" principle; 5) they apply more freely in literary and poetic language than in conversational language; 6) they take surface structure as their input since they are optional rules following all grammatical transformations; 7) they have their input more acceptable than their output.

In Spanish, as in English, there are also transformations that can be classified within the three categories proposed by Emonds. Thus, the rule of Passive, that interchanges the NP subject with the NP object, could be analyzed as a structure preserving transformation. The underlying structure as well as the result of this transformation are given in (8a) and (8b).

(8a) María estudió ese tópico

lit: Mary studied that topic

(8b) Ese t^opico fue estudiado por Marí^a

lit: That topic was studied by Mary

As an example of root transformation, we have the rule of Sentential Adverb Dislocation. This rule relates the pair of sentences below:

(9a) Afortunadamente, ellos no vinieron

lit: Fortunately, they did not come

(9b) Ellos no vinieron, afortunadamente

lit: They did not come, fortunately

As in English, the presence of Sentential Adverb Dislocation in non-root sentences gives rise to ungrammaticality, as shown in (10b).

(10a) Yo creo que, afortunadamente, el hecho que Bill
doblara a tiempo nos salvó la vida

lit: I think that, fortunately, the fact that Bill
turned on time saved our lives

(10b) * Yo creo que el hecho que Bill doblara a tiempo,
afortunadamente, nos salvó la vida

lit: I think that the fact that Bill turned on time,
fortunately, saved our lives

Emonds proposed to analyze Clitic Placement as a local rule in Spanish. In this language, the pronoun clitic precedes a finite verb but follows infinitives or participles. e.g. (11) and (12).

(11) Lo ví ayer

lit: I saw him yesterday

(12) No puedo enviártelo

lit: I cannot send it to you.

In Emonds view, this distribution does not require base clitic positions before and after the verb. Rather, the tensed verb (or non-tensed, depending on one's analysis) can be interchanged with the clitic sequence by a local transformation.

METHODOLOGY

This research will examine the question of whether the constraint established by Emonds can be extended to apply in Spanish. The confirmation that SPC does not operate in Spanish could lead to disprove Emond's claim that SPC is a universal constraint.

As a first step, the root transformations that Emonds (1970, 1976) has established for English are compared to similar processes in Spanish. The definitions of the transformations in English are used as a basis of comparison.

For the transformations that are root in English but not in Spanish (i. e., those that also occur in embedded sentences) the extension of concept of root S to include them in this category is discussed. This step follows naturally from Emonds' contention that the concept of the root S could be extended to embedded clauses in other languages. The concept of the root S can be modified provided that the class of embedded S's in which the root transformation occurs is a small, homogenous group obeying certain well defined characteristics. He exemplified this with the case of Classical Arabic. In this language a small set of complement sentences (that are not root S's by

definition) undergo root transformations. Emonds extended the concept, in this case, to include them, because they show well established characteristics: they are always introduced by the complementizer *annahu* (Saib 1972).

Spanish transformations that show to be different to English root transformations are also analyzed within the Structure Preserving hypothesis to determine whether they are root, SP or local transformations.

The transformations that do not behave as root, SP or local must be considered as violations of SPC unless they could be classified as stylistic. Emonds claimed that this is the only category of transformations that could violate his constraint.

Transformations are found in this research on which the SPC does not apply and which prove to be grammatical transformations (i. e., they are not stylistic). In order to maintain the universality of SPC, the validity of these transformations was questioned and the processes that they accounted for were attempted to be derived on the base. For processes that can be derived on the base, the SPC is irrelevant and, therefore, they would not constitute counterexamples.

After this screening process was completed transformations are found that clearly violate the SPC, that is, they cannot be classified as root, SP, local or stylistic.

CHAPTER I

1.-COMMA INDUCING ROOT TRANSFORMATIONS

In this section we will study the following English root transformations Right and Left Dislocation, Adverbial Dislocation, VP Preposing and Topicalization. The Spanish analogues of these transformations exhibit certain uniformity in that they prepose constituents from their deep structure position and set them off by emphasis and comma intonation.

1.1.-RIGHT DISLOCATION

1.1.1 Right Dislocation in English.- This transformation moves an NP to the right of the sentence as illustrated in (1a) along with its underlying structure (1b) (Emonds 1970, 1976).

(1a) It really bothers me, John's big cigar.

(1b) John's big cigar really bothers me

According to Emonds (1970, 1976) the reordered NP is placed under a root sentence as demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of sentences (2) and (3).

(2) * John has sold the garage that you store it in,
that car, to Mary.

(3) * I predicted that her attempt to do something
daring, John's sister would end in disaster.

1.1.2 Right Dislocation in Spanish.- This transformation apparently does not exist in Spanish, as observed by the questionable grammaticality of the sentences below:

(4) ? Yo las compré en la esquina, estas galletas
lit: I bought them in the store, these cookies

(5) ? Juan lo encontró en la sala, este libro
lit: John found it in the classroom, this book

1.2 LEFT DISLOCATION

1.2.1 Left Dislocation in English.- Ross (1967) defines Left Dislocation as an unbounded copying transformation that moves an NP over a variable leaving a pronominal copy in its original place, e. g., (6) and (7).

(6) This room, it really depresses me

(7) John's sister, she won't do anything rash

Within the SP hypothesis, Left dislocation is classified as a comma inducing root transformation that attaches the moved constituent to the highest S. Emonds (1970, 1976) comes to this conclusion after observing that left dislocated structures do not occur in embedded sentences e. g., (8) and (9).

(8) * I told you that this movie, you wouldn't like it much.

(9) * Bill hopes that John's sister, she won't do anything rash.

1.2.2 Left Dislocation in Spanish.- In the literature it has generally been assumed (Terrel, 1976, Contreras, 1976) that this transformation works in Spanish exactly as in English, namely that it is a copying rule inducing comma intonation and emphatic stress. This assumption derives from the fact that in Spanish, as well as in English, left dislocated structures display in pre-complementizer position an emphatic NP set off by comma intonation from the rest of the sentence. This NP is coreferential with a clitic, pronoun or NP present elsewhere in the string, as shown below:

(10) A la mujer, no hay duda que se la posterga
lit: The woman, there is no doubt that she is dis-
regarded.

(11) Y Juan, no quería ir el estúpido
lit: And John, (he) did not want to go, the stupid one

Unlike in English, this transformation can apply in Spanish within sentences that have undergone WH-movement.

(12) A los alumnos, ¿quién los invitó a la reunión?
lit: The students, who invited them to the party?

(13) A los niños, ¿qué les vas a traer?
lit: The children, what will you bring them?

(14) Este gobierno estúpido, ¿qué es lo que pretende?
lit: This stupid government what is it trying to do?

It should be noticed, however, that in Spanish there are certain reordered NP's which cannot be analyzed as left dislocated because they lack other characteristics that are common to these constituents although they are coreferential with a clitic. e. g., (15) to (18).

(15) A los borrachos la gente los respeta
lit: Drunks, people respect them

(16) A mí me gustan los pasteles

lit: Me, I like pastries

(17) A ese dictador la gente lo repudia

lit: The dictator, people repudiate him

(18) A Juan no le resultó el experimento

lit: To John did not work the experiment

Left positioned NPs of sentences (15) to (18) do not classify as left dislocated because:

a) they present neither emphatic stress nor comma intonation reading. Recall that these two characteristics mark left dislocated constituents, e. g., (10) to (14).

b) They never occur in a sentence that has undergone WH-movement. Proof of this is that if an unemphatic left reordered NP cooccurs with a WH-word, it gives rise to ungrammaticality, e. g., (19) and (20).

(19) * A los borrachos, ¿quién los respeta?

lit: Drunks who respect them

(20) * Me pregunto a los niños ¿quién los va a cuidar
ahora.

lit: I wonder to the children who is going to look
after them now.

c) certain expressions that can precede left dislocated constituents, cannot precede the unemphatic reordered NP's of sentences (15) to (18). Thus sentence below is grammatical only with comma intonation reading and emphatic stress.

(21a) *Con respecto a Juan no le resultó el experimento.

lit: With respect to John, he did not have succes with
the experiment.

(21b) Con respecto a Juan, no le resultó el experimento.

From the argumentation given, I will consider only the reordered constituents of the type given in (10) to (14) as examples of Left Dislocation . With regard to the left reordered constituents of sentences (15) to (18), I will analyze them in the next chapter, as the result of a reordering movement within the sentence.

Left Dislocation within the SPC. Since Left Dislocation can apply to NP's within embedded clauses (sentences (22) to (28)), it is clear that this transformation does not behave as root in Spanish.

(22) Me extraña que a Juan, digan que no lo conocen.

lit: (It) surprises me that to John, (they) should say that (they) do not know him

(23) Parece que a Miguel, quieren que lo despidas.

lit: (It) seems that to Miguel, (they) want that (you) to fire him

(24) Quiero que el discurso, le pidas a María que lo prepare para mañana.

lit: (I) want that the speech, (you) should ask for Mary to prepare it for tomorrow

(25) Se dio cuenta de que a su esposo, era difícil que lo aceptaran.

lit: (She) realized that, her husband, (it) was difficult that (they) accepted him

(26) Me pregunto a los niños, quién los va a cuidar ahora.

lit: I wonder to the children who is going to take care of them now

(27) Acepto la pretensión de que el dinero, digan que no lo tienen todavía.

lit: (I) accept the pretension that the money,
 (they) should say that (they) do not have it yet

(28) Ese financiero que el dinero, dices que no
 lo necesita para nada se presentó ayer a pedir
 un préstamo urgente.

lit: The financier who, the money, you say that
 does not need it at all showed up to ask for
 an urgent loan

Left Dislocation is also allowed within embedded clauses
 which denote cause.

(29) No te preocupes porque, el dinero, dice que
 no lo necesita todavía

lit: Don't worry because, the money, (he) says
 that (he) do not need it yet

(30) Porque, a su esposo, no quisieron aceptarlo,
 renunció

lit: Because, to her husband (they) did not want
 to accept him, (she) resigned

It must be pointed out, however, that left dislocated
 constituents cannot occur within embedded purpose (e. g., (31))

and adverbial clauses (32) and (33).

(31) * Lucho para que las garantías, se comprometan a respetarlas.

lit: (I) fight for the rights (they) compromise to respect them

(32) * Nadie protestará mientras al pueblo, prometan que lo ayudarán.

lit: Nobody will protest while to the people (they) promise that (they) will help them

(33) * Tratará de financiarlo aunque el dinero, dice que no lo tiene todavía.

lit: (He) will try to pay it although the money, (he) told me that (he) does not have it yet

Left dislocation cannot be considered a local transformation because it is an unbounded movement that works over variables. However, before deciding if Left Dislocation constitutes a counterargument to the SPC, the following alternatives remain to be considered:

1) To analyze this transformation as Structure Preserving

2) To extend the concept of root S to those embedded

sentences that allow this transformation (see section on methodology).

3) To demonstrate that a transformational approach to Left Dislocation in Spanish is inadequate. A non transformational alternative (i. e., base derivation) to account for left dislocated constituents would not be affected by SPC.

Analyzing Left Dislocation as a SP transformation requires it to be shown the existence of an independently motivated NP node where the nodes in question could be moved. However, there is no evidence that this node is required by an independent process that cannot be transformationally derived. This is a necessary condition to postulate this node in the base (Emonds 1970, 1976).

The alternative of extending the concept root S to the embedded sentences involving this transformation seems to be premature because we still do not know the behavior of the rest of the transformations. From the Left Dislocation data we infer that in order to preserve the concept root for this transformation in Spanish, the concept of root S should be extended to all embedded clauses except adverbial and final clauses. This is not desirable, however, since it would mean

weakening the theoretical value of the concept root-S, given the large set of embedded sentences that allow this transformation.

With respect to the third alternative, i.e. the derivation of left dislocated constituents in the base, Rivero (1978) demonstrated that left dislocated constituents could be non-transformationally explained by base derivation adopting the phrase rules given below.

$$\begin{array}{l} \bar{\bar{S}} \text{ =====> Top. } \quad \bar{S} \\ \bar{S} \text{ =====> Comp. } \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} S \\ \bar{\bar{S}} \end{array} \right\} \end{array}$$

In these rules, left dislocated constituents are derived under the node TOP that is directly dominated by $\bar{\bar{S}}$. The optional recursivity of $\bar{\bar{S}}$ under \bar{S} permits to generate the node TOP within those embedded sentences allowing Left Dislocation. Embedded clauses that do not permit this process are derived by the common expansion of S under \bar{S}^2 .

Rivero's arguments in favour of a base derivation over a transformational analysis for Left Dislocation are the following:

a) This approach provides a solution for those sentences in which the TOP phrase is anaphorically related to a full NP. E. g. (34).

(34) Y Juan, no quería ir el estúpido

lit: And John did not want to go, the stupid one

b) It accounts for sentences such as (35). In this sentence the left dislocated NP is in construction with another configuration.

(35) Con respecto a María, dicen que no tienen confianza

En cuanto en ella.

lit: With respect to Mary, (they) say that (they)
do not trust her

c) It permits generating more than one left dislocated constituent.

(36) En cuanto a María, la enciclopedia, dicen que
se la regalaron a ella.

lit: With respect to Mary, the encyclopidia (they)
say that (they) gave it to her

Another advantage of deriving Left Dislocation in the base is that it provides a better explanation for those sentences where the left dislocated constituent is coreferential with the clitic *le*. In this case the coreferential clitic is not the result of a copying rule which would fill in a trace left behind by the movement of this constituent. The clitic in this case must appear obligatorily in any basic sentence before the movement occurs, as shown in (37a). This creates a problem for a transformational approach to Left Dislocation because the rule will not apply in a unified way. Thus, it will only insert a clitic when the constituent underlying the movement is a direct object.

(37a) Parece que no le dieron el dinero a Carlos

lit: (It) seems that (they) did not give him
the money to Carlos

(37b) A Carlos, parece que no le dieron el dinero

lit: To Carlos, (it) seems that they did not give him
the money

In my view, Riveros' derivation of Left Dislocation in the base appears as the most adequate alternative for Spanish. If this solution is accepted, then the SPC is irrelevant here.

1.3 TOPICALIZATION

1.3.1. Topicalization in English.- Topicalized structures have always been considered in the literature as the result of an unbounded or successive cyclic movement transformation having the effect of preposing a NP, while leaving a gap in the original place (Ross 1967, Postal 1972, Chomsky 1976, Emonds 1976). The result of this transformation, along with its underlying structure are illustrated by Emonds with examples (38) and (39), respectively.

(38a) Our daughter we are proud of

(38b) We are proud of our daughter

(39a) Poetry we try not to memorize

(39b) We try not to memorize poetry

The topicalized constituent in (38a) and (39a) is unemphatic and it does not induce comma intonation.

The main argument that has been put forward to adopt a transformational approach for Topicalization in a transformational framework lies in semantic interpretation. A phrase structure alternative would derive the topicalized constituent to the left of the verb from which it is an

argument, therefore, the semantic reading would lack the argument for the correct interpretation of the sentence.

1.3.2. Topicalization in Spanish.- Rivero (1978) defined Topicalization as a movement transformation that can only prepose indefinite NPs. After the movement, the reordered NP leaves a pronominal copy behind. This transformation relates the pair of sentences (40) and (41).

(40) Me dijo que no te había podido conseguir dinero
lit: (He) told me that (He) had not be able to
get the money for you.

(41) Dinero, me dijo que no te había podido conseguir (e)

Contreras (1976), on the contrary, neither restricts this movement to indefinite NPs nor he uses the absence of pronominal copy as a defining characteristic for this process in Spanish. In Contreras' analysis, Topicalization consists of selecting a sentence constituent as 'topic'. This selection is formally marked either by moving the topicalized element to the initial position or, if it belongs in that position, by separating it from the rest of the sentence by pause and/or by preposing to it topicalizing expressions like *en cuanto a* 'as for', *hablando de*

'speaking of', etc. In some cases, the topicalized elements leave a pronominal copy in its original place position. He exemplifies this with sentences like:

(42) En cuanto a la mujer, no hay duda que se la
protege

lit: As for women, there is no doubt they are
discriminated against

(43) Este gobierno estúpido, ¿qué es lo que pretende?

lit: This stupid government, what is it trying to do?

In Contreras' view, Topicalization may apply to one or more elements. The following sentence, for instance, has been assigned two topics:

(44) En cuanto al dictador y al pueblo, éste lo repudia
a aquél

lit: As for the dictator and the people, the latter
repudiates the former

Another observation with regard to Contreras analysis is that he does not limit Topicalization to NPs. Thus in sentence (45), a predicate has been topicalized.

(45) En cuanto a vender, vendió hasta su casa la pobre
 lit: As for selling, she even sold her house, the
 poor one

So far, what is clear is that Topicalization in Spanish and in English are not similar. Thus, while Topicalization in English is only marked by the preposing of the topicalized constituent, in Spanish it also requires the presence of contrastive stress and of a comma inducing intonation, as observed in the examples given above. Another difference is that Topicalization, unlike in English, can apply within WH questions. This fact was observed by Contreras (1976) and Rivero (1978) who exemplified with the following example:

(46) Dinero, ¿quién podrá prestarnos?
 lit: Money, Who could lend to us?

Topicalization within the Structure Preserving Constraint.-Emonds (1970, 1976) classifies this transformation within the SPC as a complementizer substitution root transformation. This characteristic predicts the ungrammaticality of sentences (47) and (48).

- (47)* I fear (that) each part John examined carefully
 (48) * That this house he left to a friend was generous
 of him

In Spanish, Topicalization cannot be considered a Complementizer substitution transformation. The reason is that the cooccurrence of a topicalized constituent with a complementizer is allowed in both main and embedded clauses, as illustrated in (49) and (50) respectively:

- (49) Dinero, ¿quién crees que nos podría prestar?
 lit: Money Who do you believe that can lend to us?
 (50) Ocurre que dinero, parece que no se pudo
 conseguir.
 lit: (It) occurs that, money, (it) seems that
 (he) could not get

The presence of the topicalized constituents in embedded sentences (e. g., (51) to (60)) also show that Topicalization cannot be strictly classified as a root transformation.

- (51) Te digo que dinero, le expliques a Juan
 que no le puedo conseguir.

lit: (I) tell you that, money, (you) should
 explain to John (lit. him explain to John)
 that I cannot get to him

(52) Quiero que dinero, le expliques a Juan
 que no le puedo conseguir.

lit: (I) want that, money, (you) explain
 to John that I cannot get to him

(53) Se dio cuenta que dinero, dirían que no le
 podían conseguir.

lit: (He) realized that, money, (they) would
 say that (they) could not get to him

(54) Ocurre que dinero, parece que no se pudo
 conseguir.

lit: (It) occurs that, money, (It) seems that he
 could not get

(55) Acepto la pretensión de que dinero,
 digan que no tienen.

lit: (I) accept the pretension that money,
 they should say that they do not have

(56) Me pregunto dinero, quién podrá prestarnos?.

lit: (I) wonder, money, Who will be able to lend us

Topicalized elements are apparently allowed within
 adverbial sentences as demonstrated in the following examples:

(57) Juan decidió emigrar cuando, trabajo,
le dijeron que no le darían.

lit: John decided to emigrate when, job, (they)
told him that they would not give to him

(58) Trataremos de financiarlo aunque, dinero,
te dijimos que no hemos conseguido.

lit: We will try to finance it although, money, (we)
told you that (we) have not gotten yet

(59) Juan protestó porque, dinero, le dijeron
que no podían darle.

lit: John protested because, money they told him that
(they) could not give him

(60) Te llamé para que, dinero, le explique
que no puedo darle.

lit: I call you for, money, (you) explain to him that
(I) cannot give to him

However, the fact that Topicalization is not a root transformation does not mean that it is a counterargument for SPC. The possibility remains that it could be structure preserving. In order to verify this hypothesis, let us consider the different analyses that have been proposed for this process.

In Contreras (1976) topicalized constituents are derived by means of rule (61):

$$\begin{array}{c}
 (61) \quad [\quad x \quad + \quad y \quad] \\
 \qquad \qquad \qquad [+topic] \\
 \qquad \qquad \qquad 1 \qquad \quad 2 \\
 \qquad \qquad \qquad 2 \# 1 \quad [\quad 2 \quad] \\
 \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad +pro
 \end{array}$$

This rule states that the topic is placed in sentence-initial position and dominated by the node S and followed by a sister constituent S which includes the rest of the sentence. The rule also adds the feature [+pro] to the topic in its original position to account for the anaphoric element which exists in some sentences with topicalized constituents. Those sentences which do not show an anaphoric element in surface structure are assumed to have undergone deletion rules. The pronoun deletion is optional and applies to preposed objects having the feature [+generic]. This is exemplified by Contreras with the examples given below:

(62) Trigo no (lo) hay en este país

lit: Wheat we do not have (it) in this country

(63) Dictadores (los) hay muchos en nuestra pobre
América

Dictators there are many in our poor America

The rule accounting for the above sentences is (64)

(64) Generic Pronoun Deletion (optional)

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ topic} \\ + \text{ pro} \\ + \text{ generic} \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \emptyset$$

The fact that subject pronouns may also be deleted in Spanish account for the possible absence of the anaphoric pronoun when the topicalized argument ends up being the subject of the sentence as in (43), repeated here.

(65) Este gobierno estúpido, ¿qué es lo que pretende?

lit: This stupid government, what is it trying to do?

A different approach to Topicalization in Spanish is

provided by Rivero (1978). According to her, Topicalization is a movement rule that applies in a left dislocated base structure of the type below.

$$(66) \bar{S} \left[\underset{\text{TOP}}{[\dots]} \left[\underset{\bar{S}}{\text{Comp} [\dots]} \right] \right]$$

The rule of Topicalization moves a constituent (in some cases identical to the phrase in TOP position in \bar{S}) to a node dominated by Comp. in \bar{S} . The Spanish Comp, under this analysis, dominates two types of dummy nodes, one for wh-phrases and another one for topicalized phrases. The phrase structure rule expanding Comp has the following form:

$$(67) \text{Comp} \implies \text{Qu} \quad \underset{\text{TOP}}{\triangle} \quad \underset{\text{WH}}{\triangle}$$

Qu identifies the complementizer in a general way. The rule involved in the relatives and interrogatives, places the moved WH-phrase in Comp. position to the right of the complementizer Qu and to the left of the node WH. Topicalization places the topicalized phrase in Comp position to the right of the Qu and to the left of the node WH. The nodes cannot be doubly filled. In Riveros' analysis, Topicalization observes subjacency, that is, it is a bounded transformation that cannot apply more than once in certain structures because

the movement of a topicalized phrase may block the movement of other candidates to be transported by Topicalization. When the topicalized phrase that moves into Comp is identical, totally or in part, to the basic phrase in TOP position deletion under identity occurs. Although the description of this rule has not been stated, we infer that it should be proposed as in (68)

(68) TOP [Δ] X NP \implies 1 4 3 e
 COMP [+TOP]

The Topicalization rule (61) proposed by Contreras (1976) is not structure preserving because this rule just adjoins the preposed topicalized constituent to the S. By definition, a structure preserving movement must move a node to a base node of the same category.

Riveros' analysis of Topicalization (66) is structure preserving because it moves a constituent marked with the feature [+TOP] to an empty node dominated by the Complementizer which is also indexed with this feature. The disadvantage of Riveros's rule is that by restricting this process to indefinite NPs, it leaves without explanation the derivation of sentences such as (69) and (70).

(69) Flores naturales no sé si las tengo

lit: Natural flowers (I) do not know whether I have them

(70) Burócratas no los necesito en este departamento

lit: Beaucrats I do not need (them) in this
department

In the above sentences, the constituents that have been topicalized are indefinite NPs, however, they present coreferentiality.

A third analysis for Topicalization could be to derive the topicalized constituents directly on the base, under the node TOP, by means of the same base rule proposed by Rivero (1978) to derive left dislocated constituents (page 26). The absence of pronominal copy could be accounted for by the optional Pronoun Deletion Rule (64) (Contreras 1976). This alternative seems to be favoured by the fact that the so-called topicalized constituents by Rivero (1978) can also be preceded by expressions such as *en cuanto a*, *hablando de*, *con respecto a*, which typically precede left dislocated constituents., e.g. (71a), (71b) and (71c).

(71a) En cuanto a dinero, me dijo que no te había
podido conseguir

lit: With respect to money, (he) told me that (he)
had not been able to get for you

(71b) Hablando de dinero, quién podrá prestarnos?

lit: Speaking of money, who can lend us?

(71c) Con respecto a deudas, no hay quien no tenga

lit: With respect to debts, there is none that
does not have

If topicalized constituents are derived on the base, this process would not constitute a counterargument for Emonds because the SPC would be irrelevant here.

1.4. VERBAL PHRASE PREPOSING

1.4.1. Verbal Phrase Preposing in English.- This transformation preposes any phrase node following the first auxiliary to the front of S (Emonds 1976); e. g., (72) to (74).

(72) John hoped that Mary would find his hat, but
find it she could not

(73) Mary said he has been a bad risk, and be a bad
risk he has.

- (74) We thought she would be in the running, to day,
and in the running to day she is.

According to Emonds VP preposing cannot apply in non-root S's as demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of the following sentences:

- (75)* Mary once predicted that John, who
passed an exam now has, would pass one
eventually.

- (76)* John hoped that Mary would find his hat,
but I wonder how find it she ever could.

1.4.2. Verbal Phrase Preposing in Spanish.- Klein (1974) and Terrel (1976) have considered as cases of VP preposing in Spanish, sentences exhibiting a preposed infinitival verbal phrase as that one given in (77)

- (77) Juan quiere que Lola se case con él, pero ella
casarse con él, no quiere

lit: John wants that Lola marry him, but to marry him,
she does not want

It should be noticed, however, that a preposed

non-infinitival verbal phrase gives rise to ungrammaticality as observed in (78) and (79).

(78)* Me dijo que era una mala idea y una mala idea era
lit: (He) told me that it was a bad idea and a bad
idea it was

(79)* Nosotros pensamos que había pasado el examen y
pasado el examen había
lit: We thought that (she) had passed the exam and
passed one (she) had

From the above sentences, it appears that VP preposing does not exist in Spanish and that what has been commonly analyzed as the result of this transformation must be analyzed as a case of Infinitival Phrase Preposing.

1.5 Infinitival Verbal Phrase Preposing.- In Spanish it is possible to prepose those infinitival nodes following the constituents that in English are called modals. This is observed in (80) to (82). Unlike English, the preposed constituent is marked by comma intonation and emphatic stress.

(80) ¿Hacer las compras, ¿quién puede hoy día?
lit: To go shopping, who can today?

(81) Recoger a los chicos, ¿quién puede hoy día?

lit: To pick up the children, who can today?

(82) Enviar una carta de protesta, quería Miguel.

lit: To send a letter, wanted Miguel

With regard to the range of application of this transformation Klein (1974) noticed that it can occur within sentences embedded under factive verbs, e. g., (83), (84).

(83) Fernando quiere que Marcos lo ayude
pero Marcos reconoce que ayudarlo
no puede

lit: Fernando wants Marcos to help him, but
Marcos recognizes that help him he can't

(84) Marcos sabía que ayudarte, no podría.

lit: Marcos knew that to help you, he would not be able

Terrel (1976) claimed that this transformation can also apply within sentences embedded under assertive verbs e. g., (85) (86) ..

(85) Juan me dijo que enviarte el dinero,
no podría esta semana.

lit: John told me that he will not be able to
send you the money this week.

(86) Ella me dijo que venir, no podría
hasta dentro de un mes.

lit: She told me that she will not be able
to come until a month.

Infinitival Preposing as Structure Preserving transformation.

Before wondering whether this transformation is Structure Preserving in Spanish, it is necessary to discuss the categorial status of infinitival phrases. With regard to this point, two analysis have been proposed: Strozer (1976) claimed that Spanish infinitival phrases following equi verbs and the so-called 'modals' must be generated directly on the base, as VP phrase complements. Rivas (1977), however, argued in favour of analyzing these constituents as NP verbal complements. In his approach, modals are considered as main verbs.

Under Strozers' analysis, Infinitival Preposing could not be considered structure preserving because Spanish base rules do not generate a VP node in pre-complementizer position. Recall that preposed infinitive phrases can cooccur with a

would constitute a counterargument to SPC. This conclusion, however, requires further study because it is quite plausible that Infinitival Preposing could be a stylistic movement. An argument in favour of this last hypothesis is the fact that this rule does not depend on any other syntactic process.

A rule that is related to infinitival phrases is Clitic Attraction which makes a clitic attached to a matrix verb (Rivas 1977). This rule, however, must precede Infinitive Preposing in order to prevent the generation of sentences such as :

(89)* Dar, yo se lo quiero

lit: To give, I want it to him

The rule of Clitic Gliding (Rivas 1977), that moves a clitic to the right of an infinitive, also must precede Infinitive Preposing in order to avoid the generation of ungrammatical sentences such as:

(90) Se lo dar, yo quiero

lit: To him it to give, I want

Thus, apparently, Infinitival Phrase Preposing is a superficial movement that must follow all syntactic processes.

Further support for this analysis comes from the fact that the output of this transformation is less grammatical than its input, as observed in (91b):

(91a) ¿Quién puede hacer las compras hoy día?

(91b) ? Hacer las compras, ¿quién puede hoy día?

lit: Who can go shopping today?

Since no evidence was found to classify this transformation as grammatical, I tentatively propose to consider it a stylistic movement.

1.6 ADVERBIAL DISLOCATION.

1.6.1. Adverbial dislocation in English.- This rule moves a factive adverbial out of the sentence to the right of S. Examples of dislocated adverbials are given in (92a) and (93a) along with paraphrases: (92b), (93b).

(92a) That man could have been replaced, possibly.

(92b) That man could possibly have been replaced.

(93a) Bill took the wrong turn, fortunately.

(93b) Bill fortunately took the wrong turn.

This transformation can be classified as root because the adverbial cannot be dislocated out of an embedded S that is not rightmost under a root S.

(94a) * I think that the fact that Bill took
the wrong turn, fortunately, saved
our lives.

(94b) I think that the fact that Bill
fortunately took the wrong turn
saved our lives.

1.6.2. Adverbial Dislocation in Spanish.- This rule operates in Spanish exactly in English, therefore, it is a root transformation . The output and the input of this transformation are illustrated by the pair of sentences below:

(95a) Ellos no vinieron, afortunadamente.

lit: They didn't come, fortunately.

(95b) Afortunadamente ellos no vinieron

(96a) No se irán, seguramente.

lit: They will not go, surely.

(96b) Seguramente no se irán

As in English, the presence of Adverbial Dislocation in embedded sentences gives rise to ungrammaticality, e. g., (97b).

(97a) Yo creo que, afortunadamente, el hecho que Bill
doblara a tiempo nos salvó la vida

I think that, fortunately, the fact that Bill
turned on time saved our lives

(97b) * Yo creo que el hecho que Bill doblara a tiempo,
afortunadamente, nos salvó la vida

1.7 FOOTNOTES CHAPTER I

1) Chomsky (1977) proposed these rules for English, in order to account for the presence of topicalized constituents within embedded sentences of the type:

As for John, he is a twit

* As for John is a twit

2) An alternative base rule to derive left dislocated structures is:

$$\overline{\overline{S}} \text{ =====> NP } \overline{S}$$

$$\overline{S} \text{ =====> Comp } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} S \\ \overline{\overline{S}} \end{array} \right\}$$

In this rule, left dislocated structures are derived under the NP on the expansion of \overline{S} . This rule is quite plausible because in Spanish only NPs can be left dislocated. It must be noticed, however, that the left dislocated constituents often

appear preceded by the preposition *a*; e.g. (1), (2). This would indicate that this constituent is not an NP but a PP.

(1) *A María, parece que no la quieren*

lit: To Mary, (it) seems that (they) do not want her

(2) *A Juan, me dijeron que le habían dado eso*

lit: To John, (they) told me that (they) have
given that

Bordelois (1973) and Strozer (1976) assign the function of case marker to the preposition *a*. If these analyzes are correct, then the above proposed rule appears quite suitable. A counterargument for this rule is, however, that it would not account for those left dislocated constituents that appear in construction with other expressions. E. g.:

(3) *Con respecto a María, dicen que nadie la quiere*

lit: With regard to Mary, (they) say that nobody
likes her

3) Infinitival Phrase Preposing, as stated in (88) looks very much the same as Topicalization. Thus, we could think of colapsing both rules. However, this is not possible because the

range of application of both transformations is different. Thus unlike Topicalization, Infinitival Phrase Preposing is prevented in indirect questions, and some embedded clauses introduced by the complementizer que 'that' as illustrated in (1) to (7):

(1) ? Se dio cuenta que emprender esa causa,
no deseaba por el momento.

lit: (He) realized that to start that cause,
he did not wanted in this moment

(2) ? Parece que enviar a sus hijos a Europa,
quiere mi hermano.

lit: (It) seems that to send his sons to Europe,
wants my brother

(3) * No sé quién cuidar a los niños,
va a poder esta semana.

lit: (I) do not know who look after the children,
can this week

(4) * No creo que participar en política,
pueda de nuevo.

lit: (I) do not believe that to participate in
politics, (he) can again

(5) * Dudo que regresar a la universidad,
pueda el próximo año.

lit: (I) doubt that to return to the University,
(I) can next year

(6)* Juan quiere que Lola se case con él,
pero ella duda que casarse con él, pueda.

lit: John wants that Lola marry him, but she
doubts that marry him, (she) can

CHAPTER II

2. COMPLEMENTIZER SUBSTITUTION ROOT TRANSFORMATIONS

This section covers the study of those root transformations that Emonds (1970, 1976) classifies as complementizer substitution rules. These transformations are: the transformations that prepose around Be, Directional Adverb Preposing and Negative Constituent Preposing. These transformations have in common the characteristic that do not induce comma intonation.

2.1. Complementizer root transformations in English.

2.1.1. Preposing Around BE. The following three transformations prepose around BE: a) Comparative Substitution (1)

(1) More significant would be the development of a semantic theory

b) Participle Preposing (2)

(2) Standing next to me was the president of the company.

c) Prepositional Phrase Substitution (3)

(3) On the wall hangs a portrait of Mao.

In each of these examples the part of the VP which follows BE in underlying structure is preposed and the subject is postposed. Prepositional Phrase Substitution can also prepose around a locative verb such as hang, stand, or sit. In all cases the subject is given added importance or emphasis by its position at the end of the sentence.

Transformations (a), (b) and (c) posit a problem for Emonds's hypothesis because they apply within embedded clauses as shown in (4), (5) and (6).

They cannot be classified as structure preserving either because the phrase rules of English do not generate the sequences Adj.Phr.-V-NP, Part.-V-NP, PP-V-NP.

(4)? We convinced the authorities that more important
would be the establishment of legal services.

(5) ? Bill announced that speaking at today's lunch
would be our local congressman.

(6) ? She convinced Bill that among the guest were John
and his family.

In order to account for these anomalies, Emonds (1976) suggested that root transformations can occur in indirect discourse if the exact meaning of the reported statement is to be preserved.

2.1.2. Directional Adverb Preposing.- According to Emonds (1970, 1976) this transformation preposes a directional adverb or a prepositional phrase (indicating spatial direction) when the verb of a sentence is in the simple past or present tense. No auxiliaries are allowed for the application of this transformation. It is limited to exclamatory statements as shown in sentences (7) and (8).

(7) In came John.

(8) Down the street rolled the baby carriage.

This movement triggers Subject Simple Verb Inversion as observed by the second position taken by the verb . As a root, transformation Directional Adverb Preposing cannot apply in embedded sentences.

(9) * I noticed that in came John.

2.1.3 Negative Constituent Preposing. This transformation preposes negative constituents which may be NPs or, more usually, adverbs. This movement triggers subject auxiliary inversion. The output of both transformation is illustrated in (10) and (11), Emonds (1970 1976).

(10) Under no conditions may they leave the area.

(11) Never have I had to borrow money.

The ungrammaticality of sentences (12) and (13) demonstrates that these transformations are restricted to apply in root sentences.

(12) * If under no conditions may they leave the area,
how can they pay their debt..

- (13) * The students that only on weekends did I see are living in the country now.

According to Emonds, Directional adverb preposing, Negative constituent preposing, and Preposing around Be, are all substitutions for the sentence-initial complementizer node.

Evidence of this is the fact that only one transformation can occur in the same sentence, as demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of (14):

- (14) * Not a single woman could in the crowd be found.

In the above example, both negative constituent preposing and PP substitution have been combined.

2.2. Complementizer transformations in Spanish

In Spanish, it is possible to find movement rules that resemble the complementizer substitution root transformations of English. Thus the Be Preposing transformations could be exemplified by sentences (15b), (16b), (17b), (18b), and (19b).

(15a) Su sorpresa fue grande cuando me vio .

lit: His surprise was big when he saw me .

(15b) Grande fue su sorpresa cuando me vio .

lit: Big was his surprise when he saw me .

(16a) El desarrollo de un programa de salud es
 más importante en este momento .

lit: The development of a health program is
 more important in this moment .

(16b) Más importante es el desarrollo de un programa de
 salud en este momento .

lit: More important is the development of a health
 program in this moment .

(17a) Ese libro no está en ninguna parte

lit: That book is in nowhere .

(17b) En ninguna parte está ese libro

lit: In nowhere is that book .

(18a) Miguel estaba entre los invitados .

lit: Miguel was among the guests .

(18b) Entre los invitados estaba Miguel .

lit: Among the guests was Miguel .

Examples of Direct adverb preposing can be sentences

such as (19b) and (20b).

(19a) Miles de aves volaban sobre los árboles

lit: Thousands of birds flew over the trees

(19b) Sobre los árboles volaban miles de aves

(20a) Los estudiantes viajaron a Europa el año pasado

lit: The students travelled to Europe last year

(20b) A Europa viajaron los estudiantes el año pasado

Negative constituent preposing can be illustrated with sentences (21b) and (22b).

(21a) Mi madre no nos dijo nunca la verdad

lit: My mother never told us the truth

(21b) Nunca mi madre nos dijo la verdad

(22a) Juan no ha querido venir jamás

lit: John has never wanted to come

(22b) Jamás Juan ha querido venir

As in English, these transformations do not induce emphasis, nor break intonation reading (Terrel 1976).² Unlike English, however, they have different distributional properties: all of

them can apply in embedded sentences. Furthermore, they cannot be considered complementizer substitutions because the reordered constituent may cooccur with a complementizer. Both differences are illustrated in (23) to (26).

(23) Me parece que más apropiado es el vestido
azul

lit: (It) seems to me that more appropriate is
the blue dress

(24) No creo que en la biblioteca esté ese libro

lit: (I) don't think that in the library is that book

(25) No creo que a Chile regresemos muy pronto

lit: (I) don't believe that to Chile we return soon

(26) Nos dimos cuenta que jamás cesarían los problemas

lit: (We) realized tha the problems would never stop

Since we do not know how these movements behave in Spanish, it is necessary to study them in further detail before analyzing them within the context of SPC.

2.2.1 Transformations that prepose around BE and Directional Adverb Preposing in Spanish

These transformations share the particularity of preposing constituents over intransitive verbs. Sentences that have undergone any of these transformations show the reordered constituent in sentence initial position and the subject in final position (27) (28) and (29).

(27) Más importante es el desarrollo de un programa
de salud

lit: More important is the development of a health
program

(28) Entre los invitados estaba Juan

lit: John was among the guests

(29) Sobre los árboles volaban miles de aves

lit: over the trees flew thousands of birds

These movements could be accounted for by postulating that the preposed constituents and the subject have been exchanged by a single process of inversion. If this is so, the rule should be stated as in (30)

(30) NP $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ser} \\ \\ \text{estar} \end{array} \right\} X \text{ =====> } 3 \ 2 \ 1$

Sentences (31) to (35) show, however, that the subject reordering precedes the preposing of any constituent following ser or estar, 'to be'.

(31) Es más importante el desarrollo de un programa
de salud

lit: (It) is more important the development of a health
program

(32) Fue grande su sorpresa cuando me vio

lit: (It) was big his surprise when he saw me

(33) Es más adecuado el vestido azul para esta
ocasión

lit: (It) is more adequate the blue dress for this
occasion

(34) Estaban en el patio los niños

lit: In the playground were the children

(35) Fueron a Europa los estudiantes

lit: Went to Europe the students

We infer from the above sentences that rule (30) is not the correct interpretation of the process undergone by the sentences (27) to (29), but that these sentences must be analyzed as the result of two independent processes: a rightward movement that postpones the subject and a leftward movement that preposes the reordered constituent.

The rightward movement apparently is performed by a rule that moves the subject to postverbal phrase position attaching it to S (see sentences (31) to (35)). If this is so, this rule can be formulated as in (36)

(36) NP VP X ==> 2 1 3 (optional)

1 2 3

In order to differentiate this rule from Subject Verb Inversion (to be study latter) I will name this rule Subject Postposition. The variable in rule (36) stands for any constituent following the verbal phrase as illustrated in (37)

(37) Grande fue su sorpresa cuando me vio

lit: Big was his surprise when (he) saw me

The leftward movements involved in the generation of sentences (27) to (29) can move different constituents. These constituents are:

- a) Adjective phrases following ser 'to be'
- b) Locative following estar 'to be'
- c) Directional prepositional phrases following verbs of movement

According to this, two hypothesis can be postulated:

I) That there are three independent rules, e. g.,: Comparative substitution, Prepositional Phrase Preposing and Directional Adverb Preposing for (27), (28) and (29) respectively, or (ii) that they obey to a single process that preposes constituents over intransitive verbs.

Hypothesis (i) requires evidence that Comparative Substitution, Prepositional Phrase Preposing and Directional Adverb Preposing are syntactic rules of Spanish grammar. This would be confirmed if we show that as in English each of these rules involves another syntactic process. Recall that this is a necessary condition for a rule to apply as syntactic.

Data presented in (31) to (35) show that these three movements must follow the optional rule of Subject Postposition. It must also be observed that when Directional Adverb Preposing and Prepositional Phrase Substitution move a negative constituent, the negative particle *no* is absent (e. g. (38b) and (39b)) in a negative sentence. This fact demonstrates that these two transformations are somehow related to the syntactic process of negation. For Comparative Substitution, however, no evidence was found to show that it was related to other syntactic processes, therefore, I assume that it obeys to an stylistic movement.

(38a) Juan $\left. \begin{array}{l} \# \phi \\ \text{no} \end{array} \right\}$ llegará a ninguna parte por ese camino

lit: John will not arrive to nowhere by that road

(38b) A ninguna parte $\left. \begin{array}{l} \phi \\ \text{*no} \end{array} \right\}$ llegará Juan por este camino

(39a) Ese libro $\left. \begin{array}{l} \# \phi \\ \text{no} \end{array} \right\}$ está en ninguna parte

lit: That book is not in nowhere

(39b) En ninguna parte $\left. \begin{array}{l} \phi \\ *no \end{array} \right\}$ esta ese libro

In order to account for the above data it is necessary to recall certain peculiar facts of negation in Spanish

Negation in Spanish.- In this language it is possible to have double negation. This process allows the cooccurrence of the particle no with a negative constituent only when this constituent is located in post-verbal position e. g., (40) and (41)

(40) No se lo diremos a nadie

lit: We will not tell it to anybody

(41) Ese libro no está en ninguna parte

lit: That book is in nowhere

The particle no must not appear when a negative constituent stands in a preverbal position.

(42) A nadie *no se lo diremos

lit: To nobody we will not tell it

(43) En ninguna parte *no está ese libro

lit: In nowhere is that book

Different approaches can be adopted to account for the data in (40) to (43). Hadlich (1972) proposed to account for these sentences by restricting the insertion of negative lexical items to negative sentences. In his view, sentences (40) and (41) are considered as basic. By positing such a restriction, however, Hadlich will also generate the ungrammatical sentences (44a) and (45a) instead of the grammatical (44b) and (45b).

(44a) * Nadie no vino

lit: Nobody did not come

(44b) Nadie vino

lit: Nobody came

(45a) * Ningún estudiante no fracasó

lit: No student did not fail

(45b) Ningún estudiante fracasó

lit: No student failed

The derivation of sentences (44b) and (45b) as well as the

grammatical version of (42) and (43) is accounted for by Hadlich by means of the rule of No Deletion given in (46).

(46) X [+ neg] no Y V Z ==> 1 2 0 4 5 6 (obligatory)
condition: none

Rule (46) applies whenever a negative constituent precedes the negative particle no. This transformation must be ordered after all movements rules have applied in order to preclude the derivation of ungrammatical sentences, e. g. (47) or (48). In sentence (47) the negative constituent is the indirect object. This constituent has undergone a leftward movement. In sentence (48) the negative constituent corresponds to the subject of the sentence which has been postposed.

(47) * A nadie no se lo diremos
lit: To nobody (we) will not tell it

(48) * Vino nadie
lit: Comes nobody

It should be noticed, however, that rule (46) can only account for the derivation of sentences where the negative constituent controlling the deletion immediately precedes the

particle no. Rule (46) does not account for the derivation of sentences such as (49) and (50):

(49) Jamás Juan $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ *no \end{array} \right\}$ ha dicho eso

lit: Never John has said that

(50) A ninguno de tus amigos, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ *no \end{array} \right\}$ quiero que le

cuentas lo ocurrido

lit: To any of your friends, (I) want that (you) tell them what happened

In the above sentences, the negative constituent acting as controller of the deletion does not immediately precede the particle no. In sentence (47), this constituent appears in pre-subject position, whereas in (48), it stands in TOP position. Therefore, if rule (46) is to be preserved, a variable should be inserted between the negative particle no and the constituent controlling the deletion. Rule (46) can now be formulated as in (51):

(51) [[+neg] Y no Z V] =====> 1 2 o 4 5

(obligatory)

Rule (46) can be further improved by stating the exact relationship that the controller of the deletion (i. e., a negative constituent) must hold with respect to the particle that is going to be deleted (i. e., no). This relationship follows the Principle of Command and Precedence proposed by Langacker (1969). According to this principle a node must precede and command another node in order to allow certain operations to occur. A node A commands a node B if the first S dominating A also dominates B. Both nodes must not dominate each other. As can be seen in (52) to (54), this is the exact type of relation that a negative constituent must hold in Spanish in order to trigger No Deletion. In all these sentences the negative constituent precedes and commands the particle no. In (52) the negative constituent stands in TOP position, in (53) in pre-subject position and in (54) in pre-verbal position. The particle no is always under VP. All these nodes are dominated by S and none of them dominates each other.

(52) A ningún estudiante quiero que *no le den
permiso

lit: To any student (I) want that you do not allow

(53) Parece que a ningún estudiante, el director
 *no le dio autorización

lit: (It) seems that to any student, the director
 did not allow

(54) Estoy seguro que Juan jamás ha hecho eso

lit: I am sure that John never has done that

The position of the controller with respect to the particle no in rule (51) can be stated by adding a condition to this rule. Then, Hadlich's deletion rules comes up as (55).

(55) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{[+neg] Y no Z V} \\ \text{3} \end{array} \right] \implies 1 \ 2 \ 0 \ 4 \ 5 \text{ (obligatory)}$
 condition: 1 precedes and commands 3

Condition in rule (55) establishes that this rule will not apply unless the negative constituent precedes and commands the particle no.

Let us now review other alternatives of derivation for the data in (40) to (45). In preceding paragraphs we have shown that Negative Deletion was required only if negative lexical items were restricted to appear in negative sentences. If such restriction is avoided, sentences (56) and (57) would be

generated without difficulty. However, we will also generate sentences (58a) and (59a) instead of the grammatical (58b) and (59b).

(56) Nadie vino

lit: Nobody came

(57) Ningún estudiante fracasó

lit: No student failed

(58a) * Trajo nada

lit: (He) brought nothing

(58b) No trajo nada

lit: (he) did not bring nothing

(59a) * Se lo dijo a nadie

lit: (He) told it to nobody

(59b) No se lo dijo a nadie

lit: (He) did not tell it to nobody

Sentences (58a) and (59a) could be ruled out by inserting the particle no in all those sentences having a negative constituent in postverbal position, provided that no negative constituent were found in pre-verbal position. The insertion of the particle no could be performed either by means of (i) a rule of Negative Agreement, or (ii) by means of a rule of Negative Insertion. The Negative Agreement rule could be proposed as in (60).

(60) X \bar{V} Z [+neg] =====> 1 4 + 2 3 4
 condition: 1 \neq [+neg]

Rule (60) is a pleonastic rule that copies to the left of V a negative feature appearing to its right.

The No insertion rule can be formulated as in (61).

(61) [X \bar{V} Y [+neg]] =====> i no + 2 3 4
 condition x \neq [+neg]

The above rule states that the particle no must be inserted in all those sentences having a negative constituent in post-verbal position. Rule (60), as well as (61) require to have a condition stating that the variable appearing to the left of V does not contain a negative constituent. This condition is necessary in order to preclude the generation of ungrammatical sentences such as (62) and (63).

(62) * A ningún estudiante el director no le dijo nada

lit: To no student the director did not tell nothing

(63) * Ningún estudiante no ha enviado nada

lit: No student has not sent nothing

When rule (60) or (61) apply, the negative constituents that may appear to the left of the V may be constituents that had been generated under the node TOP or the subjects that have not undergone postposition. Both cases are illustrated by (62) and (63) respectively.

Rules (60) and (61) should be ordered after all rightward and leftward movement rules. This order is necessary to derive sentences (64a) and (65a) instead of (64b) and (65b).

(64a) No vino nadie

lit: Nobody came

(64b) *Vino nadie

lit: Come nobody

(65a) A nadie le dijimos nada

lit: To nobody (we) said nothing

(65b) A nadie no le dijimos nada

lit: To nobody (we) did not say nothing

The adoption of either rule (60) or rule (61), however, would be more costly for Spanish grammar than the analysis associated with the rule of No Deletion because it would mean to have two different devices instead of just one to account for

single and double negation. The derivation of the sentences having negative constituents as negative sentences is superior because it permits to give a unified treatment to both processes. Another disadvantage of these rules is that they would need to have a later insertion rule. Finally, they require to have a negative condition in the specification of the rule restricting that no negative constituents must remain to the left of the verb at the moment of the rule application.

Summarizing, we have shown that the data in (40) to (45) may be accounted for by rules (55), (60), or (61). These three rules must follow all movements rules in order to give rise to the right predictions. From these three alternatives, the less costly would be to generate double negation directly with the particle no and to delete this particle by means of the rule of No Deletion when a negative constituent is in pre-verbal position. The last part of this conclusion, however, requires further analysis because it appears that the co-occurrence of a negative constituent with the particle no could be also ruled out by a filter. If this was the case, negative deletion would be no longer necessary. Let us now review this alternative. If a filter was proposed, it should be formulated as in (66):

(66) * [[+neg] Y no V]

S

Device (66) would filter out all sentences showing co-occurrence of a negative constituent with the particle no in preverbal position, i. e., (67) and (68).

(67) * A nadie el director no le dio permiso

lit: To nobody the director did not give (him)
permission

(68) * Nadie no vino

lit: Nobody did not come

It must be observed, however, that the formulation of the filter in (66) presents several problems. The first one is theoretical. Chomsky and Lasnik (1977) state that a filter must be local. Filter (66), however, would not be local because it contains a variable. This variable is necessary to account for the different positions that a negative constituent can hold with respect to the particle no. These positions are illustrated in (67) and (68). A second problem is that, according to Chomsky and Lasnik (1977), filters express properties of complementizers. This is not the case of filter (66). More importantly, filter (66) would leave part of the

data unexplained, i. e., it would rule out sentences such as (69a) and (70a) but since a filter does not delete morphological material it would not allow to derive their grammatical counterparts (69b) and (70b)

(69a) * Nadie no vino

lit: Nobody did not come

(69b) Nadie vino

lit: Nobody come

(70a) * A nadie no le dije nada

lit: To nobody (I) did not say nothing

(70b) A nadie le dije nada

lit: To nobody (I) said nothing

Directional Adverb Preposing and Prepositional Phrase
Substitution as syntactic rules of Spanish Grammar.

In the previous section, it was shown that the rule of Negative Deletion or Negative Agreement must be ordered after all movement rules over the verb, in order to give rise to the correct predictions. Now, since Directional Adverb Preposing and Prepositional Phrase Substitution are leftward movements of this type then they must be ordered before them. This is sufficient

evidence to confirm the syntactic status of these two transformations. The next question is to determine if these two movements exist as two independent transformations or if they can be collapsed under one single leftward movement.

In order to evaluate these alternatives let us start analyzing each transformation independently.

Prepositional Phrase Substitution should be defined as an optional reordering rule that preposes prepositional phrases over *estar* "Be" and over certain intransitive verbs that subcategorize locative PPs.

Directional Adverb Preposing is a rule that preposes directional prepositional phrases over intransitive verbs.

From the above definitions we can observe that both transformations perform the same functions i. e.,

- 1) They prepose a PP over an intransitive verb.
- 2) The preposed PP is unemphatic and is not separated from the rest of the sentence by comma intonation.
- 3) Both rules, apparently, place the reordered PP between the subject and the complementizer. Evidence in favour of this, is that a reordered unemphatic PP never precedes a WH-word. Emphatic PP, however, are allowed in this context.

(71a) * A París_¿quién irá el próximo año?

lit: To Paris who will go next year

(71b) A París_¿quién irá el próximo año?

(72a) * Me pregunto a Chile_¿quién va a regresar?

lit: I wonder to Chile who will want to go back

(72b) Me pregunto_¿a Chile, quién va a regresar?

(73a) * En nuestra casa_¿quién estuvo el año pasado?

lit: In our place who was last year

(73b) En nuestra casa_¿quién estuvo el año pasado?

These shared characteristics between Prepositional Phrase Preposing and Directional Adverb Preposing make it possible to collapse both transformations under a single leftward movement. This rule could be stated as in (74)

(74) Comp X V PP =====> 1 4 2 3

2.2.2. Negative Constituent Preposing in Spanish, this rule is an optional transformation that preposes a negative constituent to initial sentence position as illustrated below:

(75) Difícilmente Juan acepta venir sin su mujer

lit: Hardly ever John accepts to come without his wife

(76) Jamás Juan acepta venir sin su mujer

lit: Never John accepts to come without his wife

(77) Nunca Juan ha dicho eso

lit: Never John has said that

The description of this rule presents difficulties because negative constituents can appear in different positions within the verbal phrase, i. e., preverbal (78), postverbal (79) and final VP position (80).

(78) Juan nunca dice la verdad

lit: John never tells the truth

(79) Juan no dice nunca la verdad

lit: John (does not) never tells the truth

(80) Juan no dice la verdad nunca

lit: John (does not) tell the truth never

Thus, taking into consideration the distribution of negative adverbs, Negative Constituent Preposing could equally be proposed as : (I) a rule that preposes a negative constituent from preverbal position or (II) a rule that preposes a negative constituent from postverbal position.

The selection of alternative (I) or II) is crucial to determine the status that must be assigned to this transformation.

Under alternative (I) this movement should be defined as a stylistic movement that preposes negative constituents from pre-verbal to pre-subject position as exemplified in (81b) to (83b). This is so because no evidence was found that this movement was relevant for any other syntactic process.

(81a) Juan nunca dice la verdad

lit: John never tells the truth

(81b) Nunca Juan dice la verdad

(82a) Juan en su vida ha trabajado

lit: John in his life has worked

(82b) En su vida Juan ha trabajado

- (83a) Juan difícilmente acepta venir sin su mujer
 lit: John hardly ever accepts to come without his wife
 (83b) Difícilmente Juan acepta venir sin su mujer

On the contrary the selection of alternative (II) makes this rule to be related to the process of negation because it would be a leftward movement operating over the verb. This is illustrated in (84b)

- (84a) Juan $\left. \begin{array}{l} \phi \\ \text{no} \end{array} \right\}$ reconoce nunca sus defectos

lit: John does not never recognize his mistakes

- (84b) Nunca Juan $\left. \begin{array}{l} \phi \\ *no \end{array} \right\}$ reconoce sus defectos

lit: Never John recognizes his mistakes

So far it can be observed that the description of Negative Constituent Preposing crucially depends on the basic position assigned to negative adverbs and on the study of their movements. Since the study of these two aspects is beyond the scope of this research I will leave the question open for

further investigation. For the time being I will postulate that the selection of alternative II; i. e., that this rule preposes a negative constituent from postverbal to presubject position, it would make the operation of this transformation very similar to the operation of the two transformations previously studied (i. e., Directional Adverb Preposing and Prepositional Phrase Sustitution) because Negative Constituent Preposing would be a leftward movement operating over the verb that moves the constituent to pre-sentential position eg. (85) and (86).

(85) Nunca María supo la verdad

lit: Never Maria knew the truth

(86) Parece que nunca María supo la verdad

lit: (It) seems that naver Maria knew the truth

Another similarity is that this transformation does not induce neither emphasis nor comma intonation reading as the others do. Thus it is quite likely that these three transformations obey to just one leftward movement. In order to collapse these three movements, however, the description of rule (74) should be reformulated in such a way that it admits leftward movement of constituents from different post-verbal positions. Recall that negative constituents can also be

located in final verbal phrase position (e. g., (80)). Thus, the structural description of rule (74) should be now (87)

$$(87) \text{ Comp } X \bar{V} Y \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{adv} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\} \text{====> } 1 \ 4 \ 2 \ 3$$

Rule (87) states that any postverbal PP can be moved to pre-sentential position.

In summary, I claim that Prepositional Phrase Substitution, Directional Adverb Preposing and Negative Constituent Preposing can be collapsed under the general leftward movement rule given in (87). This rule preposes prepositional phrases to pre-sentential position. The reordered constituent is unemphatic and is not separated from the rest of the sentence by comma intonation reading.

Let us now consider whether we can extend rule (66) to other processes that exhibit these characteristics.

In Chapter 1 (pages 19 to 20), the source of the reordered constituent appearing in examples (15) to (18) remained unexplained because they did not fall within the definition of left dislocated constituents. The main reasons were: (1) that, unlike left dislocated constituents, they did not show break

intonation reading nor emphasis; (2) that the reordered constituents had not crossed over a WH-word. Note that these are exactly the characteristics of the constituents reordered by rule (87). Thus we can attempt to make a reformulation of this rule in order to include these movements. This rule can be reformulated now as in (88).

$$(88) \text{ Comp } X \text{ V } Z \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv} \\ \text{PP} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \text{ =====> } 1 \ 5 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4$$

Rule (88) states that Adv's, PP's and NP's can be moved from postverbal position to pre-sentential position. The predictions are correct as can be observed in the examples below.

(89) Me parece que jamás el pueblo aceptó al dictador
lit: (It) seems to me that never the people accepted
the dictator

(90) No creo que en la biblioteca esté ese libro
lit: (I) don't believe that in the library is
that book.

(91) Es probable que a Europa viajemos en verano
lit: (It) is probable that to Europe (we) travel
next summer.

(92) Nos dimos cuenta de que jamás cesarían los
problemas

lit: (We) realized that never the problems stopped

(93) Dicen que al dictador el pueblo lo repudia

lit: (They) say that (as for) the dictator, the
people repudiate him.

(94) De ese tema no hemos hablado todavía

lit: About that subject we have not talked yet

Since rule (88) makes the right predictions I will assume hereafter that all unemphatic, non-comma inducing reordered constituents in main and embedded clauses are the result of this rule. I name this rule Pre-sentential Transportation.

2.3. Pre-sentential Transportation. Since Pre-sentential Transportation can apply within embedded sentences (89) to (92) it cannot be classified as a root transformation. It cannot be stylistic either because it must apply before negative deletion in order to preclude the generation of the ungrammatical sentences in (95) to (98).

(95) * De nadie Juan no se ha quejado

lit: About nobody John has not complained

(96) * Nunca Juan no reconoce sus defectos

lit: Never John (do not) recognizes his mistakes.

(97) * A ninguna parte no llegará Juan por ese camino

lit: To anywhere John will not arrive by this way.

(98) * En ninguna parte no está ese libro

lit: In nowhere is not that book

The description of Pre-sentential Transportation proposed in (88) also shows that this rule cannot be classified as structure preserving because the base rules of Spanish generate neither a PP nor a NP in pre-subject position. Therefore I conclude that this rule must be considered as a violation of the Structure Preserving Hypothesis.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER II

1.- Under this classification are also included Topicalization and Verbal Phrase Preposing by Emonds (1970, 1976). These transformations, however, were studied in Chapter I because they belong to the transformations that induce comma in Spanish.

2.- Reordered directional prepositional phrases and locatives PPs, in main clauses, can also be marked by emphasis and break intonation reading, as observed in (1) and (2).

(1) A Europa, yo no iría.

lit: To Europe, I would not go.

(2) En España, está Juan.

lit: In Spain, is John.

This reading however is induced by constituents located out of the scope of the sentence.

An argument showing that the reordered prepositional phrase of sentence (1) has been moved out of the scope of S is the fact

that only under this reading, the insertion of a complementizer between the reordered constituent and the rest of the sentence is possible, e. g., (3a) and (4a).

(3a) A Europa, ¿quién quiere ir?

lit: To Europe, who wants to go?

(3b) * A Europa ¿quién quiere ir?

(4a) En España, ¿quiénes están?

lit: In Spain, who are?

(4b) * En España ¿quiénes están?

A second argument is that in those cases where a constituent has been promoted from an embedded sentence to an upper sentence, only break intonation reading is allowed, e. g., (5a) and (6a)

(5a) A París, hay mucha gente que quiere ir

lit: To Paris there are a lot of people that want
to go

(5b) * A París hay mucha gente que quiere ir

(6a) En París, creo que está Miguel

lit: In Paris, (I) think that Miguel is

(6b) * En París parece que está Miguel.

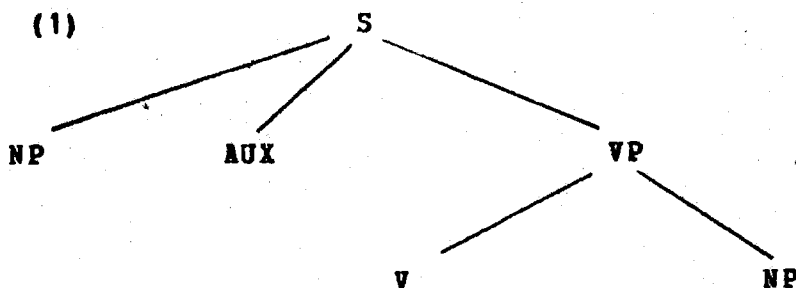
CHAPTER III

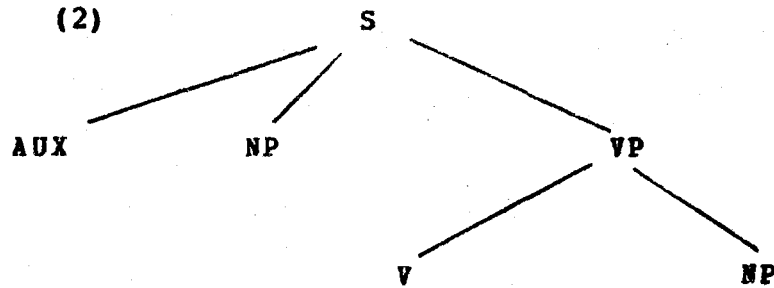
3. SUBJECT INVERSION ROOT TRANSFORMATIONS

This section deals with the study of two subject inversion root transformations: Subject Auxiliary Inversion and Subject Verb Inversion (Emonds 1970, 1976).

3.1. SUBJECT AUXILIARY INVERSION.

3.1.1. Subject Auxiliary Inversion in English.- Emonds (1976) showed that Subject Auxiliary Inversion is a root transformation relating structures of the type (1) to structures of the type (2). After the movement, the auxiliary and the subject remain under the domain of S.





This transformation applies in direct questions e. g., (3); in certain exclamative sentences, e. g., (4), and in sentences where the negative constituents have been preposed. This is illustrated in (5).

(3) Do you know him?

(4) Isn't it cold out!

(5) Under no conditions may they leave the area

3.1.2. Subject Auxiliary Inversion in Spanish. Subject auxiliary inversion does not exist in Spanish with the verb haber 'have', and with the progressive verb estar, 'to be'. This can be observed by the ungrammaticality of the sentences below:

(6)* Cuando había Pedro sido invitado?

lit: When had John been invited?

(7) *¿Qué habría Juan hecho sin mí?

lit: What would have John done without me?

(8) *¿Dónde había Pedro ido?

lit: Where had John gone?

(9) *¿Cuándo estuvo Pedro estudiando?

lit: When was Peter studying?

(10) *¿Dónde está Juan viviendo?

lit: Where is John living?

The inversion, however, can occur with simple verbs ((11), (12)), and with those verbs that in English are called modals (14) to (15).

(11) ¿Qué hace Pedro?

lit: What does Pedro do?

(12) ¿Cuándo vino Juan?

lit: When did John come?

(13) ¿Puede Juan llegar a las 10?

lit: Can John arrive at 10?

(14) ¿Podrá Pepe terminar el libro para mañana?

lit: Can Pepe finish the book for tomorrow?

(15) ¿Deben los alumnos presentarse mañana?

lit: Must the students present themselves tomorrow?

The fact that the inversion can occur with modals, seems to indicate that Subject Auxiliary Inversion is also a rule of Spanish. However, this is debatable because there is no evidence of the existence of the auxiliary node in Spanish. On the contrary, it has been continuously claimed that auxiliaries and main verbs should be considered to be a single category in Spanish (Klein 1968, Otero 1974, Rivas 1977). The arguments given are that unlike in English, modals can undergo morphological variation, fact that assimilates them to the category of verbs. Furthermore, there are important processes that can be better accounted for by subsuming auxiliaries and main verbs into the same category, e. g., clitic placement (Rivas 1977). In addition to these arguments, it is also important to remark that rules requiring modals and verbs to be

distinct categories in English (Tag Question Formation, VP Deletion, Number Agreement with the subject, Placement of the Negative not (=n't)), do not exist in Spanish. For these reasons, it seems more desirable to eliminate the category auxiliary from Spanish base rules. If this is the case, sentences (13) to (15) cannot be analyzed as cases of Subject Auxiliary Inversion.

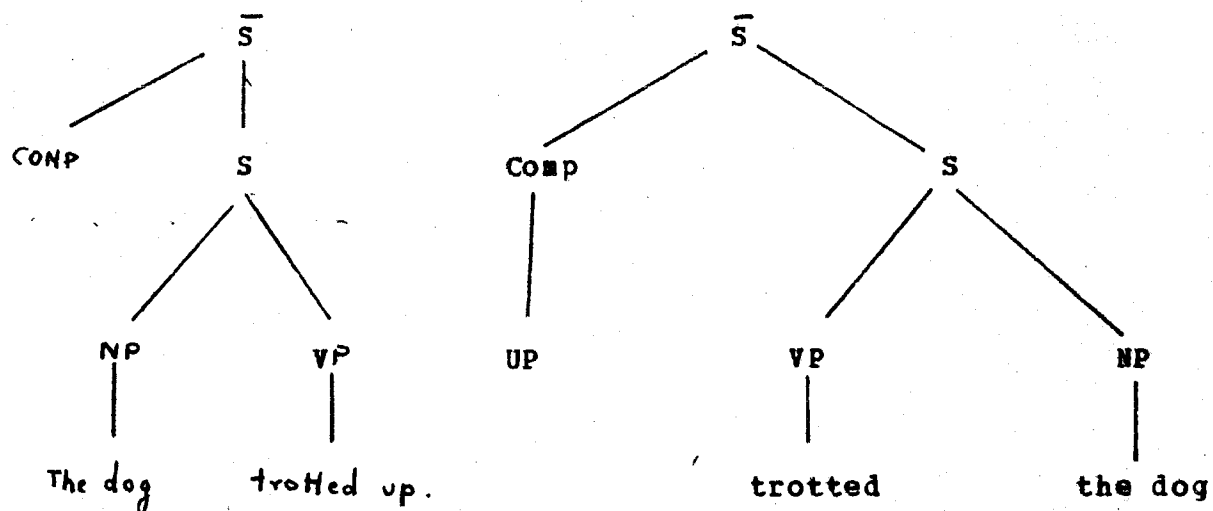
3.2. SUBJECT SINGLE VERB INVERSION

3.2.1. Subject Single Verb Inversion in English.- This movement transformation exchanges the subject with a single intransitive verb when the rule of Directional Adverb Preposing applies, giving rise to sentences like those ones in: (16) and (17)

(16) In came John

(17) Up trotted the dog

After the movement, the single verb and the subject remain under the domain of the root S (Emonds 1976):



3.2.2 Subject Single Verb Inversion in Spanish. In Spanish there is a movement rule that is very similar to Subject Single Verb Inversion of English. This rule is illustrated in sentences (18) to (21).

(18) ¿Trajo Juan los libros?

lit: Did John bring the book?

(19) ¿Qué trajo Juan?

lit: What did John bring?

(20) ¿Cuándo vino Pedro?

lit: When did John come?

- (21) A la izquierda dobló el auto
lit: To the left, turned the car

This transformation, however, is different from English because in Spanish it is not triggered by Directional Adverb Preposing, as can be observed in examples (18) to (21). Furthermore, the scope of the rule is not the same since it also applies in embedded sentences, as exemplified in (22).

- (22) El dinero que $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Juan le prestó} \\ \text{le prestó Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ ya se le acabó

lit: The money that John lent to him is already gone

Subject Single Verb Inversion, as stated for English, cannot, evidently, account for all the cases of Subject Verb Inversion in Spanish.

So far we have shown that neither Subject Auxiliary Inversion nor Subject Single Verb Inversion explain the inversion in (18) to (21), therefore we must find an alternative explanation for them. The rule involved in the derivation of

these sentences will be studied in the next section.

3.3 SUBJECT VERB INVERSION IN SPANISH

Subject Verb Inversion in Spanish moves a subject NP to the right, to a position under VP. It plays a role in the derivation of sentences (23b), (24b) and (25b).

(23a) Ramón se enojó

lit: Ramón got angry

(23b) Se enojó Ramón

(24a) El experimento fracasó

lit: The experiment failed

(24b) Fracasó el experimento

(25a) La resistencia empezó

lit: The resistance started

(25b) Empezó la resistencia

This rule is also applicable in yes-no questions, as observed in (25b) and (26b).

(25a) ¿Juan sabe la verdad?

lit: Does John know the truth?

(25b) ¿Sabe Juan la verdad?

(26a) ¿Juan envió la carta?

lit: Did John send the letter?

(26b) ¿Envío Juan la carta?

Root sentences displaying topicalized and left dislocated constituents can also undergo Subject Verb Inversion ((27) and (28) respectively).

(27) Dinero, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Juan me aseguro} \\ \text{me aseguro Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ que se podía conseguir

lit: Dinero, John asserted to me that he could get

(28) Con respecto a esta orden, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{el jefe pidió} \\ \text{pidió el jefe} \end{array} \right\}$

que lo despacháramos inmediatamente

lit: With regard to this order, the boss asked that we send it right away

Examples (23) to (28) are cases of root S's where the Subject Verb Inversion occurs. However, this transformation can also apply within embedded clauses, such as yes-no questions (29), relative clauses ((30), (31)), and in embedded clauses with left dislocated and topicalized structures (32).

mi hermana consiguió

(29) Aún no sé si el empleo
 consiguió mi hermana

lit: I still don't know whether my sister got
 that job

(30) El motivo por el cual $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Juan envió} \\ \text{envió Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ esa carta, no
 se supo

lit: The reason that John sent that letter for,
 is unknown

(31) La persona a quien $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Juan le envió} \\ \text{le envió Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ la carta

no estaba en B. C.

lit: The person to whom John sent that letter
 was not in B. C.

(32) Parece que este libro, $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{María no quiere} \\ \text{no quiere María} \end{array} \right\}$ que lo

vendamos

lit: It seems that this book, Mary does not want
that we sell it

Finally, this transformation applies within complement
clauses introduced by the complementizer que.

(33) El hecho de que $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Juan aprobará} \\ \text{aprobará Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ el curso ...

lit: The fact that John passed the course ...

(34) Dicen que $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Juan no aprobó} \\ \text{no aprobó Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ el curso

lit: (They) say that John did not pass the course

(35) Quiero que $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Juan entregue} \\ \text{entregue Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ los premios.

lit: I want that John gives the presents

(36) No creo que $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Juan apruebe} \\ \text{apruebe Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ el examen.

lit: I do not believe that John pass the exam

(37) Parece que $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{la resistencia fracasó} \\ \text{fracasó la resistencia} \end{array} \right\}$

lit: It seems that the resistance failed

To account for these data we can propose rule (38):

(38) NP X AUX V Y ==> e 2 3 4 1 5 (opt)

Rule (38) is based on the assumption that auxiliaries and main verbs belong to different categories. Variable X in (38) stands for constituents that can be located between the subject NP and the auxiliary as illustrated in (40a), (41a).

(40a) Juan nada ha logrado con protestar
lit: John nothing has gotten protesting

(40b) Nada ha logrado Juan con protestar

(41a) Un gobierno tan malo como éste a nadie ha
convencido

lit: A government as bad as this to nobody
has convinced

(41b) A nadie ha convencido un gobierno tan malo
como éste

The formulation of Subject Verb Inversion as (38) however does not account for sentences (42) and (43) displaying the subject in post-auxiliary position

(42) ¿ Debe Juan aceptar el dinero?

lit: Must John accept the money?

(43) ¿ Puede Juan dar el examen?

lit: Can John give the examen?

A second counterargument to this rule is that, as discussed earlier (pages 96-97), the existence of the node auxiliary in

Spanish is questionable. Therefore we can reformulate the rule of Subject Verb Inversion as in (44).

(44) NP X \bar{V} Z ==> e 2 3 1 4 (opt)

In rule (44) auxiliaries are considered members of the verb category. They are generated under \bar{V} which is a superverb generated in place of the verb in the expansion of VP. Variable X stands for any adverb that can be located between the subject and the verb, as exemplified in (40), (41). Rule (44) states that the subject rightward movement is to postverbal position. The advantage of rule (44) over (38) is that it allows (45) to be derived and predicts the ungrammaticality of sentences (46) and (47).

(45) ¿Debe Juan asistir a la reunión?

lit: Can John assist to the meeting

(46)* El financiero que me había tu padre
recomendado...

lit: The financier that had your father
recommended to me

(47)* ¿Qué está Juan haciendo?

lit: What is John doing

With regard to the restriction on the application of Subject Verb Inversion, the data given in (23) to (37) seems to indicate that this rule should be proposed as optional. Under this analysis we would expect grammaticality even when the rule fails to apply. However some WH- interrogative sentences such as those in (48) to (51) show that when this rule does not apply, ungrammaticality is assigned to the sentence. Thus examples (48) to (51) seem to require Subject Verb Inversion as obligatory.

(48) ¿Cuándo

{	*Juan llega?	}
	llega Juan?	

lit: When John arrives?

(49) ¿Por qué

{	*Juan vino?	}
	vino Juan?	

lit: Why John came?

(50) ¿Qué $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *Juan\ piensa? \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$
 piensa Juan?

lit: What John thinks?

(51) Aún no sabemos que $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *Juan\ propone \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$
 propone Juan

lit: we still don't know what did John propose?

It must be noticed, however, that under certain circumstances this rule also applies optionally within interrogative sentences, as illustrated in (52) to (55).

(52) ¿Por qué $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Juan\ mando \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$ esa carta?
 mando Juan

lit: Why did John send that letter?

lit: We still don't know why did John send that letter

So far there is an obvious contradiction because a rule cannot be obligatory and optional at the same time. It still appears, however, that the postulation of this rule as optional accounts for a wider set of data than positing the same rule as obligatory.

The solution to this question, however, is not relevant to test this rule within Emond's Structure Preserving hypothesis.

Subject-Verb Inversion in Spanish within the SPC

The formulation of Subject Verb Inversion either as in (38) or as in (44):

(38) NP X AUX V] =====> e 2 3 4 1 (5) (opt)

(44) NP X \bar{V} Z =====> e 2 3 1 4 (opt)

constitutes a counterargument for SPC because the rule is neither root nor structure preserving. It is not a root transformation because it can apply in all types of embedded sentences, e. g., (29) to (37).

This movement cannot be considered as structure preserving because there is no evidence that the NP subject moves to an NP position. On the contrary the data shows that the only available NP in postverbal position - that one corresponding to the object - may be already occupied when the inversion occurs. This is exemplified in (57) and (58).

(57) ¿Envio' Juan la carta?

lit: Did John send the letter?

(58) ¿Sabe Juan la verdad?

lit: Does John know the truth?

Furthermore, the constituent AUX present in the structural description of rule (38) and the variable present between the subject and the verb in rule (44) also prevent to classify this rule as local. *what
does
have?*

Finally Subject Verb Inversion cannot be considered as stylistic transformation because after its application syntactic changes do occur. Examples in (58) show that when subject-verb inversion is undergone by a negative subject, the particle *no* must appear.

(59a) Ningún alumno fracasó este año

lit: No student failed this year

(59b) Este año no fracasó ningún alumno.

In order to account for the above sentences the rule of Subject-Verb Inversion must precede the application of either No Deletion or No Insertion. This makes Subject Verb Inversion a syntactic rule.

3.4. FOOTNOTES CHAPTER III

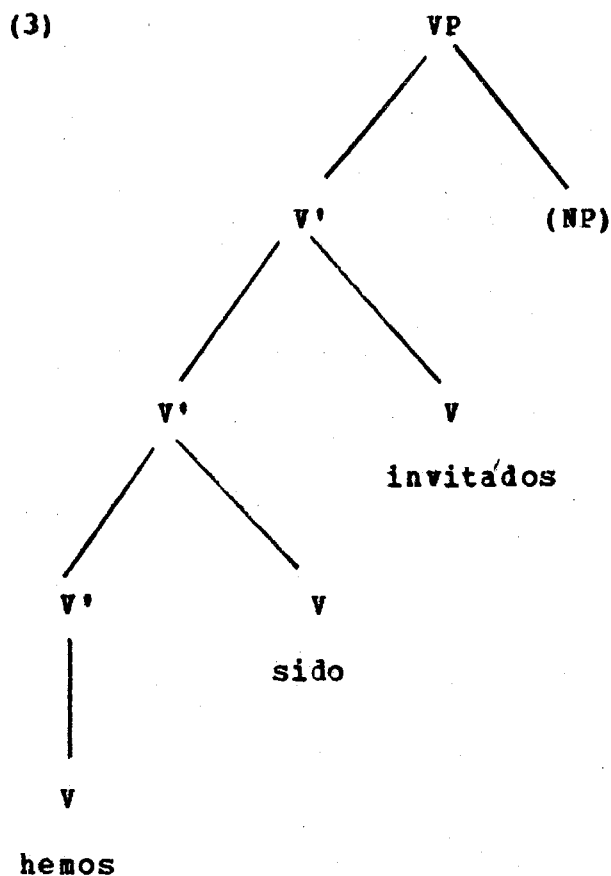
1.- This alternative implies i) that Spanish grammar generates consecutive verbs in the same clause, so that we can interpret the sequence *habia sido invitado* 'had been invited' as V-V-V. ii) It implies also to determine the deep structure position and the transformational derivation of TENSE.

The generation of consecutive verbs within the same clause could be solved by adopting the solution presented by Emonds (1978) to account for a similar case in French. He proposed the base rules given below

(1) VP ==> V'

(2) V' ==> (V') V

According to the above rules, a verbal complex constituent V' is intermediate between verb and VP, which permits the generation of two verbs in a single constituent, but not as sister constituents. These rules give rise to the following verbal complex structure



Under this hypothesis the context for past participles is specified as follows.

$$(4) \quad V \implies \text{Past. Part.} / \underset{V'}{[V' \text{ ----}]}$$

With regard to the ordering of the auxiliaries (perfect + passive) Emonds thinks that it must be accounted for by aspects of the grammar other than the phrase structure rules alone. The left branching passive auxiliary morpheme under V' is inserted

in the context -V-NP only when NP preposing applies and hence a passive auxiliary necessarily follows any deep structure auxiliary V of aspect. Similarly one passive auxiliary cannot follow another.

With respect to the generation of TENSE, Spanish lacks the motivation for tense movement that exists in English. In English, TENSE is marked on different verbs in pairs of sentences whose deep structure only differ by say, WH or NEG (c.f. John didn't leave VS John left). This is not the case in Spanish where the tense is always marked in the verb ending.

Considering these dissimilarities, the derivation of TENSE on the base could be attempted.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This study attempted to verify whether Emonds (1970, 1976) Structure Preserving Constraint could be applied to a group of Spanish transformations. The Structure Preserving Constraint predicts that movement transformations can only be root, structure preserving or local. The transformations that could not be classified in these categories should be considered as counterexamples to this hypothesis.

In order to meet the secondary objective of comparing root transformations in English and Spanish, the sample of transformations used in this study was deliberately chosen to correspond to English root transformations. The processes that in English are defined as root were compared to similar processes in Spanish.

This research showed that, in general, the transformations that are root in English are not in the same category in Spanish. Only Adverbial Dislocation was root in both languages. The English root transformation of Topicalization, however, behaves as structure preserving in Spanish.

Some English root transformations did not have Spanish counterparts. These transformations were: Verbal Phrase Preposing, Right Dislocation, Tag Formation, Subject Auxiliary Inversion and Subject-Single Verb Inversion.

Negative Constituent Preposing, Directional Adverb Preposing and the transformations that prepose around BE do not exist in Spanish as separate transformations but they could be collapsed into a general movement that was named Pre-sentential Transportation. This movement could be classified as neither root, structure preserving nor as a local transformation, therefore, it constitutes a counterargument to the SPC. Two other transformations that could not be classified in the three categories were the Spanish Left Dislocation and Subject Verb Inversion. Of these two, only the second proved to be a true counterargument for SPC. Further study of Left Dislocation showed that this transformation does not accounts adequately for all the data and its validity as a transformation was questioned. It was concluded that the base derivation reported by Rivero (1978) seems to be more adequate for Left Dislocation, and, for this rason, this transformation is not a counterargument for SPC.

A deeper study of Subject-Verb Inversion and Pre-sentential

Transportation demonstrated that these transformations could not be classified as stylistic movements, which is the only category that, according to Emonds, could violate his constraint. Evidence that these two movements are not stylistic is the fact that they show to be ordered before the syntactic rule accounting for double negation. By definition, a stylistic movement must follow all syntactic processes.

It is concluded that Emonds (1970, 1976) constraint does not apply to Spanish in the form proposed for English. This was demonstrated by the fact that the transformations of Subject-Verb Inversion and Pre-sentential Transportation could not be classified neither as root nor as structure preserving or local transformations. In order to preserve the validity of SPC for Spanish, a modification of Emonds' concepts should be investigated in this language.

An interesting finding of this thesis is that, in Spanish, reordering movements applying over the verb cannot be classified as stylistic because all of them must be ordered before the rule accounting for the process of double negation in Spanish.

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