SPANISH INFINITIVES
AND
NOUN CLAUSES

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis brings forth a number of significant ideas regarding the derivation of infinitives and noun clauses functioning as direct objects. Some of the ideas are, to the best of our knowledge, new; others are quite traditional but are presented in the context of transformational grammar. Some of these ideas have appeared elsewhere, either in traditional grammars, or in transformational analyses, but never exactly in the form presented here.

The paper commences with a brief introduction to the model used. The major points of the current theory are given, especially in areas relevant to the ensuing discussion. Furthermore, many of the basic operational procedures employed are described.

The first chapter is relatively short. Underlying structures relevant to the subsequent discussion are explained and motivation for various structures is given. It is easy to see how this work could tie in with a model which is based on semantic interptretation, even though the work is based on the writings of Chomsky. These rules, probably in a modified form, would simply come in at certain intermediate stages in the grammar.

The following chapter explains how sentences such as "Le mandé al profesor aprobar mi tesis." are surface realizations which also underlie sentences such as: "Le mandé al profesor que aprobara mi tesis."(I ordered the

professor to approve my thesis.). In other words, these two sentences have identical deep structures as they are identical in meaning. Various types of (object) noun clause constructions are discussed from the point of view of infinitivization. We will show that some clausal constructions may be infinitivized, even when the subject of the subordinate clause differs from that of the main clause.

Continuing the discussion of infinitives, we discuss, in Chapter III, ambiguities which may often arise due to optional stylistic rules, e.g., "Dejaron comer al hombre." (They had the man eaten/eat.)

In Chapter IV, we treat pronoun placement. This is relevant to the analysis of structural ambiguities because of certain restrictions on pronoun metathesis which seem to occur with these constructions. For example, many speakers consider "Los vi comer." to be ambiguous because it has two possible interpretations in their dialects: "I saw them eat" or "I saw them eaten".

Finally, the last chapter reviews the formulation and the ordering of the rules. In this work, the cycle was not required--each rule applied once, but in as many places in the structure as was necessary.

INTRODUCTION

0.1. The Model Before beginning the study of certain aspects of Spanish sentence patterns, a brief description of the model which is used here is presented. Throughout this work we describe Spanish in terms of Transformational Grammar. The major theoretical foundations will be found in Katz and Postal's "An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions" and Chomsky's "Aspects of the Theory of Syntax". During the course of its evolution, T-grammar has grown increasingly more abstract in its underlying structures. Publications are constantly appearing showing how deep structures are far removed from surface structures.

Transformational grammar is able to systematically relate phenomena that appear to be quite unrelated on the surface. This relationship is formally shown which is an advantage over traditional grammar whose insights T-grammar tries to capture. In fact, T-grammar is an explicit generative grammar as opposed to the inexplicit generative grammars which traditional grammars are.[1] Thus, insights based on those of traditional grammar will appear in this study.

0.2. Ordered Rules An interesting aspect of the model is the use of ordered rules. These rules do not apply over a time span as in diachronic derivations, but are simply

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1. Noam Chomsky, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 'S Gravenhage, Mouton, 1962, reprinted in Fodor & Katz, The Structure of Language, Inglewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1964.

used as a means to explain the surface forms. Hypothetical base forms are set up to which the ordered rules are applied. Often the base forms are similar to historical forms. This is due to the nature of the model, yet it must be remembered that actual historically occurring forms may be quite different, due to restructuring in the grammar. Forms occurring in Latin or Old Spanish may not be suitable as base forms for a synchronic study of Modern Spanish.

In this last connection, two points need to be mentioned. One has to do with rule-ordering. T-grammar assumes at least partial ordering of the rules--which is understood to mean that some, and maybe all, rules must follow each other in a prescribed manner. It is quite probable that each rule must be strictly ordered, i.e. can only come in one place in the derivational sequence. This appears to be an empirical question and depends upon investigation.[2] Further, phonological and transformational rules often apply in a cycle. In both phonology and syntax, the use of the cycle requires that the sequence of rules applies to the innermost string--in phonology to that item within the innermost brackets;--in syntax to the most deeply embedded sentence. In syntax, instead of bracketing the categories of the surface string, e.g. N, NP, S, etc., one simply works within the sentence boundary ##. Gradually,

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2. Noam Chomsky & Morris Halle, The Sound Pattern of English, New York, Harper & Row, 1968.

one erases the innermost sentence boundaries and reapplies the sequence to the new innermost string.

0.3. Base-forms The other point we should mention is where the base-forms come from. One can generate them (in syntax) from an initial S, using a phrase-structure grammar, or one can use a semantic base model,[3] which can be shown to be similar to symbolic logic.[4] However, because of the developing and dynamic state of the models, we shall not accept either approach in this paper. Because many linguists believe that deep-structure is a distinct level, we commence at this level and devise rules to link the semantically-interpreted deep-structures to the surface structures. No one has ever drawn a complete P-marker. The deep-structures will be, as far as possible, the most economical and meaningful forms to which the T-rules are applied. Implicit in these base forms will be various P-markers. The basic grammatical relations shall be defined in terms of these deep-structures. The section on basic sentence types will discuss this last point further.

0.4. The Approach The basic practical approach has been to work with various grammars as well as with native informants. Since world languages such as English or Spanish have great regional variation, the rules may not always

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3. E. Bach, "Nouns and Noun Phrases", to appear in Universals in a Theory of Grammar, E. Bach & R. Harms, eds.

4. James D. McCawley, Where do Noun Phrases Come From?, (unpublished manuscript).

apply to the speech of everyone in the Hispanic world. The utterances used as corroboration of a particular point are those of one speaker only. However, additional data was elicited from other informants to heighten interest, to provide independent motivation, and to point up some unresolved problems.

From the data, and from introspection, we attempted to set up base-forms which would enable meaningful generalizations to be made. Transformational rules, as stated before, bridge the gap from underlying or base-forms to the surface structures.

This paper is mainly concerned with syntax. Semantics is largely excluded from the analysis, while phonology is restricted to regular forms. During the course of the discussion, some theoretical points may arise. They are dealt with as they appear.

The major informant is Mrs. Marta Fraser, who comes from Mexico. The other informant in Mrs. Jutta Peuker, who is bilingual in Spanish and German; she was born in Bolivia and grew up in Argentina and Germany. Her utterances are different in many ways from those of Mrs. Fraser.

I UNDERLYING STRUCTURES

1.1. Constituents In this chapter we describe the major underlying structures relevant to the sentences described in this paper. Although no phrase-structure rules are used in this fragment, P-markers are still required. The sentences consist of noun phrases, verb phrases, prepositional phrases, main verbs, and adverbs.

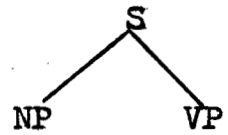

Fig.1: Basic P-marker

All sentences have a subject and a predicate. The subject is defined as the NP directly dominated by S. The verbal will be designated as MV (main verb). An auxiliary will also be present. Little more will be said about it in this work. Aux is omitted from embedded sentences in underlying P-markers, since we are uncertain about the description of the tense sequences.

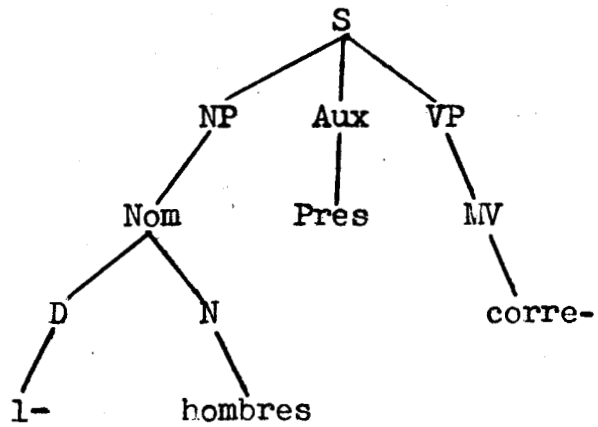

Fig.2: Deep-structure of Los hombres corren ("The men run.")

Other constituents of the verb phrase are Pred and Adv. Adv shall later denote items like hoy, ayer,

mañana, aquí, ahí, mucho, et cetera.

On the other hand, Pred is important. It dominates both the direct and the indirect object. Notice in the following diagram that the direct object is an NP, not a PP. The indirect object's preposition is marked a_1 to distinguish it from a_2, the personal a, as the latter is a different item syntactically.

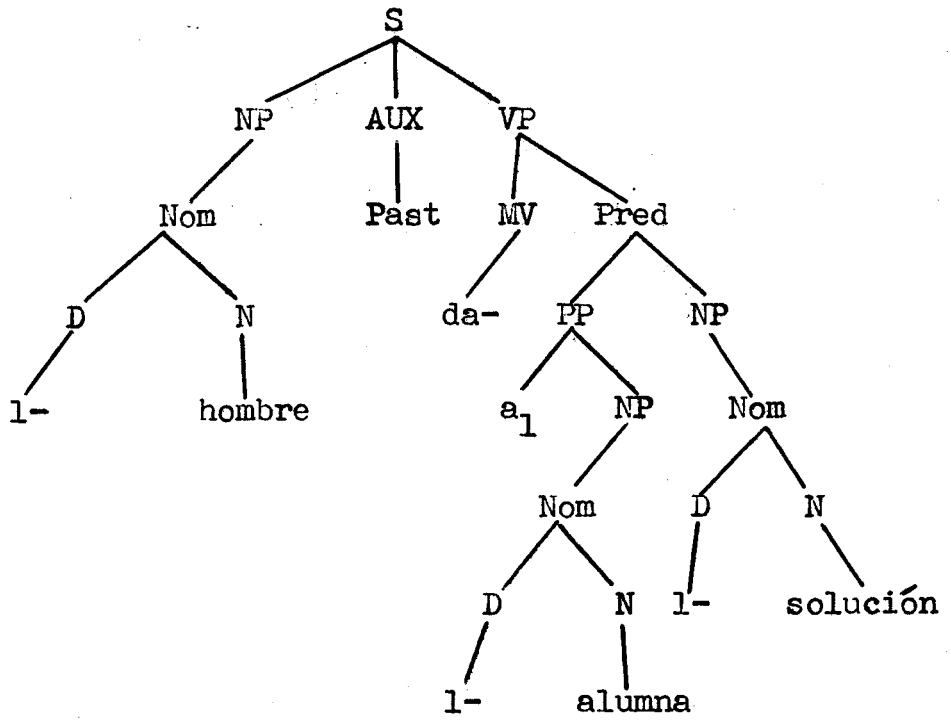

Fig. 3: Approximate deep-structure of

El hombre le dio { la solución a ella. / a ella la solución. }

"The man gave her the solution."

The personal a, henceforth a_2, will be introduced by means of a transformation whenever the lack of

a_2 would lead to ambiguity.[1] It is to be suggested where a_2 is to be inserted, but not precisely how it is to be inserted. The important thing is that a_2 be present when the phonological rules operate, so that forms like Lo veo a_2 él can be generated.

All NP's are developed into Nom, S, or into Nom + S. Since the internal structure of Nom is not important for the thesis, we shall simply assume that Nom dominates D + N. In this paper, however, it happens that only direct objects are so developed, cf. the following construction which is outside the scope of this paper:

Yo me opongo a que vaya. "I oppose his going."

1.2. Grammatical Relations The NP directly dominated by Pred is the direct object. The NP dominated by PP is the indirect object. We do not wish to go into the other prepositional phrase constructions but we suspect that many of them are derived through embedding. For the purposes of this paper we develop PP as a_1 + NP and it is assumed that this well be the only PP in the terminal string. The schema has much motivation in the treatment of redundant indirect object pronouns, however, such a treatment must be discussed elsewhere. Also, a natural way of accounting for the prepositional object pronouns is possible since

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1. María de las Mercedes Roldán, Ordered Rules for Spanish: Selected Problems of Syntactic Structure, Ph.D. Dissertation, Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1965.

$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +Det \\ +Pro \\ etc \end{bmatrix}$ (pronouns) are given a certain shape depending on whether [+prep____] or precisely [+a_1____] is present in their feature bundle. The presence of a_1 in the base has further motivation in the fact that a_1 is always present in surface dative noun objects, e.g. <u>Dio el libro a la mujer</u> "He gave the book to the woman."

Let us briefly mention strict-subcategorization rules. An item filling a slot in the underlying string (output of categorial component, "Aspects" p. 93) is given a feature reflecting that context. It so happens that an itme that precedes the MV will be the NP directly dominated by S, hence it is the subject. Similarly, an item that is NP or Pred, for example, will be in a post MV slot, i.e. [+MV...____]. This is the direct object. If that NP follows a_1m i.e., is an NP directly dominated by PP, with the feature [+ a_1____], it is the indirect object.

Many of the reasons for positing this structure will become clear during the course of this paper. However, why the direct object follows the indirect object in the deep structure should be explained. Consider the following:

(1) Mandé al hombre salir.
(2) Mandé salir al hombre. "I ordered the man to leave."

(3) Dio el libro a ella.
(4) Dio a ella el libro. "He gave the book to her."

(5) Voy a dárselo. "I'm going to give it to him."

(6) Le mandó al obrero que trabajara mucho.

"He told the worker to work a lot."

(7) Se lo dio. "He gave it to him."

In (1) to (4), either the indirect or the direct object may precede. However, in (5) to (7), the indirect object must precede. Thus, only optional rules need be posited rather than some obligatory rules as well. The basic order gives one (10, 4, 5, 6, 7); while the positing of a preceding direct object would account for only (2) and (3), with additional rules being necessary to account for the other forms.

The underlying strings are important for strict sub-categorization to take place. Implicitly, the categorial sub-component will yield the following strings:

(a) NP + AUX + MV + (Adv)

(b) NP + AUX + MV + NP + (Adv)

(c) NP + AUX + MV + PP + NP + (Adv)

PP is expanded in this paper as a_1 + NP, while NP is expanded into N + No. or que + S. The structures in Fig. 4 are relevant for the explication of ambiguities and embedding.

The configurational approach defines the grammatical relations. For example, an NP directly dominated by Pred functions as the direct object. The "higher" in the P-marker an item is, the more important it is in terms of constituent layering. Early P-rules would introduce the higher items, later P-rules the lower items. On the other hand, a string configuration would not show relative importance of a given item, but rather would imply

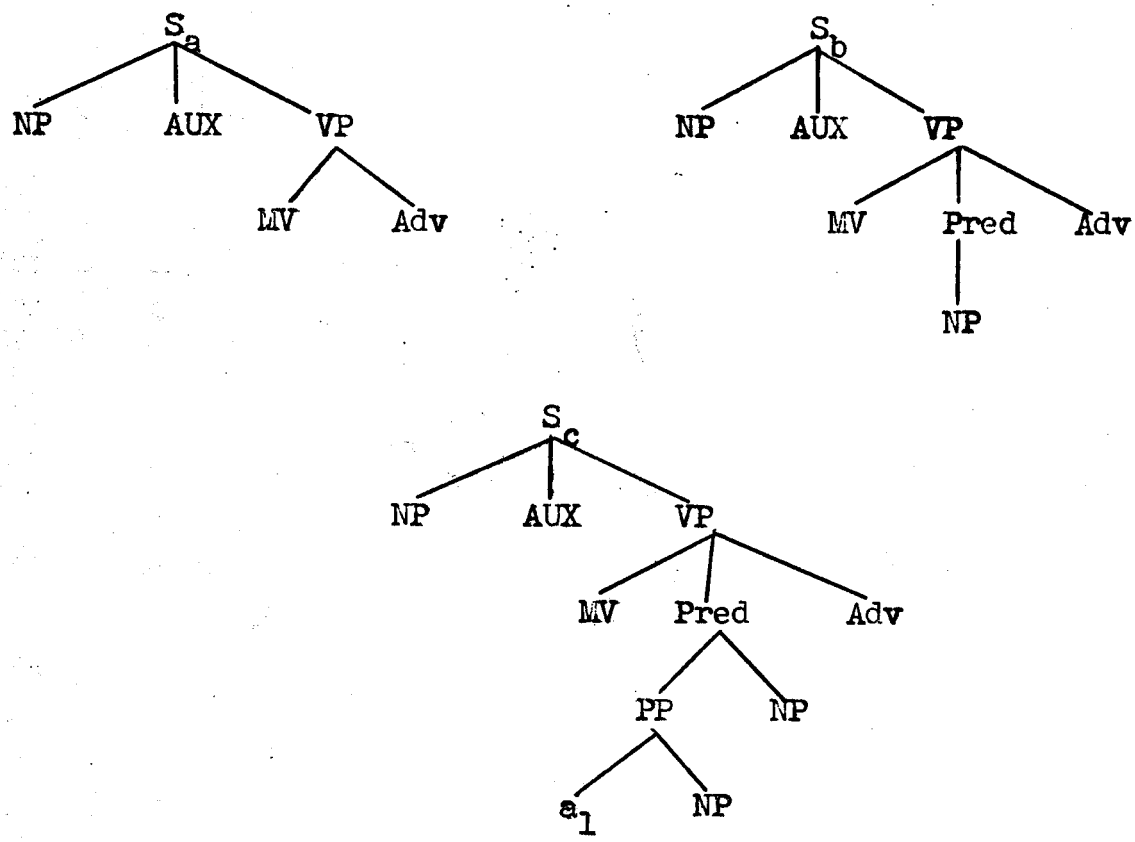


Fig.4: Assorted deep-structures

an equal rank for all. In such a procedure we would lose the insights of IC analysis yet would present little of advantage to the grammar.

II EMBEDDING

2.1. Introduction In this chapter it is our intention to show how sentences are embedded into other sentences to form noun clauses and infinitival constructions. The problems encountered in deriving infinitival constructions are discussed at some length.

Spanish, like most languages, has a variety of noun clauses and infinitives. They both may function as subjects, direct objects, and as adverbial expressions. Furthermore, both constructions are often governed by verbs through prepositions, such as in the following sentences:

(1) Me negué a comer los chorizos.
"I refused to eat the sausages."

(2) Me opongo a que se vaya Ud.
"I am opposed to your going."

These prepositions are part of the lexical entry; they form a semantic unit with the verb.

However, we shall confine ourselves in this paper to direct object (noun clause and infinitive) constructions, where the governing verb does not take a preposition. Furthermore, much of the emphasis will tend to be on the infinitive constructions.

Here are some examples of the constructions to be discussed.

(3) El jefe quiere que firmemos el contrato.
"The manager wants us to sign the contract."(i.e., that we sign the contract)

(4) El general mandó que los soldados atacaran.

"The general ordered the soldiers to attack."
(i.e., gave the order that the soldiers attack)

(5) El general les mandó a los soldados que atacaran.
"The general ordered the soldiers to attack."
(i.e., that they attack)

(6) La muchacha rehusó hacerlo con él.
"The girl refused to do it with him."

Sentence (3) may be converted to an infinitive when the subject of <u>querer</u> ("want") is the same as that of <u>firmar</u> ("sign"). In sentence (4) an infinitive may be used, although there is a change of subject. On the other hand, sentence (6) can only have an infinitival construction. No embedding is possible if there is a change of subject. For example:

(6a) *La muchacha rehusó que él lo hiciera.
*"She refused that he do it."

is ungrammatical.

2.1.1. <u>Infinitives vs. Clauses</u> One of the things we hope to explain is how the noun clause construction and the infinitival construction are both derived from a common base-form.[1] Consider the following infinitival constructions and their paraphrases:

(7) Yo vi a los hombres correr. "I saw the men run."

(8) Yo mandé al hombre salir. "I ordered the man to leave."

(8a) Yo mandé al hombre que saliera. "I ordered the man to leave."

(9) Dejo a los soldados fusilar.

(9a) Dejo a los soldados que fusilen. "I have the soldiers shoot."

---

1. This, by the way, is likely true for both subject and object noun clauses.

(10) El jefe le ordenó al criado lleverle el postre al cliente.
"The chief ordered the waiter to bring dessert to the customer."

(10a) El jefe le ordenó al craido que le llevara el postre al cliente. (same as (10))

(11) Te mando comer.
"I order you to eat."

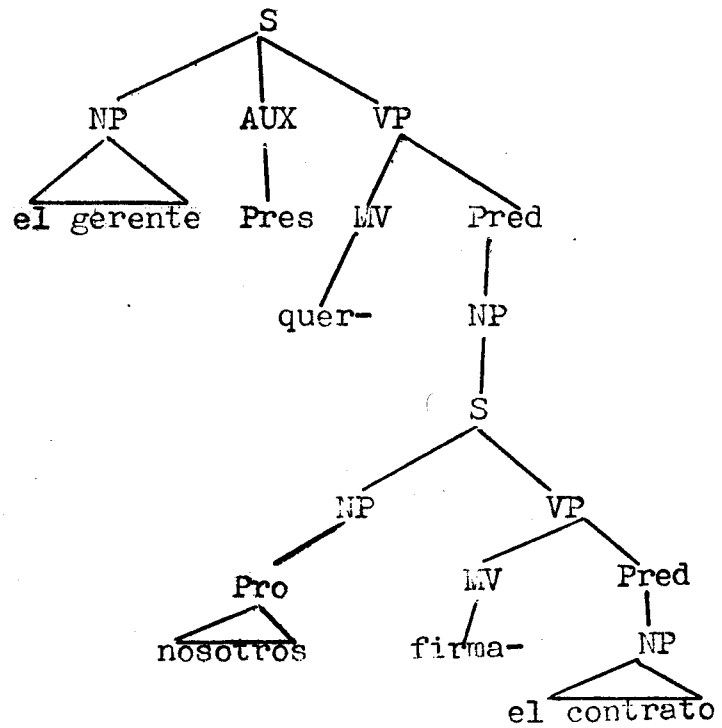
(11a) Mando que comas.

In sentences (8) to (11) both the clausal form and the infinitival form are possible.

2.1.2. Verbs Allowing Change of Subject Many verbs govern a dependent verb even though the subjects of the two verbs differ. For example, underlying sentences (3) would be:

(3a) El gerente quiere + S

where S is Nosotros firmamos el contrato. ("We sign the contract."). Actually, the base string would be partly stated in terms of feature complexes.



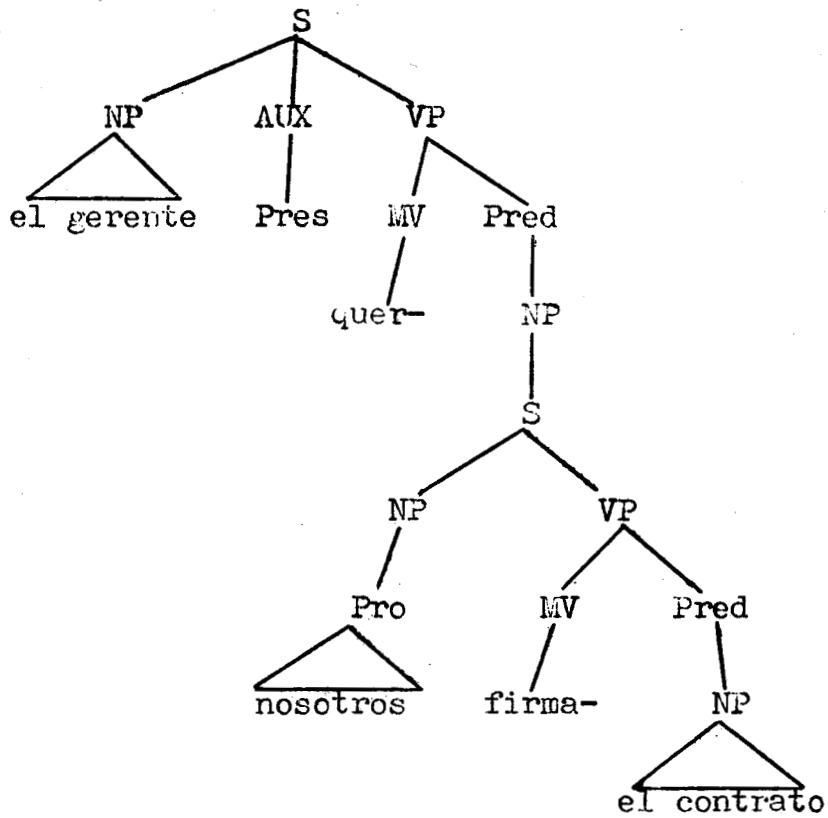


Fig. 5: Deep structure of El gerente quiere que firmemos el contrato.[2]

Notice that querer ("want") has no indirect object; only one NP hangs from the VP node. These verbs do not however, allow a surface infinitive when there is a change of subject. Other examples of such verbs are celebrar, saber, dudar, creer, negar ("rejoice, know, doubt, believe, deny", respectively).

2.1.3. Verbs of Suasion and Perception A similar argument applies to verbs like permitir ("allow"), mandar ("order"), pedir ("beg"), sugerir ("suggest"); the verbs of perception--oir ("hear"), ver ("see"), etc.; and hacer ("make"), and dejar ("let, have")--the causative verbs. For example:

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2. The phrase el gerente is actually an instance of Nom. However, since grammarians dispute whether articles exist at the level of deep structure, we avoid the issue by not developing NP or Nom further.

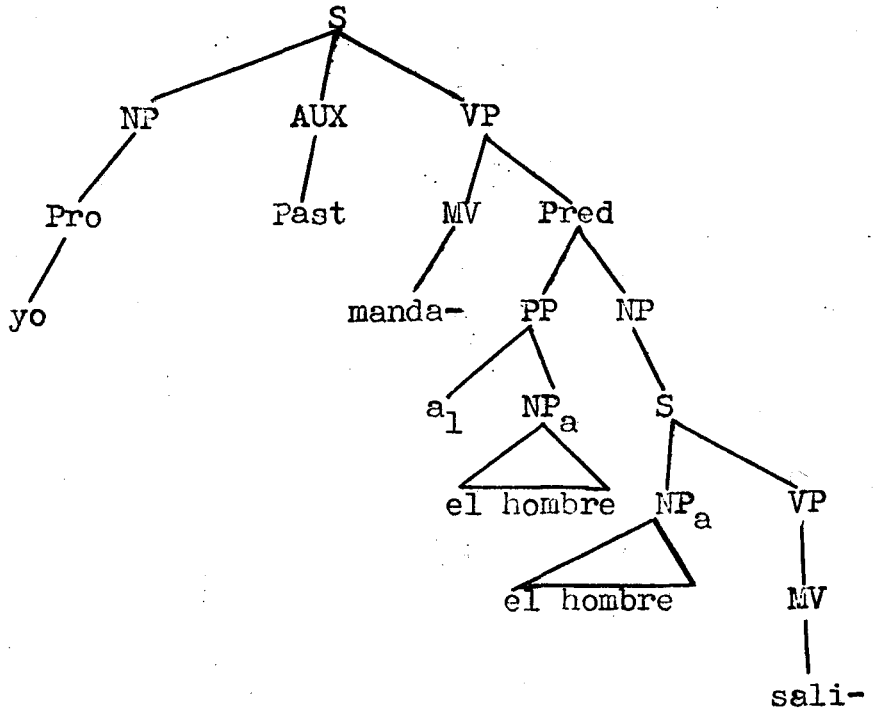

Fig.6: Deep structure of (8a)--Yo mandé al hombre que saliera.

The difference between the above P-marker and the one in Fig.7 is that the main-clause Pred node dominates (directly) an NP and a PP. This verb (mandar) has an indirect object as well as a direct object. Some verbs, however, (for example, those of perception) will merely have a direct object.[3]

We must try to explain how the logical subject of the embedded clause becomes the surface direct object of the main clause verb, e.g.

(12) Oimos a los soldados fusilar.
"We heard the soldiers shoot."

The word soldados is subject of fusilar and object of oimos.

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3. One says in dialects which use lo for human direct objects: Lo veo correr al hombre. "I see the man run."

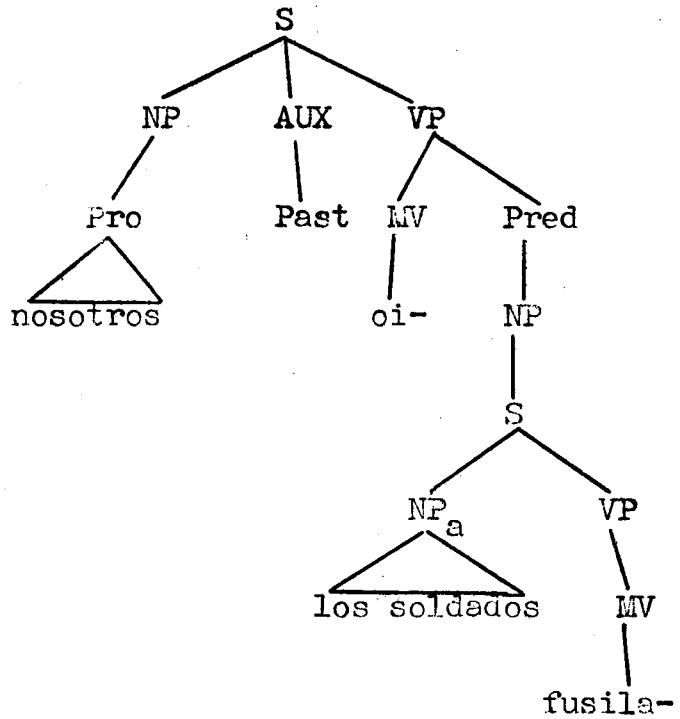

Fig. 7: Deep structure of sentence (12)

The motivation for this structure will be discussed below in section 2.6.

2.1.4. <u>Verbs Disallowing Change of Subject</u> Some verbs do not allow a noun clause to be realized when their subject differs from that of the embedded proposition. Somehow, the rules deriving a clause are blocked and the deep structure underlies no well-formed surface structure clause. For example,

(13) Rehusó firmar el contrato.
"He refused to sign the contract."

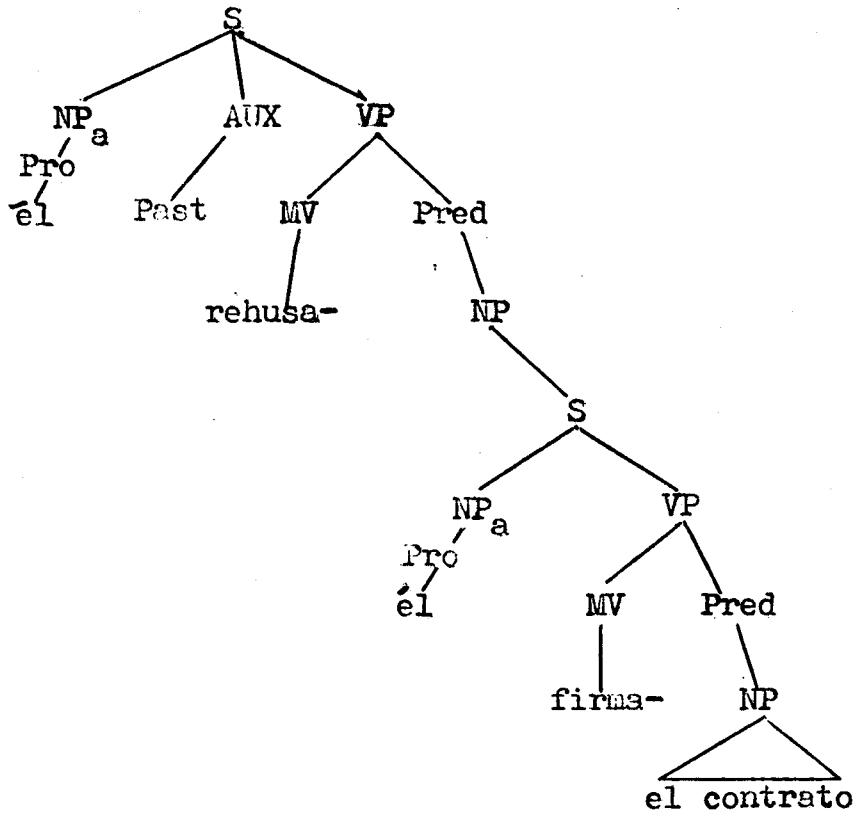

Fig. 8: Deep structure of sentence (13)

If the NP of the embedded sentence had been different from the NP of the matrix sentence, this deep structure would have been filtered out. Notice that Fig. 8 has the same general configuration as does Fig. 7 .

What probably happens here is that verbs like <u>rehusar</u> all contain a feature that interdicts any further transformational development unless both subjects are the same. This notion has motivation because the condition of identical subject blocks infinitivization in the <u>querer</u> type verbs. It is only the verbs of command, perception, and causation that undergo infinitivization in the event of their subject's being different from that of their constituent

sentence. In this work, little more is said about the class of verbs which includes rehusar. The feature [+Inf], a grammatical feature, requires that an infinitival construction.[4] However, the feature, [+OI], that allows infinitivization in the event of a change of subject is absent, which means that only grammatical sentences which contain verbs belonging to this class have no change of subject.

2.2. Apparent Non-Embedding Many of the verbs described in this chapter have other uses. In some senses, two different verbs share the same lexical shape, e.g., mandar. Consider the following:

(14) Manda una encomienda.
"He sends a recommendation."

(15) Mandó un batallón del ejército.
"He commanded an army batallion."

(16) Mandó al esposo que se afeitara.
"She ordered her husband to shave."

In sentences (14) and (15) we have separate meanings. Enviar could have been used for mandar in (14) and perhaps encabezar for sentence (15). However:

(17) La ley manda una cosa y Ud. hace otra.
"The law orders you to do one thing and you do another."

In Spanish one may make a deletion, enabling us to derive (17) from (18).

(18) La ley manda que Ud. haga una cosa, y Ud. hace otra.

Sentences (17) and (18) are synonymous. Like mandar are

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4. This feature is probably predictable, but the exact mechanism of its derivation is unknown at this time.

pedir, permitir, and other verbs of suasion. The optional deletion can surely be accounted for by general rules of Spanish.

Another point is that we may be able to show that querer always takes an embedded sentence as its direct object, except when it means "to love".

(19) Quiero a esa mujer.
"I love that woman." or "I want that woman."

If the second meaning is implied, sentence (20) is probably the full form.

(20) Quiero que alguien me traiga esa mujer.
"I want someone to bring me that woman."

Since poder ("can") does not occur with a surface clause, it lacks the optional rule deleting the subject and verb of the embedded clause, cf. (17) and (18) above.

Consider these data:

(21) Dudo que Ud. diga la verdad.
"I doubt that you are telling the truth."

(22) Dudo de la verdad.
"I doubt the truth of that."

Dudar requires a preposition to link it to its object. Again, we can delete the subject and verb of the subordinate clauses above. The subject in the embedded clauses of (20), (21) will, in fact, not always be Ud.. It will be the intended subject of the embedded sentence--whosoever the speaker imagines that subject to be. In (17) the subject is quite clear (Ud.) --in others, it may not be so clear. The point behind this digression is to show that certain surface noun phrase objects may often really

be synchronic reflexes of underlying embedded sentences.

2.3. Embedding It now seems expedient to describe the process of embedding in more detail. In the earlier T-grammar formulations, embedding was handled by means of double-based transformations. However, a more formal control on embedding was desired--partly on syntactic and partly on semantic grounds. The model used here postulates in the base that S is dominated by NP, itself directly dominated by Pred, which in turn is dominated by VP. This means that the noun phrase functions as a direct object. Where there is an NP and a PP directly dominated by Pred, then the PP is the indirect object, and the direct object noun clause (S) is directly sominated by the NP node.

As stated above, certain underlying syntactic deep-structures are taken as given (Chapter I). From them, it should be possible to derive the various forms discussed in this paper. The derivation of the articles, the personal pronouns, nominal inflexions, will be complete at this point, save for their phonological shapes. Rules dealing with subject-verb agreement will not have operated yet. Further, the feature bundles of the tense of the subordinate clause verb will show little differentiation at this point.

Let us examine a tree diagram. Approximate deep structure of:

(23a) Mandé salir al hombre.

(23b) Mandé al hombre salir.

(23c) Le mandé al hombre que saliera.

which mean "I ordered the man to leave." follows.

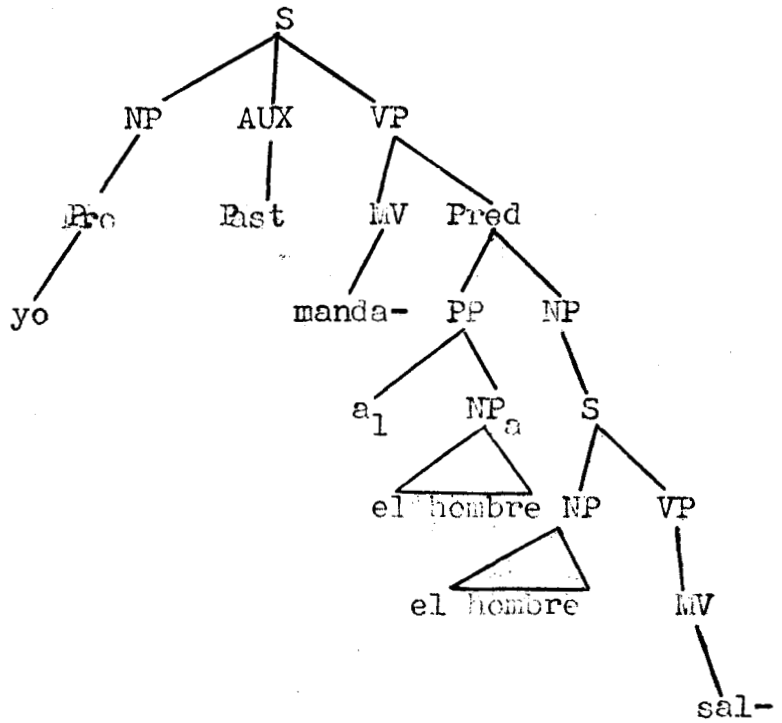

Fig.9: Deep structure of (23a-c)

From where does que in sentence (23c) arise? Since que introduces no semantic material and is predictable, it is not posited in the base structure. Insertion of que is obligatory in the event of a change of subject where the main clause verb is not marked [+OI] (optional infinitive). When [+OI] is present, que insertion is optional. For example, que in sentence (23c) was optionally inserted. Should, however, the subjects of both the main and embedded clauses be identical, que is rarely inserted.

2.3.1. Features A word on features is in order here. In the lexicon such semantic features as [+Desire] et cetra , are found. [+Human] is a semantic feature too; however, in "Aspects" nouns are assigned features while verbs are subcategorized in terms of the NP's with which they co-occur.

For this reason, we cannot show the feature [+Desire] until we lexicalize.

Even though verbs are sub-categorized only by context-sensitive rules, one might be able to provide for some inherent features of verbs (such as desire, suasion, et cetera). Such features are syntactically relevant in Spanish. We have given up the branching tree at this point in the base (categorial sub-component).[5] On this basis we suggest this rule:

$$V \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} F_1 \\ F_2 \\ \cdot \\ \cdot \\ \cdot \\ F_n \end{array} \right\}$$

where F_1, F_2,...F_n, denote inherent features of the verb. For this paper, we introduce desire, suasion, emotion, and doubt as features. Suasion itself dominates a small heirarchy [±Command]. Then the grammar intorduces a strict sub-categorization rule:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{Desire} \\ +\text{Emotion} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{CS}$$

This means that items containing these features are sub-categorized in terms of the category frames in which the features appear in the base. The term CS stand for complex symbol, that is, for a feature bundle. By virtue of the

5. Chomsky, op. cit., p. 83.

rule assingning inherent feautres to the verb, we know that all items marked [+Desire] et cetera are verbs. An example of a strict sub-categorization rule is [+Suasion] $\longrightarrow$ [+____PP--que--S] / ____PP--que--S , e.g. mandar, prohibir.

Selectional rules are introduced by the rule [+V] $\longrightarrow$ CS/NP--AUX____(...NP). Such rules sub-categorize verbs in terms of the features found in the subject and object of these verbs. For example, a verb like leer which requires a human subject undergoes the selectional rule [+V] $\longrightarrow$ [+ [+Human] ____] / [+Human]--AUX--____.

Because [+V] is automatically present in bundles like [+Desire] (e.g. querer, desear), verbs marked for a feature like [+Desire] can still undergo some selectional rules. When lexicalization occurs some semantic features, like [+Desire] , are introduced.

All known features relevant to the discussion have been stated. The information depicted here is provided by the base. After lexicalization, projection rules operate obtaining the semantic interpretation of the given structure.

As can be imagined from the foregoing discussion, the boundary between semantics and syntax is not a distinct one. Chomsky admits this in "Aspects"[6], however, he attempts to deal with a lot of sematic material in the syntax--hence

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6. "...it should not be taken for granted, necessarily, that syntactic and semantic considerations can be sharply distinguished." p. 77.

the use of selectional features. Very few of the features we have mentioned are truly syntactic (imply no semantic content); however, in our model, the grammar does make use of many semantic features. Since they nevertheless function in syntactic processes, we refer to them here as syntactic.

The important thing to grasp is that the features we are using behave systematically--as part of a system. For this reason, we have not mentioned distinguishers, which mark idiosyncratic behavior of lexical items.[7]

One further point remains. It is observed below that a morpheme which determines a transformation of an underlying form into an infinitival construction is not present. This is an optional, i.e. stylistic rule as are some later rules which we mention. One of the informants says that clausal constructions are more formal, e.g., Mando que comas is more formal than Te mando comer ("I order you to eat."). Another informant however, (from Argentina) uses infinitival constructions to a lesser extent than Mexicans do. She considers them to be poor style.

2.3.2. NP Deletion In Fig. 9 the NP which descends from VP dominated by S will be the same as the subject NP of the subordinate S. If the grammar elects to produce a que clause, a number of rules must apply. First, the subject NP of the subordinate clause is deleted, except when the verb of the

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7. Katz and Postal, op. cit., p. 14.

main clause belongs to the class of verbs which include querer, dudar; unless NP is the same as the main clause subject NP. When we say "same" we mean identical in form and referent. If one said, for instance,

(24) El hombre quiso que el hombre firmara el contrato.
"The man wanted the man to sign the contract."

the sentence would be understood as having two different men in the deep structure.

Why is that particular NP deleted? Because the indirect object of the main clause already follows a_1 which marks it as an indirect object. No extra rule would be needed. Otherwise, if the indirect object of the main clause were deleted, a rule for objectivization would have to apply, e.g., ...al hombre, not... el hombre.

The reason for the stipulation is self-evident. If we want to express who does the action of the subordinate clause in a sentence like El gerente quiso que el jefe firmara el contrato ("The manager wanted the chief to sign the contract") we cannot delete the NP of the subordinate clause. Also, these verbs have no indirect object.

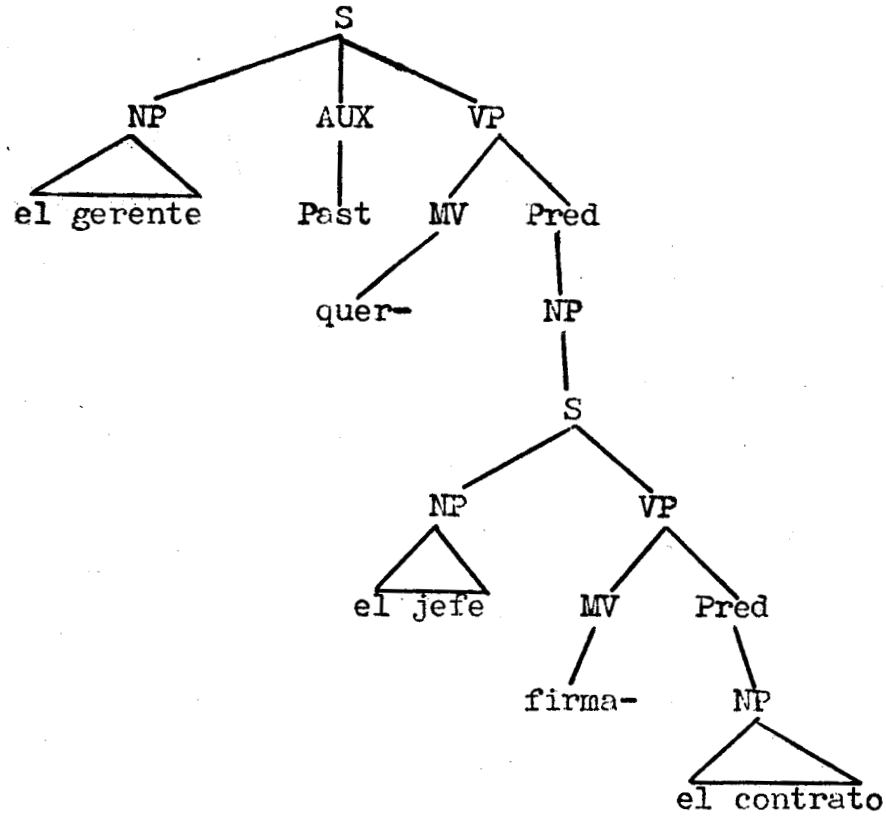

Fig. 10: Deep-structure of <u>El gerente quiso que el jefe firmara el contrato</u>.[8]

Let us formulate a possible rule for NP deletion:

$$X + MV + NP_a + NP_a + Y \Longrightarrow X + MV + NP_a + Y$$

This rule cannot apply if only one NP follows MV in the underlying string. A verb like <u>querer</u>, <u>negar</u>, et cetera, has but one NP as object. Such verbs have no indirect objects. Verbs like <u>mandar</u>, <u>rogar</u> ("order, beg") are followed in the categorial string by PP + NP where NP dominates the embedded clause. This is why we try to show constituent structure (see Introduction). In this string, a PP and an NP follow

8. Feature bundles are omitted for ease of exposition.

mv, while the PP is expanded to prep + NP.

What effect does the NP deletion rule have on a P-marker? The rule is restated in a revised form:

$$X + MV + a_1 + NP_a + NP_a + Y \Longrightarrow X + MV + a_1 + NP_a + Y$$

The letter subscripts (NP_a) denote identity of reference. The subject NP of the embedded sentence is deleted when it is identical in form and reference to the indirect object of the matrix sentence.

The desirable thing about these rules is that they allow infinitivization to proceed even if the subject of the subordinate clause has been deleted. However, [+OI] tells us that the infinitival form is optional when there is a change of subject, e.g.,

(25) Te mando comer.
(26) Mando que comas. ("I order you to eat.")

2.3.3. <u>Identical Subject Deletion</u> A rule to delete identical subjects is needed.

$$NP_a + MV \ldots NP_a + MV \Longrightarrow NP_a + MV \ldots MV$$

We call this Identical Subject Deletion (ISD). It must follow the rule for infinitivization since the latter rule is predicted upon identity of subjects. Unless [+OI] be present infinitives cannot occur with a change of subject (at least not in this type of construction). That is, in Spanish one must say, for example, <u>Quiero que me ayudes</u>, not *<u>Quiero tú ayudarme</u> ("I want you to help me.").

Consider the following diagram:

El jefe mando al gerente + S_1

S_1 = el gerente mando al obrero + S_2

S_2 = el obrero trabajaba mas

(26) El jefe mandó al gerente que mandara al obrero que trabajaba más.
"The chief ordered the manager to order the worker to work more."

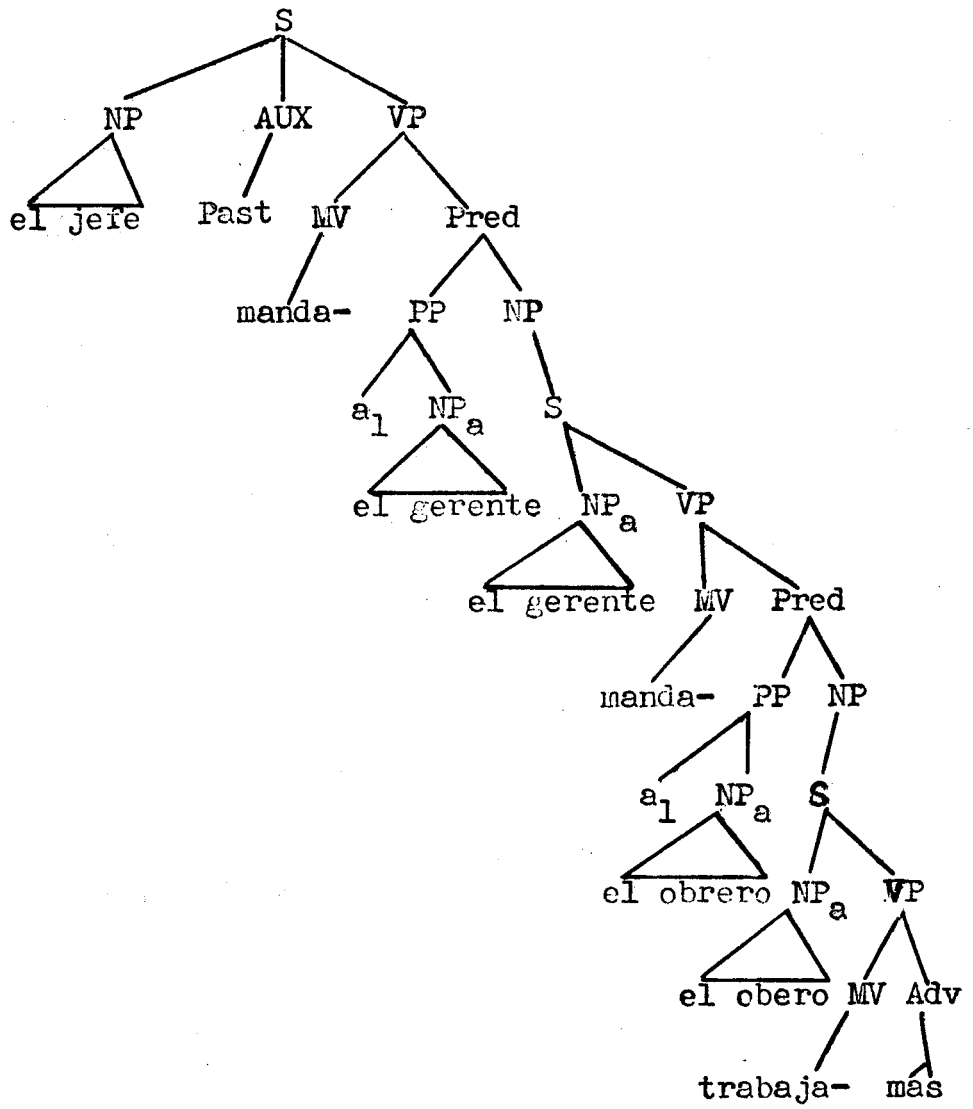

Fig.11: Deep structure of (26)

These rules work where three sentences are involved. Here, NP Deletion applies to delete an occurrence of el gerente and an occurrence of el obrero.

2.4. Some Factitives There is another type of clausal construction similar to the (a) series in section 2.1.1. Consider the following:

(27) Ordenó que el obrero trabajara mucho.
"He gave the order that the labourer should work a lot."

(28) Le ordenó al obrero que trabajara mucho.
"He told the worker that he (better) work a lot."

(29) Ordenó al obrero trabajar mucho.
"He ordered the worker to work a lot."

The translations of (28) and (29) reflect the purely stylistic difference in meaning. Sentence (27) comes from neither (28) nor (29). This can be shown by rules discussed later. Sentence (29) has a different deep structure from (30).

(30) Le ordenó que el obrero trabjara mucho.
"He told him that the worker was to work a lot."
i.e. "gave him the order that..."

When le is present as in (30), it means that someone told a third party that the labourer had to work a lot. Without le, as in (29), the sentence is quite impersonal in tone. In fact, if the verb were plural, i.e.,

Ordenaron que...

its meaning would be "It was ordered that...".

In (30), the le refers to a third person. If le referred to obrero, obrero would be mentioned. The le of (28), however, does refer to obrero and is produced by a "copying rule."

Sentences (28) and (29) have the same deep structure. Sentence (27), on the other hand, means "He gave the order that the worker should work a lot". It is a shortened

version of Le ordenó... (30), which means "He gave him the order that...". The informants all agree that the recipient of the order in (27) and (30) is a third party. In (28) and (29) the recipient is known--it is the worker (obrero). In (28) and (29) ordenar means "command", or "order", while in sentences (27), (30), and (31), it might well be translated as "give the order".

(31) Le ordenó al gerente que el obrero trabajara mucho.
"He gave the order to the manager that the worker work a lot."

It may be that a factitive construction underlies sentences (27), (30), and (31). Their meanings have in common that someone gave an order to a second person demanding that a third party do something. This is the same as saying that the first person ordered the second person to have a third person do something. A realization of the deep structure of sentences (27), (30), and (31) would appear as:

(32) Le ordenó al gerente que hiciera trabajar mucho al obrero.
"He ordered the manager to have the labourer work a lot."

(See Fig. 12, following page)

Should one, however, feel that sentences (27) and (30) do not mean what sentences (31) and (32) mean, el gerente ("manager") can be replaced by alguien ("someone") or by an abstract feature bundle. Similarly, the verb hacer ("to make") can be replaced by any causative verb. That is clear, however, is that sentences (27), (30), (31), (32),

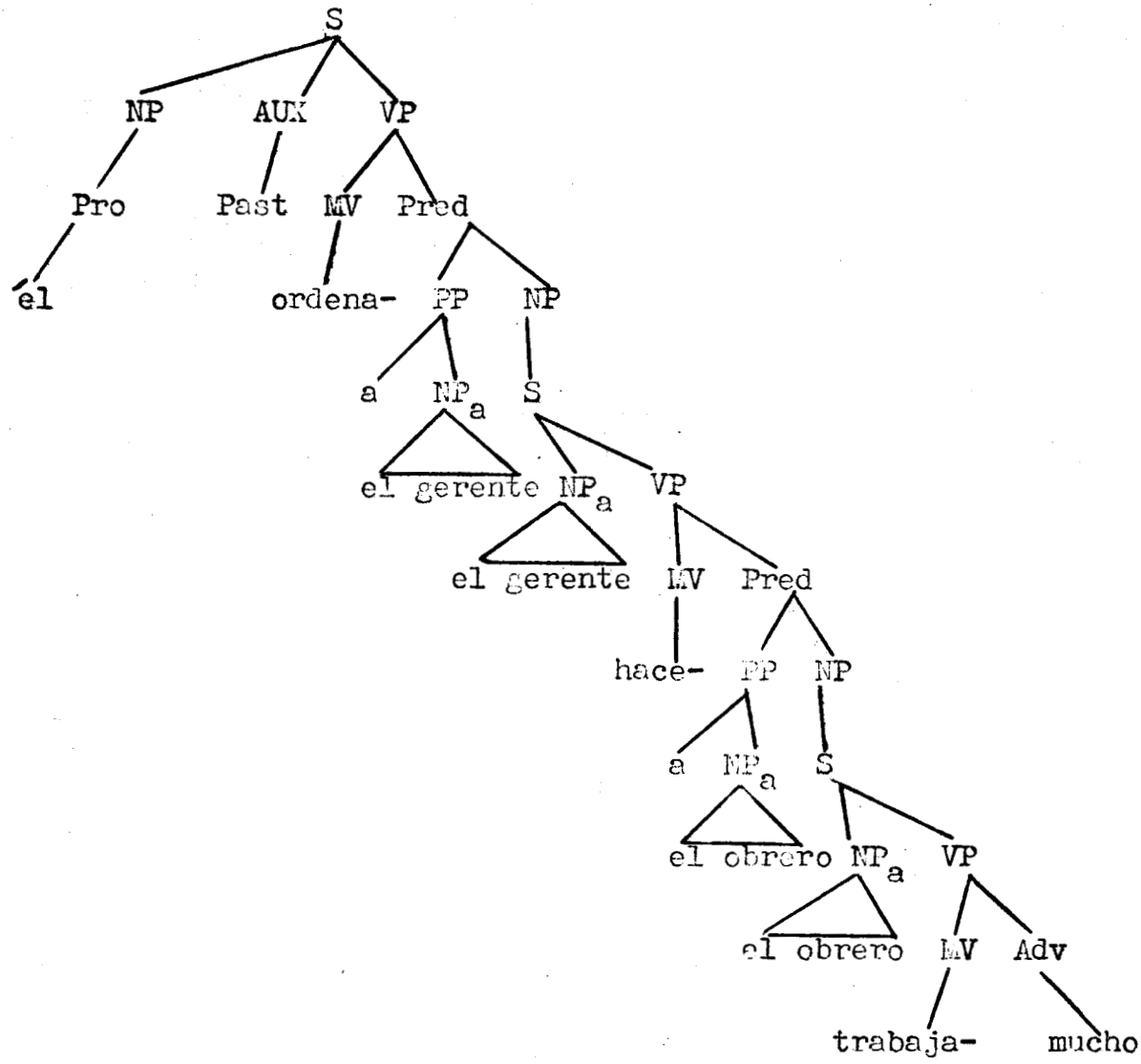

Fig. 12: Depp structure of sentences (27), (30), (31), (32)

are probably all instances of factitive constructions.[9]

A full study of factitives is beyond the scope of this paper. We merely wished to suggest an analysis for sentences like (27), (30), (31), and (32).

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9. We are not certain how one makes the necessary deletions in deriving sentences (27), (30), (31). Perhaps one can give an optional rule deleting $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +Causative \end{bmatrix}$ in certain contexts.

2.5. <u>Infinitives</u> The next few pages deal with the derivation of infinitives. The structure underlying the clausal construction will now be acted upon by some optional T-rules. For example, consider (8a) <u>Yo mandé al hombre que saliera</u>. "I ordered the man to leave."

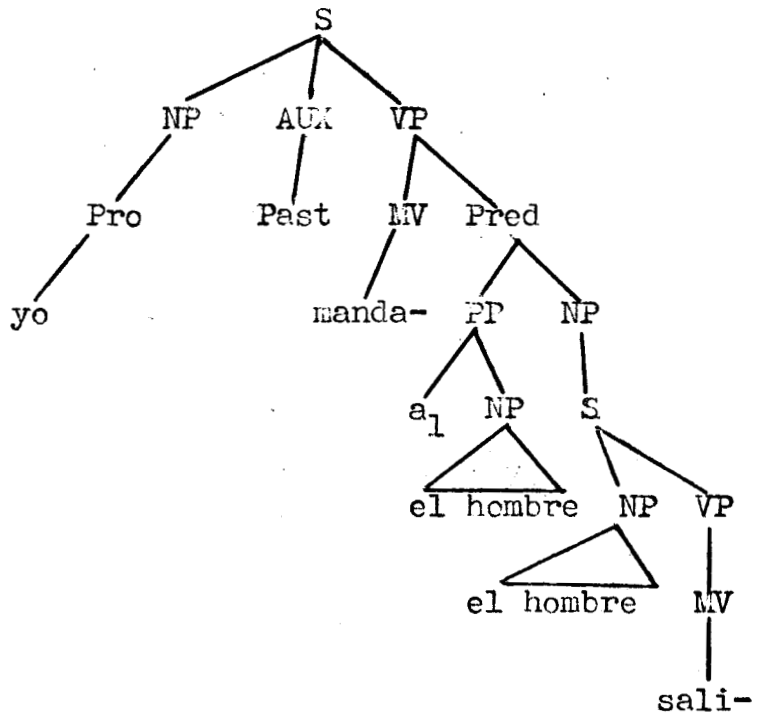

Fig. 13: Deep structure of sentence (8a)

We wish to derive (8) Yo mandé al hombre salir. This means that the verb of the subordinate clause must automatically receive a systematic phonemic representation /r/, denoting an infinitive, e.g., <u>hablar</u> ("speak"), <u>comer</u> ("eat"), <u>divertir</u> ("amuse"), et cetera. The rule of infinitivization is :

X.+ MV + (PP) + MV + Y $\Longrightarrow$ X + MV + (PP) + MV + r + Y

Notice that this rule operates after the identical subject deletion rule and the NP deletion rule, as well as after <u>que</u> insertion. Thus, only sentences in which the subject

of the embedded clause has been deleted can be infinitivized, e.g., *Quiero que él sal- de aquí.

Mandó al ladron que sal- de aquí.

By placing brackets afound PP, we are able to make the rule account for sentences like Quiero salir de aquí (< *Quiero sal- yo de aquí)"I want to get out of here.". Should there be a change of subject, this rule can only work if [+OI]is present and if que insertion failed to operate.

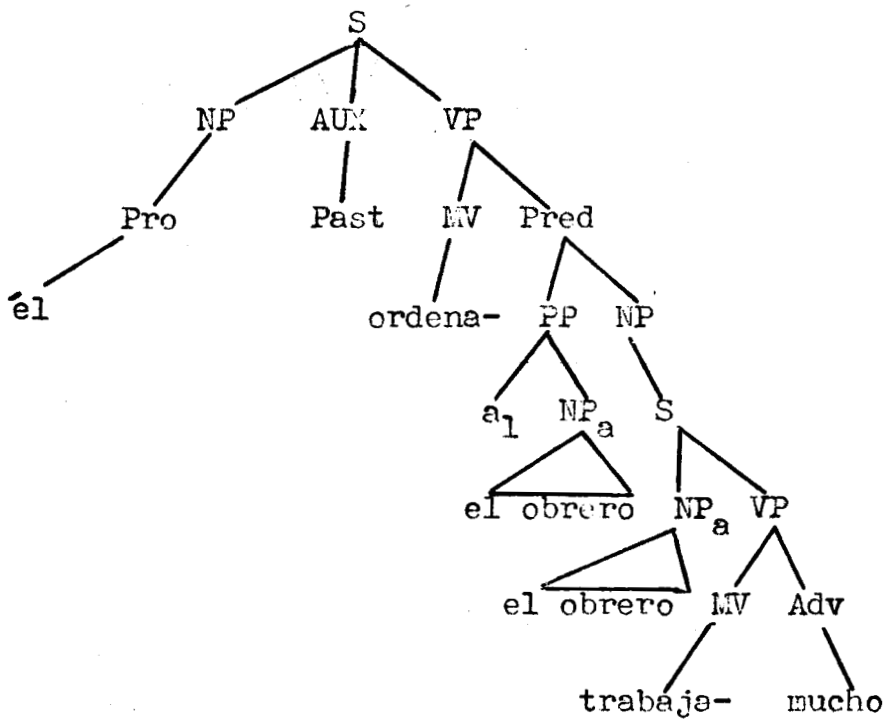

Fig. 14: Deep structure of sentences (28) and (29)

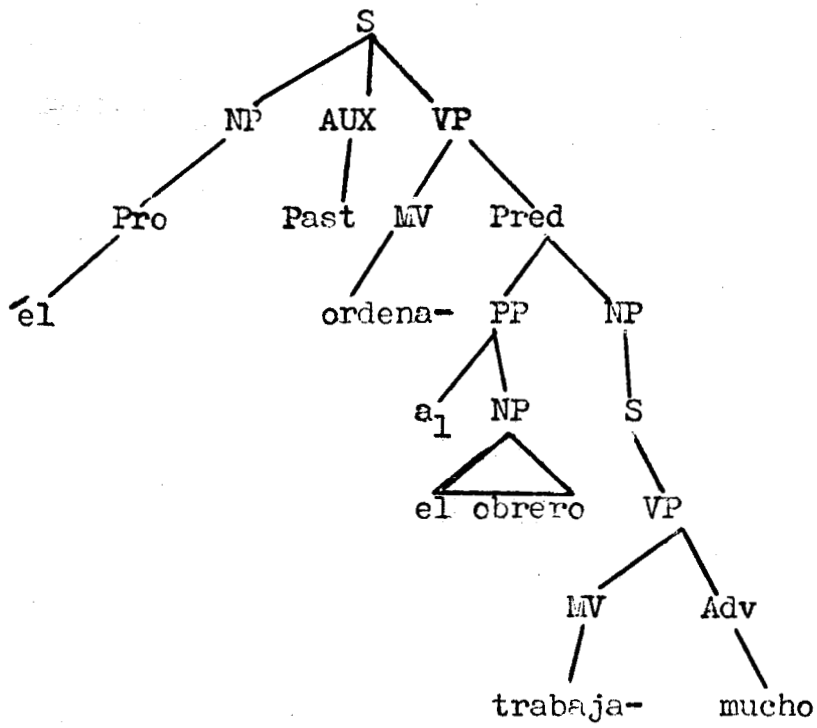

Fig. 15: Derived P-marker of (28)

Notice that the indirect object node of ordenó is al obrero in the surface structure. A rule need not be stated that inserts a (a_1) since it is probably present in the base as the marker of indirect object.

2.6. Verbs of Perception Verbs of perception have no indirect object. In Spanish one says:

(33) La oí hacerlo.
"I heard her do it."

La is a feminine direct object pronoun in nearly every dialect. Grammatically, the subject of the underlying embedded sentence is marked as a direct object, not as an indirect object, e.g., (34) Oí al reo confesar su pecado.
"I heard the culprit confess his sin."

Apart from lacking an indirect object, the relation of a verb of perception to its direct object is

nearly identical with that of a verb of suasion to its own direct object. Logically, it is always the action in the underlying embedded sentence which is seen, heard, felt, and so forth. Similarly, it is this action which is commanded, allowed, or asked for.

For these reasons, then, we must posit an underlying P-marker that is similar, but not identical in configuration from that of verbs of suasion (see Fig. 13). Both classes of verbs take an embedded sentence, but only verbs of suasion take an indirect object.

What might be a suitable deep-structure for sentences which contain verbs of perception in the main clause? Consider the following:

(35) Veo al hombre que bebe mucho.
"I see the man who drinks a lot."

(36) Veo al hombre beber mucho.
"I see the man drink a lot."

(37) Veo que el hombre bebe mucho.
"I see that the man drinks a lot."

Sentence (35) contains a relative clause. It is probable that no special rules would be required to derive sentence (36) from the deep structure of sentence (35). However, these sentences definitely differ in meaning. We must therefore reject the solution whereby sentences (35) and (36) are derived from a common deep structure.

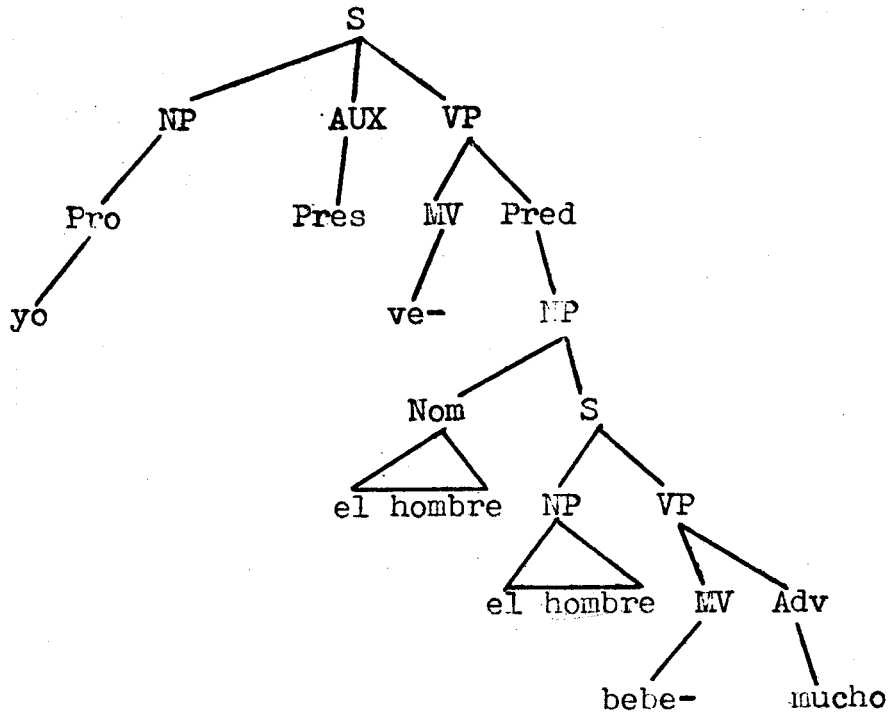

Fig. 16: Deep structure of sentence (35)

Do sentences (36) and (37) have a common deep structure?

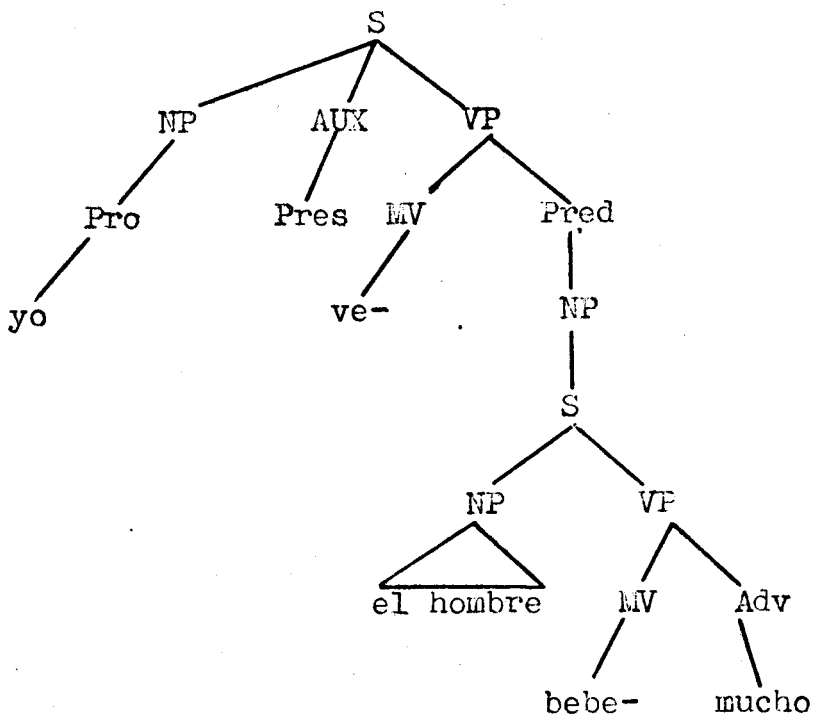

Fig. 17: Deep structure of sentence (37)

Note that the P-marker in Fig. 17 must receive two readings. Sentence (37) is ambiguous in Spanish as it is in English. Ver can mean "to see" (visual perception), or "to notice", that is, to take note of. If ver, meaning "to see" is the meaning of the lexical entry in the P-marker of Fig. 17, sentence (37) means the same as sentence (36). Because in the transformational model based on Chomsky, sentences which have identical deep structures must have the same meaning, it follows that one must derive sentences (36) and (37) from the same deep-structure. The a of al reo, al hombre, in sentences (34) and (35) respectively, will be inserted by the rule, not discussed is this paper, which inserts the so-called "personal a" before most human direct objects.

2.7. Other Stylistic Rules There are other ways of stating sentences like:

(38) Mandé al hombre salir.
"I ordered the man to leave."

(39) Le mandó al criado traerle el postre al cliente.
"He ordered the waiter to bring the dessert to the customer."

(40) Le mandaron al presidente renunciar de su cargo.
"They ordered the president to resign his position."

that is, the infinitive can follow immediately after the finite verb.

(41) Mandé salir al hombre.

(42) *Le mandó traele el postre al criado al cliente.

(43) Le mandaron renunciar al presidente de su cargo.

(43a) Le mandaron renunciar de su cargo al presidente.

Sentences like (41) are very common in Spanish. Sentence (41) is unambiguous because salir is intransitive, i.e., [—___NP]. Sentence (39) is hard to follow and was not easily accepted. Other such sentences are:

(44) El jefe le hizo dar al ayudante la caja a la mujer.
"The chief had the assistant give the box to the woman."

(45) El jefe le hizo dar a la mujer la caja al ayudante.
"The chief had the woman give the box to the assistant."

These are ambiguous. They are grammatical, but are avoided because of the difficulty in understanding them.

Normally the last element (NP) in a sentence like,

(46) Le pedí cerrar la puerta al alumno.
"I asked the pupil to shut the door."

is the subject of the dependent verb. But in (44) above, the assistant (ayudante) is the one who gives the box (caja). In (45) the ayudante receives the box.

What we wish to show here in this section are rules whereby the above forms, especially sentences (41) and (43a) are derived. These rules are purely stylistic and can often lead to ambiguity.

There are two possible paths for the derivation of forms like

(41) Mandé salir al hombre.

(43a) Le mandaron renunciar de su cargo al presidente.

Underlying (41) are two sentences, or rather propositions.

S_m Yo mandé al hombre. "I gave the man an order."

S_c El hombre sale. "The man goes out."

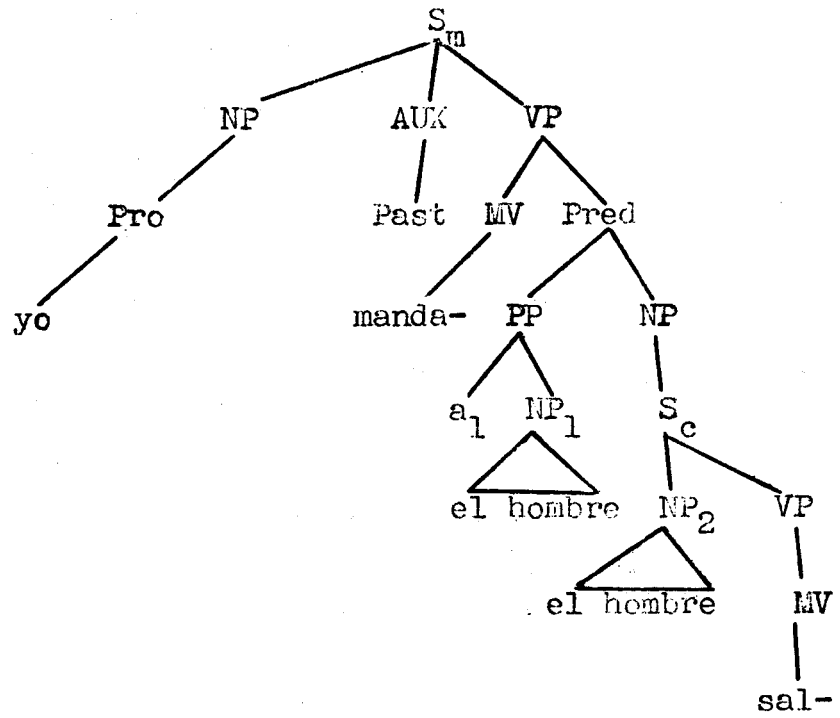

Fig. 19: Deep structure of sentence (41)

We have already shown that NP_2 is deleted in the sentences that go through to the infinitive stage. It is NP_1 then, that appears in sentence (41) above, since it is the only occurrence of el hombre which remains. This NP, the underlying indirect object of mandar, is shifted to position following that of salir.

Further motivation for this hypothesis can be found in sentence (43a): al presidente follows el cargo rather than vice-versa as in (43). This means that NP_1 is moved rather than MV. If MV were moved, an extra rule would be needed to derive (43a). The agent in the subordinate

clause is customarily placed in final position[10]--that is, it is more normal than Le mandaron renunciar al presidente de su cargo, for example. It is by no means automatic that the agent in the subordinate action be placed at the end of the sentence. Compare sentences (42) and (43), for example.

Other stylistic rules are possible too. Spanish has a very flexible word order. Here is an example.[11]

(47a) Mi padre compró una casa.

(b) Compró mi padre una casa.

(c) Compró una casa mi padre.

(d) Una casa compró mi padre.

(e) *Una casa mi padre compró.

(f) *Mi padre una casa compró.

"My father bought a house."

The last two variables are affected and used only in literary style and there seldom. "Nótese que el orden de construccion ...se rige por tendencias o preferencias dominentes según las épocas y estilos; no por reglas grammaticales fijas."[12] In other words, constituents of a certain level can be quite freely ordered. In this and in other examples given there seems to be a coincidence between the size of permutable elements (i.e. where one can split things up) and the larger constituents of the deep structures--NP, MV, PP, Pred .

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10. R.K. Spaulding, Syntax of the Spanish Verb, New York, Holt, Rhinehart, & Winston, 1959.

11. Gili y Gaya, Curso Superior de Sintaxis Española, Barcelona, Vox, 1964, p. 83, Ch. 6.

12. Ibid, p. 84.

III AMBIGUITIES

3.1. Stylistic Rules As stated above, certain stylistic rules are possible. Among these are the deletion of the so-called redundant le and the derivation of sentences like Dejaron atacar ... ("They had....attack.").

The rules relevant here are recapitulated:

3.1.1. Permutation rules Various rules that permute various elements of the sentence (section 2.8.) were mentioned in the section on embedding. This refers especially to NP's as it is often difficult to know which verb is governing which NP. For example, Su padre le presentó a su amigo, means "His father presented his friend to him." , although some clarification would be in order. One might insert a él, a ella, or a Ud, to make the sentence read Su padre le presentó a Ud a su amigo. However, as stated above in Ch. II, the subject NP can be quite freely permuted. One could say, for example, Le presentó a Ud a su amigo su padre. The derivation of such sentences is avoided because of the resultant ambiguity.

3.1.2. Dropping of le The redundant dative pronoun may be dropped as a stylistic matter--especially with verbs of suasion and causation. The dative pronouns (le, les) associated with verbs of giving, showing, etc. are not deleted in this dialect.

Sentences which have not gone through these optional rules will usually be clearer than those which have. Many of the sentences described by the embedding and infinitivization rules will be ambiguous in certain circumstances,

for example:

(1) Vi matar a los hombres. "I saw the men kill." or "I saw the men killed."

Because matar ("to kill") is transitive, two interpretations are possible.

3.2. Factors Inhibiting Ambiguity

3.2.1. Role of Strict Sub-categorization

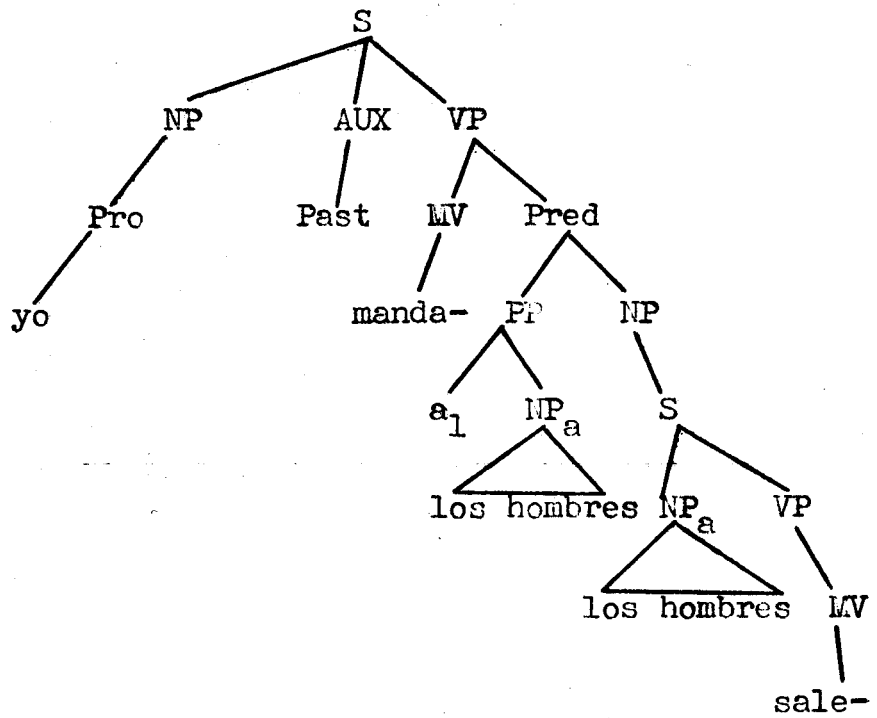

Fig. 20: Deep structure of Mandé salir a los hombres "I ordered the men to go out."

Sentence (2) (le) Mandé salir al hombre. "I ordered the man to leave." is not ambiguous because salir is intransitive, ([-_____NP]), and therefore cannot take a direct object. Because of this category context restriction, there can only be one interpretation of this sentence.

Other examples:

(3) (Les) Hicieron trabajar a los obreros. "They had the workers work."

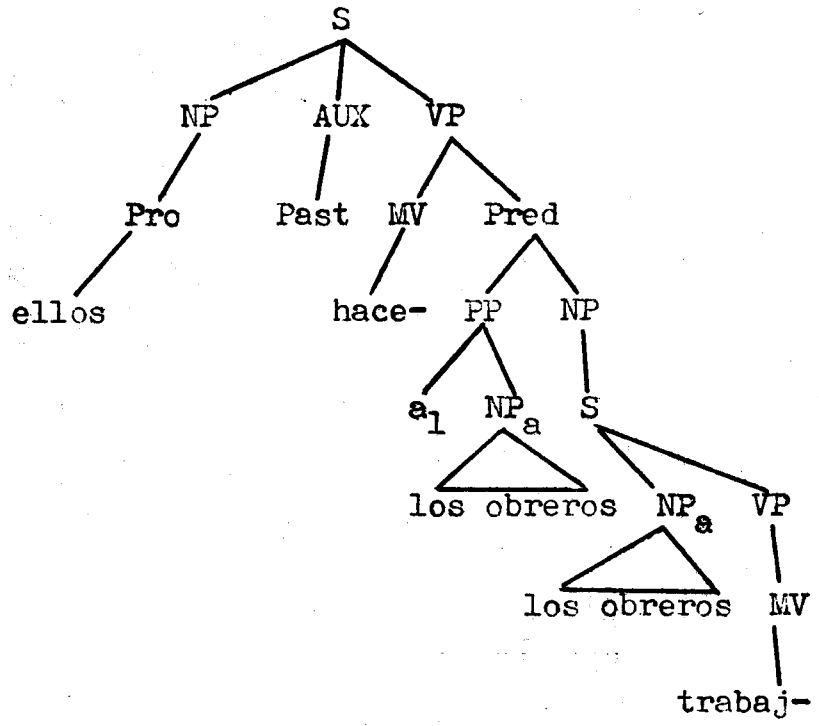

Fig. 21: Deep structure of (3)

(4) (Les) Impidió entrar a los officiales..
"He prevented the officers from entering."

Entrar is [-___NP] since it requires a preposition (en) to link it to its object. One must say Entra en la sala ("He enters the room.").

3.2.2. Role of Selectional Features Even though the categorial context renders any ambiguity unlikely, the constructions in other situations lead to ambiguity. However, selectional restrictions also prevent much ambiguity.

(5) Escuchó leer al hombre el libro.
"He heard the man read the book.

(6) Escuchó leer el libro al hombre.
(same as (5))

Both of these sentences have the same meaning and can have no other because books do not hear men read!

Had libro been, say, el editor, the sentence

would have meant, "The editor heard the man read.". Because most $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{Noun} \\ +\text{Human}\end{bmatrix}$ require the "personal a" the sentence is still clear.

The discussion in section 3.2.1. had to do with strict sub-categorization rules (Chomsky, 1965, p. 95), while the discussion in section 3.2.3. had to do with selectional rules. The former analyse a category into a complex sybol or feature bundle according to what kind of grammatical category, say, noun, verb phrase, et cetera, that is it's context.

For example, nouns are often [+Det___]. On the other hand, selectional rules analyse a complex symbol according to the syntactic/semantic features found in its context, e.g. leer is [+ Human _____], i.e. human subject.

3.2.3. Semantic Considerations There remain sentences like

(7) Mandó fusilar a los soldados al cautivo.
"He ordered the soldiers to shoot the captive."
"He ordered the captive to shoot the soldiers."

(8) Le mandó traer el postre al criado.
"He had him bring dessert to the waiter."
"He had the waiter bring him dessert."

Sentence (7) is likely to mean that the soldiers are to shoot the captive. Sentence (9) following, also means the same thing. However, it is so vague that my informant would not accept it. Had le referring to cautivo, or les referring to soldados, been added, the sentence would have been acceptable.

(9) Mandó fusilar al cautivo a los soldados.

Because it is more normal for soldiers to shoot captives, one of the possible meanings would usually

be preferred or selected over the other. However, each sentence has theoretically two possible interpretations. Similarly, sentence (8) probably means that the waiter is to bring dessert and not that "he" was told to bring dessert to the waiter. Again, the interpretation is due to our expectation that waiters bring, not receive, desserts. However, the recipient of the dessert in this case, may still be a waiter--whether or not he is still wearing his uniform. Waiters do dine out at other establishments in their off-hours, yet they are still waiters. This last fact makes a second interpretation of example (8) possible and plausible.

3.3. Preventing Ambiguity by Syntactic Means

3.3.1. Use of Clauses In the following pages, we shall try to show that by reversing the derivational process in a manner of speaking, one can prevent ambiguous infinitival constructions. One does this by returning to the underlying structures and omitting the stylistic rules outlined above. In this way, a clausal construction will be formed, and no ambiguity will arise. It must be pointed out however, that this analysis is in no way normative.

A less effective way of preventing ambiguity will be by the judicious use of redundant personal pronouns. However, this is left until section 3.3.2. Consider this sentence:

(10) Le pedía hacerlo a la chica.

This means either (10a) or (10b) below.

(10a) $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{yo}\\ \text{él}\\ \text{ella}\\ \text{Ud}\end{matrix}\right\}$ le pedía a $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Ud}\\ \text{él}\\ \text{ella}\end{matrix}\right\}$ que lo hiciera a la chica.

" $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{I}\\ \text{he}\\ \text{she}\\ \text{you}\end{matrix}\right\}$ was asking $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{you}\\ \text{him}\\ \text{her}\end{matrix}\right\}$ to do it to the girl."

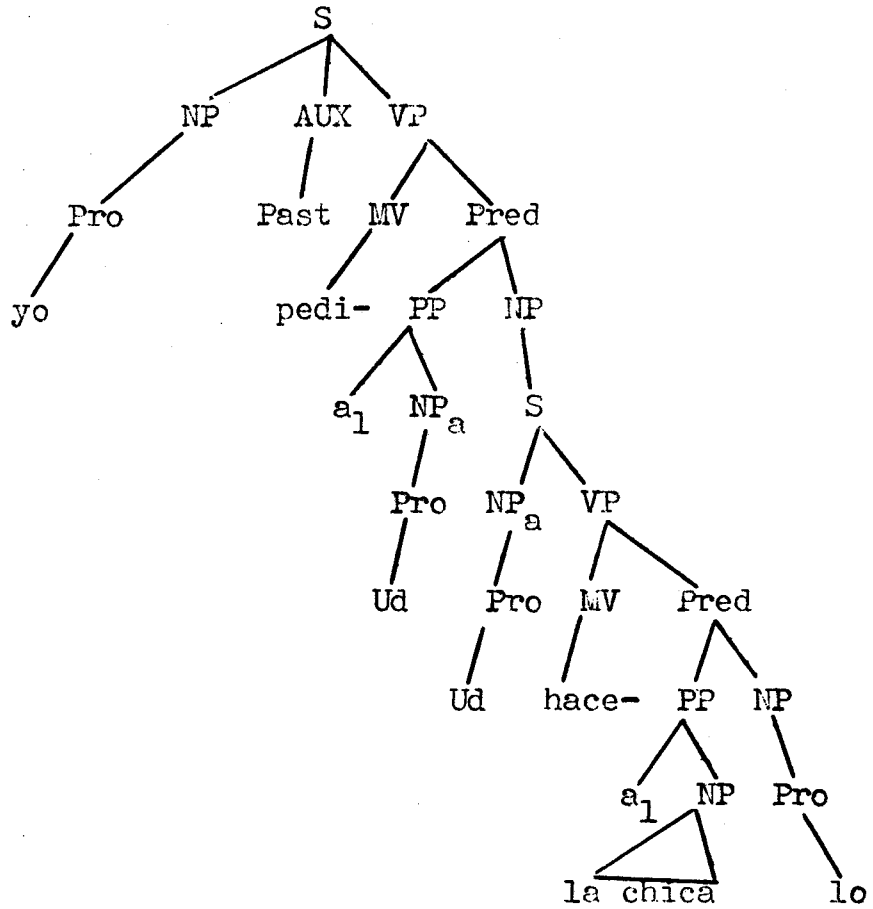

Fig. 22: Deep structure of (10a)

Had the sentence read:

(10b) Le pedía hacérselo a la chica.
(same as (10a))

it would not have been ambiguous because the morpheme <u>se</u> in <u>hacérselo</u> would have referred to <u>la chica</u>, the indirect object of <u>hacer</u>. However, <u>se</u> is apparently not required here.

(10c) { yo / él / ella / Ud } le pedía a la chica que (ella) lo hiciera.

"{ I / he / she / you } was asking the girl to do it."

The surface structure requires no subject pronoun hence many Spanish sentences are ambiguous.

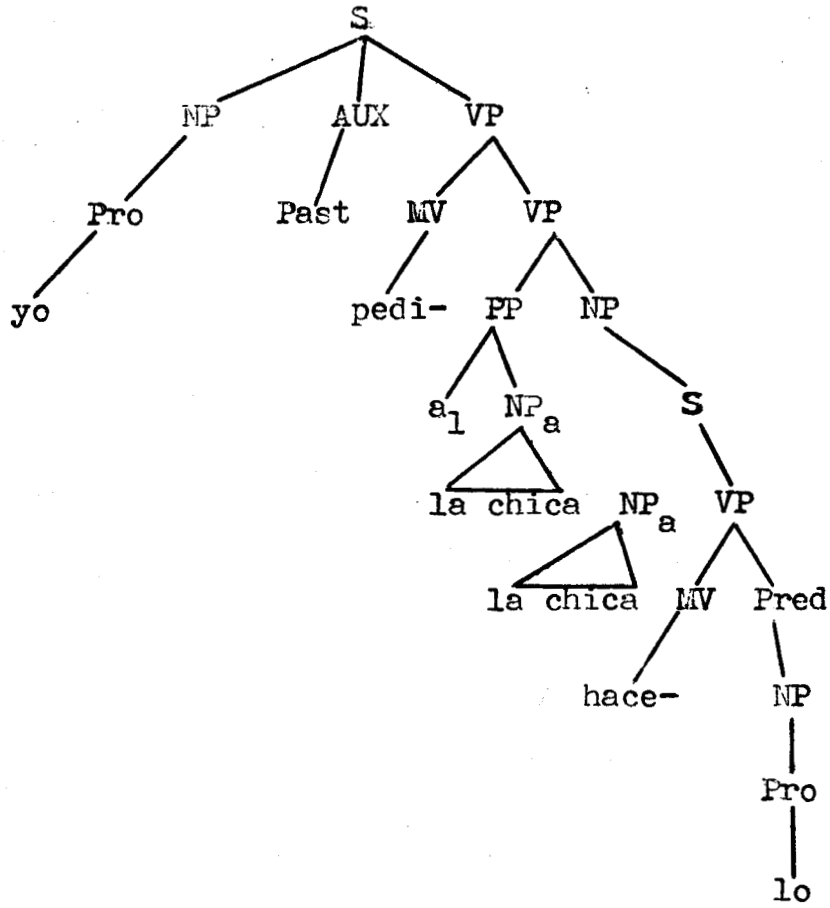

Fig. 23: Deep structure of (10b)

The central problem is whether <u>la chica</u> is subject of <u>hiciera</u> or object of <u>pedir</u>. We should point out that Spanish has the readily observable ambiguity between first and third person

forms. Even the relatively simple sentence Le pedía hacerlo la chica ("The girl asked him/her/you to do it.") is ambiguous. That sentence can be paraphrased as

(10d) Le pedía hacerlo la chica $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{a él}\\ \text{a Ud}\\ \text{a ella}\end{array}\right\}$.

The analysis of pronouns in the paper assumes the expanded forms to be basic. The form le is the copy-form of either $a_1$él, a_1Ud, or $a_1$ella. Deletion of subject pronouns is widespread in Spanish, since in most cases, the verb ending prevents ambiguity, e.g. pido "I ask" but pedía "I/he/she/you were asking". Thus, sentence (10a) is twelve ways ambiguous, while Le pedía hacerlo a la chica is sixteen ways ambiguous. The sentence (10c) is only four ways ambiguous. Consider these sentences. Their meanings are denoted by letters which refer to a key which follows the examples.

(11) Le pedía aconsejarle hacerlo a la chica. (a, b, c)

(12) Le pedía aconsejarle que lo hiciera a la chica. (a)

(13) Le pedía que le aconsejara que lo hiciera a la chica. (a)

(14) Le pedía que le aconsejara a la chica que lo hiciera. (b)

(15) Le pedía a la chica que le aconsejara que le hiciera. (c)

(16) Le pedía a la chica aconsejarle que lo hiciera. (c)

(17) Le pedía a la chica aconsejarle hacerlo. (c)

(18) Le pedía aconsejarle a la chica hacerlo. (b, c)

(19) Le pedía aconsejarle a la chica que lo hiciera. (b,c)

(a) "I asked her to advise him to do it to the girl."

(b) "I asked her to advise the girl to do it."

(c) I asked the girl to advise him to do it."

Sentences (11) and (15) are doubtful. Sentence (1) is exceedingly ambiguous as it can mean any of three things, not counting reference of deleted subjects. Here are more paraphrases:

(20) Le pedía que le aconsejara hacerlo a la chica. (a,b)

(21) Le pedía que le aconsejara a la chica hacerlo. (b)

(22) Le pedía a la chica que le aconsejara hacerlo. (c)

However, sentences like

(23) Le pedía aconsejarle que la chica lo hiciera.

are not paraphrases. Sentence (23) means "I asked her to advise him that the girl should do it." i.e. a different deep structure is implied. The direct object of advise (aconsejar) will be some third person who is not the girl (chica).

Four of the first ten sentences are ambiguous (11, 18, 19, 20). The first of the three meanings of (11)—"I asked him to advise him to do it to the girl."—can be found in (12) and (13). These two sentences are unambiguous and are the same in meaning. Sentence (13) has not passed through any transformation which yields the infinitival construction. Sentence (12) has passed through one, but a la chica is in that part of the sentence which has remained at the noun clause stage. Compare (12) and (20) to see what I mean. A la chica is in that part of the sentence which

is an infinitival construction; (20) has meaning (b) as well. Let us diagram the three senses of (11).

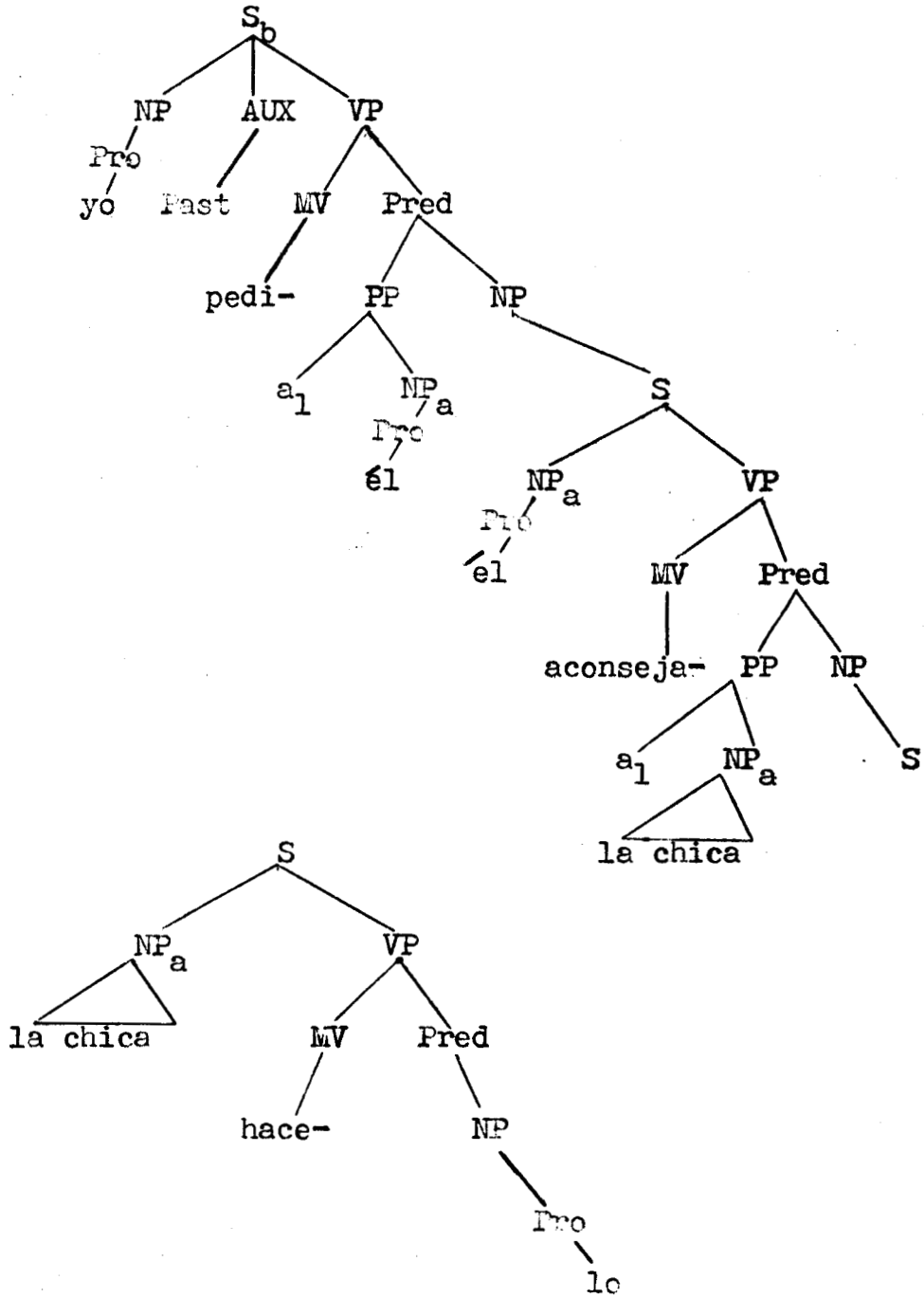

Fig. 25: Deep structure of (11, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21)

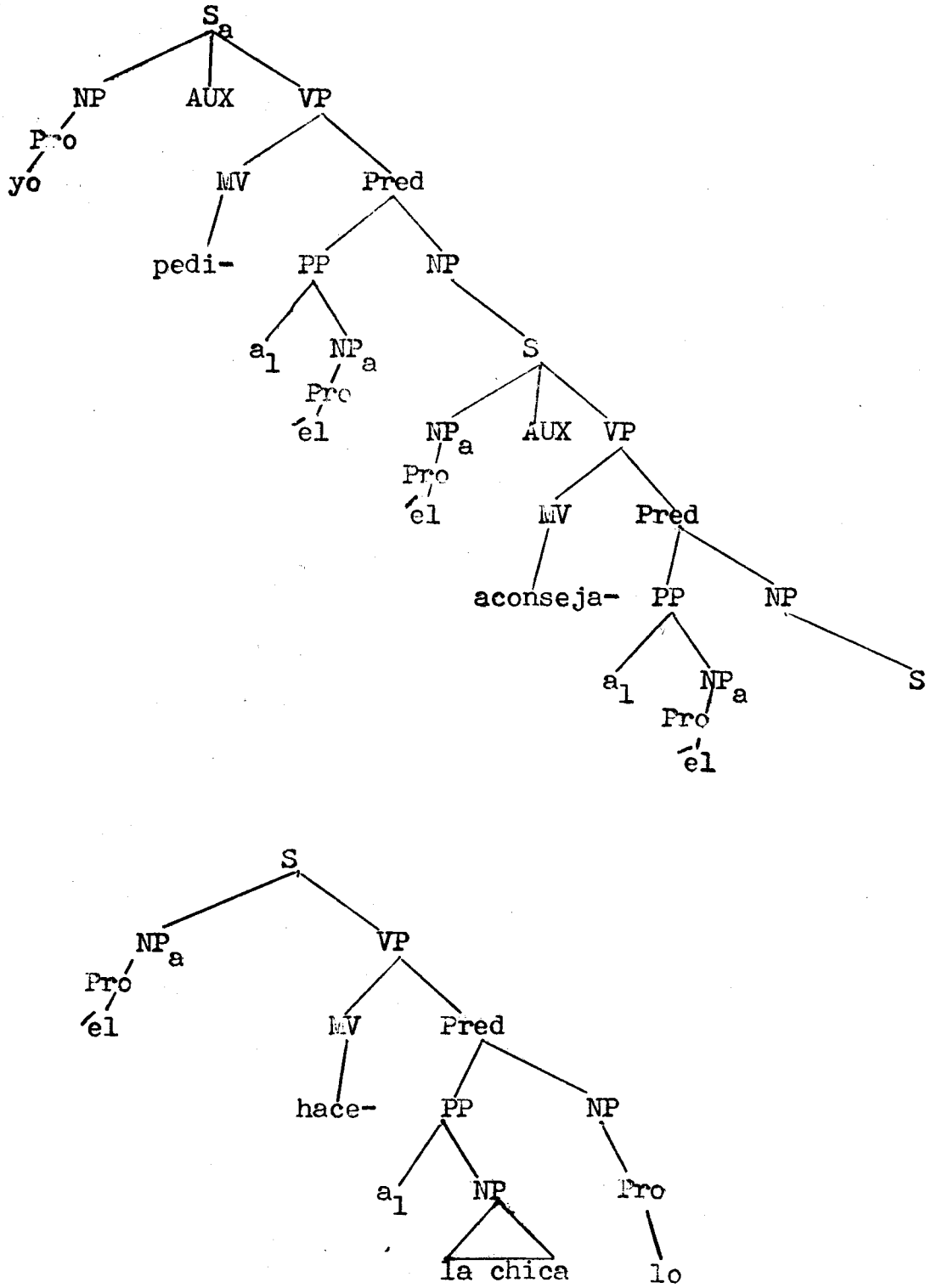

Fig. 26: Deep structure of (11, 12, 13, 20)

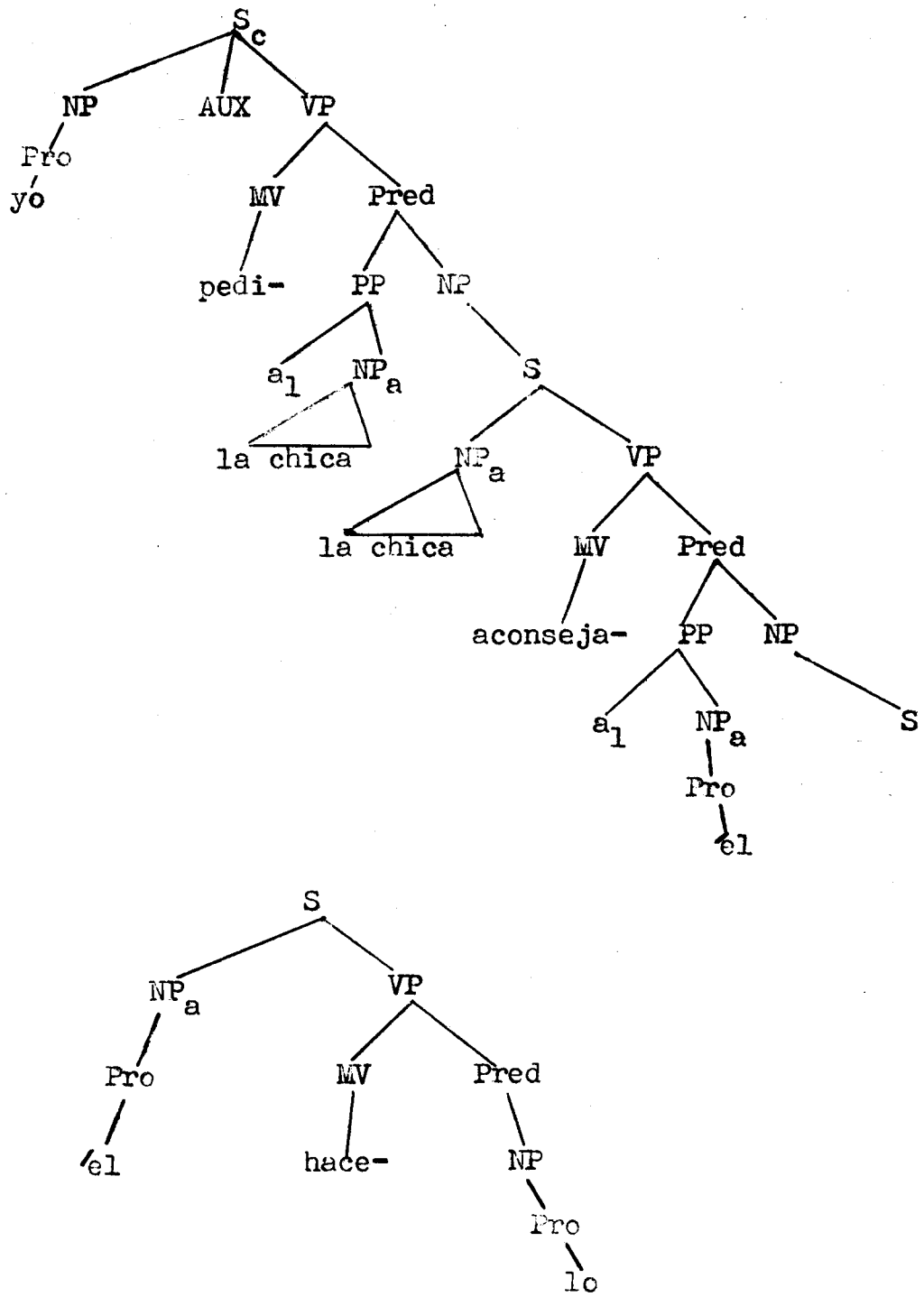

Fig. 27: Deep structure of (11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22)

The second meaning of (11)--"I asked him to advise the girl to do it."--is found in (14), (18), (19), (20), but only (14) is clear. Sentences (18) and (19)

have meaning (c) as well, while (20) has meaning (a). Sentences (13) and (14) have no infinitives, therefore a la chica is the indirect object of aconsejar, and must be in the slot which it is occupying--otherwise a different meaning would result, as sentences (13) and (15) demonstrate. The subject NP of hiciera is identical to the indirect object of aconsejar, hence we were able to delete it by the NP deletion rule. An example of where that NP would differ is:

(24) Le pedía que le aconsejara a la chica que el joven lo hiciera.
"I asked him to advise the girl that the youth should do it."

This point is discussed above, however.

Sentences (18) and (19) have meaning (c) while (20) was discussed previously. In either case, a la chica can be the indirect object of pedía or of aconsejar. If it is the indirect object of pedir, the a is the dative a given in the base. We do not know which sentence has undergone the rule placing the object of the leading verb (pedir) to the end of the sentence. Notice it is the indirect object of pedir and not the subject of aconsejar that is mentioned--the latter has been deleted because it was identical with the object of pedir.

Sentences (11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22) all have meaning (c)--"I asked the girl to advise him to do it.". Sentences (15, 16, 17) are clear in meaning because the object of pedir follows it in the normal position. Sentence (11) has two infinitives and a la chica could be an object of any

of the three verbs present. Sentences (17) and (18) also have two infinitives, but a la chica follows pedir, hence the meaning is clear.

If a la chica were an object of either aconsejar or of hacer, it would have to follow them, even if not in a slot immediately after its governing verb. That is, if a la chica is object of aconsejar, it cannot precede aconsejar but must follow it as in (11, 18, 19, 20).

This discussion is concerned with ambiguities arising when infinitive constructions are used and when parts of the sentence are permuted. Normally, the context will suffice to give one the intended meaning. If ambiguity arose, the Spanish speaker would normally re-word his sentence so as to avoid a lack of clarity.

3.3.2. Retention of Indirect Object Pronouns To add further interest to this work, the analysis of a few sentences is presented where the indirect object pronouns may be deleted.

(25) El capitán les mandó fusilar a los soldados.
This is not ambiguous--les can only refer to los soldados not to a third party, i.e. the captain ordered them to shoot the soldiers.

(26) El capitán mandó fusilarlos a los soldados.
Apparently, this means "the captain ordered the soldiers to shoot them". Los does not seem to refer to the soldiers already mentioned, but rather, it is the direct object of fusilar. In Mrs. Fraser's dialect the redundant direct object pronoun is not used very much, if at all. Therefore, the

los in ...fusilarlos...will refer to a third party--which is what she told me. These utterances were not translated for me, rather, I asked my informant to what she felt certain overt pronouns referred. Not only that, but another informant gave me the same explanation as Mrs. Fraser did.

It ought to be mentioned that Mrs. Fraser, like many Spnaish speakers, uses lo for all singular masculine direct objects and le for all singular indirect objects. Similarly, los and les are the respective plural forms. Thus, it appears that pronoun objects, be they direct or indirect, tend to cling to their governing verb in this dialect.

Examples of more ambiguous sentences follow.

(27) El capitán mandó fusilar a los soldados al cautivo.

(28) El capitán (les) mandó fusilar a los cautivos a los soldados.

(29) El capitán (le) mandó fusilar al enemigo al soldado.

(30) El capitán (le) mandó fusilar al soldado al enemigo.

In all of these we do not know (for sure) who is to do the shooting. Sentences (28, 29, 30) can be clarified by using the following paraphrases:

e.g. El capitán mandó al soldado fusilar al enemigo.

S_m El capitán mandó + S_c
("The captain gave the order")

S_c El soldado fusila al enemigo.
("The soldier shoots the enemy.")

An optional T-rule allows sentences (27-30) to be derived. These can also be clarified by using a clausal construction.

(30a) El capitán mandó al soldado que fusilara al enemigo.

Meanwhile, sentence (27) is ambiguous because either the soldiers or the captive could be shooting. Since captives do not normally shoot soldiers, one interpretation may predominate. However, to clarify the sentence one needs to insert <u>les</u> if the soldiers are to shoot, and <u>le</u> if the captive is to shoot.

(27a) El capitán les mandó fusilar a los soldados al cautivo.

The grammar could have avoided certain transformations, e.g.

(27b) El capitán mandó a los soldados fusilar al cautivo.
"The captain ordered the soldiers to shoot the captive."

Here the optional rule permuting <u>a los soldados</u> was skipped.

(27c) El capitán (les) mandó a los soldados que fusilaran al cautivo.
"The captain ordered the soldiers to shoot the captive."

Here, sentence (27c) produced without using infinitivization rules provides a much clearer interpretation.

The purpose of this chapter has been to analyse, in a fairly detailed manner, certain syntactically ambiguous Spanish sentences.

IV OBJECT PRONOUNS

4.1. Metathesis The next few pages describe various ways in which metathesis of object pronouns across multiple verb constructions is restricted according to the type of governing verb.

4.1.1 Modal Verbs Let us first consider the following verbs: poder (be able), querer (to want), deber (to be supposed to), which are often called "modals".

Consider the following:

(1) La veo. "I see her."

(2) Le doy una manzana a ella. "I give her an apple."

(3) Se la doy a ella. "I give it to her."

(1a) Quiero verla. "I want to see her."

(2a) Quiero darle una manzana a ella. "I want to give her an apple."

(3a) Quiero dársela a ella. "I want to give it to her."

(1b) La quiero ver. " I want to see her."

(2b) Le quiero dar una manzana a ella. "I want to give her an apple."

(3b) Se la quiero dar a ella. "I want to give it to her."

For querer in these examples one could substitute ir a (to go to), poder, deber, and perhaps a few other verbs.

Thus far, it appears that if a finite verb is followed by an infinitive, we have the choice of preposing the object pronouns or of allowing them to remain enclitic. Therefore, in the above examples (1a), (2a), (3a) mean the same as (1b), (2b), (3b) respectively.

4.1.2. Non-modals However, no such option is open to us in the case of most other verbs.

(4) Temía hacerlas. "I was afraid to do them."

(4a) * Las temía hacer.

(5) Celebro verlo. "I rejoice at seeing him."

(5a) * Lo celebro ver.

(6) Decidí repararlo. "I decided to fix it."

(6a) * Lo decidí reparar.

Other verbs like this are rehusar ("to refuse") and evitar ("to avoid").

Here, the pronouns must be appended to the verbs of which they are objects. It is interesting to note that Ramsey [1] says that object pronouns may always be metathesized except when a pronoun may depend upon either verb, according to the meaning, e.g.

(7) Viene a buscarlos. " He is coming to look for them."

(7a) Los viene a buscar.

This is clearly a topic that merits much work. We believe that much dialect variation exists--but this is beyond the scope of this work.

4.1.3. Verbs of Suasion and Perception

(8) Me permite ver. "He allows me to see."

(8a) Permite verme. "He allows me to be seen."

(9) Los vi atacar. "I saw them attack."

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1. M.M. Ramsey, A Textbook of Modern Spanish, New York, Holt, Rhinehart, & Wilson, 1963, p. 91, 98.

(9a) Vi atacarlos. "I saw them attacked."

(9b) Los vi atacarlos. "I saw them attack them."

Sentences (8a) and (9a) have a passive meaning. The subject of the infinitive in both cases has been deleted. However, in this section, the salient point is that (8) and (8a) are different in meaning as are (9) and (9a).

This metathesis is however, complex and there is probably much dialectal variation, e.g. se lo oyó cantar ("he heard him sing it") would be well-formed in some areas instead of le oyó cantarlo.[2]

These data indicate that verbs of "suasion" and perception require certain restrictions in metathesis rules--at least in Mexican Spanish (cf. sentences (9), (9a)).

An interesting thing occurs in Mrs. Fraser's dialect. The sentence*La dejaron comerla is ill-formed and must be replaced by Le dejaron comerla. The object of dejar (and also of hacer) becomes indirect when another object pronoun is present.

One further restriction requires comment. It appears that Mrs. Fraser does not prepose object of infinitive and then delete it. Otherwise, Los vi atacar would be ambiguous to her. Both Ramsey and Stockwell et al. mention dialects where these objects are preposed. Also, Vi atacarlos is clear and it means something else again. Also, both are unambiguous for Mrs. Peucker.

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2. For further discussion see Ramsey, p. 347 ff.

With other verbs, that is, those that do not pattern like querer, poder, and deber the rules vary, e.g., Voy a darles algo.= Les voy a dar algo. ("I am going to give you something."). However, the object of the infinitive cannot precede decidir, e.g., *lo decidí hacer but decidí hacerlo; *las temía hacer ⟶ temía hacerlas *lo rehusa beber ⟶ rehusa beberlo.

4.2. Rules What are the rules that order pronouns? This is one of the reasons we posit the indirect object to precede the direct object in the underlying structure: NP + AUX + MV + PP + NP. A special rule comes later to reorder the noun objects.

Perhaps the best thing to do at this point is formulate a general rule, then list conditions or restrictions. We recall that [+MV...____] stands for all post verbal items in the base string. However, we need to mark those that are the indirect object and those that are the direct object. All items that are [+MV...__] will come out as l-, while those that are [+a_1__] will come out as the indirect object froms, that is, le/les. The latter follow a_1 in the basic string.

4.2.1. Tentative Rule Tentative pronoun metathesis rule:

$$MV + \left(\left[+Pro\right]\right) X \left(\left[+Pro\right]\right) \Longrightarrow \left(\left[+Pro\right]\right) \left(\left[+Pro\right]\right) MV + X$$

The brackets indicate that there need be only one pronoun object present. Observe that in this rule, both pronouns are placed before the verb. One cannot say in Spanish, for example, Lo quiero darlo, but the speaker may say either Se lo quiero dar or Quiero

dárselo ("I want to give it to her.").

Another point is that the embedded verb is now directly dominated by the same node that dominates the main clause verb. The rule is optional if MV contains an infinitive or gerund.

4.2.2. *Copy Rule* We assume a rule that duplicates certain features of all underlying indirect objects, such that *le doy un libro a ella* is derived from a form like **doy un libro a ella*. Certain dialects copy nouns only in case of emphasis, but the dialect under study copies all indirect objects as a matter of course. It should also be stated that feature-copying often applies to direct objects, e.g., *El coche lo vendió*. However, a complete discussion of this would be a paper in itself.

The fact that [+N] should not be copied by the feature copying rule has enabled us to simply specify $\begin{bmatrix}-N\\+Pro\end{bmatrix}$ in the metathesis rule. We thus distinguish between enclitic forms (*le*, *lo*, et cetera) and non-enclitic forms (*el*, *ella*, et cetera) which are $\begin{bmatrix}+N\\+Pro\end{bmatrix}$. This rule takes into account the copying of indirect object pronouns. Only the copy forms are metathesized. The rule should work because the indirect object precedes the direct object in the underlying structure.

4.2.3. *[+Pers] as Direct Object* We assume that first and second person pronouns are [+Pers] and that third person forms are [-Pers] . Suppose the direct and indirect objects are both [+Pers] , for example:

(10a) Te presentaron a mí. "They introduced you to me."

(10b) Me presentaron a ti. "They introduced me to you."

(10c) Me presentaron a ella. " They introduced me to her."

(10d) Me la presentaron a mí. "They introduced her to me."

(10e) Te la presentaron a ti. "They introduced her to you."

(10f) Se la (<*le la) presentaron a él. "They introduced her to him."

The pronouns are not both metathesized. The rule is restricted.

What happens to the le in the schema below? Like any object pronoun that cannot be metathesized, it is deleted automatically (except for enclitic positions).

Suppose, however, that a gift (regalo) was being presented rather than "me". Le would be metathesized.

e.g. *Presentaron a_1 ella el regalo.

*Presentaron le + a_1 ella el regalo. (object copying)

Le presentaron a_1 ella el regalo. (pronoun metathesis)

Le presentaron el regalo a_1 ella. (inversion, optional)

("They presented the gift to her.")

Inversion is optional. If it is not applied, Le presentaron a ella el regalo results. This inversion applies to indirect and direct objects. The form a_1 + ella is a noun phrase, just as a_1 la mujer is.

Condition: if the first pronoun feature bundle contains [-Pers] and the second contains [+Pers] only the second item metathesizes.

e.g. *Me presentaron le a ella, not *Le me presentaron a ella.

The le is dropped automatically after finite verbs if it is

not metathesized. In summary, when the direct object pronoun is [+Pers], i.e. a first or second person form, pronoun metathesis is blocked.

4.2.4. Deletion of Non-metathesized Copy Forms A late rule is required which will delete all non-metathesized copy forms, unless they are in a given set of positions. The pronouns me, te, nos, os, los, la, los, las, le, les, can follow infinitives and present participles (forms in -ndo) otherwise they precede the verb.

e.g. *ellos presentaron le a ella me

*ellos me presentaron le a ella -- pronoun metathesis (recall the above restriction)

ellos me presentaron a ella -- copy form deletion

$$MV + X + [+Pro] + Y \Longrightarrow MV + X + \emptyset + Y$$

where $X \neq \emptyset$ or main verb is finite. The stipulation that X cannot be zero means that some term must intervene between the verb and the form introduced by the copy rule.

What about the occurrence of le before me, te, nos, os? Impossible, because when a first or second person direct object pronoun is present, only it is metathesized and the indirect object pronoun is converted to a prepositional object pronoun. One may say for example, Me presentaron a él. ("They introduced me to him.") but not *Le me presentaron. This means that we must specify [-Pers] in the above rule. Clearly, the dichotomy between [+Pers] and [-Pers] is well motivated.

4.3. Summary The pronoun metathesis rule is obligatory

(except in archaic style)[3] for affirmative sentences when a finite verb is present. This means one must say la he visto ("I have seen her.") not *he vístola. The rule is optional when querer ("want"), poder ("can"), saber ("know"), deber("ought"), ir a ("go to") and maybe some other verbs are finite and an infinitive follows.

When, on the other hand, MV contains a verb of suasion, perception, or verbs like temer, evitar, et cetera, the rule must not apply either.

In this chapter, the rules governing the patterning of object pronouns have been discussed. A separation seemed to arise between certain groups of verbs. The traditional modals and ir a seem to allow pronoun metathesis, while other verbs taking sentential somplements do not. In the latter class, pronoun metathesis would often result in ungrammatical sentences or else it would change the meaning. It appears that in most dialects the embedding of sentences requires restrictions to be placed upon the pronoun metathesis rule.

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3. Erase....("Once upon a time...") Poetic and literary usage. In spoken Spanish se era is more usual.

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APPENDIX

We list here the major rules which figure in this paper.

(1) Noun Phrase Deletion (obligatory)

$$X + MV + a_1 + NP_a + NP_a + Y \Longrightarrow$$
$$X + MV + a_1 + NP_a + Y$$

The subscripts on NP denote identity.

(2) Infinitivization (optional)

$$X + MV + (PP) + MV + Y \Longrightarrow X + MV + (PP) + MV + r + Y$$

(3) Identical Subject Deletion (optional)

$$NP_a + MV \ldots NP_a + MV \Longrightarrow NP_a + MV \ldots MV$$

(4) Pronoun Metathesis

$$MV + [+Pro] \quad X \quad [+Pro] \Longrightarrow$$
$$[+Pro] \quad [+Pro] \quad + MV + X$$

Conditions:

(a) Modified if [+Pers] is a direct object

(b) Obligatory when MV=1 finite verb

(c) Optional in certain other cases

(5) Indirect Object Permutation (optional)

$$NP + MV + PP + NP \Longrightarrow PP + NP + MV + NP$$
$$NP + MV + NP + PP$$

(6) Prepositional Pronoun Object Deletion (obligatory)

$$a + \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +Pro \end{bmatrix} \Longrightarrow \emptyset$$

Condition:

Emphasis morpheme lacking

(7) <u>Le</u> Deletion (optional)

$X + \underline{le(s)} + MV... \Longrightarrow X + MV...$

Obligatory in certain dialects where no emphasis is intended.