

structure. So a man who is sitting in his patio *Está en casa*. To locate him physically in the building one must say *Está en la casa*. The noun *misa* exhibits the same dual potential. *Ir a misa* describes the activity of the person as a participant. These patterns pose serious problems for the student because English makes the same type of distinction but not in all of the same instances. English distinguishes between *to go to jail*, *to go to the jail*; *to go to school (college)*, *to go to the school (college)*; *to go to market (work)*, *to go to the market (work)* while Spanish does not. All of these patterns take the definite article in Spanish. English and Spanish are alike in *to go to class*, *mass (ir a clase, misa)* and *to be at home (estar en casa)*. Much more research on both languages is needed before useful generalizations can be developed.

All patterns which are built around the verb *tener* require special attention. A simple statement that one entity does or does not have another does not require the speaker and the hearer to establish common focus on the entity mentioned. No article, as a result, is used, and the number is indicated by the noun suffix (*La casa no tiene patio, baño, chimenea, luces eléctricas; ¿Tiene Vd. lápiz, pluma, clavos, tornillos?*). However, when the speaker desires the hearer to focus his attention on a specific entity, the articles are used in the normal fashion (*Señores, yo tengo aquí una pluma; ¡María! ¡Tengo la casa!*).

The discussion, up to this point, has given no specific attention to the number suffixes and to the precise significance of singular and plural. It has been shown that the Spaniard counts entities and, in addition, considers each number from the point of view of the difference between totality and partitiveness. However, except for the generic whole, totality is a relative concept which can be defined only by mutual agreement between the speaker and hearer. The definite article, consequently, performs a dual function. It indicates, first, totality, and, second, that this total is defined by the shared experience or knowledge of the speaker and the hearer. The indefinite article, in contrast, indicates that the speaker and hearer have no shared experience or knowledge of the entity mentioned.

Attention must now be directed to the fact that the definite article has two forms, the singular and the plural, while the indefinite article has only one form, the singular. The plural, consequently, stands in contrast with all numbers, either private or public, which are greater than one. It may contrast with any free form (*los hombres* versus *unos hombres* or *tres hombres*). It may also stand in contrast with the plural suffix, a private and partitive number (*Los hombres están allí; Hay hombres allí*). This pattern is not duplicated when dealing with

the singular noun. The answer to *¿De qué hablan Vds.?* may be *Hablamos de mujeres*, but it cannot be *Hablamos de mujer*. At the initiation of common focus one may exclaim, *¡Caramba! ¡Son tigres!*, but if there is only one, the Spaniard says, *¡Caramba! ¡Es un tigre!* In other words, the zero suffix of singularity does not perform the same function as the overt suffix of plurality. The two forms, in isolation, stand in minimal contrast with each other (*hombre, hombres*), but their syntactic combinatory potentials are not based on the differences indicated by their suffixes. The Spaniard, as just demonstrated, may initiate common focus with an unmodified plural noun (*¿Qué compraste? Compré camisas.*). He does not do this with an unmodified singular noun. He uses the indefinite article (*¿Qué compraste? Compré una camisa.*). This basic difference in combinatory potential indicates that the contrast between singular and plural is not entirely mathematical. The plural suffix, to be sure, always indicates more than one and less than all (a private number). However, it does not follow inevitably that the singular form must stand for one. It may, in fact, be mathematically neutral, that is, have no number value whatsoever. It has none as a label (*Hoy es domingo*) nor as a modifier (*la ropa de mujer; ir a pie*). In actual communication the mathematical opposite of the plural suffix is not the zero suffix of the singular but the indefinite article. This article, then, performs three functions: (1) it is an overt mark of number, (2) it indicates that the noun labels the subject of discourse, and (3) it tells the hearer that he has not been in previous common focus with the speaker on the entity. This, in brief, is the difference between *la ropa de mujer* and *la ropa de una mujer*. In the first example *mujer* does not represent a countable entity and is not the subject of discourse. In the second there is a countable entity (*una mujer*) which is the subject of discourse.

English and Spanish share the same public numbers and both have a system of private numbers. There are, however, very few precise parallels. The English plural, contrary to Spanish usage, may stand for the generic whole (*Men are mortal*) or a partitive (*I hear men out there*). *Many* and *very many* match *muchos* and *muchísimos*. *Varios* is like its cognate only when difference is implied (*Various parts of the mechanism*) but more like *several* or *numerous* when counting is the dominant element (*Le dió varios golpes*). *Several*, however, can sometimes be matched only by *unos cuantos* (*Well, he did say it several times; unas cuantas veces*). *Pocos* is equivalent to *few* in *He has few friends (Tiene pocos amigos)* but a *few* is matched by *unos* or *algunos* in *He has a few friends*. *Algunos* is more like *some* in *There are some who do it* while *some* in *There are some machines that*

don't work matches *unas* better. *Some* has no equivalent in *Do you want some?* (*¿Quieres?*), and is very frequently matched only by the plural suffix: *Look, there are some sheep on the road (Mira, hay ovejas en el camino)*. The English negative plus *any* (*I haven't any*) normally has no overt Spanish equivalent for *any* (*No tengo*).

The private, non-Arabic numbers, rather obviously, cannot be mastered by trying to match them with their English equivalents. The student needs to have an understanding of the Spanish system. It is based on two concepts. First, although each private number may represent a great range of public numbers, some have a definite range of their own. Thus *muchos* is larger than *unos*, and *pocos* is smaller than *muchos* or *unos*. Three numbers, however, exhibit no clear-cut difference. They are *unos*, *algunos*, and *varios*: *Traigo aquí unos (algunos, varios) libros que le interesarán*. Second, each number may have a comparative function, that is, it may stand for a number either larger or smaller than the one previously mentioned. From this point of view the system is based on a scale of ascending and descending numbers, and each acquires a new dimension. Thus *unos*, as the plural of *uno*, has an ascending value. *Algunos*, in contrast, has an opposite value. It is a descending number which may be equivalent to *pocos* (meaning a few). This descending value reaches the ultimate when the singular form combines with a negative to create a pattern which is more emphatic or forceful than one containing *ninguno* (*Se fué sin decir palabra alguna*).

These distinctions are by no means sharp. That the Spaniard, nevertheless, is aware of them is demonstrated by his preference for *algunos*, rather than *unos*, in obvious reductions of totality (*Algunas de las señoras protestan*).

Up to this point the present section has dealt with count entities and their modification by morphemes of number. Usage has been explained in terms of the Spaniard's mathematical organization of reality. This same organization explains another problem in dealing with count entities, namely, the syntactic position of certain descriptive adjectives.

An unmodified noun has an infinite referential potential; it can stand for all of the entities which may be so labeled. The definite article combines with it to indicate totality. When a descriptive adjective is added to this complex, there are, quite clearly, two possible mathematical interpretations of the resulting consequences. It may be assumed, first, that the adjective describes all of the entities labeled by the noun or, second, that it describes only some of the entities labeled by the noun. In other words, the complex may represent two quite different totals: an absolute total, equivalent to the total referential potential of the

noun, or a sub-total, equivalent to the total number of entities actually exhibiting the attribute defined by the adjective. The adjective, under these conditions, has two potentials: one expresses totality and the other partitiveness. This difference is not indicated by any formal feature of the adjective. It can, consequently, be marked only by syntactic position.

When the definite article marks totality and a descriptive adjective describes all of the referents of the noun, the adjective precedes the noun. Bello's oft quoted example, *las mansas ovejas*, says that all sheep are gentle. Changing the pattern to *las ovejas mansas* implies, first, that only some sheep are gentle and, second, that the total under consideration is that defined by the partitive function of post-position. The same contrast appears in these examples:

Los blancos cabellos de don Hugo. (All his hair is white.)
Los cabellos blancos de don Luis. (Some of his hair is white.)¹

The contrast is the same with the singular article and measure entities: *la blanca nieve* (all white); *la nieve blanca* (some is dirty).

The function of syntactic position shows up even more sharply when the entity described is unique. Compare:

La linda mujer de don Felipe. (He has one wife.)
La mujer linda de Ibn Ali. (He has more than one wife.)

Under these conditions the position of the adjective in *el famoso autor de Don Quijote* is readily explained. There is only one author of *Don Quijote*, Cervantes.

In all these examples syntactic position serves to restrict the totality marked by the definite article. Position reinforces the basic mathematical notions of all, some, one unique, and one of many. With preposition established as an additional mark of totality and post-position as a contrastive mark of partitiveness (relative to the referential potential of the noun), it is possible to explain the position of a great many descriptive adjectives.

There is a very large number of adjectives (probably the vast majority in the language) which can never describe all the entities labeled by any given noun. All men cannot be Spanish; all problems cannot be astronomical; all books are not interesting, and all nations are not republican. As a result, any adjective which cannot describe all of the

¹ For visual aids to teach these examples and many other of the grammatical problems discussed in this book, see William E. Bull, *A Visual Grammar of Spanish* (University Extension, University of California, Los Angeles, 1962). (472 posters and a manual of instructions; produced under contract with the United States Office of Education.)

referents of its noun is regularly placed in post-position: *el hombre español, el ácido acético, los problemas internacionales, las mujeres industriales*. This principle holds even when the noun is modified by a partitive number: *un hombre español, muchos problemas internacionales, pocas mujeres industriales*. This comprehensive generalization eliminates the need for a special rule on the position of adjectives of nationality. It also explains why a majority of descriptive adjectives regularly follow their noun. Attention, however, should be given to the purely statistical aspect of this last statement. It is not a rule of usage. What happens in the majority of cases does not tell the student what to do in each individual instance.

In teaching the student where to place descriptive adjectives great care needs to be taken to remind him that a noun, when properly modified, can refer to a large number of different totals. As a result, an adjective which may not describe all the entities covered by the infinite referential potential of the noun may very well describe all of the entities of some restricted total. All flowers, for example, are not white, but all the flowers in a particular garden may be (*Las blancas flores de su jardín*). Position, then, is relative to the total number of entities under immediate consideration and to the number to which the adjective applies. Consequently, a change in the number of entities under consideration may make it possible to place the adjective in either pre- or post-position. If, for example, the subject of discourse is restricted to Colorado, then, *Me gustan las altas montañas de Colorado* is appropriate. On the other hand, if various mountain ranges are under discussion, the adjective *altas* will have a partitive function and the statement would be *Me gustan las montañas altas de Colorado*. Under these circumstances it is possible for two individuals to organize the same reality from contrasting frames of references and to create patterns which, superficially, appear to be in conflict. It must be remembered that each speaker organizes reality in his own personal way. He does not, moreover, have to be either accurate or even honest. *Las hermosas mujeres de Tehuantepec* sustains a legend, but does not describe all of the facts. *Las gloriosas tradiciones de nuestra república* may well be a politician's little white lie.

The discussion, up to this point, has been centered around the Spaniard's mathematical organization of only one set of entities, namely, those that can be counted. Attention must now be turned to how measure entities fit into the general mathematical approach to reality.

A measure entity, by definition, cannot be counted or be organized in terms of the number system. This means that a noun standing for

a measure entity cannot be modified by a morpheme of number, either by any free form or by a number suffix. In other words, a noun representing a measure entity cannot be plural or, by extension, singular. It must be numerically neutral. As a consequence, only two of the mathematical notions applied to count entities are transferable to measure entities: the contrast between totality (all) and partitiveness (some). The definite article marks totality (*El agua se compone de dos elementos; La harina se hace de trigo; Me gusta la mantequilla*). Partitiveness cannot be marked by any number morpheme, not even the indefinite article. It is shown, consequently, by zero (*Me falta harina; No hay agua por aquí; No tengo cambio; Necesita oxígeno; Demanda dinero*).

The Spaniard, as in the case of count entities, must initiate and maintain common focus on measure entities. The definite article indicates either the generic whole (*El oxígeno es un elemento*) or an amount of which the speaker and hearer have some shared experience or knowledge (*¿Dónde está el agua que trajiste?*). Zero indicates an amount on which the speaker and hearer have not previously placed their mutual attention (*Te he traído agua, vino, y pan*).

The existence of two sets of entities which have distinct combinatory potentials poses serious problems for the student. He must be made to understand, first of all, that the difference between count and measure entities must not be projected onto nouns (the linguistic forms). Only confusion results from talking about count and measure nouns. This is further compounded by the fact that a fair number of nouns have ambivalent potentials; they may stand for either a count or measure entity. The noun *vino*, for example, may stand for the fermented juice of the grape, a measure entity, or for a kind of wine (sherry, port, burgundy, chablis, etc.), a countable entity. The form *vino* has no formal feature which can serve as a referent differentiator and differences in meaning, as a result, must be indicated by some overt feature of the context.

It is obvious that any number morpheme must indicate that an ambivalent form stands for a count entity and, also, that all number morphemes stand in contrast with zero as referent differentiators. Thus *Es un vino* refers to a kind of wine (a count entity) while *Es vino* does not.

The various meanings of an ambivalent form are not totally unrelated to each other. In many instances, however, one cannot be predicted from the other. Thus *agua* stands for H₂O, a measure entity. In contrast, the pluralized form *aguas* may stand for (1) mineral or medicinal waters: *aguas mineromedicinales*; (2) ocean currents: *las*

aguas del mar; (3) the wake of a ship: *las aguas de un buque*; (4) the trail of a smuggler: *seguir las aguas de un contrabandista*, or (5) in *entre dos aguas*, a figurative equivalent of doubt and perplexity (*con duda y perplejidad*). Similarly, the plural suffix (or any number morpheme) changes *amor* (love) to *amores* (love affairs), *polvo* (dust) to *polvos* (powders), *alteza* (height) to *altezas* (highnesses), etc.

When the entity under consideration exists in two forms, for example, a natural amorphous mass and products manufactured from it, the mass is treated as a measure entity and the product is, of course, a count entity. So *tiza*, the mass, is chalk, but *una tiza* is a piece of chalk; *pan* is bread and *panes* loaves of bread; *papel* is paper while *papeles* stands for sheets of paper. There are many other similar shifts: *goma* (rubber), *gomas* (erasers); *lata* (tin), *una lata* (a tin can); *vidrio* (glass), *vidrios* (panes of glass); *carbón* (charcoal), *carbones* (charcoal pencils), etc.

It was pointed out in the case of *vino* that kinds are countable while wine, in the general sense, is not (*¿Hay vino para todas las comidas?* versus *¿Hay vinos para todas las comidas?*). The same type of difference appears in *Es sal* and *Es una sal*. Differences in kind are associated, in the Spaniard's thinking, with differences in quality. Any measure entity, theoretically, may vary in quality or characteristics. For example, *sal común* (table salt) may be good or bad, and this permits the use of the indefinite article with descriptive adjectives (*Vendemos una sal buena*). The difference in quality, however, does not lead to the notion of multiple entities. *Sal buena* and *sal mala* do not add up to *dos sales*.

The difference between count and measure entities explains numerous patterns of usage. *Ninguno*, which derived from *ni uno*, is not used in speaking of measure entities except in double negatives. *Ninguna agua salió* is not acceptable Spanish; *No salió agua ninguna* is. However, many speakers even avoid this combination and use the numerically neutral modifier *alguno* (*No salió agua alguna*).

A somewhat similar restriction appears in the use of *todo* which, in the case of count entities, has a strong individualizing potential: *Todo hombre lo sabe* (*Every man knows it*). Spanish, in contrast with English, does not use *todo* to indicate the generic whole. The equivalent of *all* (*all water, all butter*) is the definite article (*el agua, la mantequilla*). However, when common focus has been established in terms of a portion of the whole, this restricted totality, indicated by the definite article, may be further modified by *todo* (*Toda el agua se botó; Toda la mantequilla está rancia*).

All adjectives of amount which deal with measure entities must, of course, be numerically neutral. Care should be exercised, consequently, not to confuse the student by treating adjectives like *poco* and *mucho* (*poco dinero, mucho dinero*) in the same fashion as *alto*, *gordo*, or *malo*. The latter change forms to agree in number with their nouns. The former change forms in terms of the kind of entity being talked about. In other words, *alto* is the singular of *altos* (*un hombre alto; unos hombres altos*), but *poco* (*poco polvo*) is not always the singular of *pocos* (*pocos polvos*).

Spanish has no adjective which is equivalent to the English ambivalent form *some*. *Some* combines with either count or measure entities (*some men, some money*). The normal equivalent of *some* is zero (*Do you have some money?; ¿Tiene Ud. dinero?*). When greater precision is needed, a noun indicating quantity is used (*un poquito de carne; una cantidad de azúcar*, etc.).

The basic difference in the treatment of measure and count entities may be summarized as follows. Measure entities are labeled by a numerically neutral form of the noun. They may be organized from the point of view (1) of totality, expressed by the definite article (*El agua se compone de dos elementos*), (2) of partitiveness, indicated by zero or adjectives of amount (*Hay agua en la mesa; Hay poca agua por aquí*), and (3) of the negative *not any*, expressed by the negative adverb (*No hay agua en la mesa*) and reinforced by *alguno* (*No hay agua alguna aquí*).

Count entities are labeled by numerical forms of the noun, singular or plural. Totality is expressed in two ways, with either the singular or plural forms (*El hombre es mortal; Los hombres son mortales*). All partitive concepts are numerical, and there are two, instead of one, as in the case of measure entities (some and one of many). This provides an extra contrast, the difference between one unique and one of many. Finally, the negative may be formulated in three ways: (1) a general negative (*No hay hombre que lo pueda hacer*), (2) the negative of some (*No hay hombres aquí*), and (3) as not one (*Ningún perro ladró*).

REVIEW

1. Define public and private numbers.
2. What are the two mathematical potentials of every public number?
3. In what way are all and some like one unique and one of many?
4. What modifiers can restrict numbers?

5. What is the mathematical difference between the two articles?
6. Prove that all public numbers are partitives.
7. What is the significance of the fact that all numbers may contrast with the definite article?
8. Does English consistently mark totality? Spanish?
9. To make communication successful, the Spanish speaker and hearer agree on what three things?
10. What is meant by common focus?
11. Who initiates common focus?
12. What is the role of the definite article or a demonstrative in the initiation of common focus?
13. Does English always mark one unique? Spanish?
14. What makes an entity unique?
15. In terms of basic functions, is there any difference between the singular and plural definite article?
16. How are unshared entities and numbers treated at the initiation of common focus?
17. How is common focus maintained?
18. What are the three prime functions of a noun?
19. What is the significance of the fact that the article is third person?
20. What is pedagogically wrong in defining the use of the articles in terms of exceptions to English patterns?
21. Are special rules needed to describe the use of the articles with titles, days of the week, month, etc.? Why not?
22. What is the difference between *Está en presidio* and *Está en el presidio*?
23. Does *¿Tiene Vd. cepillo?* establish common focus?
24. What contrasts with the plural suffix?
25. Does a singular form of the noun always indicate one?
26. Can you describe the Spanish system of private numbers?
27. What is the significance of ascending and descending numbers?
28. In what way does the syntactic position of descriptive adjectives relate to the notions of totality and partitiveness?
29. What is a measure entity?
30. What indicates partitiveness when speaking of measure entities?
31. How can you tell whether a noun stands for a measure or a count entity?
32. Can a number morpheme modify a measure entity?
33. What is the precise difference between *poco*, *mucho*, *pocos*, *muchos*, and *malo*, *malos*?
34. In general, in what different ways does the Spaniard deal with count and measure entities?

se passive:

[+pro] terminó estas obras el año pasado
se passive

Impersonal:

→ Estas obras se terminaron el año pasado
[+impers] come bien en ese lugar
→ Se come bien en ese lugar, or
Comen bien en ese lugar

Remember also that nonreflexive disjunctive pronouns are produced in the PS rules as a result of the *N* feature development rules and lexical insertion, nosotros, for example, being inserted into the matrix [+N, +pro, +masc, +pl, ±emph, +I, +hum].

PRACTICE

1. List the transformations that have been applied to arrive at the following surface sentences. Indicate ambiguities.

Eleuterio se lo puso.
Usted se ha sentado en mi silla.
El profesor fue aburrido por la conferencia.
Ella se quejó de mí.
Se nos han olvidado los libros.
Ponen películas muy explícitas hoy en día.
Se habla español.
A mí no me gusta.
Yo lo vi a él ayer.
Tú me lo entregaste ya.

2. Including as much feature detail as you can, draw a tree representing the deep structure of the first four sentences of the previous exercise. Make two trees for ambiguous cases.
3. Find ten uses of *se* in different prose works and try to classify them in accordance with the criteria suggested in this chapter.

Determiners

The use of the word *determiner* to designate this category arises from the fact that when nouns in Spanish are alone they are indeterminate. That is, in sentences like *Necesito gasolina* and *Ese señor es médico*, nothing is overtly expressed about the quantity and type of gasoline (the speaker could be a general referring to the 1,000,000 gallons of jet fuel necessary to conduct a campaign, or a housewife needing a cupful of a cheap gas to clean a spot), nor about what kind or how good a doctor the man is. The determiners, thus are a class of Spanish forms which in a general way specify the noun with which they occur. The range of meaning of the determiners is large, and the structure is quite varied. Compare, for example, *Cómprame vino*.

Cómprame un vino, Cómprame el vino, and Cómprame un poco de ese otro vino.

The determiner in Spanish is an especially complicated structure which has not yet been exhaustively studied. The following five expansion rules for our partial grammar are offered as an attempt to provide a transformational characterization which, although it still requires further refinement, will allow us to account for most cases of the determiner in Spanish.

1. $det \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} indef (num) \\ def \left(\begin{array}{l} otr- \\ num \end{array} \right) \\ qual (otr-) \end{array} \right\}$
2. $indef \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} art \\ otr- \end{array} \right\}$
3. $def \rightarrow (frac) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} poss \\ dem \\ art \end{array} \right\}$
4. $num \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} card \\ ord \end{array} \right\}$
5. $frac \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} tod- \\ NP de \end{array} \right\}$

One way in which these rules are inconsistent with current theory is in the lack of subcategorization in terms of features. Let us assume that, by convention or by rule, each of the terminal grammatical elements (but not lexical items like *otr-*) in these rules is replaced by a corresponding feature matrix (e.g., [+art], [+card], [+poss], etc.). We may also assume that the possessives are further broken down for person and number (i.e., [+poss] → [±I, ±pl]) and the demonstratives for proximal (*este*), medial (*ese*), and distal (*aquel*).⁶³

The first of our new rules establishes the three basic elements which make up the determiner category: *indefinite*, *definite*, and *qualifier* (*indef*, *def*, and *qual*). The indefinite determiner has two representatives (cf. rule 2), the indefinite article (*un*, *una*, etc.), and *otro*, either of which, as rule 1 states, may be followed by a number (e.g., *una segunda vez*, *otros tres libros*). It is used, as the name implies, when the determination of the noun is not definite, that is, not restricted to any one item in a class of referents: *Un hombre te ha llamado*.

The definite determiners, on the other hand, although they have other uses, basically serve to specify which of all the possible referents for the

⁶³ Contreras suggests that possessives should be transformationally derived from sentences containing possessive phrases somewhat as follows:

El libro es de ti
→ El libro de ti
→ tu libro

This scholar has made the best attempt to date to deal with the Spanish determiner in terms of features in his 1968 article, which, however, covers fewer cases.

accompanying noun is implied: Ese hombre te ha llamado. As is established by rule 3, the definite determiners consist of possessives, demonstratives, and the definite article (*poss, dem, art*), with the option of otro or a number following. Under *def* are included *tus mil quejas, esos otros bichos, and las otras veces*. Furthermore, any of the definite determiners may be preceded by an element expressing some fraction of the indicated quantity or group. The *frac* element in *def* is intended to account not only for such phrases as *todos estos libros* and *todo el día*, but also for such potentially complex fractions as those in *una enorme cantidad de este vino* and *un poco de esta leche*. The semantic content of the *NP* under *frac* is necessarily restricted to expressions of measurement which are compatible with the accompanying noun. *Cada* is included under *def* because it seems to be definite in its determination of *cada día* and *cada hombre*, and because it patterns like other definite determiners (e.g., *cada otro día, cada tres días, cada tercer día*).

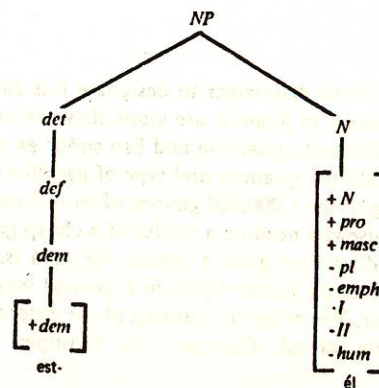
The list of lexical items which contain the [+*qual*] feature and which may be used as qualifying-determiners is as follows:

mucho	tal
poco	cierto
bastante	semejante
demasiado	cualquier
tres, etc.	sendos
varios	
alguno	
ninguno	
más	
menos	
tanto	
<i>frac</i>	

The list, which is intended to account for the determiners of such expressions as *algunas veces, muchas otras ideas, tanto gusto, cualquier día, etc.*, includes many words expressing quantity or extent (first column). Most of the words of this group, in fact, may also occur as adverbs of extent (e.g., *trabajo demasiado*) and as intensifiers of adjectives and adverbs (*bastante loco, más tranquilamente, etc.*). There is probably a grammatical relation, which we will not pursue further here, which could specify the connection between all such expressions of quantity or degree. The term *qualifier* is used for these determiners, rather than *quantifier* or *extent*, in order to include the items in the second column, whose semantic contribution is not so clearly related to quantity, but which participate in the many of the same distributions as the rest of the group.

We have included *frac* in the list of qualifiers, although it is not properly a lexical item, in order to cover, if somewhat informally, *NP* expressions of quantity without an intervening *def*: Compare *tres litros de gasolina*, which is *frac N* deriving from *qual N*, and *tres litros de esta gasolina*, which

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comes from *frac def N*. The *frac* under *qual* also includes the rather rare expressions like *todo hombre*.

This description does not account for transformationally shifted determiners, as in *el libro ese* and *un hombre cualquiera*, and it ignores *demás* and the words *mismo, único, and propio*, which seem to pattern somewhat like determiners (*el mismo día, la única vez, tu propio libro*), but which might be better classed with the adjectives.

Nominalizations

At the beginning of this chapter we dealt first with the various pronouns which are derived from the *N* category. They were treated as if they occurred alone, not preceded by a determiner. When determiners were treated in the preceding section, they were considered only in combination with nouns (i.e., [+*N*, -*pro*, ...]). We must now consider structures which consist of a determiner followed by a segment having, among other features, [+*pro*].

When the sole representative of an *NP* is an *N* which has a [+*pro*] matrix, the lexical item which is inserted for this matrix is one of the pronouns which may represent an entire noun phrase. For example, depending on the syntactic environment (and on which transformations are applied), a matrix consisting of at least [+*pro*, +*masc*, -*pl*, -*I*, -*II*] will be represented in the surface structure by *él, sí, lo, le, or se*.

However, if such a matrix is accompanied in the *NP* by another element like a determiner, the [+*pro*] matrix serves, not to represent by itself the whole *NP*, but to nominalize (or we could also use the term *pronominalize*) the remaining elements of the *NP*. In other words, if *det* accompanies a [+*pro*] segment, whatever the *det* contains becomes the representative of *NP*, and a new type of pronoun is formed. The so-called demonstrative pronouns, for example, are formed in this way. The deep structure of *éste* in *Éste es mi libro* is:

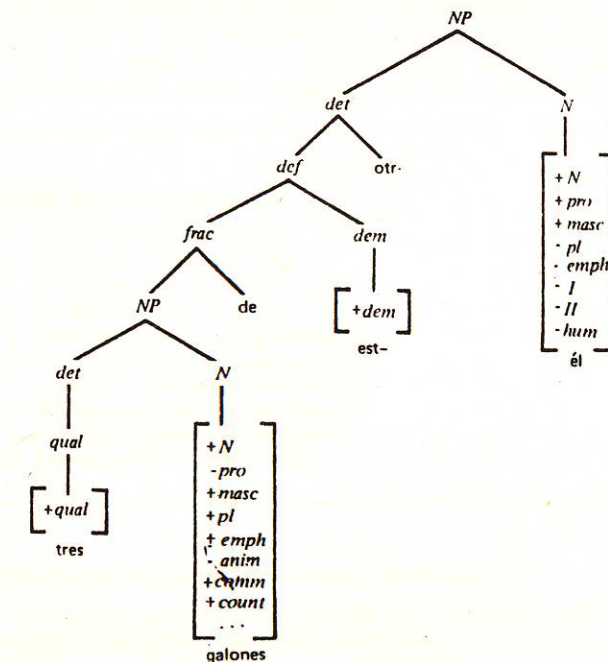
The way this combination is brought to its surface form, *éste*, is first through the application of the determiner agreement rule, which copies onto the determiner matrix the features for gender and number, and then through the application of the by now familiar rule for [+*pro*] deletion, which deletes the whole [+*pro*] matrix, leaving only the *este* matrix, which now contains the proper gender and number features for interpretation by the morphophonemic component.

By reviewing the complicated structure of the determiner, it should become evident that the pronominalization procedure just described will apply not only to the demonstrative pronouns, but to just about any determiner combination.

Here are some examples:

- el otro
- todos los tres
- muchos
- ninguno
- mi tercero
- un poco del segundo
- tres galones de este otro

The deep structure of the last example may be illustrated as follows:



(325)

Since we can have [+*pro*] for any *N*, the galones position could also be [+*pro*], with the result: *tres de este otro*.

Although this type of pronominalization will apply to most combinations of *det*, it is not universally applicable. It cannot apply, for example to *cada* when it is alone, nor to the definite article alone.⁶⁴ Furthermore, it may not apply when *frac* is the only representative for *det*. These variations may possibly be accounted for by lexical selectional restrictions, but they are probably due to inadequacy in our formulation and would be cleared up by more careful study of the problem.

We are not yet prepared to discuss other noun modifiers in detail, but it will be seen in due course that this same view of nominalization will apply to *NP*'s containing other modifiers (e.g., adjectives, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses), and will thus also account for *estos nuevos, los de Roberto, las que tú mencionaste, and the like*.

There are a series of neuter nominalizations parallel to *éste, el nuevo, las de Carlos, and el que necesito* which have as their surface structure *esto, lo nuevo, lo de Carlos, and lo que necesito*. These expressions are derived exactly like their counterparts having gender and number, except that they have a neuter [+*pro*] segment representing *N*. The structure of *esto* is thus *est-* followed by [+*N*, +*pro*, -*masc*, -*fem*, -*pl*, -*I*, -*II*, -*hum*]. *Lo nuevo, lo de Carlos, and the like*, are derived in the same way from the definite article followed by a neuter [+*pro*] segment and by a noun modifier (which is obtained in a manner as yet unspecified).

The neuter nominalizations are much more restricted in their distribution than those having gender and number in that they occur only with the demonstratives and with the definite article, which must be accompanied by some other element in the *NP*.

Neuter nominalizations like *lo bueno* (e.g., in *Siempre prefiero lo bueno*) should be distinguished from the neuter *lo* of *¡Lo bueno que eres!*, which has a masculine adjective, (cf. *¡Lo muy buena que es tu novia!*) and which, together with noun expressions like *¡Lo poeta que te has hecho!* is transformationally derived from structures like *Tú eres bueno, Te has hecho poeta* (or, possibly, *Tú eres muy bueno and Te has hecho mucho poeta*).

Let us review all of the places in which [+*pro*] deletion is used in Spanish:

1. To account for subject ellipsis:⁶⁵
[+*pro*] vino ayer → vino ayer

⁶⁴ Lackstrom (1967, 51-52) suggests that *él, ella, etc.*, arise out of a fusion of the definite article and a proform somewhat similar to our [+*pro*] segments.

⁶⁵ If we were to follow the proposal for an object deletion in sentences like *Carlos está comiendo*, this would constitute a separate instance of [+*pro*] deletion.