

The feature matrices underlying the Spanish pronouns are listed below.⁵¹

yo, mí	tú, ti	usted
$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm masc \\ \pm emph \\ -pl \\ +I \\ +hum \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm masc \\ \pm emph \\ -pl \\ +II \\ -polite \\ +hum \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm masc \\ \pm emph \\ -pl \\ +II \\ +polite \\ +hum \end{bmatrix}$
nosotr-	vosotr-	ustedes
$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm masc \\ \pm emph \\ +pl \\ +I \\ +hum \\ \pm fem \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm masc \\ \pm emph \\ +pl \\ +II \\ +hum \\ \pm fem \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm masc \\ \pm emph \\ +pl \\ +II \\ +polite \\ +hum \end{bmatrix}$
él	ella	ello
$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +pro \\ +masc \\ \pm emph \\ -pl \\ -I \\ -II \\ \pm hum \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +pro \\ -masc \\ \pm emph \\ -pl \\ -I \\ -II \\ \pm hum \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +pro \\ -masc \\ \pm emph \\ -I \\ -II \\ -fem \\ -indef \end{bmatrix}$
ellos	ellas	
$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +pro \\ +masc \\ \pm emph \\ +pl \\ -I \\ -II \\ \pm hum \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +pro \\ -masc \\ \pm emph \\ +pl \\ -I \\ -II \\ \pm hum \end{bmatrix}$	

⁵¹ The rules will actually generate a number of combinations of features containing [-fem] which do not occur in the language. For example, the sequence [+N, +pro, -masc, +pl, +I, -fem] is a possible output of rules 3-10. However, there is no Spanish pronoun which matches this particular set of features because neuter pronouns are always third person and never plural. There would therefore be no lexical entry in the lexicon for this and other unacceptable sequences, and sentences containing them would be rejected by the grammar as being ungrammatical.

We may consider for the time being that these pronouns are listed in the dictionary under their subject forms (yo, tú, usted, etc.) and are inserted in the deep structure like other nouns.

The dictionary entries will actually be simpler than those listed here. Just as both nosotros and nosotras are combined in one listing, as are vosotros and vosotras, so all of the third person pronouns (él, ella, ello, ellos, ellas) should be combined, the proper final form being supplied by the general phonological rules.

It might be noted that some of the features are unnecessary for lexical selection. For example it is not necessary to know the gender of a [+pro, +I, -pl] segment in order to select yo. Such apparently redundant features are necessary, however, for certain other syntactic requirements. Gender is necessary for agreement of predicate nominatives, as in Yo estoy muy contenta in which contenta obviously agrees with [+fem] underlying yo.

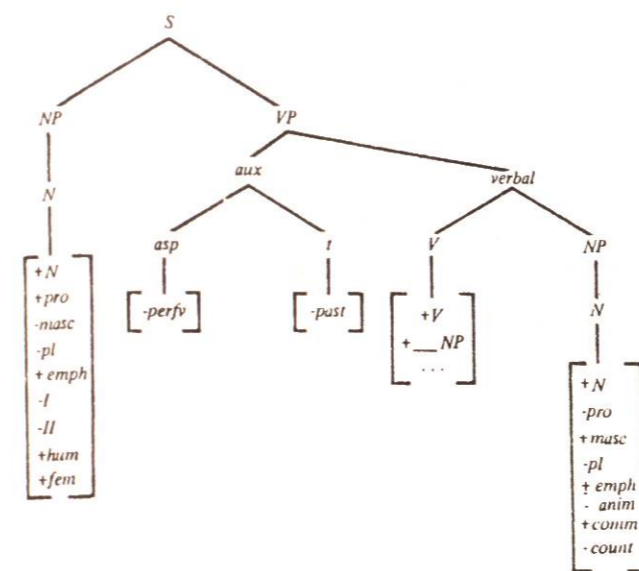
Another type of disjunctive pronoun includes algo, nada, alguien and nadie. These forms, traditionally called **indefinite pronouns**, are analyzed here as a subclass of the neuter pronouns. The matrices underlying these forms are derived principally by rules 11 and 12, which first divide the neuter pronouns into [-indef] (ello, lo, etc.) and [+indef] (algo, nada, alguien and nadie) and then further subdivide the latter into [+neg] (nada and nadie) and [-neg] (algo and alguien). The final distinction for each of these pairs of indefinite pronouns is handled by the [$\pm hum$] feature introduced by rule 9: algo and nada are [-hum], alguien and nadie are [+hum].

The matrices for the indefinite pronouns would therefore be as follows:

algo	nada	alguien	nadie
$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +pro \\ -masc \\ -fem \\ -pl \\ \pm emph \\ -I \\ -II \\ -hum \\ +indef \\ -neg \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +pro \\ -masc \\ -fem \\ -pl \\ \pm emph \\ -I \\ -II \\ -hum \\ +indef \\ +neg \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +pro \\ -masc \\ -fem \\ -pl \\ \pm emph \\ -I \\ -II \\ +hum \\ +indef \\ -neg \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +pro \\ -masc \\ -fem \\ -pl \\ \pm emph \\ -I \\ -II \\ +hum \\ +indef \\ +neg \end{bmatrix}$

To summarize what has been said so far: the underlying feature specification of Spanish disjunctive pronouns is added to the deep structure of sentences through the operation of the NP feature development rules. When the resulting feature matrix matches the feature specification of one of the disjunctive pronouns, the lexical entry of that pronoun (including phonological, syntactic and semantic features) is inserted in the tree at the corresponding point by the general rule for lexical insertion. The deep structure

of Ella come arroz, in accordance with all of the PS rules and feature development rules introduced thus far, would look, prior to the operation of the general lexical rule, like this:



One is tempted to derive pronouns from nouns by writing a rule which would substitute, e.g., ella for any feminine noun, paralleling such surface sequences as ¿Lo tiene María? No, ella no lo tiene, where ella obviously stands for María. However, a rule which would permit this type of substitution would have to be written to apply to almost any feminine noun (certainly all [+hum] feminine nouns) and would therefore be in violation of the unique recoverability requirement alluded to earlier. Under the analysis presented here, all 5 pronouns are derived from [+pro] segments and can be reconstituted by a reverse application of the rules.⁵²

This description of disjunctive pronouns by feature development and lexical insertion will thus account, without further transformational operation, for all of the pronouns in the following sentences:

Ella vio a usted en el centro.
Yo salgo con ellos a menudo.
Ellos entregaron el premio a nosotros.

⁵² Note, however, that the pronouns do not have unique underlying forms because there is a certain amount of ambiguity implicit in pronoun use. Thus, for example, usted may be either masculine or feminine, él may be [+hum] or [-hum], etc. This type of ambiguity is desirable and appropriately implied by the procedure for deriving pronouns.

As we shall see, transformational operations will be necessary for conjunctive pronouns and for the reflexive pronouns, both con- and disjunctive.

PRACTICE

1. Write, from memory if possible, a feature matrix for each of the following disjunctive pronouns:

nosotros
ello
nadie
tú
usted

2. Which of the rules on p. 62 have applied to generate the feature matrix corresponding to alguien?

Conjunctive Pronouns

Setting aside for the moment the several problems involved with the pronoun se, the forms of the conjunctive direct object pronouns (i.e. those which always occur contiguous to a verb) are the following:

me	nos
te	os
lo (le) ⁵³	los (les) ⁵³
la	las

These forms occur either as representatives of an entire direct object NP, as in Carlos la vio ayer, or as the redundant repetition of a direct object (i.e. DO) NP, as in Carlos la vio a María ayer or Carlos la vio a ella. (Keniston, 64-68, is a good source of information on this rather infrequent redundant construction.)

Although the redundant conjunctive pronouns occur quite frequently when serving as interest objects (Le mandé el paquete a Carlos) and as reflexive objects (José se levantó a sí mismo), they occur less often in the DO cases of the type cited above. The DO redundant pronouns seem to be restricted to situations when the DO is a person, or is some sort of pronoun, or is the result of a position shift (as in Tu libro lo tengo en casa), and the redundant pronoun is far from universal in such cases. We have tried to make

⁵³ Many Spanish speakers are *leista*, which means that they use *le* as the direct object conjunctive pronoun. (The term *leísmo* refers to the usage itself.) The majority of *leista* speakers, use *le* only for persons, shifting to *lo* when referring to things. The use of *lo* for both persons and things seem to be more widespread, particularly in Latin America. We will follow this *loista* usage (i.e., *loísmo*).

our overall description include these less frequent usages because the task of the grammar is not to describe what is actually said by Spanish speakers, but rather the linguistic competence they possess which allows them to produce and understand an endless variety of acceptable Spanish sentences.

In order to incorporate the various cases of conjunctive pronouns into our grammar, we must add an optional transformation, the **conjunctive DO pronoun rule**. Below are some examples and related data on the application of the rule pertinent to conjunctive pronouns.

Example:	DO features:	Rules applied:
vio a María	$[-pro, \pm emph \dots]$	none
vio a ella	$[+pro, +emph \dots]$	none
la vio a María	$[-pro, +emph \dots]$	conj DO pron
la vio a ella	$[+pro, +emph \dots]$	conj DO pron*
la vio	$[+pro, -emph \dots]$	conj DO pron, [+pro] deletion

The new rule must operate to add in front of the verb a [+pro] segment containing all of the proper features for person, number, and gender. If the original direct object is [+emph], the result will be a redundant pronoun. If it is [+pro, -emph...], the [+pro] deletion rule will be applied to the original direct object, with a conjunctive DO pronoun as the sole result. The rule is formulated as follows:

CONJUNCTIVE DO PRONOUN:

SD: NP X [+V] Y Z

1	2	3	4	5	6
				α masc	
				β pl	
				$\pm emph$	
				γ I	
				δ II	
				ϵ polite	
				ζ fem	
				η refl ⁵⁴	

Condition: 4 5 = DO

SC: 1 2 3 4 5 6 → 1

1	2	3	4	5	6
				$+pro$	
				α masc	
				β pl	
				γ I	
				δ II	
				ϵ polite	
				ζ fem	
				η refl ⁵⁴	

⁵⁴ The reflexive feature is added by another rule, which will be discussed below.

Paradigm:

me	te	lo	la
$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -pl \\ +I \\ (+refl)^{54} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -pl \\ +II \\ (-polite) \\ (+refl)^{54} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ +masc \\ -pl \\ -I \\ -II \\ +polite \end{bmatrix}$ or $\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ +masc \\ -pl \\ -I \\ -II \\ +polite \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -masc \\ -pl \\ -I \\ -II \\ +polite \end{bmatrix}$ or $\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -masc \\ -pl \\ -I \\ -II \\ +polite \end{bmatrix}$

nos	os	los	las
$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ +pl \\ +I \\ (+refl)^{54} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ +pl \\ +II \\ (-polite) \\ (+refl)^{54} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ +masc \\ +pl \\ -I \\ +II \\ +polite \end{bmatrix}$ or $\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ +masc \\ +pl \\ -I \\ +II \\ +polite \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -masc \\ +pl \\ -I \\ +II \\ +polite \end{bmatrix}$ or $\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -masc \\ +pl \\ -I \\ +II \\ +polite \end{bmatrix}$

se
$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm pl \\ -I \\ -II \\ +refl^{54} \end{bmatrix}$ or $\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm pl \\ -I \\ -II \\ +refl^{54} \end{bmatrix}$

This rule introduces a new convention in the use of transformational rules, with the inclusion of the Greek α, β, γ , etc. Such symbols are used to stand for the sign (i.e., + or -) of the indicated feature, whatever the sign might be. The convention is that a Greek letter has the same value every time it is used in a given rule. That is, if in a certain sentence a direct object is masculine, its feature matrix will have a +value for [masc] and the pronoun which is inserted by this operation of the rule must also be [+masc], and so on, so that the conjunctive pronoun matches the direct object in all pertinent features.⁵⁵

The inclusion of the whole conjunctive pronoun paradigm in the T rule itself brings up a theoretical question, which we will merely allude to here. The question is whether the insertion of lexical items into sentences should take place only during the functioning of the PS rules, or whether it should be a continuous process throughout the transformational operation. One theoretical position holds that lexical selection is a continuous process. We will consider, for reasons more arbitrary than not, that lexical selection

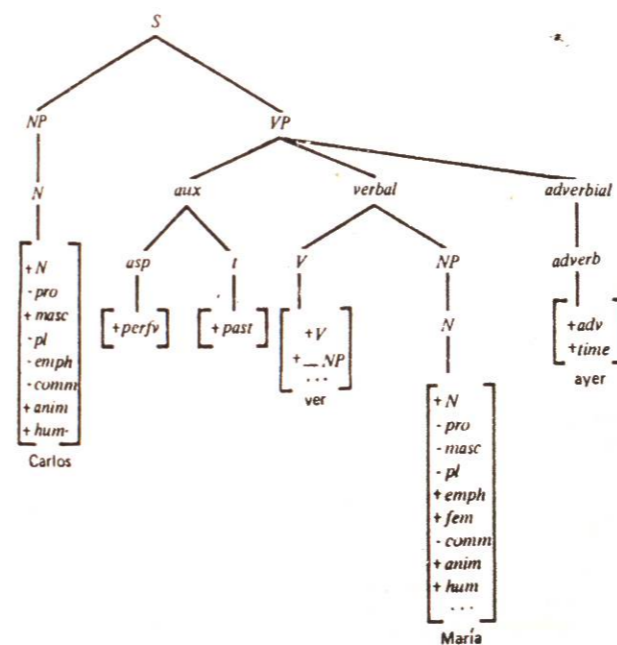
⁵⁵ It must also be stipulated in the general theory that the rule should operate even if some of the features of the SD are not represented. E.g., if IO is first person ([+I]), the [$\pm II$] feature will simply be absent.

is a PS operation, as we have already described it. T rules may insert words, but they are inserted by the rule itself, not by repeating the process of searching the lexicon for a word which matches a feature matrix newly established by the T rule.

Another alternative would be to consider that our conjunctive pronoun matrices, inserted by the conjunctive DO pronoun rule, are morphological variants of the disjunctive pronouns, and that their proper form (lo, la, me, etc.) is assigned by the morphophonemic component. For our purposes, these three procedures may be considered to be essentially equivalent. The differences would become important in a more theoretically-oriented analysis.

Another theoretical problem which is rather ancillary at this point is the fact that conjunctive pronouns having the same form as the DO pronoun are also used with haber (e.g., ¿Agua? No la hay). This usage may easily be included by allowing haber followed by NP to be marked as one of those verbs which permits the conjunctive DO pronoun rule to apply. More difficult to interpret is the use of a neuter pronoun with ser (and sometimes with estar): e.g., ¿Quién es la directora? Lo soy yo. (N.b., *La soy yo is ungrammatical.) This neuter pronoun could be related to other uses of lo, as in lo bello, lo de ayer, or, possibly, no lo sé. We must leave the question unresolved.

To illustrate the operation of our new T rule, let us take *Carlos vio a María ayer*, the deep structure of which is:



In the application of our conjunctive DO pronoun rule to this tree, Carlos and its feature matrix would be NP (identified by the number 1 in the rule); aux would be X (2); the verbal node has the [+V] feature, so this is 3; the direct object NP has no det, so the Y slot (4) is empty and will remain empty after the rule operates; María and its matrix, of course, represent the crucial direct object slot (5) from which the T rule will copy the values for person, number, and gender; and ayer is represented by Z (6), which will be repeated in the operation of the rule. The only operation performed by the rule is to copy [-masc, -pl, +fem] from the María onto a matrix placed in front of aux, and to add [+pro], with the following result:

$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -pro \\ +masc \\ -emph \\ -pl \\ -comm \\ +anim \\ +hum \\ \dots \\ \text{Carlos} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -masc \\ -pl \\ +fem \\ \text{la} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} [+perfv] [+past] \\ +V \\ +_NP \\ \dots \\ \text{ver} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -pro \\ -masc \\ -pl \\ +emph \\ +fem \\ -comm \\ +anim \\ +hum \\ \dots \\ \text{María} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +adv \\ +time \\ \dots \\ \text{ayer} \end{bmatrix}$
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The inserted matrix is interpreted uniquely from the paradigm as la. The same procedure will operate to provide the appropriate pronoun, regardless of the feature matrix of the direct object. If the direct object were a disjunctive pronoun instead of a full noun, e.g., yo instead of María, with the feature specification [+N, +pro, +masc, -pl, +emph, +I, +hum], the rule would copy the [+masc, -pl, +I], which, with [+pro] added, would be interpreted as me, with the resulting sentence being Carlos me vio a mí ayer.

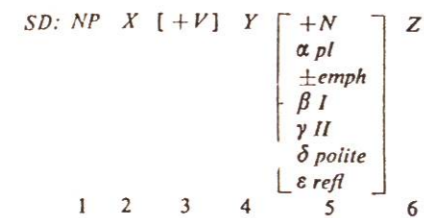
The forms of the conjunctive interest object pronouns differ only from the direct objects in the third person:

me	nos
te	-os
le	les

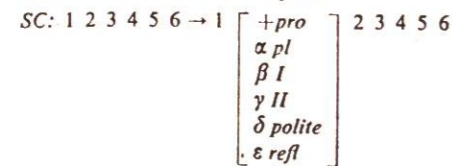
They arise from the deep structure IO category generated in the verbal rewrite. Like the DO forms, they occur either as sole representatives of the deep IO, as in Carlos le dio el regalo ayer, or as the redundant repetition of the IO as in Carlos le dio el regalo a María ayer.

The logic and the procedure are the same for IO as they were for DO. The conjunctive IO pronoun rule permits the insertion in front of aux of a [+pro] matrix which repeats the pertinent features of the deep structure IO matrix:

CONJUNCTIVE IO PRONOUN:⁵⁶



Condition: 5 is dominated by IO



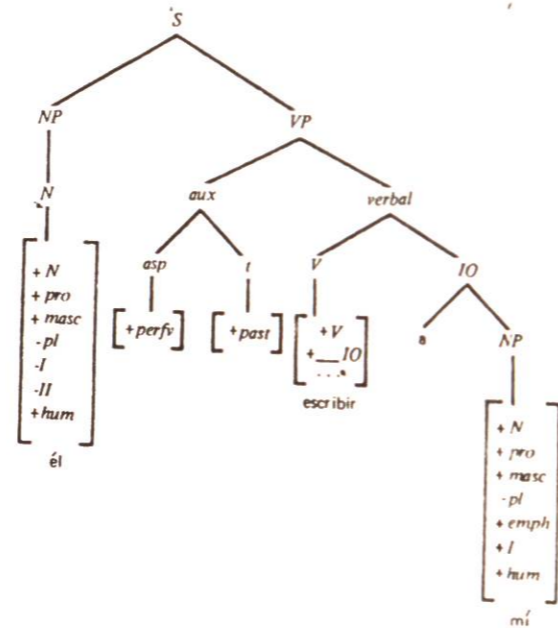
Paradigm:

me	te	le	or	le
$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -pl \\ +I \\ (+refl) \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \neg pro \\ -pl \\ -I \\ +II \\ -polite \\ (+refl) \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -pl \\ -I \\ -II \end{bmatrix}$	or	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -pl \\ -I \\ +II \\ +polite \end{bmatrix}$
nos	os	les	or	les
$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ +pl \\ I \\ (+refl) \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ +pl \\ -I \\ +II \\ -polite \\ (+refl) \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ +pl \\ -I \\ -II \end{bmatrix}$	or	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ +pl \\ -I \\ +II \\ +polite \end{bmatrix}$
	se		or	
	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm pl \\ -I \\ -II \\ +refl \end{bmatrix}$		or	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm pl \\ -I \\ +II \\ +polite \\ +refl \end{bmatrix}$

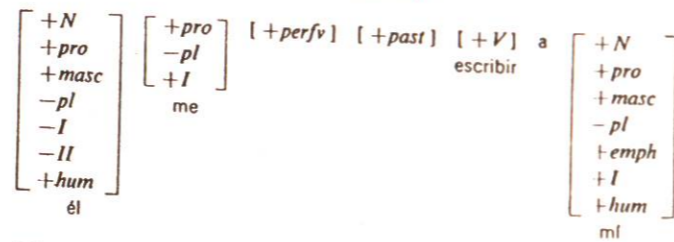
⁵⁶ Gender is absent from this rule because it is never reflected in the surface form of the conjunctive IO pronouns. The rule will operate regardless of whether IO is masculine or feminine.

The conjunctive DO and IO rules could be collapsed into one rule which would be sensitive to both functions and which would be applicable as often as necessary. But the resultant rule would be more complex, and we opt for two rules in the interest of clarity.

If the IO of the SD is [+emph] (whether or not it is [+pro] or [-pro]) the result is a redundant IO pronoun construction (like me escribió a mí). If, however, the IO is [+pro, -emph...], the [+pro] deletion rule applies, and the result is a nonredundant construction (like me escribí). The deep structure of me escribí a mí is thus as follows (with [+pro] for subject ellipsis):



When the conjunctive IO pronoun rule is applied the structure becomes as follows (now represented in linear fashion):⁵⁷



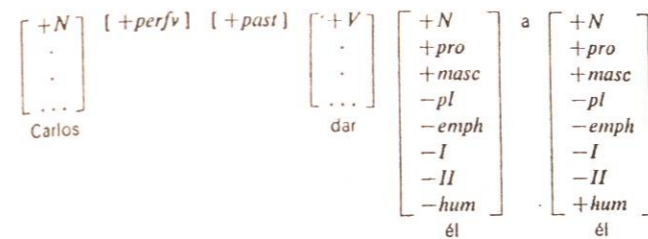
This structure requires the subsequent application of the [+pro] deletion rule and the rule for correct placement of the verbal affixes, as well as

⁵⁷ We will follow this procedure of not using a tree representation of structures after T rules have applied because trees do not lend themselves readily to express deletions, additions, and shifts.

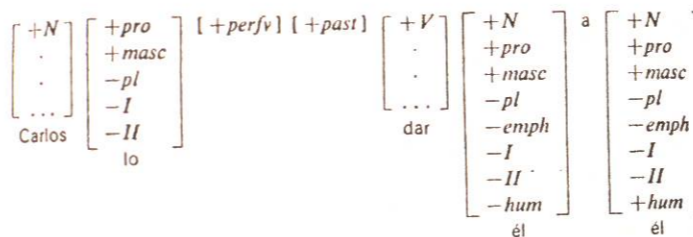
the proper morphophonemic rules, before it achieves its proper surface form, Me escribí.

In the final ordering of the T rules of our grammar, the DO pronoun rule comes first, the IO rule second. Because of the way the symbols operate, this automatically places the pronouns in their normal order, i.e., IO first.⁵⁸

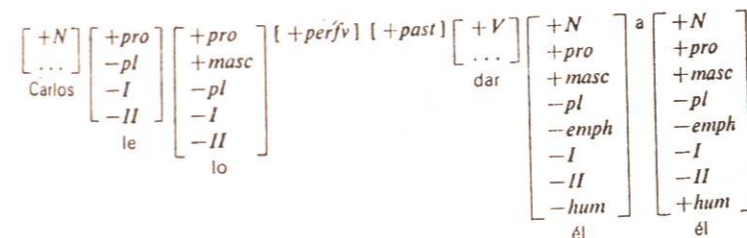
For example, for a sentence like Carlos se lo dio, the deep structure may be represented as follows:



The conjunctive DO rule would apply first to yield:

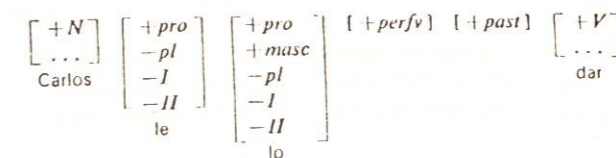


The nonredundant IO rule applies next, and the X of the rule now covers not only aux, but also the conjunctive DO pronoun which was just inserted. The result is:



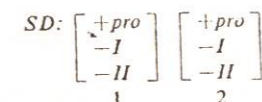
The [+pro] deletion rule then operates to delete the [-emph] DO and IO, giving:

⁵⁸ Actually, conjunctive pronoun ordering presents some special problems, which are discussed more fully on pp. 89-90.



Although the combination of first and second person IO with third person DO (me lo, te las, etc.) need no further treatment, the combination of le and les with other third person pronouns requires a special rule to replace these forms by se:

IO REPLACEMENT:⁵⁹



Condition: 1 is dominated by IO

SC: 1 2 → se 2

The T rules of a grammar are said to constitute a partially ordered set, which means that the ordering holds principally within small sets of rules, but only occasionally among several sets. This characteristic will be noted when it is encountered again. It should also be noted that the IO replacement rule is local in operation. It does not apply to a whole sentence, but simply to that portion of the sentence containing the elements specified in the SD. Local rules are useful for focusing on substructures of sentences, like this one. Most of them can be converted into nonlocal rules by the addition of X and Y.

We summarize the operation of the conjunctive pronoun rules introduced in this section by the following sentences, together with the indication of which rules have applied, and in what order:

Example:	Rules applied:
Carlos escribió una carta a María	none
La carta la escribió Carlos a María	conj DO pron (along with rules for subject and object shift)
Carlos le escribió la carta a María	conj IO pron
Carlos le escribió la carta	conj IO pron, [+pro] deletion
Carlos la escribió a María	conj DO pron
Carlos se la escribió a María	conj DO pron, conj IO pron, IO replacement, [+pro] deletion (once)
Carlos se la escribió	conj DO pron, conj IO pron, IO replacement, [+pro] deletion (twice)

⁵⁹ This rule is called the spurious se rule by Thomsen. His work has been of considerable help in this treatment of pronouns.

If the *se* passive transformation is ordered after the conjunctive *IO* pronoun rule, we can account for what is often called the "reflexive of unplanned occurrences". Examples of this construction are:

Se me ha roto el lápiz.
A Juan se le olvidaron los papeles.
La oportunidad se nos ha perdido.

The traditional term used for this construction implies that the speaker, by shifting the grammatical subject from himself to the object in question, tends to absolve himself of the blame. This idea is formalized in our grammar through the medium of the *se* passive, in which the deep subject doer of the action is usually omitted anyway. Considering the examples first without the interest objects, it would be clear from our description of *se* passive that the deep structures are akin to the following structures (with [+*pro*] representing elliptical subjects):

[+*pro*] ha roto el lápiz.
[+*pro*] olvidó los papeles.
[+*pro*] ha perdido la oportunidad.

Note that since the deep structure subject will not be represented in the surface sentence, a note of intentional ambiguity is introduced, because the subject [+*pro*] could either be [+*I*] or [-*I*]. This construction permits the speaker to ignore whose fault the action was, as it were, and focus on who gains or loses as a result. This indirect benefit or detriment of an action or condition is expressed as an interest object in Spanish, and the best deep structures for our example sentences are therefore something like:

[+*pro*] ha roto el lápiz a mí.
[+*pro*] olvidó los papeles a Juan.
[+*pro*] perdió la oportunidad a nosotros.

The *se* passive and [+*pro*] deletion rules provide the final form for these sentences.⁶⁰ By using sentences of this type the speaker indicates that the pencil "got broken" and that he (or whoever is indicated by the *IO*) finds himself in a fix as a result. Constructions of this type, however, should be contrasted with similar surface sentences which contain intransitive verbs (e.g., *Se te va a caer el vaso*, *Se nos ha muerto el perro*, *Se me ha ido la novia*, etc.) and which, therefore, must be classified as a type of reflexive rather than as passives:

⁶⁰ The fact that the surface subject is frequently found in the postverbal position is related to the general question of changes of order, which are discussed in Chapter 7.

PRACTICE ON NONREFLEXIVE CONJUNCTIVE PRONOUNS

1. Cite which transformational rules have applied to each of the following sentences. Consider only the *DO* and *IO* pronoun rules, the *se* passive, and [+*pro*] deletion.

Yo te lo devuelvo mañana.
A mí no me gusta tanto.
¿No me crees?
¡Ya se lo entregué a tu hermano!
¡Se me ha perdido la cartera!

2. Draw a tree representing the deep structure of first sentence of the previous exercise, including all relevant features.

3. Apply the appropriate *T* rules to the deep structure you have just drawn.

Reflexives

One thinks of reflexives most often with respect to verbs, rather than nouns, and the bulk of the problem revolves around the classification of the so-called reflexive verbs. However, conjunctive pronouns are involved, and, at least in the case of what can be called **true reflexives**, *NP*'s are relevant. We therefore include the reflexives here in the *NP* chapter rather than with the *VP*, with which they also have much in common.

We distinguish three basic classes of verbs which may take the conjunctive reflexive pronouns (*me*, *te*, *nos*, *os*, *se*) in agreement with the subject of the sentence. The three verb classes are:

1. The **true reflexives**, comprising transitive verbs which may be used either reflexively or nonreflexively, with the pronoun, depending on the case, representing either a direct object or an interest object:

acostar	lavar	poner
acercar	levantar	quitar
alejar	despertar	sentar
bañar	detener	vestir

etc.

2. **Inherent reflexives**, including intransitive verbs which are used only with the reflexive pronouns:

abstenirse	dignarse
arrepentirse	jactarse
atreverse	quejarse
devenirse	súcidarse

etc.

3. **Optional reflexives**, comprised of transitive and intransitive verbs which may occur with or without the reflexive pronouns. With these verbs, depending on the case, the reflexive use may or may not have a noticeably different meaning from the nonreflexive:

desayunar(se)	dormir(se)	callar(se)	quedar(se)
pasear(se)	ir(se)	decidir(se)	tardar(se)
reír(se)	parecer(se)	entrar(se)	estar(se)
sonreír(se)	salir(se)	morir(se)	etc.
volver(se)	caer(se)	olvidar(se)	

For the true reflexive class, the definition of reflexive is based on deep structure rather than on surface form. Reflexive is a condition within a sentence in which the noun of the subject is the same, in both phonetic shape and reference, as that of some other *NP* in the sentence. That is, if the *N* of the subject is the same as the *N* of the direct object, the interest object or the object of a preposition, the sentence is reflexive. Hence the term "reflexive", since the action performed by the subject is somehow reflected back on the subject.

In these terms, *Carlos se levanta* is considered to have the same grammatical structure as *Carlos levanta la mano*, but since the direct object is the same as the subject, the sentence is reflexive. Thus the deep structure of *Carlos se levanta* is equivalent to *Carlos levanta a Carlos*. An example of a reflexive sentence where the subject is the same as the interest object is *Carlos se pone el abrigo* (parallel to *Carlos (le) pone el abrigo a Pepe*), for which the deep structure is *Carlos pone el abrigo a Carlos*. The same generalization holds when the subject is the same as the object of a preposition: *Carlos habla consigo* (parallel to *Carlos habla con Pepe*) has the deep structure *Carlos habla con Carlos*. (It is possible, but extremely rare, for the subject *NP* to be the same as the *NP* of *prednom*. The surface form of a deep structure like **María es María* would be *María es ella misma*.)

A distinction must be made between true reflexive uses, like *Carlos se levanta*, where *Carlos* is clearly both the actor and the acted upon, and a group of significantly similar sentences containing verbs like *alegrar*, *causar*, *irritar*, and *mejorar*, in which it is often improper to suggest that the surface subject is both actor and acted upon. In *Carlos se enoja*, for example, with the meanings "Carlos gets angry", it would be illogical to insist that *Carlos enoja Carlos* is the deep structure because it is often something else that causes the anger (cf. *Carlos se enoja con su hermano*). When these verbs have meanings like, "become happy", "get tired", "get angry", etc., therefore, we consider that they are derived from the *se* passive rule. They have deep structures like [+*pro*] *alegra Carlos passive*.

Note, however, that most verbs of this type can have either the reflexive or the passive interpretation. Thus, for example, *Pepe se cansa* can mean

either "Pepe gets tired", or "Pepe tires himself". This ambiguity in meaning is reflected by the two deep structures implied by the *se* passive and the reflexivization rules, i.e., [+*pro*] *cansa Pepe passive* for the former, and *Pepe cansa Pepe* for the latter.

Our grammar utilizes several rules to derive the several variations of the true reflexive sentences. The reflexivization rule identifies the sentence as reflexive and adds a disjunctive reflexive pronoun at the proper place. The second rule, called the **reflexive complement rule**, adds the form *mismo* to emphatic reflexive objects. The first of these rules will change the deep structure equivalent of *Carlos levanta Carlos* into that of *Carlos levanta sí*. If the second *Carlos* has [+*emph*] feature, the second rule will produce *Carlos levanta sí mismo*. (The personal *a* transformation, which is a later rule, will, of course, add *a* to derive *Carlos levanta a sí mismo*.)

In order to derive sentences containing conjunctive reflexive pronouns, we need only apply the conjunctive *DO* and *IO* pronoun rules, and the [+*pro*] deletion rule, if appropriate, and we produce either *Carlos se levanta a sí mismo* or *Carlos se levanta*, depending on whether [+*emph*] is present. In the same way, we produce the parallel *IO* sentences, such as *Carlos se pone el abrigo a sí mismo* and *Carlos se pone el abrigo*.

The first of the applicable rules, reflexivization, asks whether the subject is the same as any other *NP* in the sentence. If it finds a second *NP* identical to the subject, it adds to the feature complex of the second *NP* a [+*refl*] feature, and it makes the second *N* a pronoun by adding the [+*pro*] feature, as follows:

REFLEXIVIZATION:

SD: W [+*N*] X [+*V*] Y [+*N*] Z
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Condition:⁶¹ 2 = 6

SC: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 → 1 2 3' 4 5 6 7
[+*pro*]
[+*refl*]

⁶¹ The condition should be understood to require that the nouns representing the first and second *NP* be the same not only in phonological shape, but also have the same referent. Thus the two instances of *hombre* in the sentence *El hombre miró al hombre* must refer to the same man in order that the reflexive condition hold. Otherwise, sentences like *Ese hombre quiere matar a este hombre* would become reflexive, although the reflexive condition is not present in this sentence, the two *nombres* referring to two different people.

It might also be pointed out in passing that, in order that rules such as this operate, the general theory must stipulate that when a feature like [+*X*] is added to a matrix containing [-*X*] (or the reverse, if [-*X*] is added to [+*X*]), the result is a change of sign. When [+*X*] is added to [+*X*] or [-*X*] is added to [-*X*], no change takes place. Thus the reflexivization rule changes [-*pro*] matrices to [+*pro*, +*refl*...], but simply adds [+*refl*] to [+*pro*] matrices.

Paradigm:

mi	ti		si
$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -pl \\ \pm emph \\ +I \\ +refl \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -pl \\ \pm emph \\ -I \\ -polite \\ +refl \end{bmatrix}$		$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm pl \\ \pm emph \\ -I \\ -II \\ +refl \end{bmatrix}$
		or	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm pl \\ \pm emph \\ -I \\ -II \\ +refl \end{bmatrix}$
nosotr-	vosotr-		
$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm masc \\ +pl \\ \pm emph \\ +I \\ \pm fem \\ +refl \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \pm masc \\ +pl \\ \pm emph \\ +I \\ \pm fem \\ +refl \end{bmatrix}$		

Because the emphatic disjunctive reflexive pronouns are normally followed by the reflexive complement mismo, we need a rule which adds it to the appropriate sentence. Mismo, of course, must agree with the emphatic reflexive pronoun in number and gender:

REFLEXIVE COMPLEMENT:

SD: W NP X V Y Z

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
					$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +pro \\ \alpha masc \\ \beta pl \\ +emph \\ \gamma fem \\ +refl \end{bmatrix}$	Z

Condition: none
 SC: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 → 1 2 3 4 5 6 $\begin{bmatrix} \alpha masc \\ \beta pl \\ \gamma fem \end{bmatrix}$ mism-

The Y elements in the reflexivization and reflexive complement rules permit them to apply to direct object cases (in which Y would stand for the determiner or for nothing), to interest objects (in which, e.g., Y = NF det), or to NP as object of preposition (e.g., Y = NP a NP prep, etc.). The rules therefore operate to change the deep structure equivalents of

Carlos levanta Carlos.
 Carlos pone el abrigo a Carlos.
 and Carlos habla con Carlos.

to the equivalent of

Carlos levanta a sí mismo.
 Carlos pone el abrigo a sí mismo.
 Carlos habla consigo mi, mo.

Because the condition that 2 = 6 in the reflexivization rule implies that the two N's are the same in all features, the rules apply equally well to cases with first and second person pronouns. That is, Yo levanto yo would be changed, if the second yo is [+emph] to the equivalent of Yo levanto a mí mismo.

These two rules cover only the disjunctive reflexive pronouns, like Traigo el dinero conmigo, Carlos levanta a sí mismo, etc. However, since we have included the [+refl] feature in the SD of the conjunctive DO and IO pronoun rules (cf. pp. 73, 76 above), these rules also operate to introduce reflexive conjunctive pronouns. The two reflexive rules must be ordered before the conjunctive pronoun rules in order for the process to function.

Therefore, the procedure for Carlos levanta Carlos, if the second Carlos is [+emph], is as follows:

- Carlos levanta Carlos
- Carlos levanta sí reflexivization
- Carlos levanta sí mismo reflexive complement
- Carlos se levanta sí mismo conjunctive DO pronoun

If the second Carlos is [-emph], the operation is slightly different

- Carlos levanta Carlos
- Carlos levanta sí reflexivization
- Carlos se levanta sí conjunctive DO pronoun
- Carlos se levanta [+pro] deletion

Remember that these examples are simply shorthand notations for the structures being treated. Full notation would include all the features:

$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -pro \\ +masc \\ -pl \\ -emph \\ -comm \\ +anim \\ +hum \\ \dots \\ \text{Carlos} \end{bmatrix}$	$[-perfv] [-past]$	$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +NP \\ \dots \\ \text{levantar} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -pro \\ +masc \\ -pl \\ -emph \\ -comm \\ +anim \\ +hum \\ \dots \\ \text{Carlos} \end{bmatrix}$
---	--------------------	---	---

$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -pro \\ +masc \\ -pl \\ -emph \\ -comm \\ +anim \\ +hum \\ \dots \\ \text{Carlos} \end{bmatrix}$	$[-perfv] [-past]$	$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +NP \\ \dots \\ \text{levantar} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -N \\ +pro \\ +masc \\ -pl \\ -emph \\ -comm \\ +anim \\ +hum \\ +refl \\ \dots \\ \text{si} \end{bmatrix}$	reflexivization
$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -pro \\ +masc \\ -pl \\ -emph \\ -comm \\ +anim \\ +hum \\ \dots \\ \text{Carlos} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ +masc \\ -pl \\ +refl \end{bmatrix}$	$[-perfv] [-past]$	$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +NP \\ \dots \\ \text{levantar} \end{bmatrix}$	conjunctive DO pronoun
	se			

We will continue to use the shorthand because it is much less cumbersome, but keeping in mind the implied presence of the features.

The person representations ([+I], etc.) are included within the forms treated by the conjunctive and reflexive rules, and the rules thus cover all occurrences of the conjunctive and disjunctive true reflexives. All of the following examples have thus been accounted for:

<i>nonreflexive</i>	<i>reflexive</i>
Te pondré la chaqueta.	Me pondré la chaqueta.
Levanté la mano.	Me levanté.
Hago esto para ti.	Hago esto para mí mismo.
¿Vas conmigo?	¿Traes la plata contigo?
Me ven en el espejo.	Se ven en el espejo.
Lo mataron.	Se mataron a sí mismos.

An understanding of the interplay of these rules should allow the reader to specify whether a given use of any pronoun is reflexive or not, DO or IO, [+emph] or [-emph].

Having identified the foregoing as true reflexives and treated at some length the first of the three classes of reflexives listed on pp. 81-82, we must recognize that the second class, called **inherent reflexives**, differs from the true reflexives in that, although the reflexive pronouns themselves are the same in both cases, in the inherent reflexives the pronouns are not derived

from the condition in the deep structure in which the subject and another noun are the same. Verbs of this class are always used with the reflexive pronouns, without any logical or semantic justification for its inclusion. That is, although the se of Carlos se levantó is direct object, and that of Carlos se puso la chaqueta is an interest object, no such association can be made for the se of Carlos se quejó. Verbs of the inherent reflexive class have a [+refl] inherent feature in the lexicon, and there is a rule (which also covers the use of the third class of reflexives) which inserts the correct pronoun in the proper position in a sentence containing one of those verbs:

INHERENT REFLEXIVE PRONOUN INSERTION:

SD: X $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ \alpha pl \\ \beta I \\ \gamma II \\ \delta polite \end{bmatrix}$ Y $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +refl \end{bmatrix}$ Z

1 2 3 4 5

Condition: none

SC: 1 2 3 4 5 → 1 2 $\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ \alpha pl \\ \beta I \\ \gamma II \\ \delta polite \\ +refl \end{bmatrix}$ 3 4 5

Paradigm:

$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -pl \\ +I \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ -pl \\ -I \\ +II \\ -polite \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} se \\ +pro \\ \pm pl \\ -I \\ +II, +polite \\ -II \end{bmatrix}$
$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ +pl \\ +I \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +pro \\ +pl \\ -I \\ +II \\ -polite \end{bmatrix}$	

The third class of reflexive verbs differs from the second in that in the latter the reflexive pronouns are obligatory, but in the former they are optional. Class 2 and class 3 are alike in that in neither case does the reflexive pronoun represent any kind of reflexive object in the underlying structure, as it does for the class 1 true reflexives. Both class 2 and class 3 utilize the

inherent reflexive pronoun insertion rule to introduce the proper conjunctive pronouns.

Class 3 is handled much like class 2, except that class 3 verbs are marked [\pm ref] rather than the [$+ref$] marking of class 2 verbs. If morir or ir is inserted as a [$+ref$] verb, the reflexive pronoun will be added by the rule, with se murió or se fue as the result. If the words are inserted as [$-ref$], the rule does not apply, and we have murió or fue.

The fact that some of the verbs of class 3 have different meanings when they are reflexive presents no special problem, since, as is the case with traditional dictionaries, the lexicon must be able to assign different meanings to different uses of each word. An illustrative case would be volver, which means principally "turn" when it is used transitively, and "return" when used reflexively.

Although class 3 will be marked [\pm ref], and class 2 [$+ref$], class 1 will have no such specification in the lexicon, because the inherent reflexive rule does not apply to the true reflexive cases.

Another large group of verbs seem superficially to fit with group 3 because they may be used with or without the reflexive pronouns. There include usages like Carlos se comió un sándwich, Jorge se ha llevado mis libros, and Mi madre se ha comprado un abrigo de pieles. However, such sentences are considered to contain examples of the so-called dative of interest (i.e., IO) and are therefore examples of class 1 structures, parallel to Me pondré la chaqueta, and José le compró el carro a Pepe.

Since interest objects vary widely in their meaning, however, it is often difficult to classify many occurrences of the reflexive conjunctive pronouns. It seems quite probable, in fact, judging from the increasingly frequent and varied use of the reflexive pronouns, that the Spanish language is rapidly moving in the direction of allowing [$+ref$] feature to be added to any verb in the language, giving the speaker the option of intensifying in any one of several ways the relation of the subject to the action.

Before leaving the reflexives, we should note that Spanish grammars usually distinguish reciprocal constructions from reflexives, because sentences like Las muchachas se miraron en el espejo can be used both when the girls looked at each other and when each looked at herself. It is probably better, however, to consider sentences like this to have just one deep structure that can be used in two types of situations (just as nosotros can be used both when the listener is included and when he is excluded) and say simply that Spanish does not normally express the difference between the two situations. If necessary, Spanish speakers may signal the difference by adding an adverbial expression like mutuamente, recíprocamente, uno al otro, etc. Because there seems little justification for separating them, therefore, we will not consider reciprocals to be grammatically different from reflexives.

Special Conjunctive Pronoun Problems

The classification of the se of Carlos se comió un sandwich presents us with a basic dilemma: If, as we have suggested, this se comes from IO in the same way that Se puso la chaqueta does, we are faced with the necessity of providing for two IO's in the deep structure, because there are such sentences as Carlos se me comió el sandwich, in which me is unquestionably from IO. We could, despite the interest implication of se comió vs. comió, classify comerse as an inherent reflexive of class 3 and thereby resolve the dilemma, but there are, in fact, other clear examples of two IO's occurring in a sentence. The following examples taken are from Holton, 1960:

¡ No me le calientes la oreja a la muchacha!
¡ Buena paliza nos le están poniendo al hatío!

The number of examples we will find like comerse is potentially quite large, because reflexive interest object can be added to almost any verb, e.g., Te me has llevado la pluma, Carlos se me ha robado el coche, etc.

The best solution seems to be to add another IO to the basic verbal rule. Since all of the examples we have of two IO's occur with transitive verbs and since all potential two IO occurrences with intransitives can probably be classed as class 3 reflexives plus one IO (e.g., Se nos esta saliendo el agua de la tinaja), we will tentatively add the new IO with the direct object in the verbal rewrite:

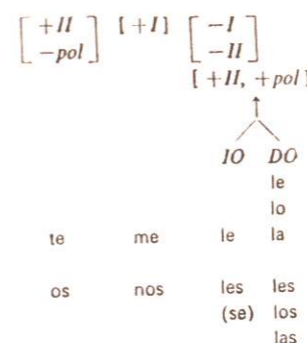
verbal \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} V (NP \text{ (passive)}) (IO) \\ \text{cop prednom} \end{array} \right\} (IO) \text{ (comp)}$

The addition of this second IO has the secondary advantage of permitting the inclusion of the few examples of three conjunctive pronouns occasionally heard. Póntemelo is one such case: The interest meaning of both te and me appears to support the inclusion of two IO's in the verbal.

A more serious problem is raised by Holton (op. cit.), who points out that the common assumption that a conjunctive interest object always precedes a direct object is belied by the facts. He cites the following counterexamples from various literary works:

Todos nos apresuramos a su encuentro y nos le reunimos...
No te me indisciplines, porque, gobernador y todo, te meto en orden.
Allá me le juntaré yo, en la tribuna de la derecha.

He suggests that the proper order of conjunctive pronouns is represented schematically as follows:



What this amounts to is that se, regardless of its source, always comes first if it occurs, followed by a second person, a first person and/or a third person pronoun, in that preferred order. Since our rules produce the IO-DO order, we must add a rule for the readjustment of special cases. Two rules are needed, and they are listed below. They merely require that any occurrence of third person followed by first person or second person be reversed, and the same for second followed by first. Although the details have not been worked out, se should need no special adjustment, because the ordering of the applicable rules (se passive, impersonal, and the conjunctive pronoun rules) can work to place all se's to the left of all other pronouns.

CONJUNCTIVE PRONOUN ORDERING:

a. SD: $\left[\begin{array}{c} -I \\ -II \end{array} \right] \left\{ \begin{array}{c} +I \\ +II \end{array} \right\}$
1 2

Condition: none

SC: 1 2 \rightarrow 2 1

b. SD: $\left[\begin{array}{c} +I \\ +II \end{array} \right] \left\{ \begin{array}{c} +I \\ +II \end{array} \right\}$
1 2

Condition: none

SC: 1 2 \rightarrow 2 1

The Use of Spanish Se

We have now covered all of the basic constructions in which the ubiquitous form se occurs. It is often helpful to look at all of its uses together, even though they occur in some unrelated constructions. We have identified the following uses of se:

1. To mark the se passive construction:
El cuento se escribió en Francia.

- Al chico se le ha perdido la cartera.
2. To mark impersonal sentences:
No se debe salir antes del profesor.
En España se come muy tarde.
4. As direct object reflexive pronoun:
Los vagos se levantan tarde. * (cuasi-refl)
La chica se mira en el espejo.
4. As an interest object reflexive pronoun:
¡Quítete el sombrero!
Esa muchacha se manda cartas.
5. As a variant of the indirect object pronouns le and les when followed by a pronoun with initial l-:
¡No se lo digas a tu padre!
Se lo entregué a ustedes ayer.
6. As an obligatory pronominal adjunct to the inherent reflexive verbs:
Se arrepintió de su descortesía. *
¿Usted se atrevería a usar el paracaídas? * (pseudo-refl)
7. As a pronominal adjunct to a group of optional reflexive verbs, with or without a concomitant difference in meaning:
Se me ha muerto el gato. \rightarrow dative
Mi madre ya se ha ido. \rightarrow pseudo-refl

In the course of our discussion of these topics, we have had occasion to allude to various possibilities for the simplification of our rather complex analysis of Spanish pronouns. The uses of se seem to present especially subtle problems of interpretation. The two areas which present the best possibilities for simplification are in the se passive and in what we have called the inherent reflexives.

For understandable reasons, Spanish shows a preference for the impersonal rather than the passive construction when verbs expressing intentional actions have animate deep direct objects. That is, if one wanted to say "Carlos was found in Barcelona", he would say Se encontró a Carlos en Barcelona in preference to Carlos se encontró en Barcelona, because the latter would more readily be interpreted as a reflexive, meaning "Carlos found himself in Barcelona". Similarly, A Adán y a Eva se les expulsó del Edén is preferred over Adán y Eva se expulsaron del Edén.

There is a parallel in the preferred interpretation of sentences like El libro se escribió en 1906 as passive rather than as true reflexives. It would be illogical to suggest "El libro escribió el libro en 1906 as the deep structure of this sentence. [+pro] escribió el libro passive en 1906 is a better reflection of its meaning.

The apparently complementary nature of these tendencies leads one to suspect that the se passive construction might be collapsed together with