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* Appended to this paper is a reply by James W. Harris, M.I.T.
The Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics is an informal publication of the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics at Cornell University. It is intended as a forum for presentation and rapid dissemination of current research by the faculty and students of the DMLL. Since the papers represent work in progress, comments and criticism are invited. All correspondence may be addressed to Working Papers in Linguistics, DMLL, 203 Morrill Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York 14853.

Due to the irregular schedule of publication, we cannot offer subscriptions. Brochures describing current issues as well as back issues will be sent to those on our mailing list.
This issue of the Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics, a special issue on Romance Languages, is affectionately dedicated to our colleague

Professor Frederick B. Agard
THE CLASSICAL ALEXANDRINE

John S. Bowers

Traditional analyses of French verse have generally assumed that the problem of stress in French verse does not belong to a theory of metrics, whose primary concern is the determination of the number of syllables which different lines may contain and a list of "allowable deviations" from the basic metrical rules. Any discussion of the role of stress in French verse is usually confined to a listing of the more important stress distributions found in the different kinds of lines and a discussion of the various "stylistic effects" which are achieved by each. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that, at least in the case of the Classical Alexandrine, there is a more complex metrical structure which is superimposed on the traditional one. Moreover, this structure is related in a rather interesting way to the problem of the role of stress in French verse. After discussing in detail the Classical Alexandrine, I shall make some brief remarks about the so-called "Romantic Alexandrine" and attempt to show that the difference between the two meters lies in a difference in their higher level metrical structures.

Throughout this paper I shall make use of the metrical theory developed by Halle and Keyser 1971. That is, I assume that a meter is an abstract pattern which is related to the sentences of an actual language by a set of Realization Rules that specify which sentences of the language qualify as particular realizations of a given metrical pattern. However, as I shall show, it is necessary to assign a great deal more structure to poetic lines than Halle and Keyser are willing to countenance. In particular, an adequate description of the Classical Alexandrine must make crucial use of the higher level categories 'foot' and 'hemistiche'.

As was mentioned above, the fundamental basis of French verse lies simply in the number of syllables which a line contains. This distinguishes French from other languages, such as English, German, and Russian, whose metrical patterns make crucial use of the notions "strong position" and "weak position." Thus, for example, in these lines by Verlaine:

(1) Il pleure dans mon cœur
    Comme il pleut sur la ville.
    Quelle est cette langueur
    Qui pénètre mon cœur?

it is easy to see, if the rules for the realization of e-muet are taken into account, that each line consists of exactly six syllables. The metrical schema for this sort of line, then, is simply:

(2) X X X X X X
where each position must be filled by one syllable. Now let us consider the stresses in (1). In the first line there are stresses on the second and last syllables. In the second line there are stresses on the third and last syllables. And in the third line there is only a stress on the last syllable. Moreover, if we examined other lines we would find stresses on the first, fourth, and fifth syllables as well. In fact, there appears to be only one generalization: there must be a stress on the last syllable of each line. Now suppose we were to represent this fact by introducing into the schema (2) a distinction between strong positions and weak positions (represented by S and W, respectively):

(3) W W W W W S

This would be a bad idea for two reasons. First, the schema (3) doesn’t tell us anything which we couldn’t get from the simpler schema (2) anyway. Second, (3) still will not allow us to say anything about the other stresses in the line. In other words, the introduction of the symbols S and W does not allow us to make any significant generalizations about the position of stressed syllables in a hexasyllabic line and is therefore unmotivated. It is clear, then, that if there are any generalizations to be captured about stress, we cannot do it by simply modifying the basic metrical patterns of French verse.

Let us turn now to the metrical pattern of the Classical Alexandrine. This meter is basically rather similar to (2), except that it is composed of twelve positions, rather than six. Also, there is a cesura between the sixth and seventh positions which effectively divides the line into two equal parts (hemistiches). This division is well motivated, as will become clear in the course of the exposition. Suffice it to note now that there must be a stress on the last syllable of each hemistiche. If this division was not specified in the metrical pattern, there would be no more reason for the realization rules to assign these obligatory stresses to the sixth and twelfth positions than there would for them to assign them to, say, the third and twelfth syllables.

This suggests that the metrical schema for the Classical Alexandrine must contain at least the following two rules:

(4) 1. L → H H
    2. H → X X X X X X

where 'L' stands for 'line' and 'H' stands for 'hemistiches'. We will then have representations such as (5) below.

We also have these two Realization Rules:

Rule 1: Each place must be filled by one syllable.¹
Rule 2: The last position in each hemistiche must be filled by a stressed syllable.

(5)

We noted above in discussing the verse (1) by Verlaine that there could be other stresses in the line, besides the obligatory one at the end of the line, but that the position of these stresses was unpredictable. The same is true of the Classical Alexandrine. Consider the opening lines of Racine's *Athalie*:

(6) Oui, je viens dans son temple / adorer l'Éternel;
   Je viens selon l'usage / antique et solennel.

In the first line there is a stress on the third syllable of each hemistiche, while in the second line there is a stress on the second syllable of each hemistiche. Moreover, a cursory glance through any Classical drama will reveal that any syllable in each hemistiche may be stressed, in addition to the obligatory stresses on the sixth and twelfth syllables. Again, the placement of stress would seem to be totally unpredictable. However, while it is true that the position of the stresses within each hemistiche cannot be predicted, it has been noted by M. Grammont 1960:9 that the number of stresses in each hemistiche is almost always predictable in Classical verse. In the vast majority of lines there is no more than one stress in each hemistiche, besides the obligatory stress on the last syllable. I shall show later that all the exceptions to this rule can be explained by using rules which are, in any case, independently motivated.

It seems, then, that we must add a third rule to the list of Realization Rules:

Rule 3: One position other than the final one in each hemistiche may be filled by a stressed syllable.

That this extra stress is not obligatory is shown by lines such as the following:

(7) Et que la vérité / passe la renommée!

   De cette inimité / Moi, vous haïr, Madame!
   (Racine, *Phèdre*)

in which the first hemistiche contains only the required stress on the last syllable.
However, the number of these lines is small in comparison with the number of lines which have exactly four phonetic stresses. Such facts do not seem coincidental, but if there is some sort of generalization here, it is obviously not expressed by a schema consisting of two hemistiches of the form (3) above, since there is no more reason for there to be exactly four stresses in the large majority of lines of Classical verse than there would for five, six, seven, or eight. Our suspicions are aroused further when we find in a very interesting section of Grammont's book (Grammont 1960:13-14) that French speakers intuitively feel that the four parts of a Classical Alexandrine line into which the four stresses divide it are somehow on a par. In other words, the four parts are felt to function as equal units, even when the parts contain unequal numbers of syllables. Thus in a line like the following from Lamartine:

(8) Ce sommeil / qui d'en haut / tomb/e avec la rosée/ (L'infini dans les cieux)

the two parts of the second hemistiche indicated by the slash are felt to be equal units, even though the first one has only one syllable and the second has five. So strong is this feeling that many French speakers, when they read Classical verse aloud, actually increase the length of the half-hemistiche which contains the fewer number of syllables so as to make it phonetically more nearly equal in duration to the half-hemistiche containing the larger number of syllables (Grammont 1960:86-94). Grammont discusses a large number of lines in which this factor plays an important stylistic role (1960:Ch. 1). For example, in the line just quoted, it is clear that if tomb(e) is felt to be equal to avec la rosée, the psychological effect will be to heighten the sense of falling which is expressed by the word tombe.

These facts constitute fairly convincing evidence that, metrically, something more than mere syllable counting is going on in the Classical Alexandrine. Although he realizes this, Grammont does not have an appropriate way of expressing the obvious generalization within a traditional theory of metrics which does not recognize the difference between an abstract metrical pattern and the Realization Rules which connect it to the actual sentences of a language. That these are metrical facts cannot be doubted, for there is certainly no evidence that in normal spoken French people tend to equalize the phonetic length of phrases ending in a stressed syllable which contain unequal numbers of syllables. The fact that they do this in reading verse seems to me to be similar to the fact that some English speakers, in actual performance, tend to read verse more as if there were a one-to-one mapping of metrically strong positions onto phonetic stresses.
In order to account for these observations, I propose to modify the metrical rules of (4) in the following manner:

\[(9) \quad 1. \quad L \rightarrow H \quad H \quad 2. \quad H \rightarrow F \quad F\]

I am thus claiming that each line of the Classical Alexandrine contains four units 'F' (where 'F' stands for 'foot') and that the line is furthermore divided into two hemistiches, each of which contains two feet. These four positions will then be filled in a way which will be specified by the Realization Rules. Evidently the cesura is still necessary, because we do not find lines divided up as follows (where each number represents one syllable):

\[(10) \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad / \quad 3 \; 4 \; 5 \quad / \quad 6 \; 7 \; 8 \; 9 \; / \quad 10 \; 11 \; 12 \; / \; /\]

That is to say, there must be a total of six syllables in each hemistich. There would be no reason for this to be true if we did not specify in the metrical schema that the line was divided into two hemistiches.

If this is the correct meter for the Classical Alexandrine, then the intuitions and stylistic effects discussed by Grammont are automatically accounted for. Each position in each hemistich will be filled with any number of syllables, as long as the total number is six. Thus, though linguistically a line may be divided up very unequally, metrically the four parts will be felt to have equal value.

Schema (9), however, is not intended to replace the traditional analysis. It represents a higher level of structure which is superimposed on the traditional one. Just as there are rules relating a metrical pattern to the set of sentences of a language, so there are rules relating the metrical schema (9) to the set of traditional meters. I say "set" here, because when the stress patterns of Classical Alexandrine lines are taken into account, the result is a set of possible meters. These rules are very simple:

**Rule I:** Each foot in each hemistich of the schema (9) is realized by any number of positions greater than zero.

**Rule II:** The total number of positions in each hemistich must be exactly six.

It is clear that the metrical rules (9) in conjunction with Rules I and II will generate 25 different 12-syllable lines of varying forms. These metrical patterns must then be related to the set of French sentences by another set of Realization Rules similar to Rules 1, 2, and 3.

Furthermore, we can now predict more accurately the placement of stress. Let us reformulate Rules 2 and 3 simply as follows:
Rule 2': The last position in each foot must be filled by a stressed syllable.

With these rules any regular Classical Alexandrine line containing four stresses can be accounted for in a satisfactory way. In particular, the second line in (6), for example, will be analyzed metrically in the following manner:

\[(11)\]

```
                  L
                 /  H
                /    \
               F      F
              / \    / \  \\
             X X   X X   X X
```

Similarly, line (8) will be analyzed as follows:

\[(12)\]

```
                  L
                 /  H
                /    \
               F      F
              / \    / \  \\
             X X   X X   X X
```

But now we are faced with the problem of explaining lines such as those in (7) which apparently do not contain one of the stresses our theory requires. If we keep the present formulation of Rule 2', then these lines are unmetrical. If we change Rule 2' so that the only obligatory stresses are those on the last syllable of each hemistich, then these lines will be five ways metrically ambiguous, since we will be able to divide the first hemistich into two feet in five different ways. Obviously neither of these conclusions is satisfactory. In order to account for these apparent exceptions, it will be necessary to consider the nature of the rules which assign stress in French. Then we shall be able to show that in order to explain the Classical Alexandrine meter, it is necessary to take into account not only the distribution of stresses in the final phonetic output of the phonological component, but also the distribution of stresses which exists at a more abstract level. The problem of stress in French metrics is thus similar to the problem of e-muet, which can only be described correctly if we take into account the underlying representation of lexical items in French.

In isolation every French word with the exception of Articles, Pronouns, Prepositions, and Conjunctions is assigned a stress on the last syllable (cf. Fouché 1969, Introduction, Part VI). Thus the primary rule of stress assignment in French is roughly as follows:
Rule A: Assign a stress to the last syllable of each word.

I am assuming here that "word" will be defined in such as way as to include enclitics and proclitics. For example, in the following sentences, the words *vous*, *me*, and *le* are proclitic and are therefore part of a single phonological word; stress is assigned only to the last syllable of the whole word:

(13) Vous me le donneriez.

Similarly in the following sentences with inverted pronoun subjects, the word *il* is post-clitic and is therefore treated as the last syllable of the word:

(14) Comment se porte-t-il?
(15) Vient-il?

There are also rules following Rule A which *disaccentuate* words under certain conditions. For instance, if a monosyllabic accented word of any kind is added to the end of sentences (14) and (15), then the accent on *il* will be suppressed:

(16) Se porte-t-il bien?
(17) Vient-il donc?

Similarly, any of the negatives *pas*, *rien*, *jamais*, etc. has the effect of suppressing the accent on the preceding verb-word:

(18) Je ne le vois pas.
(19) Elle ne vous donnera rien.

We shall simply lump all these rules together under the heading "Disaccentuation Rules." However they may be ordered with respect to one another, they must at any rate follow Rule A, which is all that we need to know for the purposes of this paper.

Bearing these rules in mind, let us examine more closely the exceptions to our metrical theory mentioned above. Consider the following line from La Fontaine:

(20) Que vous êtes joli, / que vous me semblez beau!
   *(Fables, I, 2)*

Phonetically this line contains only two stresses, one at the end of each hemistiche, and should therefore be unmetrical. But now
consider the stresses which are present in this line before disaccentuation has applied:

(21) Que vous ét/es joli, / que vous me semblez / beau! /

It will be seen that there are exactly four stresses. The line should therefore be considered by our theory and would have the following analysis:

(22)

```
     L
    /\  
  H   H
   /\  /\  
 F F F F F
 X X X X X X
```

The line analyzed above is typical of a great many lines written in the Classical Alexandrine meter, such as the following lines from Racine's *Phèdre*:

(23) Et quitt/e le séjour / de l'aimable Trézène./

(24) Dans le doux mortel / dont je suis / agité./

or the following from the same author's *Iphigénie*:

(25) Heureux / qui satisfait / de son humble fortune./

(26) Lib/re du joug / superbe / où je suis / attaché./

Phonetically there is no stress on *l'aimable*, *humble*, or *suis*, but in every case there was a stress prior to the application of the disaccentuation rules. The fact that people reading Classical verse tend to add stresses to lines like these at exactly the points predicted by assuming that the underlying word accents assigned by Rule A are metrically significant is a striking confirmation of the theory (Grammont 1960:87-94). On the one hand, if the structures generated by the rules in (9) did not represent correctly the metrical pattern of the Classical Alexandrine, we would not expect people to add stresses not present in their own speech to any of the lines discussed above at any place. On the other hand, there would be no reason for them to add a stress to *suis* in line (24) or (26), if it were not the case that it was the stress assigned by Rule A which was metrically significant.

I conclude then that we must take into account not only the phonetically realized stresses but also stresses which have been removed earlier in the phonological derivation of sentences, in order
to explain the metrical structure of the Classical Alexandrine. This means that Rule 2' must be modified in the following way:

Rule 2": The last position in each foot must be filled by a syllable which has been stressed at some point in its phonological derivation.

With this modified form of Rule 2' we can account for the apparent exceptions just discussed. But unfortunately Rule 2" itself immediately leads us into difficulties. What happens, for example, if we have a line which, prior to Disaccentuation, contains more than two stressed syllables? An example of such a line is the following:

(27) Et dans quels lieux, / seigneur, / l'allez-vous donc chercher? /

Before Disaccentuation has applied there are three stresses in the second hemistiche, one on vous, one on donc, and one on chercher. This means that we should be able to analyze line (27) in two different ways, since the end of the third measure could come after vous or after donc. Clearly the first analysis would be wrong since we would end up with this:

(28) . . . / l'allez-vous / donc chercher.

Notice, however, that it is necessary to exclude lines containing more than one phonetic stress in a foot, anyway, so that the following rule:

Rule 3': No syllable other than the final syllable in a foot may have a phonetic stress.

will automatically exclude analyses like (28).

There are two apparent exceptions to Rule 3' which need to be examined. The first kind occurs in lines like the following:

(29) Libre du joug / superbe / où je suis / attaché,

(30) Vit dans l'état / obscur / où les dieux / l'ont caché.  
    (Racine, Iphigénie)

Both of these lines contain a stressed syllable at the beginning of the first hemistiche, in addition to the two required stresses. The same thing can happen on the first syllable of the second hemistiche:

(31) De cette inimité / Moï, vous haïr, madame!  
    (Racine, Phèdre)

(32) Qu'on me laisse / et qu'Asálph / seul demeure / avec moi.  
    (Racine, Esther)
Clearly there is something special about the first syllable of a hemistiche. Halle and Keyser have defined a stress maximum for English as a syllable which has greater stress than the two syllables adjacent to it in the same syntactic constituent. This definition has the effect of leaving the first and last syllables of a line "free" as far as stress is concerned, since any syllable which does not have a syllable to the right or to the left of it is by definition not a stress maximum. Obviously this definition of stress maximum is not appropriate for French, because it would leave the last syllable free and we would then be unable to require that the last syllable be stressed. Suppose, however, that we modify this definition somewhat as follows:

**Def:** A stress maximum in French is a syllable which carries more stress than the preceding syllable in the same syntactic constituent.

Using this definition we can now revise Rule 3' slightly:

**Rule 3'**: No syllable other than the final syllable in a foot may be a stress maximum.

Now we can explain why lines like (31) and (32) are metrical. Because of the definition of stress maximum, the first syllable of each hemistiche is free with regard to stress. Rule 3' at the same time excludes false analyses such as (28).

Moreover, the condition that a stress maximum have more stress than the preceding syllable in the same syntactic constituent will automatically account for the second class of counter-examples alluded to above. This kind of line usually contains interjections, vocatives, or imperatives, which may occur anywhere. The following lines from Iphigénie are typical:

(33) Va, / dis-je, sauve-là / de ma prôpr/e faiblesse./

(34) C'est Achill/e. Va, pars. Dieux! Ulys/se le suit./

Line (33) is metrical because there is no unstressed syllable within the same syntactic constituent preceding dis. Similarly, in line (34), Va is permitted because the e-muet which precedes it does not belong to the same constituent. Also, pars is a stress maximum since the stressed syllable preceding it is not in the same constituent.

To sum up, although a stress maximum may only appear in the last syllable of a foot, the converse is not true. Rule 2" states that the last syllable of a foot must have been stressed at some point in its derivation, but it need not have been a stress maximum at the time. Also, of course, the last syllable of a foot can ultimately turn out to be stressless, in which case it is by definition
not a stress maximum. Thus the final syllable of a foot need not be a stress maximum, although it must have received a stress at some point in its phonological derivation.

An interesting confirmation of the proposed theory is that the rules combine in such a way as to explain why certain seemingly unmetrical lines exhibiting enjambement are in fact metrical. Consider, for example, the line quoted earlier:

(35) Qu'on me laisse / et qu'Asalph / seul demeure / avec moi. /

This line should be unmetrical since there is no stress on the last syllable of the first hemistich. However, before the rules of disaccentuation have applied, both Asalph and seul are stressed. Thus Rule 2" is satisfied. Seul does not constitute a stress maximum since it is the first syllable after the cesura. Hence Rule 3" is satisfied and the line is therefore metrical. Traditional theories have nothing to say about lines like these except that they are permissible in order to achieve "stylistic effects." It is perfectly true that the use of a line like this often has a stylistic effect, but it is also necessary to explain why this particular way of achieving a stylistic effect is permissible, while any number of other possible ways are not.

Enjambement is also found between the end of one line and the beginning of the next line, often producing apparently unmetrical lines:

(36) Car tu m'as supporté trop longtemps, car je suis

Mauvais, je noircirais tes jours avec mes nuits.

(V. Hugo, Hernani)

In the traditional theory there is no way of explaining why suis in the first line is unstressed. However, we know that it was stressed before Disaccentuation applied. Therefore the line is metrical according to our theory.

These examples are typical cases of enjambement in the Classical Alexandrine. If there is an unstressed syllable at the end of a hemistich, it is because its stress has been suppressed by some word in the next hemistich or line. There are a few counterexamples to this, such as the following line from Racine's Les Plaideurs:

(37) Voyez cet autre avec / sa face de carême.

which is simply unmetrical.

There remains only one set of apparent counterexamples to the theory I have been proposing. These are lines which contain only one stressed syllable, in one of the hemistiches, namely the one in the last position, and in which none of the other words in that hemi-
(42) Une reîne / n'est pas / réîne.sans la beauté / (Eviradinus)

in which the stress on the word pas has been suppressed by the word reîne in the next hemistiche. We also mentioned the following line of Racine's, which had to be classified as an unmetrical Classical Alexandrine, because the last word in the first hemistiche was not one which could ever have received a stress:

(43) Voyez / cet autre avec / sa face de carême /

Notice, however, that this line could be very neatly divided into three measures:

(44) Voyez cet autre / avec sa face de carême /

each of which contains four syllables. This kind of line is in fact typical of what is usually called the Romantic Alexandrine. Such lines are rare in Old French poetry and occur only as isolated exceptions in the 16th and 17th centuries, but they were firmly established by the Romantic poets Hugo, Théophile Gautier, and Sainte-Beuve (Kastner 1903:93-100). I shall propose that the metrical structure of these lines is given by the following rule:

(45) L —— F F F

Since there is no longer a hemistiche we would expect each position to be able to take virtually any number of syllables as long as the total number is twelve. This is in fact the case. The realization rules are roughly these:

Rule I': The second foot of (45) may contain any number of positions between 3 and 9.

Rule II': The first and last feet may contain any number of positions, as long as the total number of positions in the line is 12.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to test this hypothesis with absolute certainty because the Romantic Alexandrine never developed into a completely independent verse form. Thus in Hugo and the other poets of the Romantic school we find Romantic Alexandrines interspersed with Classical Alexandrines, the latter predominating in a ratio of about four to three (Kastner 1903:95). No poet ever wrote a verse completely in Romantic Alexandrines. Moreover, the Romantic poets observed a rule which required that the sixth position be filled by a syllable which had been stressed at some point in the derivation (Kastner 1903:97-98). For this reason many lines written in the Romantic Alexandrine meter are indistinguishable in our theory from
enjambed Classical Alexandrines. It is evident that at this point the Romantic Alexandrine was half-way between being a pure Classical Alexandrine and a pure Romantic Alexandrine. In the work of these poets the only way of deciding whether a line is a Romantic or Classical Alexandrine is on the basis of grammatical structure. Thus lines exhibiting grammatical parallelism like the following are undoubtedly Romantic Alexandrines:

(46) Tantôt légers,/ tantôt boiteux,/ toujours pieds nus!/
     (Musset, Sur la paresse)

(47) Tantôt des bois,/ tantôt des mers,/ tantôt des nées/
     (Hugo, Le sacre de la femme)

(48) Il est sans peur, / il est sans féinte,/ il est sans tache/
     (Ibid., La paternité)

(49) Ne plus penser, / ne plus aimer, / ne plus haïr/
     (Gautier, Thébaïde)

(50) À la très belle, / à la très bonne, / à la très chère/
     (Baudelaire)

(51) Je sais cela./ Je sais aussi / qu'on peut mourir/
     (Hugo, Le détroit de l'Europe)

(52) Où je l'ai vue / ouvrir son aile / et s'envoler./
     (Hugo, À Villequier)

After Hugo, however, this restriction on the last syllable of the first hemistiche was relaxed, and the Parnassians, Verlaine, and the Symbolists all used lines with completely unstressed syllables in the sixth position (Kastner 1903:98):

(53) C'est un sage, / c'est un superbe esprit / tranquille./
     (De Banville, Les Exils)

(54) Qui s'enivrent de la lumiére de midi./
     (Leconte de Lisle, Poèmes Tragiques)

(55) Elle passe, sous les rameurs assombrés/
     (Verlaine)

(56) De mes ennuis, / de mes dégoûts, / de mes détresses./
     (Ibid.)

(57) Chaque alouetté qui va et vient / m'est connue./
     (Ibid.)
I shall not discuss the rules relating the set of schemas produced by Rules I' and II' to French sentences. Obviously one of these rules requires that the last position in each foot be filled by a stressed syllable, but there are complications which I do not understand fully. The main point I wish to make is that the difference between the two kinds of Alexandrines is captured rather nicely by the different metrical structures generated by (9) and (45), respectively, though they share the requirement that there be a total of twelve positions at the lowest level of structure. It has often been noted that the Romantic Alexandrine seems "faster" than the Classical Alexandrine. If (45) represents the metrical pattern of the Romantic Alexandrine, then the reason for this is clear. The Romantic Alexandrine has to cover in three units a "distance" which the Classical Alexandrine only has to cover in four units. Clearly the former will seem to be hurrying to get to the end of the line in comparison with the more leisurely pace of the latter. If these observations are correct, then they lend further support to the theory proposed in this paper.

NOTES

1 I shall not be concerned with the rules for the realization of syllables in this paper, which are, of course, far more complicated than Rule 1. Cf. Kastner 1903, Chapter II, for a concise summary of these rules.

2 I shall assume that word-final e-muet which is pronounced in reading poetry, but not in standard spoken French, is inserted after the stress rules have applied. Note also that this rule is inapplicable in line-final position. A line-final e-muet is therefore not counted as a metrical syllable.
REFERENCES


Three past tenses occur in early Old French: the imperfect, the simple past, and a tense deriving from the Latin pluperfect which does not even have a name—so infrequent is it—but which Moignet (1958; 1973:258-9) calls simply "la forme en -re(t)". The goal of the present study is to provide a semantic description of each tense which fully differentiates each tense from the other two by means of Jakobsonian semantic features (cf. Waugh 1975). In this study, tense shall be understood as that verbal category which characterizes the relationship between the narrated situation and the speech situation (Jakobson 1971b; Waugh 1975:444-5).

Jakobsonian semantic theory is the basis of the present study. Although space does not permit a full explanation of the theory, a few of the major tenets shall be briefly stated. Jakobsonian theory holds that language exists for the purpose of communicating information; and since the conveying of meaning is the function of language, meaning is the central element in language to be studied. Basic to the theory is the notion of the linguistic sign, consisting of form and meaning. For every difference in form there is a correlative difference in meaning. No two forms, then, can ever have precisely the same meaning, although their meanings may be very similar. A Jakobsonian, then, is concerned with the description of the meanings of the various forms in a given language. This is done by using a set of six very abstract semantic features, first suggested by Jakobson and refined by van Schooneveld (1978). These six features are claimed to be valid for all languages. The use of semantic features enables the linguist to characterize the meanings of various forms in a precise way, much as the phonologist makes use of distinctive features to describe phonological units. If, for example, form A is marked for feature X, and form B for features X and Y, then the similarities in the usage of forms A and B can be attributed to the presence of feature X, whereas the differences can be explained by the presence of feature Y in form B and the lack thereof in form A. The comparison and contrast of meaning is important because language is a system of linguistic signs; since it is a system, no one sign can be completely understood unless it is viewed with respect to the other choices available. For example, the meaning of the imperfect in early Old French does not become completely clear until it is examined in relation to the alternatives available to the speaker of Old French—the simple
past and "la forme en -re(t)".

I have grouped together as "early Old French" texts written in Old North French in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. I have grouped these centuries together on the basis of both phonological and grammatical features: phonologically, the retention of -t ([θ]) in verb inflection, the diphthong [œi] not yet developed to [œ], and the presence of intervocalic consonants which later drop (as in mudet 'changed'); grammatically, the exclusive use of the imperfect subjunctive in both clauses of conditional sentences (it is only in the twelfth century that the imperfect indicative/conditional combination occurs), and the presence of the verb tense deriving from the Latin pluperfect which disappears after the end of the eleventh century.

Four texts have been chosen for use in this study: La Séquence de Sainte Eulalie from the ninth century, La Vie de Saint Léger from the tenth century, and La Vie de Saint Alexis and La Chanson de Roland from the eleventh century. These are virtually the only surviving texts in early Old French; besides these, the Jonas Fragment and the Passion du Christ date from the tenth century but have been eliminated from consideration here: the Jonas Fragment because it is a choppy mixture of Latin and Old French and lacks coherence, and the Passion because the heavy Provençal influence found in it makes it suspect as a source of data for Old North French.

In order to determine the differences between the past tenses, many examples will be presented so that the range of usage of each tense will be clear. Admittedly, the small body of material available for study may cast doubt on the validity of my conclusions as to the meaning of each tense; however, I am working on the assumption that the evidence we do have is a fair representation of early Old French. This, to be sure, is a large assumption; however, the alternative is to not analyze the language at all. We must work with what we have.

The following examples illustrate the use of the imperfect:

(1) E por o fut presentede Maximien,
Chî rex ERET a cels dis soure pagiens.

'And for this she was presented to Maximien, who was king in those days over the pagans.'

_Eulalia_, 11-12
(2) Al rei lo duistrent soi parent
Qui donc REGNEVET a ciel di.

'His parents took him to the king
Who was reigning then in those days.'  

Léger, 14-5

(3) Bons fut li siecles al tems ancienour,  
Quer feit i ERT e justisie ed amour,  
S'i ERT credance, dont or n'i at nul prout;

'The world was good in the time of the ancestors,  
for faith existed then, and justice and love,  
And there was belief, of which now there is no value'

Alexis, 1-3

(4) De la celeste li mostrat veritet,  
Mais lui ERT tart qued il s'en fust tornez.

'He showed her the truth from heaven;  
it was too late for him to be turned away from it.'

Alexis, 64-5

(5) Li bons serjanz quil SERVEIT volentiers  
Il le nonçat son pere Eufemien;

'The good servant who used to serve him willingly,  
He announced it to his father Eufimiens;'

Alexis, 336-7

(6) Vis ATENDEIE qued a mei repaidrasses

'I was waiting for you to come back to me alive'

Alexis, 389

(7) E de ta medre que n'AVEIES mercit?  
Por teim VEDEIES desiderer a morir?

'And why did you not have mercy on your mother?  
Did you not see me want to die because of you'?

Alexis, 438-9

(8) Li reis Marsilie ESTEIT en Sarraguce,  
Alez en est en un verger sus l'umbre

'King Marsile was in Saragossa,  
He went into a garden in the shade'

Roland, 10-11
(9) Sunjat qu'il ERET as greignurs porz de Sizer,  
Entre ses poingz TENEIT sa hastne fraisnine;  

'He dreamed that he was in the greater passes of the  
Col de Cize, In his fists he was holding his lance of  
ashwood;'  

Roland, 719-20

(10) Tut premerein l'en respunt Falsaron,  
Icil ERT frere al rei Marsiliun  

'Falsaron answered the very first,  
He was the brother of King Marsile.'  

Roland, 879-80

(11) Sire compainz, ja est morz Engeler;  
Nus n'AVIUM plus vaillant chevaler.  

'Lord friend, Engeler is indeed dead;  
We did not have a more valiant knight.'  

Roland, 1546-7

(12) Jo l'en cunquis e Escoce e Irlande  
E Engletere, que il TENEIT sa cambre;  

'I conquered both Scotland and Ireland with it,  
and England, which he considered to be his private domain;'  

Roland, 2331-2

(13) Si s'en VULEIT en dulce France aler,  
Par grant honur se fist rereguarder;  

'And he wished to go away to sweet France,  
With great honor he had himself guarded at the rear  
(i.e., assembled a rearguard)'  

Roland, 2773-4

(14) Ensembl'od els tels .xx. milie Franceis;  
N'i ad celoi n'i fierge o n'i CAPLEIT.  

'Together with twenty thousand such Franks;  
there is no one who does not strike and was not hacking.'  

Roland, 3161-2

In all of the above citations, the imperfect signals past time in  
a very broad sense; usually the verbal processes take place over  
a stretch of time and provide background settings against which  
other actions in the simple past (examples (1), (2), (5), (9),  
(10), (12), (13)) or in the passé composé ((8), (11)) take place.
(3) and (4) juxtapose a simple past and an imperfect which refer to exactly the same time period. The imperfect, however, emphasizes the stretch of time within the time period set up by the simple past. This distinction will be elaborated later.

(14) is somewhat different in that the imperfect is used in the same context as a present subjunctive ('there is no one who does not strike and who was not hacking'). However, the function of the imperfect is essentially the same as in the previous examples: it locates the narrated situation in past time and emphasizes the stretch of time during which the narrated situation was enacted.

The only contextual variant of the imperfect tense in early Old French is past time (unlike Modern French, in which the imperfect may also signal irreal or hypothetical situations; see Waugh 1975:459-61). The narrated situation is separated from the speech situation in terms of real or experienced time, that is, time about which the speaker or addressee has some first-hand knowledge. When a verb in the imperfect tense is used, then the narrated situation cannot be simultaneous with the speech situation; it can only be remembered by the speaker. Because the narrated situation is restricted from the speech situation, the name of the feature marking the imperfect tense is restrictedness. The imperfect tense is marked [+restrictedness]; it signals past time and gives no further information about the narrated situation beyond its location in past time. The imperfect may often signal the duration of a verbal event, but the durative interpretation is obtained because of the existence in the tense system of a past tense which denotes relatively more punctual or limited events: the simple past. The imperfect may refer to relatively limited time periods (such as examples (1) and (2), in which the verbal process is limited by "in those days"), but it does not do so invariantly (see example (8)). Even when the verbal process is limited by an adverb, the emphasis tends to be on the stretch of time within the limits given, rather than on the completion of the event, as is the case with the simple past, as we shall see below.

The simple past, or the preterite, is also marked for restrictedness (contextual variant: past time) plus one other feature. The following examples illustrate the more highly marked nature of the simple past:

(15) Buona pulcella FUT Eulalia.

'Eulalia was a good (virtuous) maiden.'
E por o FUT presentede Maximien,
Chi rex eret a cels dis soure pagiens.

'And because of that she was presented to Maximien,
Who was king in those days over the pagans.'

_Eulalia_, 11-12

La donnizelle celle kose non CONTREDIST:
VOLT lo seule lascier, si RUOVET Krist.
In figure de colombl VOLAT a ciel.

'The maiden did not object to that thing;
she wished to leave the world, so she called on Christ.
In the figure of a dove she flew to heaven.'

_Eulalia_, 23-5

Quant infans FUD, donc a ciels temps,
Al rei lo DUISTREND soi parent.

'When he was a child, at that time,
His parents took him to the king.'

_Léger_, 13-4

Reis Chielperics tam bien en FIST
De sanct Lethgier consilier FIST
Quandius al suo consiel EDRAT,
Incontra Deu ben s'i GARDA,
Lei CONSENTIT et OBSERVAT,
Et son regnét ben DOMINAT.

'King Chielperics did well in that
He made Saint Leger a counselor
As long as he followed his advice,
He was well protected from God,
He consented to and observed the law,
And ruled his kingdom well.'

_Léger_, 67-72

Rex Chielperings il se FUD morz.

'King Chieperics died.'

_Léger_, 115

Bons FUT li siecles al tems ancifnour

'The world was good in the time of the ancestors.'

_Alexis_, 1
(22) Puis icel tems que Deus nos VINT salver, 
Nostre ancelsoir OURENT crestiantet

'Ever since the time that God came to save us, 
Our ancestors had (accepted) Christianity.'

Alexis, 11-12

(23) Quant il ço SOURENT qued il foiz s'en eret, 
Ço FUT granz duels qued il DEMENERENT.

'When they found out that he had fled, 
It was great sorrow which they exhibited.'

Alexis, 103-4

(24) "Filz Alexis, por queit PORTAT ta medre?"

'Son Alexis, why did your mother bear you?'

Alexis, 131

Gent OUT le cors et les costez OUT larges. 
Tant par FUT bels tuit si per l'en esguardent.

'He had sparkling eyes and a very fierce face. 
He had a beautiful body and he had a broad chest. 
He was so handsome that all his peers look at him 
because of it.'

Roland, 283-5

(26) Venuz en est a la citet de Galne. 
Li quens Rollant, il l'ad prise e fraite: 
Puis icel jor en FUT cent anz deserte.

'He has come to the city of Galne. 
Count Roland has taken it and broken it: 
From that very day it was deserted for a hundred years.'

Roland, 662-4

(27) Un duc i est, si ad num Falsaron, 
Icil er frere al rei Marsiliun, 
Il TINT la tere Dathan e Abirum.

'A duke is there, his name is Falsaron, 
That one was the brother of King Marsile, 
He held the land of Dathan and Abiram.'

Roland, 1213-5
(28) Morz est li quens, de sun tens n'i ad plus.
Dient Franceis: 'Baron, tant mare FUS!'

Dead is the count, of his time there is no more.
The Franks say: "Lord, you were born in an evil hour."

Roland, 1603–4

(29) Ço dit Rollant: 'Bels campainz Oliver,
Vos FUSTES filz al duc Reiner,
Ki TINT la marche del val de Runers

'Thus says Roland: "Fair friend Oliver,
You were the son of Duke Reiner,
Who held the territory of the valley of Runers'  

Roland, 2207–9

The preterite describes actions which are more narrowly defined than those in the imperfect. It may be used for punctual actions, as in (16), (17), (20), and (22). Other actions, while not punctual in nature, are limited by some specific time period. This time period may be very large, but it is defined and is viewed as completed. For instance, in (15), although the verb links Eulalia to a general description of her character, we may understand her lifespan as the limiting factor--with an emphasis on the fact that at the time of telling, her lifespan was over. A similar interpretation may be given to fud in (16), where the state of childhood is the limiting factor. (26) sets up very large dimensions for the verbal process--a period of one hundred years, and the verbal process is finished, completed, from the point of view of the speech situation.

(25), (27), (28), and (29) all refer to situations which are not limited by time. In (25), a description is given of Ganelon just after he has heard Roland suggest that he go on a dangerous mission to King Marsile. Obviously, the sparkling eyes, handsome body, and broad chest were characteristics which Ganelon displayed at all times, not just during that particular situation. However, these qualities are especially important for the particular situation at hand, as they emphasize the stunning figure Ganelon made as he stood before the other Franks angrily to denounce his nephew Roland. The preterite, then, may delimit the verbal process by highlighting its importance with regard to a specific situation.

In (28) and (29), the simple past is used to draw attention to the death of the people in question--their lives are over, and the verb tense emphasizes that fact, even though the verbal process refers to a long stretch of time.
(27) is somewhat different. Here, the completed nature of the action is not what is being emphasized; rather, a contrast is implied between a certain stretch of time (given by the imperfect) and a relatively shorter one (given by the simple past). That is, Falsaron was Marsile's brother for a longer period of time (from infancy) than he held the lands of Dathan and Abiram. The simple past, then, can signal a verbal process which is relatively shorter in duration than another one. (16) shows the imperfect and simple past used in the same way.

The imperfect/simple past opposition of a relatively longer stretch of time vs. a relatively shorter stretch of time is exemplified in the next citations as well:

(30) Eufimiens, si OUT a nom li pedre,
Coms FUT de Rome, del mielz qui donc i ERET;

'Eufimiens, as the father had for a name,
Was a count of Rome, of the best who were there then;

Alexis, 16-7

(31) Sainz Innocenz ERT idonc apostolies.
A lui en VINDRENT e li riche e li povre.

'Saint Innocent was pope then.
To him came both the rich and the poor.'

Alexis, 301-2

When the imperfect and the simple past occur together in the same passage, the more usual contrast is between a relatively punctual action and a relatively durative one:

(32) Al rei lo DUINTRENT soi parent
Qui donc REGNEVET a ciel di

'His parents took him to the king
Who was reigning then in those days.'

Léger, 14-5

(33) Li chanceliers, cui li mestiers en ERET,
Cil LIST la chartre;

'The chancellor, whose duty it was,
he read the letter;'

Alexis, 376-7
(34) Er matin i SEDEIT li emperere suz l'ombre,
VINT i ses nies...

'Yesterday morning the emperor was sitting there in the shade; His nephew came there...'

Roland, 383-4

(35) Li arcevesque cumencet la bataille,
Siet el cheval qu'il TOLIT a Grossaille;
Ço ERT uns reis qu'il OCIST en Denemarche.

'The archbishop begins the battle,
He sits on the horse which he took from Grossaille;
He was a king whom he killed in Denmark.'

Roland, 1487-9

(36) Carles ESTEIT es vals de Moriane,
Quant Deus del cel li MANDAT par sun [a]ngle
Qu'il te dunast a un cunte cataignie;

'Charles was in the valley of Moriane,
When God from heaven commanded him by his angel
That he should give you to a count [who was a] captain,'

Roland, 2318-20

(37) Jo si nen ai filz ne fille ne heir,
Un en AVEIE, cil FUT ocis her seir.

'I thus have no son nor daughter nor heir,
I used to have one, he was killed yesterday evening.'

Roland, 2744-5

The imperfect and simple past contrast in another important way: sometimes the switch from simple past to imperfect signals a shift in focus on the verbal process. That is, a change from the simple past to imperfect represents a change from seeing the action in its past, completed state to seeing the action as it was actually happening in the past. Some examples will clarify my point:

(38) Bons FUT li siecles al tems ancienour,
Quer feit i ERET e justisie ed amour;

'The world was good in the time of the ancestors for faith existed then, and justice and love;'

Alexis, 1-2
In a thorough analysis preceding his *Grammaire de l'ancien français*, Moignet (1958:1-75) undertakes a study of the second preterite in its relation to the entire verbal system. It is the only such study, to my knowledge, which makes any attempt to differentiate the tense and to determine its function in relation to the other tenses. The following pages will summarize Moignet's analysis.

First of all, Moignet (1958:34-5) makes two interesting observations: one, that the tense appears only in the third person singular with the exception of a first person singular in Alexis (but only in manuscript V) and Thebes (the form mentioned previously, dure). No attestations exist of the first person plural or of the second person singular or plural. As for the third person plural, it is hard to tell, since the regular phonetic developments in French would have rendered the third person plural of the Latin pluperfect homophonous with the third person plural of the Latin perfect. For example, Latin habuerant and habuerunt would both have become aurent in early Old French. Since it is impossible to distinguish first and second preterites in the third person plural, Moignet eliminates these forms from the data.

The second observation is that only a handful of verbs can be found in the second preterite: avoir, estre, devoir, saveoir, poeir, voleir, fere, rover, veier, venir, prendre, mettre, ester, exardre, and descendre. With the exception of exardre 'to burn up', they are all verbs of high frequency; this reinforcement may explain the persistence of a tense rapidly becoming archaic.

In the *Eulalia*, a short sequence of only twenty-nine verses, there are six second preterites; Moignet (1958:36) says:

> Pour cinq d'entre eux, la valeur paraît claire:  
> on a affaire à des formes qui signifient antériorité chronologique ou logique d'une action ou d'un état par rapport à une action ou un état exprimé au prétérit défini.

In the first occurrence of the second preterite,

(40) Buona pulcella fut Eulalia,  
Bel AURET corps, bellezour anima;  
Voldrent la veintre li Deo inimi,  
Voldrent la faire diaule servir.  

'Eulalia was a good (virtuous) maiden,  
She had a beautiful body, a more beautiful soul;  
The enemies of God wanted to conquer her,  
They wanted to make her serve the devil.'

Eulalia, 1-4
Having a beautiful body and an even more beautiful soul is anterior to, and the cause for, the enemies of God wishing to conquer her.

In the next quatrain, a logical cause-and-effect relationship exists between the situation given by the second preterite and that given by the first preterite:

(41) Niule cose non la POUNET onques pleier
La polle non amast lo Deo menestier.
E por o fut presentede Maximien
Chi rex eret a cels dis soure pagniens.

'Nothing could ever persuade
The girl that she should not love the service of God.
And because of that she was presented to Maximien
Who was king in those days over the pagans.'

Eulalia, 9-12

Because she could not be bent away from her devotion to God, Eulalia was brought before Maximien, king of the pagans.

Verse 20 contains a similar cause-and-effect relationship:

(42) Elle colpes non AURET, por o no.s coist

'She had no sins, for this [reason] she did not burn'

Because she was sinless, she did not burn (lit., 'cook') when thrown into the fire.

A chronological sequence is given in the next verses:

(43) A czo no.s VOLDRET concresidre li rex pagniens;
Ad une spede li ROVERET tolir lo chief.
La domnizelle cels cose non contredist.

'The pagan king did not want to accept this;
With a sword he ordered her head to be cut off.
The maiden did not object to that thing.'

Eulalia, 21-3

The pagan king did not want to accept Eulalia's remarkable resistance to fire, so he ordered her head to be cut off with a sword; Eulalia did not object to this.

Only one use, as Moignet points out, of the second preterite does not conform to the idea of chronological or logical anteriority:
Por o.s FURET morte a grand honestet.

'For this she died with great honor.'

Eulalia, 18

The preceding context explains the evil king's failure to turn Eulalia away from God; after verse 18, the attempts by Maximien to kill her are given, along with her miraculous ascension into heaven in the form of a dove. Being put to death cannot precede, chronologically, the relating of the unsuccessful attempts on her life. Moignet (1958:38) explains it in this way:

Nous croyons que furet suggère bien une antériorité, mais non-chronologique: l'antériorité notionnelle de l'idée générale par rapport à ses développements particuliers. L'auteur pose l'idée de la mort d'Eulalie avec ce qui la caractérise: la grand honestet, puis en développe le récit en énumérant les péripéties particulières: l'épreuve du feu, le miracle, la nouvelle décision du roi, l'acceptation d'Eulalie, l'envol de la colombe. Nous verrons d'autres exemples de cette valeur de la forme en -re(t) dans une phrase générale, suivie de prétérits traduisant des faits particuliers.

In Saint Léger, chronological precedence can be seen in the following examples:

(45) Primes didrai vos dels honors
Quae il AURET ab duas seniors.
Apres ditrai vos dels aanz
Que li suos corps susting si granz.

'First I will tell you of the honors
Which he had from two lords;
Afterwards I will tell you about the very great pains
Which his body sustained.'

Léger, 7-10

(46) Un compte i oth, pres en l'estrit;
Ciel eps num AURET Evrui

'A count there was, he took up the quarrel about it;
That same one had the name Evrui'

Léger, 55-6

The man had been named Evrui before he became a count, and before his role in the sequence of events related in Léger.
(47) Reis Chelperics, cum il l'audit, 
PRESDRA sos meis, a lui.s tramist.

'King Chielperics, as he heard it, 
Took his messengers, he sent them to him.'

Léger, 85-6

Here, presdra is anterior to tramist but not to audit.

(48) El cors EXASTRA al tirant, 
Peis li promest ad en avant.

'It burned in the heart of the tyrant, 
He promised peace from then on.'

Léger, 191-2

The sequence exastra-promest is one of logical order. A logical sequence of attitudes can also be seen here:

(49) Ciel Laudebers FURA buons om. 
Et sanct Lethgier duis a son dom.

'That Laudebers was a good man. 
And he took St. Leger to his home.'

Léger, 197-8

The idea of anteriority may be expressed even in relation to the future tense rather than the preterite:

(50) Hor an aurez las poenas granz 
Quae il en PISDRA li tiranz.

'Now you will hear about the great pains 
Which the tyrant inflicted on him.'

Léger, 151-2

Moignet cites only one case in which the second preterite is not clearly anterior in some way:

(51) Et cum il l'aud tollut lo quev, 
Lo corps ESTERA sobre.ls piez. 
Cio fud lonx dis que non cadit.

'And as he had taken off his head, 
The body stood on its feet. 
It was a long time before it fell.'

Léger, 229-31
It is true that estera is not anterior to aud tollut, however, it is anterior to cio fud lonx dis.

In the Alexis, only three examples can be found of the second preterite, and two of these are in only one of the manuscripts. Only one form is shared by both MS L and MS V:

(52) Ne sai dire come il s'en FIRET\textsuperscript{5} liez.

'I do not know how to say how happy he became.'

Alexis, 125

Moignet (1958:42) feels that the author is using the second preterite for stylistic effect: emphasizing that the event took place in the distant past in relation to the moment of telling.

The other two examples, occurring only in MS V, show the second preterite in the apodosis with the imperfect subjunctive in the protasis:

(53) Se jou souse de desoz lo degré,
o as geut en longe enfermeteit,
trestote terre ne men SOURE turneir
o tei ensemble n'ousse conversé;
Se je pousse, si t'OUSRE costumé.

'If I had known about [the situation] beneath the stairs, where you have lain in long illness, all the earth would not have known how to prevent me from conversing with you; If I could have, I would have visited you.'

Alexis, 486-90

(MS L has the imperfect subjunctive here: soussé, oussé.) In these cases, the second preterite gives the outcome of a hypothetical situation—substituting, according to Moignet (1958:59-60), a "réel" for an "irréel", a pattern he cites in other Romance languages as well as in Late Latin:

(54) Se vivo fossi, troppo FORA.

'If you were alive, it would be too much.'

Dante, Inferno, 32, 90
(55)  S'eo fosse priete o ver frate minore,  
al papa FORA la mia prima andata.

'If I were a priest or a true Friar Minor,  
to the pope would be my first journey.'

Angiolieri, Son.  
109

(56)  Si fas fuisset, angelum de caelo EUOCAUERAM.

'If it were right, I would have called an angel  
from heaven.'

Greg. Tur.,  
Hist. Franc., V:18

Obviously, this pattern was not a great success in Old French, as  
only two examples can be found—and those in only one manuscript  
of the Alexis.

It should be noted that the *Passion du Christ* has a second  
preterite used in a similar way:

(57)  Amicx, zo dis lo bons Iesus,  
Per que.m trades in to baisol?  
Melz ti PURA non fusses naz  
Que me tradas per cobetad.

'Friend, so says the good Jesus,  
Why are you betraying me by your kiss?  
It would be better for you if you had not been born  
Than that you betrayed me because of greed.'

Passion, 149-52

All other examples in the *Passion* have the meaning of anteriority.

Having outlined Moignet’s article, I will explain how I  
think the features are working to produce such divergent uses  
of this tense.

That the second preterite is marked for restrictedness  
should be evident. In all of its uses, even the hypothetical  
one, it sets the narrated situation in the past with respect to  
the speech situation; see the citations listed above for con-  
firmation. In what other way can the tense be characterized,  
other than its location of the narrated situation in past time?

If we look at the examples in the *Eulalia*, it seems that the  
verbal process is limited in the same way as when the first
preterite is used:

(58) Buona pulcella fut Eulalia,
Bel AURET corps, bellezour anima.
‘Eulalia was a good (virtuous) maiden,
She had a beautiful body, a more beautiful soul’

Eulalia, 1-2

The second preterite is referring to the same limited time span as the first preterite. In the next lines,

(59) Niule cose non la POURET omque pleier
La polle sempre non amast lo Deo menestier.

‘Nothing could ever persuade
The girl that she should not love the service of God.’

Eulalia, 9-10

the presence of a negative plus the adverb omque (non + omque = 'never') usually results in the simple past when a past tense is called for. The adverb seems to call for dimensions to define the verbal process. It is beginning to look as if the second preterite may have dimensionality as well as restrictedness. In the next example,

(60) For o.s FURET morte a grand honestet

‘For this she died with great honor.’

Eulalia, 18

it also appears that the second preterite has dimensionality: her death was a fairly punctual event and is presented here as such. Elle colpes non AURET (20) follows the same explanation as Bel AURET corps; the dimensions may be large enough to cover her entire lifespan. Verses 21 and 22 also show dimensionality by giving punctual events:

(61) A czv no.s VOLDRET concreidre li rex pagiens;
Ad une spede li ROVERET tolir lo chief.

‘The pagan king did not want to accept this;
with a sword he ordered her head to be cut off.’

Eulalia, 21-2

Tenth and eleventh century occurrences of the second preterite do not contradict the marking for dimensionality:
(62) Primes didrai vos dels honors
Quae il AWRET ab duos seniors.

'First I will tell you of the honors
Which he had from two lords.'

Léger, 7-8

(63) Un compte i oth, pres en l'estrit;
Ciel eps num AVRET Evruî.

'A count there was, he took up the quarrel about it;
That same one had the name Evruin.'

Léger, 55-6

(64) Ciel Laudeberz FURA buons om,
Et sanct Lethgier duis a son dom.

'That Laudeberz was a good man,
And he took Saint Leger to his home.'

Léger, 197-8

The dimensions of the narrated situation may be narrow or large, as in the examples of the first and second preterites in the Eulalia.

Two parallel passages show how similar in meaning the two preterites are:

(65) Reis Chielperics tam bien en FIST
De sanct Lethgier consilier FIST.

'King Chielperics did well in that
he made Saint Leger a counselor.'

Léger, 67-8

(66) Et sancz Lethgiers den FISTDRA bien
Quae s'en ralat en s'eyesquet.
Et Eruuis den FISDRA miel
Quae donc deveng anatemaz.

'And Saint Leger did good
in that he went back to his bishopric.
And Evruins did evil
In that he became anathema.'

Léger, 121-4
Compare also se FURET morte from Eulalia (18) with:

(67) Il se FUD morz, damz i fud granz.

'He died, the loss was great.'

Léger, 51

All the verbs in these examples refer to well-defined events, events that took place either punctually or within a certain period of time.

The one line from the Alexis that occurs in both manuscripts uses the second preterite,

(68) Ne sai come il s'en FIRET liez

'I do not know how to tell you how happy he became.'

Alexis, 125

also manifests dimensionality since it gives a change of state ('became happy') and thus implies that boundaries separate the narrated situation from the previous state (not being happy).

Even the hypothetical uses of the second preterite have some sense of limitation:

(69) Se jou souse de desoz lo degré
    o as geut en longe enfermeteit,
    tréstote terre ne men SOURE turneir
    o tei ensemble n'ousse conversé;
    Se je pousse, si t'OURE costumé.

'If I had known about [the situation] beneath the stairs where you have lain in long illness, all the earth would not have known how to prevent me from conversing with you; if I could have, I would have visited you.'

Alexis, MS V, 489-90

He is speaking of these events as they pertain to a hypothetical past time—the time that Alexis spent at his father's house unrecognized, from the day he came there to the day he died. One could even include the line from the Passion du Christ where the second preterite has a hypothetical meaning:
(70) Melz ti FURA non fusses naz

'It would be better for you if you had not been born.'

Passion, 151

Here, the second preterite is correlated with being born—a punctual, or reasonably punctual, act. Thus, the dimensions are present even in hypothetical sentences, sentences in which the second preterite has been described as conditional in meaning.

So far, then the second preterite is marked [+dimensionality]. One more feature, however, separates it from the simple past. As Moignet has stated, the second preterite retains some of its former Latin meaning as a pluperfect—that is, it often signals either chronological anteriority or logical anteriority. Sometimes, as in the case of verse 18 of Eulalia, the event given by the second preterite may actually follow the events narrated in the following context, but it sets up a situation which alerts the reader/listener that something more is to follow. So, Eulalia's death is proclaimed; then the author looks up and gives details about how the death actually happened.

To take another example, if we return to

(71) un compte i oth, pres en l'estrit;
ciel eps num AVRET Evru

'A count there was, he took up the quarrel about it;
That same one had the name Evruin.'

Léger, 55-6

the presentation of Evruin's name can be seen not only in relation to the preceding verse (so that the establishment of Evruin's identity chronologically and logically precedes his involvement in the political quarrel), it also sets the stage for the rest of the narrative: Evruin is a key figure, Léger's arch enemy. The examples in which the second preterite presents a logical cause of a specific event, as in

(72) E1 cors EXASTRA al tirant,
Peis li promest en ad avant

'It burned in the heart of the tyrant,
He promised peace from then on.'

Léger, 191-2

also send the reader to further context for clarification.
The major uses of the second preterite, then, are these:

1. To express anteriority in relation to another event (pluperfect meaning)

2. To express a logical relationship to another event in the narrative (often with simple past meaning);

3. To give an outcome of a hypothetical condition (conditional or imperfect subjunctive meaning).

All of these uses present limited past or hypothetical events which refer the reader/listener to the surrounding context for fuller interpretation. The second preterite signals the importance of some other event, either because it is anterior to that event, or has some logical connection with the event, or fulfills a hypothetical condition.

Because the second preterite requires knowledge of the surrounding context for its interpretation, it is a relatively more deictic tense than the first preterite; unlike the first preterite, the second preterite places a past event in relation to another past event. One must then refer to the larger context in order to be able to interpret the second preterite. The second preterite, then, is marked [+deixis of context], in which the context is the immediately surrounding discourse.

If we apply this contextual deixis to the hypothetical uses, we find that the second preterite is used in the apodosis with an imperfect subjunctive in the protasis. The result clause, then, must be interpreted with respect to the irreal condition set up in the se-clause. Although restrictedness and deixis of context are well suited to such a construction, the dimensionality inherent to this tense perhaps explains why the occurrence in conditional sentences is not more widespread, since dimensionality has a limiting effect on the verbal process which is not usually compatible with imaginary situations. I suspect this same usage in Provençal and Spanish is due to the fact that the derivatives of the Latin pluperfect in these languages are not marked for dimensionality; however, only a thorough analysis could prove or disprove that hypothesis.

The Old French second preterite, then, is marked

[+dimensionality]
[+restrictedness]
[+deixis of context].
We now have three fully differentiated past tenses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>dimensionality</th>
<th>restrictedness</th>
<th>deixis of context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preterite I</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preterite II</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperfect sets the narrated event in past time but does not limit the action, either because the dimensions of the event are unimportant or because they do not exist. The simple past not only locates the event in past time, but also limits it in some way so that it is punctual, takes place within a specific time period, or is of relatively shorter duration than some other event. The second preterite presents a limited past even in relation to some other event in the context immediately preceding or following it. The relatively large number of past tenses, and the special demands made on both speaker and addressee by the preterite II, together with its phonetic similarity to the simple past, are perhaps the reasons for the disappearance of this tense.

Notes

1 For a more complete discussion of the theory, see Waugh 1975 and van Schooneveld 1978.

2 It is not inconceivable that future study will lead to further refinement of these features.

3 Although the future tense also removes the narrated situation from the speech situation, it does so in a completely different way. The past tenses are concerned with real time—time that has been experienced and is therefore verifiable. The future tense deals with projected time—time which has not been experienced and which cannot be verified. A different feature is used to characterize the future tense.

4 For the purpose of this paper, we could just as well say that the imperfect is marked [+past] rather than [+restrictedness]. However, the designation "past" is far too limiting, for past time is only one contextual variant of restrictedness. The
conditional tense, for example, manifests restrictedness, but not always in its interpretation of past time (see Waugh 1975).

Both fisdra (example (49)) and firet are dialectal variants of Latin FÉCERAT.

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List of Texts Cited

Ninth Century


Tenth Century


Eleventh Century


SPANISH PLURALS: A FURTHER LOOK AT
THE 'NONCONCATENATIVE' SOLUTION

Carlos Piera

1. This paper argues that Spanish noun and adjective plurals do not provide evidence for or against a 'nonconcatenative' or 'prosodic' treatment of morphological phenomena, contrary to the claim put forward by Harris (1980). I contend that previous formal accounts of these phenomena treat as regular forms which are exceptional; therefore, that no analysis can be successful which does not stem from a redefinition of the domain of productive pluralization. I propose a tentative set of rules and briefly discuss their implications.¹

2. Harris (1980) presents an analysis of plural formation in Spanish nouns and adjectives based on the nonconcatenative approach to morphological theory developed by McCarthy (1979) and others. This approach extends to morphology some of the principles and formal devices used in so-called autosegmental phonology. Particularly elegant instances of this method are provided by McCarthy's work on long-standing problems in the analysis of Semitic; it will be exemplified below only in the sketchiest fashion.

Using Harris' own data, and restricting our attention as he does to dialects with no [b]/[s] distinction, we may take the basic facts of Spanish plural formation to be the following:²

(1)    singular     plural  'book'
       a. libro   libro[s]
       b. dosi[s]  dosi[s]  'dose'
       c. lap[s]   lap[ses]  'pencil'
       d. tap[s]   tap[ses]  'tapestry'

'Surprisingly', says Harris, 'there exists today no successful analysis of this material.' He then notes that lexical items like dosis in (1b) are dimorphemic---[[dos][is]]---, whereas those in (1c) and (1d) are not. This is the basis of his account of (1), which I will now summarize.

A prosodic template is, for our purposes, an arrangement of the features [+syllabic] and [-syllabic] or their equivalent---henceforth V and C---which may be associated with a particular
morphological marker by a language-specific rule. Thus, Harris claims, Spanish nouns and adjectives have a plural which in the unmarked case must conform to the template (2), where \( \alpha = N \) or \( A \):

(2) \([[[...]]] V C]_\alpha\)

Templates are associated with the segmental tier of phonological representation, where all other segmental features are specified, by general conventions of autosegmental theory, notably the ones given here as (3) in Harris' simplified form:

(3) a. Non-distinctness: \( x y z z = x y z \) SEGMENTAL TIER

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
P & Q & R & P Q R \\
\hline
\end{array} \]

PROSODIC TEMPLATE

b. Spreading:

\( z \rightarrow z \)

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
P & Q & R & P Q R \\
\hline
\end{array} \]

As usual, 'association lines do not cross.'

The Spanish rule of plural formation would then consist in an instruction to associate the segment \( s \) with the rightmost \( C \) in the template (2). The examples given in (1) are derived by using only this rule, the template (2) and the language-independent principle (3a), as well as a very general rule of \( e \)-epenthesis which is needed elsewhere in the phonology of Spanish ('Fill empty \( V \) with \( e \)'). Derivations are as in (4):

(4) a. \( \text{l\textipa{\texti{\texti{\textipa{\texti{\textipa{\texti{b}}}}}b\text{r}}} o \) \( \text{l\textipa{\texti{\texti{\textipa{\texti{\textipa{\texti{b}}}}}b\text{r}}} o s \) \( \text{l\textipa{\texti{\texti{\textipa{\texti{\textipa{\texti{b}}}}}b\text{r}}} o s \)

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
P & Q & R & P Q R \\
\hline
\end{array} \] (by Plural Formation)

[...V C] \( \alpha \)

b. \( d\text{\textipa{\texti{\texti{\textipa{\texti{\textipa{\texti{d}}}}}o}}s i s \) \( d\text{\textipa{\texti{\texti{\textipa{\texti{\textipa{\texti{d}}}}}o}}s i s s \)

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
P & Q & R & P Q R \\
\hline
\end{array} \] (Pl. Form.)

[...V C] \( \alpha \)

\( d\text{\textipa{\texti{\texti{\textipa{\texti{\textipa{\texti{d}}}}}o}}s i s \) \( d\text{\textipa{\texti{\texti{\textipa{\texti{\textipa{\texti{d}}}}}o}}s i s \)

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
P & Q & R & P Q R \\
\hline
\end{array} \] (by (3a) [...V C] \( \alpha \)

c. \( \text{l\textipa{\texti{\texti{\textipa{\texti{\textipa{\texti{a}}}}}a}}\text{\textipa{\texti{\texti{\textipa{\texti{\textipa{\texti{p}}}}}i}}}s] \) \( \text{l\textipa{\texti{\texti{\textipa{\texti{\textipa{\texti{a}}}}}a}}\text{\textipa{\texti{\texti{\textipa{\texti{\textipa{\texti{p}}}}}i}}}s] s \)

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
P & Q & R & P Q R \\
\hline
\end{array} \] (Pl. Form.)

[...V C] \( \alpha \)

\( \text{l\textipa{\texti{\texti{\textipa{\texti{\textipa{\texti{a}}}}}a}}\text{\textipa{\texti{\texti{\textipa{\texti{\textipa{\texti{p}}}}}i}}}s] e s \)

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
P & Q & R & P Q R \\
\hline
\end{array} \] (by \( e \)-epenthesis)

[...V C] \( \alpha \)
This is a compact and attractive analysis, which Harris then shows can be extended to certain marked examples and to rules of nonstandard dialects. I believe, however, that its adequacy can be challenged.

3. Notice these twin claims made by Harris: a dimorphemic ending with final S will determine a plural identical to the singular—(4b)—, and a monomorphemic ending with a final consonant (s or other) will determine a plural in -es. It seems to me that there exist valid counterexamples to both claims.

Consider first deadjectival nouns with the productive suffix spelled -ez and pronounced [es] in the relevant dialects:

(5) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Noun, singular</th>
<th>Noun, plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>idióta</td>
<td>idiot[és]</td>
<td>idiot[éses]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A homophonous suffix appears in adjectives of nationality:

(6) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Adjective, singular</th>
<th>Adjective, plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Francia</td>
<td>franc[és]</td>
<td>franc[éses]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives ending in orthographic -az and -oz also form their plurals in phonetic [ses]: faláz/faláces, feróz/feróces ('fallacious', 'ferocious'). So do feminine nouns in -iz: actriz/actrices, emperatriz/emperatrices ('actress', 'empress'). The latter two groups constitute closed classes, and may be argued to be synchronically monomorphemic—although in the case of nouns in -iz this seems rather doubtful. But the forms in (5) and (6) are unquestionably dimorphemic, and fit the prosodic template just as dósis does in (4b). Their plurals are thus predicted, wrongly, to be:

(7) 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{idiot é [s]} \quad \text{s} \\
\text{[...]} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{C} \\
\hline
\text{[...]} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{C} \\
\end{array}
\]

There are, then, dimorphemic words in -s whose plural is different from the singular.

I will now argue that there are monomorphemic words in -s whose plural does not differ from the singular. Spanish is notoriously intolerant of nominal consonantal endings (except when oxytonic, but I want to avoid these at this point). Therefore the relevant examples will have to be fished out of marginal areas of the vocabulary. The assumption that inflection
operates regularly, if at all, in such areas is uncontroversial.

Let us examine, then, proper nouns like Cárlos, Márcoles and Dímas. Proper nouns can be pluralized, as in *En el colegio de mi hija hay muchos Jorges y Miguéles, pero muy pocos Marcos* ('In my daughter's school there are many J. and M., but very few M.'). As the example shows, the plural of Jórges is Jórges (cf. libro/libros) and that of Miguél is Miguéles (cf. tapiz/tapices), but Márcoles and Cárlos and Cármenes, appears to be invariable (compare Tomás/Tomáses, Luis [lwis]/[lwíses]). For feminine names, cf. Júlia/Júlias, Cármen/Cármenes and the perhaps less illuminating Mercédes/Mercédes. Now at least in the case of Márcoles and Dímas (cf. Cárlos/Cárliota) I see no obvious reason to postulate a boundary of whatever kind before the final -s. Perhaps an indication that indeed they contain no break is given by their diminutives Mar[k]ítos and Dimítas, where -it- is apparently infixed as in other consonant-final paroxytones (e.g. azúcar/azu[k]itar [Jaeggli, 1960]) which clearly have a noncomplex structure. I can think of no cases of similar diminutive infixation before morphemic endings (dosis/dosecita, not *dosecítas 'or *dosítas; some other parallel nouns are not readily amenable to diminutive affixation). At any rate, if Márcoles or Dímas are monomorphic they fit the pattern in (4c), and are predicted to have the nonexistent plurals *Márcoles and *Dímas (cf. Cármenes above).

A similar argument could presumably be based on átlast, whose plural is átulas in my own dialect. Even perhaps diplodócus, pl. diplodócuss, would provide a valid argument, since Latin -us (-o in other learned words) may not be perceived as a separate constituent.

Implicit in Harris' formulation of the plural rules is the claim that nouns and adjectives where root ending and word ending coincide will take -es plurals. Thus plurals in -s after a vowel must be taken to provide an indication that the vowel in question is not part of the root of the singular. Otherwise the plural would be -es, as in the somewhat stilted forms bajá/bajáes 'pasha'. Now consider nouns ending in a vowel other than -a or -o (which can be the feminine and masculine markers, respectively). One might perhaps analyze tribu as trib'u, on the basis of tribal ('tribe', 'tribal'), but by the same token ímpetu 'impetus, energy' should not be so analyzed, given ímpetu'oso (cf. carne 'meat'/carnoso 'meaty'); yet the corresponding plural is ímpetus, not *ímpetues. The plurals of táxi, cúrri, bikíni, espaguéti, conféti, yéti, chárqui 'beef jerk' and of the adjective cúrisi 'corny' are all formed by simply adding -s; at least some of them are monomorphic in Spanish
by any standards. The same is assuredly true of familiar nouns formed, like *taxi* but in a synchronically relevant fashion, by chopping off part of the corresponding full form: *mini*
'minisomething (bus, skirt, etc.)', *ridi* (from *ridículo*), and others. Again, only *-s* plurals are possible here.

The shortcomings pointed out in the preceding paragraph could be corrected by requiring the innermost right hand bracket in template (2) to be preceded by a consonant, although this would force us to make other adjustments elsewhere (recall, for one thing, *baja*/*bañas*, which Harris wants his rules to generate). But this alternative is not always available, even in cases other than those of *Dímas* and *álatas*. The nouns *chasis* 'chassis', *ténis* 'tennis' and *quépis* 'kepi' take no overt plural suffix.¹ That is, they are disyllabic paroxytones which behave like *dosis* and not like *lápi*[s]. Perhaps *ténis* could be dismissed as evidence, given *tenista* 'tennis player' (*cf. futbolista*)—although I suspect that here we have a case of 'morphological haplogogy' (Stembarger, 1981) on *tenis*+*ista*. In order not to treat *chasis* and *quépis* as exceptions to (2), however, we must say that their ending is a separate constituent. I find no independent evidence for this. In substandard Peninsular Spanish *taxi* is often [tasis], which perhaps raises similar problems.²

Let us sum up. In Harris (1980) it is predicted that nonexceptional forms with separate morphemic endings in *-Vs* will not show surface signs of plural affixation. This does not account for *idiote*[s]/*idiote*[ses], *francé*[s]/*francé*[ses], and similar pairs. It is also predicted that nonexceptional forms with monomorphemic endings will take *-es* in the plural. We have seen several sets of forms (*Márco*, *átalas*, *cúrsi*, *quépis*) which do not conform to this prediction. I conclude that the analysis proposed by Harris must be rejected in spite of its obvious virtues, since it would force us to treat as exceptional too many classes of nouns and adjectives.

Is there a modified version of this analysis which would still provide direct evidence for nonconcatenative morphology (in the sense adopted here)? I don't think so, for reasons which will be clear in a moment. This has no bearing on the issue whether such an approach is generally valid, which could only be raised on the basis of detailed alternatives to many important contributions in the same framework. Still, it may be worthwhile to expand on why the nonconcatenative approach does not help with our present topic.

The Spanish plural marker shows up as *-s* or *es*. The traditional view of this alternation, enforced by the Spanish
Academy, is that there is a phonological context which determines it. Exceptions to every such context hitherto proposed are numerous. One may then mark these exceptions as lexical properties of (classes of) morphemes, an alternative which is to be adopted only as a last resort. Or one may try to predict them from the compositional structure of the items in question, which eliminates them as exceptions. If this compositional structure can be given, in the most general cases, without referring to properties inexpressible in a bracketing of Cs and Vs (a prosodic template or, in the terminology of Clements and Keyser (1981), a CV-tier), then we have direct evidence for nonconcatenative morphology.

Now, in the case at hand, the main source of the inadequacy of the nonconcatenative analysis is in my opinion the fact that it does not take stress into account. Indeed it cannot, for a suprasegmental property cannot appear in the CV-tier without the limits of this latter construct being stretched beyond recognition. If, however, Spanish plurals depended only on stress position, some variant of the nonconcatenative approach could perhaps be formulated. The marker –s would then, for instance, interact with a different template, say a projection (Halle and Vergnaud, 1980) of (nonmetrical) stressed-unstressed positions. But this is not the case either. Spanish plural formation depends both on the position of stress and on the segmental composition of nouns and adjectives. Therefore the corresponding rules can no doubt be formulated in nonconcatenative terms, if all of morphology must be so formulated, but they can provide no evidence for this formulation.

4. I must now give a (merely descriptive) version of how I think Spanish plurals work. An approximation to it is the following:

(8) a. Attach –s to the stem
b. After V C0s, collapse s s into s
   [-stress]
c. Insert e between [−syllabic] and the attached s

Consider the consequences of taking something to the effect of (8) as our formulation of the mechanics of plurals. Cases like (1a, b, and d) (libro/libros, dósis/dósis, tapí[s]/
tapí[ses]) are all regular. Lapí[s], in (1c), however, is not: it must be marked lexically as taking –es in the plural. But this is a very minor drawback, contrary to traditional assumptions. In Stahl and Scavnicky (1973) I find only two other words in common use that must be marked as similarly
irregular in the relevant dialects: cáli[s]/cáli[ses] 'chalice' and alféro[s]/alféro[ses] 'second lieutenant'. There are four others (pápaç, arráez, patañáez, and tiánguez) about whose plurals—or singulars, for that matter—I know nothing.

The fact that these forms are not irregular in dialects where the e, or e before front vowels, of the spelling corresponds to [e] must not be underestimated here—although disregarding the peculiarities of these dialects is surely in order in many other cases. Writing can often introduce, not to mention preserve, an irregularity; educational systems committed to mutual intelligibility between dialects will tend to stabilize paradigms beyond the area where they have a phonological motivation.

Another consequence of this analysis is that it marks as special the -es variants of double plurals in vowel-final oxytones, as in bajá/bajás or bajás. This is entirely deliberate on my part, since nowadays they are solely the fruit of prescriptive pressure. Although the press makes a great effort to write hindúes, hindús is really the only form that comes spontaneously (Otero, 1971:163). This is confirmed by the fact that the more commonly used forms like mamá and papa have no such -es plural (Harris, 1980); by the fact that any form with such a plural has also a plural in -s, while the converse is not true (the plural sofás, given as an alternative in Menéndez Pidal (1940:222), has not been used in decades); finally, by the fact that oxytones which cannot be affected by prescriptivism never acquire an -es plural (pirulí/pirulís 'a kind of lollipop').

In the system of Harris (1980), a template different from (2) must be invoked for a number of -s final nouns which do not vary in the plural. They fall into two main categories: verb-plural noun compounds (abrelátas, literally open cans 'can opener') and nonoxytones in -Cs (bfeceps). By (3a), they derive from the special template in (9a) as shown in (9b):

\[(9)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{[[... C]}} x \\
\text{b. } & \text{[[bfeceps]s} \rightarrow \text{[[bfeceps]s}}
\end{align*}
\]

This is an attractive solution in so far as the principles involved are the same that operate elsewhere, but the need for a special template makes it less economical than the one in (8), by which these forms are entirely regular. (Notice, incidentally, that the bracketing in (9a) will need to be complicated somehow to accommodate verb-noun compounds, since the plural marker in abrelátas is within the inner ]N bracket, as Harris indicates in his diagrams). It may be noted that
these two classes made regular by (8), one of which is the output of a productive compounding process, far outweigh that of 16pi[s], which (8) makes irregular.

5. The only problem I see with the predictions made by (8) is one shared by all its competitors, as far as I know: it predicts more -es plurals than actually occur, and it does not reflect a certain tendency in the contemporary language to accommodate -Cs plurals, as in (Harris' examples) clósets and yens (compare paré/parédes 'wall', tren/trénes 'train'). Let us now take up these two issues.

In one case, that of nouns ending in the front glide, the rule imposing -es in the plural as reflected in (8) has ceased to be productive (Otero, 1971:164). Together with the traditional ley/léyes 'law', there are now many forms like jerséy/jerséys 'sweater'. I myself find it impossible, for whatever that is worth, to come up with -es plurals in forms that I use infrequently, such as caréy 'turtle shell', or pluralize rarely (hoý 'today'). Neither would I give Paraguayes or Jujuyes as the plural of Paraguay and Jujuy, or Freyes as that of the name of the expresident of Chile Eduardo Frei. Popular forms like guirigay 'approx., hullabaloo' do not have a -yes plural (Alcina and Blecua, 1975:537). Informal but persistent questioning of fellow native speakers of diverse origins seems to confirm that the rule which gave rise to léyes is no longer operative. I will therefore replace clause c of (8) with:

(10) Insert e between a (proper) consonant and the attached s

It may come as a surprise that, again, very few forms thus newly marked as exceptional are in current use: only buey/bueyes 'ox', rey/reyes 'king' and ley/léyes, together with a number of more geographically localized nouns, especially Caribbean nativisms (mamey), all of which, as far as I can tell, have two plurals. Also with two plurals--i.e., with an alternate form which is irregular although prescriptively induced--are convoy and a few other words. Ay has also a standard plural ayes, used often in somewhat rhetorical contexts (los ayes del prisionero), meaning something like 'cries' or 'sighs'.

In any case, the formulation given in (8c) is certainly too strong in one respect: the back glide does not give rise to -es plurals. This is generally left unmentioned, I suppose, because there are practically no native words with this ending; but the plural of miau 'meow' is mius and the numerous Catalan proper nouns in -Vw (Palau, Abreu) can only be pluralized in -s.
Here, as in the case of lápi[s], a generalization is achieved at the expense of taking a few familiar forms to be exceptional. The fact that they are familiar should of course not be counted against this solution: it is forms like *children* that exhibit irregularities, and forms which are unusual that test the productivity of a morphological process. Notice, in any event, that the outcome of this issue has no bearing on my main argument here.

As for recent plurals in -s after a consonant, we can always treat them as unassimilated borrowings, and thus as exceptions to (8). In Harris, a special template is associated with them, which amounts to the same thing. Harris points out correctly that many of them will not encounter phonologically-conditioned resistance, since they produce clusters available elsewhere in at least certain registers of the language. (*eks]tre, vals, perspective*). Another factor contributing to their apparent stability is the fall of the final consonant in their singulars. In all dialects, final obstructions other than s (and *[θ]*, where applicable) are likely to disappear in familiar speech. *Club* and *ticket* occur as *[klu]* and *[tfke]* and, on these, the perfectly regular plurals *[klus]* and *[tikes]* are formed. Hence the well-motivated resistance to officially sponsored nativization strategies, which by requiring an *-es* plural suggest a reanalysis of the singular into forms like *clube* or *tfquete* which have never been accepted. On the other hand, the naturalness of the familiar plural helps preserve the relatively unusual consonant + s spelling (*clubs*), which corresponds to it better than *clubes* does. Thus the temptation of a spelling pronunciation, modeled after the lending language, comes in again through the back door.7

6. I have argued that the domain of Spanish plural formation must be redefined. Rules intended to account for it must be based on a set of forms different from the one commonly assumed without explicit argument. If this is correct, the failure of previous attempts to formulate such rules is due to the fact that they were intended to yield directly a highly unnatural class of forms.

I do not want to claim that the formulation in (8), as revised in (10), is the right one; only that it accounts for the right set of cases. In particular, I want to leave the door open to reformulations of its subparts which would make them follow from general properties of the language. It would be desirable, for instance, to show that e-epenthesis is maximally general, as in Harris, where it is meant to fill any empty vocalic slot. Presumably the insights of autosegmental phonology will indeed be of help with this and similar issues. As for the 'degemination'
or 'non-distinctness' provision (8b), only its context is unfamiliar.

I also agree with Harris that an autosegmental analysis accounts neatly for the substandard plurals in -ses found scattered throughout the Spanish-speaking world: café/caféses. Deviating slightly from his treatment of these forms, we may reconstruct their derivation as follows. Assume that in these variants of the language (10) applies both after a consonant and after a stressed vowel, as in the now obsolete case of bajáses. As Harris points out, Spanish strongly disfavors adjacent vowels. The vowel cluster is therefore broken by inserting a consonantal slot, whose features are then filled by spreading—cf. (3b):

(11)  

$$[[\text{café}] \ C^\text{s} \ V \ C]$$

This treatment requires us to have access to the CV-tier after morphological affixation. If a suitably constrained theory does not allow this freedom, we can directly associate the template in (11) with the plural form for these words. This is however not the optimal solution, since it fails to express the connection between the choice of plural ending and the position of stress.

That such a connection is, at least historically, at the origin of these plurals is confirmed by data from other areas. In parts of Andalusia (e.g., Sevilla), the forms [aɾo], [bihté], [kafé], [sofá] ('rice', 'steak', 'coffee', 'sofa') have the plurals [aɾo], [bihté], [kafé], [sofá], with or without a final aspiration. The same unexpected [l] occurs in diminutives: [aɾolito], [bihtelito], etc. In this area, word-final /l/ is elided: [oté]/[otéle] corresponds to the standard [oté]/[otéles] 'hotel'. Clearly, many vowel-final oxytones have been reanalyzed as having an underlying /l/ like hotel does. The class of relevant oxytones includes most of those which end in [s] or [θ] in Castilian dialects, for this is one of the dialects with no [s]/[θ] distinction and with aspiration/elision of final [s]. The reanalysis with /l/ must be fairly old, since the diminutive cafelito (cafecito elsewhere) has become standard Peninsular, and Joselito, from the name José, is rather common. But why should the need for such a reanalysis be felt? I suggest that both plural and diminutive suffixes were vowel-initial (-es and -ito), and that a consonant was brought in to break up the resulting vowel sequence. This presupposes, as we did for café/caféses above, that e-epenthesis applied in plural formation both after consonants and after stressed vowels. 'Official' plurals like bajáses correspond, therefore, to a real
tendency of the language which here and there has materialized in systematic results. On the other hand, they go against a no less real tendency to avoid adjacent vowels. Hence their replacement everywhere either by simple -s plurals or by forms where -es is preceded by a consonant.\textsuperscript{11}

Since we are already talking about tendencies, we may as well move up to still higher speculative regions. There seems to be a connection between a fully syllabic ending (-es) and the fact that the preceding syllable is stressed: it is apparent in the dialectal caféses and caféses and in the academic bajés; negatively, also in (8b), which collapses the plural -s with the preceding s when the latter is part of an unstressed syllable. I would conjecture that the reason for this might be related to an observation made, in particular, by Garde (1968), who pointed out that nominal inflection suffixes are stressless in Southern Romance--derivative ones, we may add, are either stressed or prestressing.\textsuperscript{12} In other words, the plural form of an oxytone, in the most general case, has an extra syllable--thus, incidentally, acquiring the paroxytonic pattern which prevails in the Spanish lexicon. The fairly small set of vowel-final oxytones have oxytonic plurals: in this respect, they constitute a kind of minor anomaly which speakers may tend to eliminate. Notice that this conjectural reconstruction is consistent with the assumption that there is a level of metrical and/or syllabic representation which, moreover, has psychological reality. Evidence for syllabic factors in Spanish diminutive affixation has been given by Jaeggli (1980); this makes it plausible to claim that the exceptional forms ayes, reyes, leyes and bueyes discussed in section 5 owe their survival to the monosyllabic nature of their singulars.

One final observation. My treatment of Spanish plurals here is easy to translate into a framework where e-epenthesis is replaced by the apocope of an underlying /e/. My speculations on aspects of their history are not quite so compatible with such a framework. But, more relevantly, the context for epenthesis in (10) is a simple and motivated one. An analysis based on apocope would give the context of the rule approximately as in (12):

\begin{equation}
(12) \quad e \rightarrow \emptyset / V \quad s \quad [\text{-stress}] + s
\end{equation}

The relative complexity and artificiality of (12) add a little more weight to the case against apocope.
Notes

1 I am grateful to Margarita Suñer and especially to Carol Rosen for their observations, and to Heles Contreras for a copy of Contreras (1977). The similarity between the rules in (8) and those given by Contreras will not escape the reader's attention.

2 See his article for references to previous work. Spanish forms are given in the official spelling but stress is indicated throughout.

3 Readers unfamiliar with the plural for quépis will find examples of it in Mario Vargas Llosa, La Guerra del fin del mundo (Barcelona, Seix-Barral, 1981), p. 370 and elsewhere.

4 Another 'invariable' paroxytone is caos [káos], 'chaos'. Here the final -s is probably separate (caótico, 'chaotic'), and the term can be made to fit a marked template associated with it in the lexicon, as Harris does with bíceps (see discussion of (9) below). This plural is entirely regular by the system to be proposed in section 4.

5 Alcina and Blecua (1975:537) mention an instance where the Real Academia Española writes esquís instead of the form esquíes which it recommends.

6 Plurals in -s for this class of forms are attested in all areas and periods. Morreale (1971:102n.) finds forms like leys as early as the 12th century, and no example of the type leyes before the 14th. In general, Morreale's observations concerning which classes are productive and which are not entirely coincide with mine.

For ayes, reyes, leyes, bueyes see my remark at the end of section 6.

7 The form yens is still anomalous by any standards.

8 For the sake of perspicuity I have disregarded changes in vowel quality occurring in these plurals; see Zubizarreta (1979) and references cited there. I thank Mercedes Abad and the rest of the Abad family for providing me with sevillano data.
9 Not all of them. Forms like usted [uhté] 'you (formal)' keep their underlying /d/, which is also elided word-finally and in certain intervocalic contexts; hence the plural [u h té (h)]. Forms like [pjé] 'foot' give pl. [pjé(h)] or [pjése(h)]; mamá is regular, etc.

10 A comparable marroquíes 'Moroccan, pl.' (cf. marroquí) is attested in the medieval Poema de Alfonso Onceno (Morreale, 1971:99). The adjective cursi 'corny', mentioned above, has the superlative cursilísimo and the derivative cursilería 'corn-ness', both general in the Peninsula.

11 Morreale (1971:100) reports the forms bigudínes and pirulínes for the plural of bigudí 'rubber hair curler' and pirulí. These are presumably from a Castilian dialect with final s, although she does not specify it; in any case, there is to my knowledge no variant of Spanish where final [u] disappears without a trace. The only source that I can think of for the [u] in these plurals is the diminutive suffix -ín, pl. -íñes. Although sporadic, these formations attest to the vitality of the search for alternatives to oxytonic plurals (on which see below).

12 At least in Peninsular spoken Spanish, the plural suffix does not even force a restressing of the word. Régimen, 'régime' or 'diet', is supposed to have a plural régímenes—thus conforming to a restriction against stresses beyond the paroxytonic which only verb forms followed by clitics can circumvent. However, speakers have great difficulty avoiding the form régímenes, even on television.

Notice that by the above criteria diminutives are excluded from inflection. This is desirable if inflection is defined as that aspect of morphology which is relevant to syntax (Anderson, 1981).

References


[Following are a few extracts from a letter by James W. Harris on the preceding paper. While I apologize to the reader for the unorthodox format dictated by time pressure, I am sure that s/he will profit from having access to these important observations. My thanks to Professor Harris for allowing us to reproduce them here 'in the hope', as he puts it, 'that one day TRUTH will be revealed in full splendor.' (Carlos Piera)]

[...] Examples like idiotez, francés, actriz, etc. are no real problem. It is only necessary to spell out what I assumed (but took the unfortunate shortcut of not stating) - that the inner bracket in template (2) encloses the 'derivational stem' (in fact, the outermost derivational stem, but this comes free - I'll return to this in a moment). By 'derivational stem' I mean the morphological constituent enclosed by (...) in the following:

\[
\text{[(urb)\textsubscript{de}]} \quad \text{[(marí)\textsubscript{a}]}
\]
\[
\text{[(urb+án)\textsubscript{o}]} \quad \text{[(marí+c+\textsubscript{o})\textsubscript{Ø}]
\]
\[
\text{[(urb+án+iz+a)\textsubscript{d}(r)]} \quad \text{[(marí+c+c+\textsubscript{o}+\textsubscript{e}r+f)\textsubscript{d}a]
\]
\[
\text{[(urb+án+iz+a+dor)\textsubscript{d}Ø]} \quad \text{[(marí+c+c+\textsubscript{o}+\textsubscript{e}r+f)\textsubscript{d}a]
\]
\[
\text{[(urb+án+iz+a+dor)\textsubscript{d}a]}
\]

Thus, the plural of, say, francés has to be [[franc+és]\textsubscript{d}VC] - just like that of [[frances]\textsubscript{d}aC] - not *[[[franc]\textsubscript{d}es]]

Carlos, Marcos, etc., are not a problem either, I think. The trouble here is that most of these cases are morphologically isolated, so there is little evidence regarding morphological structure one way or the other. What little there is, however, works in my favor. Thus, for Carlos, there is also carlista, Carla, which permit [[Carl]\textsubscript{os}], along with [[carl+ist]\textsubscript{a}], [[Carl]\textsubscript{d}a]. So, why not [[Marc]\textsubscript{os}], etc.? Also Carlos, Carlitos, like libros, libritos, is perfectly compatible with Jaeggli's analysis of diminutives, if the morphological structure is as I am suggesting (azuquitar has to be anomalous for everybody.)
[...] *Tenis/tenista* and especially *taxi* [tasís]/*taxista* [tasista] are in fact predicted by the morphology I've suggested. [...] I never heard of *padpaz, arráez, patarráez, tiánguez* either, but *tianguis* is the commonest of words in México. Interestingly, the guy who has one is a *tianguero*. Thus, [[*tiang*],is] -another example, a telling one, of the fact that -is of whatever source is readily accepted as a 'class marker', i.e. the same morphological element as the -is of *dosís*, the -o of *libro*, the -a of *urbanizadora*, the -e of *prole*, etc., and, arguably, the -i of *bikini*, *yetí*, etc.

[...] I wanted the rules to generate *bajaes*, but not to the exclusion of *bajás*, as I hoped was clear on p.22, where I talked about the alternate template with just [[...]]C.

[...] One problem (are there more examples of this type?) for (8b) is *ciempiés* (pl.), not *ciempieses* (though the latter might be used, I suppose, by someone who says pie/pieses, café/cafeses, etc.). For me, *ciempiés* (pl.) is just like *tocadiscos* [or abrelatas;C.P.]: there is no distinct plural because in both examples the s, being an inflection, is outside the derivational stem, the stress on the preceding v[owel] being irrelevant.

*Carey*, *mamey* have only one plural, *careyes, mameyes*, not two, in at least one set of dialects in which they are commonly-used words, namely, Mexican. I agree with your point on this page, however. Recall the example I gave: *espreys* 'hair sprays', heard constantly on local Hispanic television in Boston.

[With respect to *clubs* and *tickets*] 'in all dialects' makes me suspect that you are forgetting about 'consonant-strong' dialects like highland Mexican. People who live in a place named *Ciudad Netzahualcóyotl* and drink *Cuauhtémoc* beer are not intimidated by words like *clu[b]/club[s]*, *tike[t]/tike[ts]*.

[Coming back to the first paragraph,] it comes free that the inner pair of brackets in the plural template encloses precisely the largest derivational stem in a word. This follows from a number of variants of essentially the same idea: Siegel's morphological adjacency condition (or Margaret Allen's version of it), or Pesetsky's proposal that inner morphological brackets are erased as one proceeds successively to more inclusive constituents, or Mohanan's variation that the brackets aren't actually erased but rather just become invisible to further morphological operations.
1. Introduction.

The family of verb-forming suffixes represented in (1) is notable for its intense productivity in the modern European languages.

(1) English -ize
French -iser
German -isieren
Spanish -izar

These forms are of learned origin, of course, echoing a Latin -IZARE which in turn is a borrowing modelled on the Greek derivational suffix -ίζειν. But the success of this suffix is not only a modern phenomenon. The Greek form established itself in Latin firmly enough, and early enough, to be transmitted directly into the Romance languages through vernacular channels, giving rise to the set of suffixes listed in (2).

(2) Spanish -ear
Provençal -ejar
Sardinian -iare
Portuguese -ejar
French -oyer
Italian -eggiare
Catalan -ear

Thus, in French for example, -iser and -oyer are doublets, the latter reflecting a vernacular phonetic development.

Moreover, in Rumanian and in various Italian dialects of the Adriatic area, the element -IZ- even took on a role in the present tense paradigm comparable to that of the more widely diffused -ISC-infix. Paradigms employing -IZ- as an extension of the present stem (and thus eliminating rhizotonic forms) are exemplified in (3) and (4), which represent respectively Rumanian and Dolomitic Ladino.

(3) Rumanian: a lucră 'work'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>lucr-éz</td>
<td>lucr-âm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>lucr-ézi</td>
<td>lucr-âti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lucr-eáz-ă</td>
<td>lucr-eáz-â</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Ladino (Val Gardena): abité 'dwell'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>abit-éi-e</td>
<td>abit-ôn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>abit-éi-es</td>
<td>abit-èis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>abit-é-a</td>
<td>abit-è-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the areas where they coexist, the two infixes -ISC- and -IZ- show a characteristic distribution: -ISC- is always associated with a
subclass of the -īRE verbs, whose membership varies across languages, and -IZ- with a subclass of the -ĂRE verbs, also varying in membership (Rohlfs 1968 vol. 2, pp. 244-5 and Tekavčić 1972, Section 1629).

This paper presents an overview of the history of -IZĂRE, concentrating on the problem of its transmission into Latin. As for the Romance reflexes of -IZĂRE, much is still unknown about the trends which have affected their semantics and productivity. For example, Spanish -ear has reached the point where it figures in the majority of neologisms (boxear, telefonear, etc.), but we do not know the chronology of this development, nor whether there is any supralexical criterion that accounts for the exceptions (fusionar, etc.). A similar question could be raised about how the class of -ĂRE verbs with the infix -IZ- is constituted in Romanian and elsewhere. Here I simply delineate the unexplored areas against the background of the more accessible facts.

2. The Status of -ίzein in Greek.

Presents in Indo-European exhibit several morphological patterns, one of which consists in suffixing an element -įje/įjo- to the root. Denominative verbs, among others, fall into this class. In Greek, the unity of the -įje/įjo- class is fragmented by the series of phonological changes that eliminate all instances of IE ą. In particular, the clusters dį and gį yield a result denoted by the letter ʧ, which I transcribe as z, avoiding for the moment the question of its phonetic value.

(5) pezόs 'on foot' < ped-ios
gieson 'smaller' < oleig-ion < oleig-is-on

This rule gives rise to a sizeable group of verbs having a stem-final ʧ from a cluster involving the -įje/įjo- suffix. Among them are denominatives such as the following:

(6) paid- 'child' : paizō 'play'
elpίd- 'hope' : elpizō 'hope'
ěrid- 'strife' : erizō 'contend'
migád- 'mingled' : migázō 'mingle'
hárpag- 'thieving' : harpázō 'snatch'
mástig- 'whip' : mastizō 'flog'
phórming- 'lyre' : phormizō 'play the lyre'
sáltip- 'trumpet' : salpizō 'sound the trumpet'

Spreading from this nucleus, -zō, -ίzō, -ază attained the status of derivational suffixes at a pre-Homeric date. Risch (1974) has collected the Homeric examples, and the entire development of the -ίzō group has been examined by Müller (1915) and Schmoll (1955).
late Republican period, for the specific purpose of transcribing Greek loan words. A passage from Quintilian gives a vivid picture of the cultural atmosphere in which this innovation took place: 3

We do not possess the most euphonious letters of the Greeks, one a consonant and the other a vowel, than which none of theirs sound more sweetly, and which we usually borrow, whenever we adopt any of their words. When this occurs, our language somehow immediately adopts a more pleasing tone, as for example in the words Zephyri and zopyra; for if these words are written in our letters, they will give something of a dull and barbarous sound.

At this date (c. 50 A.D.) the spelling Z is still exotic, and is being promoted by the same educated Romans who consider it desirable to maintain the authentic foreign pronunciation in words borrowed from Greek. Their [izzärel], of course, is not the etymon of the Romance suffixes. Rather, Italian -eggiare and its congener point to a colloquial pronunciation in which the foreign [zz] is replaced by a Latin approximation.

As is well known, two distinct treatments of ζ are attested in Latin, and they represent chronological strata among the borrowings, the difference being almost certainly attributable to a change in the Latin phonological system. In early borrowings, the "dull and barbarous sound" (surdum [!] et barbarum) that annoys Quintilian is [s] in word-initial position and [ss] in intervocalic position. For instance, the following occur in Plautus:

(10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GREEK</th>
<th>LATIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zōnē</td>
<td>'girdle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máza</td>
<td>'dough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attikízein</td>
<td>'speak Attic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuathízein</td>
<td>'ladle out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōna</td>
<td>massa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atticissāre</td>
<td>cyathissāre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ζ) however, the rendering [s]/[ss] is later abandoned 4 in favor of an alternative which becomes available only in the post-Classical period. By about 250 A.D., Latin develops a segment which is probably best characterized as an alveo-palatal affricate [ʒ], following the notation of Pope (1952). It has several sources: initial and intervocalic [i], [g] before a front vowel, and [di]. In addition, it takes over the function of approximating ζ in loan words. The evidence for this consists not only in the Romance suffixes — which reflect an etymon [iğare] — but also in the striking spelling -IDIARE, which alternates with -IZARE, and presupposes an equation DI (prevocalic) = [ʒ].

The date when [ʒ] took over as the standard colloquial rendering of ζ could perhaps be established in a more detailed study. The main
obstacle is that after -ISSARE becomes unfashionable (roughly 50 B.C.), the ambiguous spelling -IZARE prevails for a long period before the emergence of the unequivocal -IDIARE. Originally the foreign letter Z was meant to represent the foreign sound, but once its use becomes conventional it reveals nothing about the user's preference in respect to pronunciation. On the other hand, we do have instances of a reverse substitution — Z for D — which signal that Z is being read [d]:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{OZE} & : & \text{hodiē} \\
\text{ZEBUS} & : & \text{diēbus} \\
\text{ZABULUS} & : & \text{diabolus} \\
\text{ZACONUS} & : & \text{diāconus} \\
\text{ZIOMEDIS} & : & \text{Diomēdes} \\
\text{ZIONISIUS} & : & \text{Dionysius}
\end{array}
\]

This substitution is attested from as early as 200 A.D. — for example, in an inscriptionsal AZABENICUS for Adiabenicus, cognomen of the emperor Septimius Severus (Leumann 1948, p. 385). As for the scattered late attestations of -ISSARE, the job of evaluating them individually is undertaken by Funck (1886) and Leumann (1948). Those occurring in Petronius (62.14 quid de hoc exopinissent 'what they may think about this', 67.10 excatarissasti me 'you pestered me (?)', etymology uncertain) are probably the latest ones which can be taken at face value, whereas by the time of Apuleius (Florida 15: Plato pythagorissat in plurimis 'Plato thinks like Pythagoras in many respects') the spelling -ISSARE may well be a deliberate archaism.

In Late Latin -IZARE and -IDIARE are simply graphic variants — for instance, the Peregrinatio Aetheriae has both BAPTIZARE and BAPTIDIARE. Thus it is misleading to say, as several manuals do,\(^5\) that the etymon of Italian -eggiare and its congeners is a "Vulgar Latin -idiare." This formulation leaves the incorrect impression that the suffix had a stop [d] at some stage, and it is also symptomatic of a tendency to identify graphic -IZARE with the modern learned forms and graphic -IDIARE with the vernacular reflexes, which is unfounded.\(^6\)

5. The Transmission of -īzein into Latin.

The borrowing of a bound morph is an unusual phenomenon. Thanks to the existing philological studies (principally Funck 1886-7 and Leumann 1948), the Latin verbs in -ISSARE/-IZARE provide an illuminating example of this process.

The collection published by Funck numbers well over 100 verbs and is intended to be exhaustive. Classifying them according to source, he finds that the three topical divisions coincide roughly with chronological strata:
(a) Pre-Augustan Age: the dramatists.
(b) Imperial Age: medical and other technical treatises.
(c) Late Latin: Christian literature.

The majority of the verbs belonging to the earliest stratum are "foreign words in the strictest sense," corresponding directly to Greek models, such as CYATHISSARE 'ladle out wine' (Plautus, Menaechmi 303, 305), attested in Greek comedy. From the first, however, there are also verbs coined by the Latin authors, such as GRAECISSARE 'act Greek':

(12) Plautus, Menaechmi, prologue:

Hoc argumentum graecissat, tamen non atticissat verum sicelissat.

'This plot is in the Greek manner, but not so much the Attic as the Sicilian.'

A passage such as (12) clearly indicates that the suffix was already "productive" in the sense that it had been perceived as a suffix. This is confirmed by a group of -ISSARE/-IZARE verbs which, though formed on a Greek base, have no attested counterpart in Greek and were apparently coined internally to Latin. Still other formations seem to be inspired by Greek verbs in -ἀσσο or -ἐνο, whose counterparts in -izō are either unattested or extremely rare. From this sort of evidence we know that Latin writers were sensitive to the existence of this suffix from Plautus on, though it was used almost exclusively in connection with Greek bases. A few isolated examples with Latin bases are attested, but not until the Romance period is -IZARE combined with Latin bases in the uninhibited manner we normally associate with the idea of "productivity".

In the literature of the Classical period, -ISSARE/-IZARE verbs were ignored or perhaps even avoided. Not a single attestation is found in Cicero, Caesar or Virgil, and in Suetonius' life of Augustus we find the biographer reproaching the emperor for stooping to such vulgarisms as BĒTIZARE:

(13) Suetonius, Augustus 87:

Ponit betizare pro languere, quod vulgo dicitur lachanizare.

'He says betizare for 'droop', which is lachanizare in slang.'

Augustus is substituting a Latin base BĒTA 'beet' for the Greek base lākhanon 'vegetables'. The meaning 'be listless' probably refers to the appearance of kitchen greens that have been wilting.
on the market stand. Thus the single attestation of an -IZARE verb in a Classical author is one which is explicitly labelled colloquial. Since Classical Latin is not known for a puristic aversion to Hellenisms and often welcomes even "foreign words in the strictest sense", it is curious that the -ISSARE/-IZARE verbs should have been snubbed. While lending itself to obscure technical terms and later to erudite formations, the suffix apparently had a comic tone in other contexts, as is certainly the case with some of the Plautine examples. Since Rome had a bilingual proletariat, it is not hard to imagine how -IZARE might be at the same time both foreign and colloquial in its associations.

The earliest stratum, words introduced by the dramatists of the Republican period, consists of the following:

(14)  
atticissō  'be or act Attic'
graecissō  'be or act Greek'
patrissō  'take after one's father'
rhetorissō  'speak in the manner of a rhetor'
sikelissō  'be or act Sicilian'
badissō  'go, walk'
comissor  'stroll with friends, revel'
cyathissō  'ladle out'

The only clear instance of a Latin base is VIBRISSŌ, which also stands out as the only deverbal (VIBRŌ 'vibrate'). The others, whether extant in Greek or coined ad hoc by the poet, are at this stage genuinely foreign — mots étrangers rather than mots d'emprunt — and were obviously intended to add a touch of local color to the dramatic action, which depicts a Greek setting. Such words had a high mortality rate: seven of the 15 are never heard of again, and others reappear only as examples cited by grammarians. Apuleius and Martianus Capella revive ATTICISSARE for their own stylistic purposes, and PURPURISSARE also shows signs of life, but only COMISSĀRII thrives.10

The same can be said of the second stratum, words introduced by the medical and other technical writers of the Imperial period. With few exceptions, these are obscure terms imported from Greek to fill the lexical gaps in the jargon of a specialized minority and therefore destined to an early demise. For the most part the verbs of this group, like those listed in (14), fail to find their
way into the general vocabulary.

The third stratum, words introduced by Christian writers, eclipses the other two by sheer weight of numbers, not to mention the individual importance of some of its members, such as BAPTIZARE, EVANGELIZARE, CANONIZARE, TYRANNIZARE, EXORCIZARE etc. Christine Mohrmann has pointed out that Christian literature had a vocabulary of its own, even apart from ecclesiastical terminology in the narrow sense. Instead of merely saying that the Romance languages continue colloquial rather than classical Latin, she maintains, we should be more specific: it is colloquial Christian Latin rather than colloquial pagan Latin that survives into modern times. The fortunes of -IZÃŒRE tend to support her thesis. The motives for their importation from Greek basically resemble those which were drawing a stream of loan words into the medical and technical vocabularies. In the case of Christian writers, however, and especially translators of the Bible, a further stimulus for borrowing is their pious reluctance to distort the scriptural term by seeking a Latin equivalent which might be inexact or might have inappropriate connotations in normal Latin usage. This leads to renderings such as

(15) Si oculus tuus dexter scandalizat te (for skandalízei) 'If thy right eye offend thee' (Matthew 5.29)

The penetration of -IZÃŒRE verbs into early Latin translations of the Bible is the principal fact which sets this stratum of loan words apart from the earlier ones, and makes it the vehicle for the transmission of the suffix into the Romance languages. A single verb such as BAPTIZARE, which occurs over 70 times in the Vulgate (Rönsch 1875) and was an essential item in the Christian vocabulary, probably does more for the diffusion of the suffix -IZÃŒRE than all the fifty or so pre-Christian verbs combined.11

The history of the -ISSÃŒRE/-IZÃŒRE verbs contrasts plainly with that of the unanalyzable loan words containing ζ. Early borrowings such as MASSA 'dough, mass' and OBRUSSA 'assaying of gold' are re-lexicalized with [ss], and remain untouched by the later Latin development that equates ζ with [g]. With the exception of COMISSÃÆ 'stroll with friends, revel' (Leumann 1948, p. 376), the borrowings in -ISSÃŒRE/-IZÃŒRE remain analyzable into stem plus suffix. At any given time, the repertory of -ISSÃŒRE/-IZÃŒRE verbs known to a Latin speaker might include older borrowings as well as current ones, but the suffix is perceived as being the same in all of them. With the advent of the Late Latin rule ζ = [g], though its inputs are only the new borrowings of the moment, the pronunciation [igare] is automatically extended to all instances of the suffix. Consequently, -ISSÃŒ is obliterated, and has no Romance reflex — in contrast to, say, MASSA: Ital. massa, Fr. masse, Sp. masa. Moreover, the older
borrowings belong to a cultural ambience which is remote from that of the proto-Romance period. Though Plautus amuses his audience with such exotic items as *APOLACTISSARE* and *DRACHUMISSARE*, the status of the suffix remains precarious until much later, when Christian literature — through such functional terms as *CATECHIZARE*, *DOGMATIZARE*, *MARTYRIZARE*, *SOLEMNIZARE*, *AUCTORIZARE* etc. — places it on a firmer ground. In this sense the transmission of *ízein* into Latin should be dated much closer to 200 A.D. than 200 B.C.


The Late Latin affricate [ฏ], whose sources include both [dj] and palatalized [g] as well as Greek ζ, eventually undergoes a merger with the [j] occurring word-initially and intervocalically, as in *IAM*, MAIŐREM. For the intervocalic position, the outcome in Spanish is indicated below:

(16) (a) RADIU rayo 'ray' (b) VIDEỌ veo 'I see'
           MODIU moyo 'bushel' SEDEAT sea 'is' (subjunct.)
           CUIU cuyo 'whose'FASTĪDIU hastío 'annoyance'

Intervocalic [j] remains intact in general, but deletes in contact with a front vowel, as in (16)(b). The suffix is an instance of this latter environment, so Spanish -ear is the expected outcome. The variant -ejar as in *cortejar* 'woo', *festejar* 'celebrate', *manejar* 'manage' is from Portuguese or in some cases from Italian: the [⁺⁺] of Italian *eggiare* would be regularly rendered in Old Spanish by [E], which is converted to the modern jota around the year 1600.

In French a long series of well-known changes affect the Latin [Y], which ultimately yields the modern diphthong [wa]. The suffix -oyer [waie] represents a phonetically regular outcome. There are other possible sources for a sequence oyer, as is evident in PLICARE ployer 'bend', *NECARE noyer 'drown'. Though there exists a derivational suffix -ICARE, its [Y] is unstressed throughout the paradigm and undergoes syncope at an early date, which in general distinguishes its derivatives clearly from those of -IZARE: for instance, *CARRICARE charger* 'load' versus *CARRIZARE charroyer* 'convey'. I leave open the question whether any other sources distinct from -IZARE contribute to the class of -oyer verbs in French.

Tuscan Italian shows a double outcome for Latin intervocalic [j], and the reason has never been decisively explained. The discrepancy is illustrated in (17) — the spellings represent respectively [⁺⁺] and [ddz].

(17) (a) MAIŐRE maggiore 'bigger' (b) MEDIU mezzo 'middle'
           PĒIU peggio 'worse' RADIU razzo 'rocket'
           HODIĒ oggi 'today' *RUDIU rozzo 'crude'
           RADIU raggio 'ray'
As [ɛɛ] is more common, the likeliest solution is to regard the few examples with [dɔdʒ] as imports from the North. Certain Northern dialects have [eddzare] corresponding to Tuscan -eggiare. Moreover, in standard Italian there are several instances of a variant form [-eddare]: olezzare 'be fragrant', marezzare 'impart a wavy texture, marble', battezzare 'baptize'. The first two are probably further examples of borrowings from Northern dialects, though battezzare is usually explained as a "semi-learned" form, influenced by the learned -izare [iddzare].

7. Some Areas for Further Research.

In respect to semantics and productivity, the learned forms modelled on -IZÁRE are on a par with one another throughout the Romance languages, but the same cannot be said of the vernacular forms. French -oyer preserves the iterative quality seen also in Italian -eggiare, but it is no longer productive, and a number of its Old French derivatives are obsolete. Among the survivors are:

| (18) | char 'cart' | charroyer 'convey' |
| côte 'coast' | côtoyer 'skirt, move along next to' |
| coude 'elbow' | coudoyer 'jostle' |
| foudre 'lightning' | foudroyer 'blow, overwhelm' |
| guerre 'war' | guerroyer 'wage war' |
| larme 'tear' | larmoyer 'shed tears' |
| net 'tidy' | nettoyer 'set in order' |
| onde 'wave' | ondoyer 'undulate' |
| vert 'green' | verdoyer 'be verdant' |

Spanish -ear has gone to the opposite extreme of productivity, and the chronology of both these developments remains to be investigated. New verbs in Spanish are now generally formed with -ear — for instance, jonronear 'hit a home run' — though there is a class of exceptions which one might hope to characterize in terms of the phonetic shape of the base.

One of the areas which most invites further study is the semantic development of Italian -eggiare. More than any of its Romance congeners, -eggiare preserves the range of values attested for -izein in Greek. The following array, to be compared with (7) above, suggests the extent of the parallelism between the Greek and Italian suffixes.

| (19) (a) | To be or resemble X, non-agentively. |
| serpe 'snake' | serpeggiare 'meander' |
| torre 'tower' | torreggiare 'loom' |
| fiamma 'flame' | fiammeggiare 'blaze' |
| onda 'wave' | ondeggiare 'undulate' |
gigante 'giant': giganteggiare 'loom'
verde 'green': verdeggiare 'be verdant'
primo 'first': primeggiare 'be most eminent'
scarso 'scarce': scarseggiare 'be scarce'

(b) To imitate or affect the manner of X.

pavone 'peacock': pavoneggiare 'show off'
buffone 'clown': buffoneggiare 'play the fool'
Petrarca 'Petrarch': petrarcheggiare 'imitate Petrarch'
latio 'Latin': latineggiare 'use a Latin style'
francesco 'French': franceseggiare 'act French'
tiranno 'tyrant': tiranneggiare 'tyrannize'
signore 'noble': signoreggiare 'hold sway'

Both these patterns are prominent in Greek: see (7)(a) and (12). However, in words of group (19)(b) Italian -eggiare has a satirical tone: franceseggiare suggests a silly affectation of French manners, and petrarcheggiare a decidedly unsuccessful imitation of Petrarch. This group comprises nearly half the 300 or so attested verbs in -eggiare, and it is only with this meaning that the suffix is still (marginally) productive. Other principal values of -eggiare also correspond to those of -izein in Greek:

(c) To produce X, or (transitively) cause to have X.

rumore 'noise': rumoreggiare 'make noise'
motto 'wisecrack': motteggiare 'make wisecracks'
verso 'verse': verseggiare 'compose verses'
tinta 'color': tinteggiare 'color'
punto 'dot': punteggiare 'punctuate'
atto 'gesture': atteggiare 'impert a pose'

(d) To practice, indulge in, use or wield X.

arma 'weapon': armeggiare 'joust'
timone 'rudder': timoneggiare 'steer'
occhio 'eye': occhieggiare 'ogle'
gara 'contest': gareggiare 'vie'
patto 'pact': patteggiare 'negotiate'
sermone 'sermon': sermoneggiare 'sermonize'

In general the verbs listed above are stylistically neutral, but there are also some literary nonce words such as tesoreggiare 'store up', citareggiare 'play the lyre' — echoing the Latin hellenisms THESAURIZARE, CITHARIZARE, both used in the Vulgate — which suggest that the suffix is being consciously identified with its Graeco-Latin etymon.
It is evident that at least the (19)(b) group, 'to imitate or affect the manner of X', continues an unbroken tradition emanating from the -izein verbs in Greek. As for the other semantic values of -eggiiare, they stand out less distinctly from the general run of denominative verbs formed with other suffixes, and the extent to which they represent a direct survival from antiquity remains uncertain. In the language of Dante, -eggiare is fairly prominent — the Commedia has over 40 occurrences — and -izzare is barely beginning to encroach on its territory. Through a study of the earliest stratum of -eggiare verbs one could hope to determine whether the parallelism with the Greek etymon is merely a late development, or whether it should be chalked up to the usual conservatism which is characteristic of Italian in comparison with the other Romance languages.

NOTES

1. This numerical discrepancy is the only apparent explanation for the fact that -ázō never found its way into the Romance languages as -izō did. One might look for traces of -ázō in the dialects of Southern Italy, where Greek influence was at its strongest, but the result would be inconclusive. Italian -azzare (as in spiegazzare 'crumple', schiamazzare 'cackle, squawk') does share the iterative-pejorative quality associated with -eggiare, but it can be plausibly explained as an elaboration on the noun suffix -azzo, the Southern counterpart of Tuscan -accio from the Latin adjectival suffix -ACEUS.


3. Quintilian 12.10.27, translation from Sturtevant (1940).

...iucundissimas ex Graecis litteras non habemus, vocalem alteram, alteram consonantem, quibus nullae apud eos dulcius spirant; quas mutuari solemus, quotiens illorum nominibus utimur. Quod cum contingit, nescio quo modo hilarior protinus renidet oratio, ut in Zephyris et zopyris. Quae si nostris litteris scribantur, surdum quiddam et barbarum efficient.

4. The fact that these are the older equivalents for ι was well
known to litterati of the Christian era: "Z in antiquis libris Latinorum scriptum non est, sed pro illo duo ss ponebantur" (Cassiodorus). "Usque ad Augusti tempus pro Z duo SS ponebant" (Isidore of Seville).


6. Alemany-Bolufer is plainly guilty of this mistake: "Los escritores latinos de la época de la decadencia transcribieron los verbos griegos en ἐγεί, ἐγεῖν (originariamente ἔιμι, ἐῖεν) por izo, izare, mientras que el vulgo pronunciaría ideo, idiare; así que de ἐπιγεῖν salieron en latín los infinitivos baptizare y baptidiare, que respectivamente dieron en romance bautizar y batear" (Tratado de la formación de palabras, p. 147).

7. Funck (1886, pp. 407 ff.). In this group he also places AMBIZARE: apes ('bees') ambizant et bombizant, but the base appears to be Latin AMBIRE 'go around'.

8. In examples such as the following, -IZARE seems to be a whim of the Latin writer, since the corresponding Greek verb has -έο instead of -ίς: ALLEGORIZARE 'speak in allegories', APOSTATIZARE 'forsake one's religion', BOMBIZARE 'buzz' (see note 7), COMOEDIZARE 'portray in comedy', PAREGORIZARE 'sooth, alleviate'. The model for PROPHETIZO 'prophesy' was presumably Greek prophètizeō (prophētizeō, -έο are rare). Similarly hymnizeō, catechizeō, which exist only marginally in Greek, need not have been the immediate models for HYMNIZARE 'sing hymns', CATECHIZARE 'instruct in religion'.

9. Besides VIBRISSARE 'trill in singing, vocem crispare' in Titinius (comic poet of the early 2nd Century B.C.), there is an uncertain CERTISSARE 'be informed' in Pacuvius (tragic poet, c. 220 - c. 130 B.C.).

10. The problem of COMISSARĪ has been treated by Leumann (1948). This verb, unlike other verbs in -ISSARE, is occasionally admitted into the vocabulary of classical literature, but at the same time it is dissociated from the -ISSARE group by a reanalysis that links it to COMIS 'companion', COMEDO 'eat together', COMMENSA 'common table', etc. As a result, it is often written COMISOR, COMMISOR, COMESOR, COMMESOR, COMMENSOR etc.

11. In early Christian writings there was some hesitation about how to translate Greek baptizein. There were occasional attempts to find a Latin equivalent in TINGERE, INTINGERE, MERGITARE and
INITIARE. The competition was decided in favor of the loan word BAPTIZARE because of its use in the Itala and the Vulgate.

WORKS CONTAINING DATA ON -IZEIN AND -IZARE

1. ON GREEK


2. ON LATIN AND ROMANCE


Alemany-Bolucher, José. 1911. Estudio elemental de gramática histórica de la lengua castellana. 3d ed., Madrid.


ON THE SPANISH PASSIVE
Anchen Schulz

1. Introduction

Most of the recent work on the Passive construction has dealt with English data. However, contrastive analysis of English and Spanish centering on the Passive construction reveals several interesting problems posed by the Spanish Passive. In the present study, I identify and describe the problematic data and offer suggestions as to how these unresolved issues in Spanish might be satisfactorily accounted for.

The Passive in Spanish consists of one of the forms of the verb *ser* 'to be,' a Passive participle, and an Agent phrase formed by *por* 'by' and a NP. The formal nature of the Spanish construction thus resembles that of the English construction.

1. a. El asesino fue prendido por la policía.
   b. The murderer was arrested by the police.

However, the similarities between the two languages insofar as the Passive construction is concerned are limited to the superficial form. Even in usage of the construction Spanish and English diverge: the Passive in Spanish is restricted to journalistic prose, radio and television news and sports speech, and literary prose. The construction is virtually non-existent in colloquial, conversational Spanish. Yet the Passive does exist in Spanish and does present the linguist with several problems some of which are not peculiar only to the Passive.

2. The Passive Participle

In the recent literature, the Passive participle in English is alternatively analyzed either as an adjective or a verb; each stance is substantiated by pertinent argumentation. The categorial nature of the Passive participle in Spanish is much more obvious than it is in English: the Spanish Passive participle inflects for number and gender in accordance with the number and gender of the Subject NP. Thus, the Spanish Passive participle inflects in identical fashion to Spanish adjectives. Yet one must take into account the immediate environment in which the Passive participle occurs: in equationals, inflectional agreement is quite common in Spanish.

2. a. Aquellas mujeres son actrices/*actores.
   'Those women (f. pl.) are actresses (f. pl.)/*actors. (m. pl.)'
b. Paco es mi hermano/*hermana.
   'Paco (m. sg.) is my brother (m. sg.)/*sister (f. sg.).'

c. Este edificio es muy alto/*alta.
   'This building (m. sg.) is very tall (m. sg.)/*tall (f. sg.).'

d. La mesa es redonda/*redondo.
   'The table (f. sg.) is round (f. sg.)/*round (m. sg.).'

The underlined words in (2a) and (2b) are nouns following a form of the verb ser 'to be', an equational. The predicate nouns agree in number and gender with the Subject nouns. The glosses indicate that English exhibits a degree of number and gender concord where predicate nouns are concerned. However, the concord in English does not occur in every instance (cf. (3a), (3b)); equational concord in Spanish is the only grammatical and acceptable option when dealing with a noun that inflects for person.

(3) a. Juana es profesora/*profesor.
   'Juana (f. sg.) is a professor (f. sg.)/*professor (m. sg.).'

   b. Juan es turista.
   'Juan (m. sg.) is a tourist (m. f. sg.).'

Turista 'tourist' in (3b) belongs to a class of nouns in Spanish that inflects only for number, not gender. Yet this class is highly marked in the sense that inflectional concord based on number and gender is characteristic of Spanish.

Now consider the examples in (4).

(4) a. Estas mujeres son muy equilibradas.
   'These women (f. pl.) are very level-headed (f. pl.).'

   b. Aquel hombre es muy afortunado.
   'That man (m. sg.) is very lucky (m. sg.).'

   c. Luisa es muy conocida.
   'Luisa (f. sg.) is very (well) known (f. sg.).'

The underlined words in (4) are adjectives: they exhibit number/gender concord with the Subject NPs and they predicate some attribute or characteristic of their Subjects. The form of these three adjectives is very similar to that of Passive participles: the suffix -do/a(s) is that associated with Passive participles. However, the adjective equilibradas 'level-headed' in (4a) cannot be considered as identical to the Passive participle equilibrado 'balanced' derived from the verb equilibrar 'to balance': inclusion of an
of ser in a tense that is imperfective in aspect (i.e. the present tense or the imperfect tense) to indicate a single action. In other words, English and Spanish differ in the combinatory potential of the elements of the Passive construction. Consider the following examples.

(9) a. (i) Esta noche Julia Child prepara la comida.
(ii) Tonight the meal is prepared by Julia Child.

b. (i) Esa tarde se gana la batalla.
(ii) The battle is won that afternoon.

The English sentences in (9) are Passives in the present tense. As pointed out above, Spanish does not have the option of the present tense of ser combining with a Passive participle to describe a perfective event. Therefore, Spanish makes use of one of two alternatives. If there is an expressed Agent, as in (9a), Spanish opts for a sentence containing an Active verb form. However, if there is no Agent expressed, as in (9b), Spanish describes the event by employing the se construction. Thus, it can be concluded that, in Spanish, the Passive occurs in the present tense (or, in the imperfect tense, depending on the perspective) only when it is indicating a habitual action. Consider the following examples.

(10) a. Castro es temido por muchas personas.
'Castro is feared by many people.'

b. Perón era conocido por casi todo el mundo.
'Perón was known by nearly everybody.'

Where and how to state this constraint on the combinatory potential of the Passive construction in Spanish is problematic, regardless of the theory of grammar adopted. Yet, it is fairly obvious that the lexicon cannot express the combinatory potential of lexical items because as Luján noted, perfectivity is not an inherent characteristic of any lexical item, be it Passive participle, verb or adverbial. That leaves the semantics and the syntax as the only possible places where the constraints of combinatory potential can be handled. The options available, then, are interpretive rules or filters, both capturing the conditions on well-formedness as expressed by the constraints on combinatory potential.

3.2. The Direct Object

In Spanish, only Direct Objects can passivize (i.e., become the Subject of a Passive predicate). The explanation justifying this constraint that permits passivization only of Direct Objects is fairly clear-cut. In English there is assumed to be a rule of Dative Movement that relates the Indirect Object preceded by the preposition to to the prepositionless Indirect Object. In addi-
tion, English also has a rule that incorporates some verbs and prepositions, forming verb-particle combinations. These two rules are important in English because they permit the passivization of underlying non-Direct Object NPs. The pertinent data are in (11).

(11) a. (i) John gave the book to Mary.
    Direct     Indirect
    Object     Object

(ii) The book was given to Mary by John.

b. (i) John gave Mary the book.
    Indirect Direct
    Object     Object
    (preposed)

(ii) Mary was given the book by John.

c. (i) The troops marched through the field.

(ii) The troops marched through the field.

(iii) The field was marched through by the troops.

However, Spanish has no such rules. Therefore, it is not unexpected that only Direct Object NPs can passivize. Thus, the Direct Object Constraint on passivization follows quite naturally. Contrastive analysis of English and Spanish in this instance provides the information needed to understand the differences between the two languages.

3.3. The Naked Noun Constraint

Yet, the situation in Spanish is not that simple. It is not the case that all Direct Objects can passivize. For instance, passivization of (12a) produces the ungrammatical (12b).

(12) a. Paco llevó vino a la fiesta.
    'Paco took wine to the party.'

b. *Vino fue llevado a la fiesta por Paco.
    'Wine was taken to the party by Paco.'

The ungrammaticality of (12b) can be explained in terms of an across-the-board constraint called the Naked Noun Constraint (Suñer, forthcoming). The Naked Noun Constraint is a constraint on the well-formedness of sentences in Spanish and maintains that no unmodified noun may occur as Subject in preverbal position in noncontrastive
sentences. Therefore, the ungrammaticality of (12b) can be ac-
counted for by an independent and already well-motivated constraint
in the language: the Naked Noun Constraint holds not only for Ac-
tive Subjects, but also for Passive Subjects as well. Thus, no new
constraint need be added to the grammar of Spanish to account for
the data in (12).

For sentences containing certain Active verbs, the rule of
Subject Postposing can apply to render an ungrammatical sentence
such as (13a) grammatical, as shown in (13b).

(13) a. *Niños vinieron.
      *'Boys came.'

      b. Vinieron niños.
      'Boys came.'

However, such a possibility does not exist for sentences con-
taining Passive predicates. The gap is attributable to the thema-
tic structure of Spanish. At the level of sentence grammar, theme/
rheme structure is operative. Under non-contrastive intonation,
the rheme is identified as the verb and all the elements following
it. Rheme coincides with the scope of assertion. Sentential stress,
in normal, non-contrastive situations, falls on a particular ele-
ment within the rheme; often it is the last element of the VP that
carries the sentential stress. Suñer labels this element the focus.
The focus is the main information point of the sentence; it is se-
manically the weightiest and conveys the information the speaker
considers pertinent to the understanding of the message. Thus, in
a basic, declarative, neutral sentence containing a transitive verb,
the Direct Object will often be the focus element. Consider the
following.

(14) a. Los terroristas secuestraron al hijo del presidente.
      'The terrorists kidnapped the son of the president.'

      b. El hijo del presidente fue secuestrado por los terro-
      ristas.
      'The son of the president was kidnapped by the terror-
      ists.'

Passivization in Spanish is considered to be a thematizing process:
the FOCUS element of the Active (cf. 14a), al hijo del presidente
'the son of the president' is thematized by the process of passi-
vization. That the Agent phrase (cf. 14b), por los terroristas
'by the terrorists,' receives the main sentential stress and func-
tions as the FOCUS element of the sentence stands to reason, given
the nature of the Agent phrase. The Agent phrase is completely op-
tional: if the speaker opts to include the Agent phrase it is be-
cause the addition of that lexical information has been deemed
pertinent to the communicative act.

In light of the brief discussion on the thematic structure of Spanish sentences, I can now explain why sentences such as that in (15b) are ungrammatical/unacceptable.

(15) a. *Vino fue llevado a la fiesta por Paco.
   'Wine was taken to the party by Paco.'

   b. *Fue llevado vino a la fiesta por Paco.
   was taken wine to the party by Paco

(15a) is starred because it violates the Naked Noun Constraint: vino cannot occur without contrastive stress in the preverbal position. However, Subject Postposing should provide a grammatical solution to the problem posed in (15a). Yet, passivization, as a thematizing process, produces a clash: the thematized element of the Passive (i.e., the Subject NP) is not as readily available to being moved into the post-verbal rhematic position as is the thematic Subject of an Active predicate. More research needs to be conducted in this respect: modified NPs functioning as the thematized Subjects of Passive predicates exhibit the possibility of being moved into the post-verbal (rhematic) position. However, such rhematization of a thematized element raises the question as to why the Passive was chosen in the first place. If Passive was chosen because of its thematizing properties, then (16) represents a counterexample or, at the very least, a problem. Although rare, there are instances of modified postposed Subjects of Passive predicates.

(16) Fue vendido el libro por José.
   was sold the book by José

Yet, it stands to reason when one considers the equivalent status obtaining between Active and Passive, that the rhematizing process of Subject Postposing should be available to Passive Subjects just as it is to Active Subjects.

3.4. Idioms

Another problem posed by the Spanish data is illustrated in (17).

(17) a. Mario empinaba el codo con frecuencia.
   'Mario "used to drink" frequently.'

   b. *El codo era empinado por Mario con frecuencia.
   '*The elbow was raised by Mario frequently.'

Although (17a) appears to contain an Active, transitive verb, empinaba 'used to raise' followed by a full NP el codo 'the elbow' (17b)
shows that el codo cannot be separated from the verb empinar: empinar el codo is an idiom in Spanish meaning 'to drink.' The idiomatic reading can be assured only when all the composite parts are considered as occurring in one unit. Thus, it can be concluded from the evidence in (17) that the grammar of Spanish does not allow for the decomposition of idioms, as occurs in passivization. In this respect, Spanish differs from English: the grammar of English provides for the decomposition of certain idioms. Consider the examples in (18).

(18) a. John took advantage of the younger students.

b. The younger students were taken advantage of by John.

c. Advantage was taken of the younger students by John.

There are two possible passivized forms related to (18a): (18b) and (18c) demonstrate not only Verb-Preposition Incorporation, but also decomposition of idioms, both processes producing the acceptable and grammatical outputs (18b) and (18c).

3.5. The 'Personal a'

Another difference between English and Spanish is the 'personal a' of Spanish. The 'personal a' is a syntactic marker which distinguishes Direct Objects from Subjects. However, the a conveys semantic information in the form of the specification of the value for the feature [individual]. Consider the following examples.

(19) a. Siempre llevan los prisioneros a misa. 'They always take the prisoners to Mass.'

b. Siempre llevan a los prisioneros a misa. 'They always take the prisoners to Mass.'

The examples in (19) are different with respect to the value specification of the feature [individual] which is relevant only for Direct Objects. In both (a) and (b) of (19) the Direct Object NF refers to a definite, specific group of prisoners, but (19b) signals that a particular group of prisoners is selected out of a larger group of prisoners.

As mentioned earlier, the distinction of values for [individual] is not relevant for NPs filling any function other than that of Direct Object. Therefore, there is only one Passive possible: (20) is the Passive that corresponds to both (19a) and (19b).

(20) Los prisioneros siempre son llevados a misa. 'The prisoners are always taken to Mass.'
The personal a poses problems for any analysis. There are two basic hypotheses available: one can posit either a deletion or an insertion account of the a. Under the deletion hypothesis, the a is base-generated with all Direct Objects. Then, deletion rules are formulated according to the conditions that determine the occurrence/non-occurrence of the a, thus ensuring that the a surfaces only in those instances where it is appropriate. The deletion of the a must be guaranteed when a Direct Object NP marked by a is passivized: the a cannot be left stranded in the VP nor can it accompany the NP to Subject position.

The insertion hypothesis, on the other hand, generates all Direct Object NP nodes bare, that is, without the a. Insertion rules, formulated in accordance with the conditions of occurrence/non-occurrence of the a, stipulate and ensure each and every occurrence of a. Thus, with the insertion analysis, either there is an empty node generated along with the Direct Object NP node (which may or may not be filled by a during the derivation) or, if the a is inserted, it simply hangs from the Direct Object NP node. Both approaches to the insertion analysis raise other theoretical issues, such as empty nodes at the end of a derivation (that have never been filled) and related insertion problems, such as those encountered by Chomsky (1970) with of-insertion in nominals.

A third possible hypothesis concerning the a can be proposed. The grammar could provide for two types of Direct Object NP: those with the a and those without. Choice of the appropriate Direct Object NP type would depend on some sort of interpretive rules or on a formulation of the syntax and of the semantics that would provide some means to choose the correct type of Direct Object. Concomitant with this stance would be the distinction of the various a+NP phrases. In other words, in Spanish, only the Direct Object a+NP is available to passivization; there must be some means of ensuring that the locative a+NP and the Indirect Object a+NP are not available to passivization.

Once again, depending on the theoretical approach chosen to analyze the data, many of the decisions to be made regarding the solution of the various problems presented in this study will follow from the theory. What is clear, though, is that the personal a solution must be sought in the semantics or in the syntax and formulated as a filter or interpretive rule. A lexical solution is not possible because the occurrence/non-occurrence of the a in any given utterance cannot in any way be considered as an inherent feature or quality of the verb or noun or the phrases they comprise.

3.6. Verbs of Measurement

Verbs of measurement, such as pesar 'to weigh,' medir 'to measure,' costar 'to cost,' etc., impose stringent selectional restric-
tions on the element that follows the verb, that is, on the expression of the unit of measurement. For instance, there must be some mechanism within the grammar of Spanish that guarantees that _pesar_ 'to weigh' occurs with measurement phrases that have to do with weight, such as _libras_ 'pounds,' _onzas_ 'ounces,' etc., and that it does not occur with phrases expressing distance, such as _trescientas millas_ 'three hundred miles,' _cuarenta kilómetros_ 'forty kilometers,' etc. The actual categorial assignment of these measurement phrases is problematic for most analyses because these phrases look like NPs, but do not behave as NPs: measurement phrases neither passivize nor cliticize. Consider the following examples.

(21) a. Aquel hombre pesa trescientas libras.
   'That man weighs three hundred pounds.'

b. *Trescientas libras son pesadas por aquel hombre.
   'Three hundred pounds are weighed by that man.'

c. *Aquel hombre las pesa.
   '*That man weighs them.'

A relevant generalization can be captured by classifying these measurement phrases as adverbials: in this way, _pesar_ _trescientas libras_ 'to weigh three hundred pounds,' and _pesar mucho_ 'to weigh a lot' can be shown to have measurement phrases that behave similarly. Therefore, I propose that _libras_, when functioning as the head of a measurement phrase, undergoes a rule of category shift that changes the status from noun to adverb, thereby producing the head of an adverbial phrase of measurement. Then the intransitive verb _pesar_ must be subcategorized for obligatory co-occurrence with a non-optimal adverbial phrase. That the adverbial phrase is non-optimal is evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (22).

(22) *Aquel hombre pesa.
    '*That man weighs.'

Category shift is a productive process in Spanish.

Consider the following examples.

(23) a. Juan es muy hombre.
    'Juan is very manly.'

b. Ana y yo somos muy amigas.
    'Ana and I are very (good) friends.'

c. Lo mal entendido será explicado otra vez.
    'The misunderstood (part) will be explained again.'

d. Prefiero el rojo.
    'I prefer the red (one).'
e. El fumar es peligroso.
' Smoking is dangerous.'

f. Tu ayer no es igual al mío.
'Your yesterday is not equal to mine.'

The underlined words in the examples in (23) have all undergone category shift. In (a) and (b), hombre and amigas, normally considered to be nouns, occur with the degree modifier muy that combines only with adjectives and adverbs. Although the English translation of (a) employs the adverb 'manly,' hombre is functioning as an adjective. Consider the effects of pluralization: adverbs do not pluralize in Spanish; adjectives do.

(24) Juan y su hermano son muy hombres.
'Juan and his brother are very manly.'

In (c), entendido 'understood' is a participle that has been nominalized by lo, the neuter article. In (d) rojo 'red' an adjective has also undergone nominalization, one of the specific manifestations of the general process of category shift. The infinitive fumar 'to smoke' in (e) has been nominalized (in Spanish), as evidenced by the article el 'the.' In (f) ayer 'yesterday,' an adverb, has also undergone nominalization and accepts modification by the possessive adjective tu 'your.' I propose the existence in Spanish of the general process of category shift which accounts for the data in (21), (23) and (24). The exact nature of category shift, that is whether it is a syntactic or a semantic process, will be determined according to the domain relegated to the syntax and the semantics by the particular theory chosen for the analysis of the data.

Not every occurrence, however, of pesar 'to weigh' and libras 'pounds' results in the intransitive verb plus adverbial phrase. There is also a transitive verb pesar 'to weigh' (both in English and Spanish). With the transitive verb, libras does not undergo category shift; rather it remains a noun. Consider the following examples.

(25) a. Aquel hombre pesa las diez libras de azúcar.
' That man weighs the ten pound (bags) of sugar.'

b. Las diez libras de azúcar son pesadas por aquel hombre.
' The ten pound (bags) of sugar are weighed by that man.'

c. Aquel hombre las pesa.
' That man weighs them.'

As evidenced by (b) and (c) of (25), las diez libras de azúcar
functions as a true NP: in (b) it passivizes and in (c) it cliti-
izes.

4. Conclusion

I have generally laid the groundwork in this paper for a study of the Passive in Spanish. That is, I have outlined the problem areas in the data and have identified the unresolved issues. The application of any theoretical model of grammar must take into account the problem areas discussed in section 3. Other problems may become evident, but I have identified herein the major issues to be considered in a study of the Passive in Spanish.
NOTES


2 Luján's (1981) analysis of adjectival participles into two basic classes has ramifications in other parts of the grammar of Spanish. For instance, perfective participles combine with estar whereas imperfective participles do not co-occur with estar (cf. (i) and (ii)).

(i) perfective
   a. Esa novela fue escrita por Camilo José Cela.
      'That novel was written by Camilo José Cela.'

   b. Sí, esa novela ya está escrita.
      'Yes, that novel is already written.'

(ii) imperfective
   a. El camión fue manejado por un estudiante.
      'The truck was driven by a student.'

   b. *Sí, el camión ya está manejado.
      '**Yes, the truck is already driven.'

But Luján reminds the reader that the classification of participles as either perfective or imperfective is not a hard and fast classification: [+perfective] is not an inherent feature that can be specified in the lexicon for a particular verb. In fact, a verb such as escribir 'to write' can be perfective (cf. (i)) or imperfective, depending on the aspectual designation of the event.

Luján's analysis is reminiscent of the cyclic/non-cyclic classification of events proposed by Bull (1965). Luján's characterization of perfective parallels Bull's cyclic events; imperfective corresponds to non-cyclic.

3 For a detailed discussion of Subject Postposing and Presentational sentences in Spanish, see Suñer (forthcoming).

4 Suñer (forthcoming) explains the basic concepts of theme, rheme, focus, etc. and offers an analysis of Presentational sentences. The analysis of Passives reflects my interpretation and application of her work to my data.

5 The terminology I have chosen, "decomposition of idioms," must remain only vaguely defined or explained for the time being. The designation of idioms as indivisible, yet complex semantic units
seems to rely on interpretability. I am thinking, here, in terms of cliticization. Idioms seem to be available to cliticization, under all the conditions of interpretability that all cliticized forms are subject to. For example, consider the improvised exchange proposed in (i).

(i) a. Oí que Mario empiñó el codo al exceso anoche.  
'I heard that Mario drank to excess last night.'

b. ¿Qué dijiste? ¿Que lo empiñó al exceso anoche?  
'What did you say? That he drank to excess last night?'

The cliticized form of el codo that occurs in (ib)—lo represents el codo—produces a perfectly well-formed and interpretable utterance: lo empiñó is understood as the idiom 'to drink,' indicating that cliticization does not destroy the interpretation of idioms. However, such a discovery leads to another as yet unresolved problem in Spanish, namely the identification of Direct Objects. In more specific terms, why is it that el codo can be cliticized as lo, the Direct Object clitic, but cannot be passivized (cf., (17b))? It seems that the proximity of the clitic to the verb preserves the idiomatic unit and consequently its interpretation. Yet in the Passive, el codo is separated from the Passive participle empiñado by a form of the verb ser; the distance between the integral parts of the idiom imposed by the Passive construction prevents idiomatic interpretation. Yet, here is another difference between Spanish and English: pronominalization of idioms does not produce grammatical outputs in English (cf. (ii)).

(ii) a. I heard that John took advantage of the younger students.
   b. *Did you say that John took it of the younger students?
   c. *Yes, he took it of them.

6. That only certain idioms in English passivize is evidenced by the behavior of kick the bucket and spill the beans. When passivized, only the literal reading is obtained. Thus, decomposition of certain English idioms results in the loss of idiomatic, non-literal interpretation.

(i) a. The old guy kicked the bucket around three this morning.
   b. *The bucket was kicked by the old guy around three this morning.

(ii) a. Fred spilled the beans to Mary about the surprise party.
b. *The beans were spilled to Mary by Fred about the surprise party.

c. *The beans were spilled about the surprise party to Mary by Fred.

These examples were suggested to me by Margarita Suñer.
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Syntactically speaking, haber in its impersonal use is a one-argument verb which when finite invariably adopts the third person singular form in standard Spanish. Its single NP argument functions as direct object since it may be cliticized by an accusative clitic of the appropriate gender and number. Thus, impersonal haber is one of the very few syntactically subjectless verbs in Spanish.¹

In contrast to standard usage, where finite hay is frozen in the third person singular form, in non-standard Spanish, this verb may appear in the third person plural when it has a plural NP argument. In other words, agreement takes place between haber and its NP.

If one is to believe what many scholars have said, it might very well be that verb agreement is the norm in the colloquial speech of Spanish America and of certain areas of Spain. For example, Kany (1969:256), after stating that this "faulty agreement" is occasionally found even in Old Spanish, goes on to say:

In Spanish America,...,it is extremely common everywhere, in speech and in writing, and the lashing of grammarians seems to have done little to eradicate it. ...very few regions have escaped this popular usage and in a good many it can be found side by side with the correct form among cultured folk and in some of the foremost writers.

Kany (1969:257-59) provides a variety of literary examples from different parts of Latin America. Some of them are given under (1):

(1)a. El paisanaje supuso que habrían (3 pl., conditional) nuevas elecciones.

'The country-people assumed that there—would—be new elections.'

b. ¿...quién es hayan (3 pl., present) adentro?

'...who (pl.) are—there inside?'
c. En el suelo habían (3 pl., imperfect) dos hermosos gallos.  
'On the ground there were two beautiful roosters.'

d. ¿Es posible que habigan (3 pl., present subjunctive) cobardes...?  
'Is it possible that there be cowards...?'

e. Sí, han habido (3 pl., present perfect) otros hombres.  
'Yes, there have been other men.'

f. Le preocupaba el número de personas que habían (3 pl., imperfect) allí.  
'It worried him/her the number of people that there were there.'

If a speaker pluralizes haber to agree with a plural NP, s/he is also likely to establish this same type of agreement across modal and aspectual verbs, as well as across the subject raising verb parecer 'to seem.' All examples, with the exception of the last one, come from Kany (1969).

(2)a. En el mar deben (3 pl., present) de haber hombres en el mar  
así.  
'that'  
'At sea there must exist men like that.'

b. Podrán (3 pl., future) haber cien alumnos en la escuela.  
'be-able there be 100 students in the school'  
'There might be one hundred students in the school.'

c. Suelen (3 pl., present) haber niños desobedientes.  
'used-to there be children disobedient'  
'There commonly are disobedient children.'
d. Comienzan (3 pl., present) a haber desagradables
begin to there-be unpleasantries
en el matrimonio de enfrente.
in the couple across-the-way
'There begin to be unpleasantries in the couple across the way.'

e. Parecen (3 pl., present) haber más casas...
seem there-be more houses
'There seem to be more houses...'

That examples like those in (1) and (2) have always existed in the language cannot be doubted. Kany (1969:256) cites the following two examples:

(3)a. Algunos quiseron que ... quisieron disfamar
some there-were who ... wanted to-discredit
el rey de Navarra.
the king of Navarra.

b. ...en ella hubieron cosas dignas de memoria...
...in her there-were things worthy of memory...
hubieron palabras (1605)
there-were words

Thus, what needs to be established is to what degree haber in the plural has encroached upon standard usage, and whether this usage is as common as Kany leads us to believe. Since no sociolinguistic studies of this phenomenon exist to date, this question must remain unanswered for the time being. Nevertheless, I would like to point out that my data rendered three examples of plural concord:

(4)a. Ahora yo encuentro que han habido (3 pl., present perfect) montones de charlas en la radio. (VEA 55)
'Now I find that there-have been lots of talks on the radio...'

b. Hubieron veinte mil peripecias ¿no? (M 207)
'There-were twenty thousand mishaps, weren't there?'

c. No habían las libertades que hay ahora. (M 296)
'There-weren't the liberties that exist now.'

The second point of interest raised by these examples has to do with the function of the plural NP. Two logical
possibilities exist: (1) that this NP is the subject, or (2) that it is the object. Each possibility is considered in turn.

Keenan (1976) establishes a dichotomy of subject properties: coding or morphosyntactic ones such as nominative case and verb agreement, and behavioral or transformational ones such as the ability of the NP to control reflexivization, deletion under identity, and subject-raising rules. I use his classification of these properties for testing subjecthood and apply them to contemporary non-standard usage of hay in an effort to determine the subject or non-subject status of the argument of this verb in non-standard Spanish.

1. **Coding properties.** The only coding property obligatory for all subject noun phrases in Spanish is verbal agreement. Therefore, the hypothesis that the plural NP constitutes the grammatical subject of these nonstandard sentences gains credence because of the plural verb marking. In other words, this NP seems to be triggering the usual rule of subject-verb agreement [cf. (1)-(4)]. Since only subjects invariably require verbal agreement in Spanish, this evidence favors the subject status of the NP argument.

Nevertheless, the above conclusion seems to be contradicted by Case assignment. As is well known, surface Case is practically nonfunctional in Spanish. The only vestiges of it are found in the pronominal system. If one takes the subject forms of the pronouns to be remnants of the nominative Case, one has a second coding property with which to test the purported subjecthood of the NP under scrutiny.

Consider then the generalization that human subjects may be referred to by means of subject pronouns. This observation is corroborated by the acceptability of the pair of sentences in (5) which lead one to expect the examples in (6), if the NP argument in question is functioning as a subject.

(5)a. Llegaron unos niños.  
arrived (3 pl., preterit) several children  
'Several children arrived.'

b. Llegaron ellos.  
arrived they  
'They arrived.'

(6)a. Habían unos niños.  
'There were several children.'
(7)a. Habían 25 plateros, 25 lomilleros... there-were 25 silversmiths, 25 harness-makers...
Los habían por robo... them there-were because-of thievery...
'There were 25 silversmiths, 25 harness-makers... they were had (detained) for stealing.'

b. Pero don Zacarías... era rehacio al matrimonio but don Zacarías... was opposed to marriage
como los hubieron pocos.
as them there-were few
'But don Zacarías was opposed to marriage as few others had been.'

Both examples exhibit a direct object clitic los ('them,' pl.) whose referent cannot be other than the same plural NP that caused the plural agreement on the verb to appear. Consequently, these object clitics are anaphoric to the alleged subject argument, a fact which seems to be a contradiction at any plausible level of analysis.

2. Behavioral properties. Since reflexivization by nature requires that the verb be at least a two-argument verb, it cannot be used as a test for impersonal haber, which is a one-argument verb. But there is another test which can be used instead: impersonal se. Any Spanish verb which can take a human subject can be constructed with the impersonal se, irrespective of the number of arguments it takes. Therefore, on the model of (8), one could expect the pattern in (9) to be grammatical. This is not the case.

(8)a. Paco trabaja mucho en esa fábrica.
'Paco works a lot in that factory.'

b. Se trabaja mucho en esa fábrica.
'One works a lot in that factory.'
'People work
(9a). Habían unos niños en el parque.
'There were several kids in the park.'

b. *Se habían en el parque.

Sentence (9b) seems to indicate quite clearly that, in spite of the plural agreement on the verb, the NP unos niños does not behave as a true subject.

Next, let us assume that Equi is an operation that deletes an NP which is referentially identical to an NP in the higher clause [cf. (10a)]. Under this assumption, if the NP of hay were a subject, it would delete under Equi. But once more (10b and c) show that this is not possible (regardless of word order).

(10a). Unos niños querían jugar en el parque.
'Some kids wanted to-play in the park.'

b.*Unos niños querían haber en el parque.
'Some kids wanted to there-be in the park.'

c.*Querían haber unos niños en el parque.

Furthermore, the NP argument of haber also fails to undergo deletion under subject identity conditions.

(11) *Habían y olían agradablemente dos
there-were and smelled pleasingly two
docenas de rosas.

dozens of roses

Thus, the NP of haber fails another of the behavioral tests for subjecthood: the one that tests the ability of an NP to undergo and to trigger deletion under identity [cf. (10) and (11)].

There remains one more pertinent behavioral property: the capacity to undergo subject raising. As already noted in (2), the NP argument with haber seems to undergo subject raising and causes the pluralization of the verb parecer 'to seem' [cf. (2e)]. Other examples follow:

(12a). Parecía que habían más rosas el año
it-seemed that there-were more roses the year
pasado.
last

'It seemed that there-were more roses last year.'
b. Más rosas parecían haber el año pasado.
'There seemed to be more roses last year.'

c. Parecían haber más rosas el año pasado.
'There seemed to be more roses last year.'

That is to say, (12a) is a sentence in which parecer is the main verb and haber that of the complement clause. In (12b) and (12c), muchas rosas seems to have been subject-raised, because parecer shows agreement with this plural NP. [Notice that in (12b) the NP appears before the verb complex but in (12c) it remains postposed.] Thus, at first glance, the argument of haber passes the subject raising test and qualifies to be a subject under one of the behavioral properties of subjecthood.

By phrasing the observations of this last paragraph in such tentative language, I have tried to convey my doubts about the validity of this last argument as a real test for the subject status of the NP with haber. Notice that despite the relatively "free" word order allowed in Spanish, (12c) is a far more natural sounding example than (12b). Sentence (12b) minimally requires contrastive stress on más rosas, a fact which is not the norm for subject-raised subjects in initial position [cf. (13)].

(13)a. Los niños parecen estar dormidos.
'The children seem to be asleep.'

b. Las hojas parecen estar secas.
'The leaves seem to be dry.'

Both examples in (13) have a natural sentential stress which falls on the last word (dormidos and secas, respectively), and there is no need to contrastively stress the subject NPs (los niños and las hojas) to improve the acceptability of the sentences; they are already fully grammatical and natural sounding. In short, the fact that the nominal cannot readily appear preverbally (12b), contrary to the usual privileges of subjects, creates serious doubts about both its subject status and the validity of subject raising as a reliable test in this case. Observe that since word order does not confirm the raising
hypothesis, the only reason for claiming that the postverbal NP has been raised in (12c) is subject-verb agreement, a coding property.

As a matter of fact, this coding property might not be a foolproof test for subjecthood in Spanish if the sentence is an impersonal one. For example, after analyzing another type of Spanish impersonal sentence, that with impersonal SE, Aissen (1973) argues for an analogic formulation of object agreement. Her rule reads:

A verb in $S_1$ agrees with an NP which is not its subject, NP$_1$, just in case $S_1$ is structurally identical to an $S$ of a different derivation whose subject occupies the position corresponding to that of NP$_1$ (1973:15; see also Otero, 1972; Contreras, 1973; and Suñer, 1976a; for a different point of view).

To sum up, the survey of coding and behavioral properties of the NP argument of haber has uncovered just one property which appears to support its subject function: namely, its capacity to trigger plural agreement on the verb (a coding property). On the other hand, there are several tests which yield results that militate against the subjecthood of this NP. Aside from its inability to co-occur with impersonal se and to control deletion under identity, the fact that it cannot be replaced by a subject pronoun [cf. (6b)] but can be replaced by an object clitic [cf. (7)] speaks against its subject status.

It appears, then, that the NP argument of haber has a "blurred" grammatical function in non-standard Spanish. It might very well be that the types of sentences found in (1) and (2) are a "blend," a "hybrid" construction which adopts certain characteristics of subjectless sentences and at the same time assumes some characteristics of sentences that do take a subject. This might be an indication of an area of flux in the language; these sentences with plural agreement might be evidence of an incomplete syntactic change.

3. Speculations. At this point, it seems pertinent to speculate as to the nature of this apparent syntactic change. It is evident that this is not a case of restructuring, that is, it is not a change in the base component (Lightfoot, 1976a and 1977). If it were, the NP would have to have divested itself of all object properties and to have acquired the full range of subject properties. Therefore, this is most likely a change taking place in the transformational subcomponent; this change is
probably causing the addition of a rule which, under certain circumstances, has the effect of establishing verb agreement with the only NP argument present. This new rule might very well be analogous to other presentational sentences which have their syntactic subjects in postverbal position.

(14)a. Aparecieron tiburones.
 appeared (3 pl.) sharks
 'Sharks appeared.'

b. Cayeron unas piedras enormes.
 fell (3 pl.) some stones huge
 'Some huge stones fell'

Considering that truly subjectless sentences constitute a minute portion of all sentence types in Spanish, it might be that speakers feel these sentences are somehow unnatural. In an effort to make them conform with the norm (i.e., sentences with subjects), speakers may unconsciously find a pseudo-subject with which to establish verbal agreement. This analysis concurs with Kany's speculation (1969:526):

There was from the beginning an evident discrepancy between the psychological concept (the noun as subject) and the grammatical expression (the noun as object). It is not surprising, therefore that speakers should often allow the psychological concept to dominate, making the impersonal verb agree with its grammatical object as if it were a grammatical subject.

Moreover, when one takes into account Keenan's (1976) multifactor characterization of subjecthood, together with the fact that haber only has one NP whose grammatical function is that of object, it is not difficult to understand why speakers would tend to assign one of the most prominent and transparent properties of subjecthood to the sole NP found in the sentence.

Further evidence for an explanation which maintains that this agreement does not illustrate a change in the base component is found in the historical facts. When one considers that examples of impersonal haber with plural agreement have been documented at least since the 14th century [cf. (3)], one may wonder why the NP in this type of construction has not progressed further along the continuum from object to subject. Clearly enough time has elapsed to complete the change, and
there already existed the pattern NP-V-LOC as exemplified by ser 'to be.' It might just be that speakers (unconsciously) never considered this NP to be a true subject.

The only detail to be tended to is the specification of how this agreement between verb and direct object takes place in the transformational component of the grammar. The Government and Binding model of grammar provides the tools for an explanation. Chomsky (1981:113) has observed that quite generally verbs which assign Case to the object participate in assigning a \( \Theta \) role to the subject. Thus, transitive verbs co-occur with two \( \Theta \) roles: one marked on the subject position, and one marked on the object position. Now notice that haber does not fit the above generalization: it is a transitive verb which assigns Case to its object, but it has no thematic subject; as a matter of fact, it has no subject whatsoever. Hence, one could anticipate some wavering in the determination of verbal agreement and Case assignment for this verb. As the previous discussion makes clear, this is precisely what happens.

Let us assume with Chomsky that the rule of Affix hopping (called R) may apply in either the transformational component or in the phonological component in PRO-drop languages. Moreover, assume the theory of abstract Case, in particular that nominative Case is assigned to the NP co-superscripted with and governed by AGR(ement) (Chomsky 1981:264). Given these assumptions it is possible to explain the variable verb agreement of haber as follows: whether R applies in the syntax or not, since it is not co-superscripted with the sole NP argument, it cannot assign nominative Case to the NP of haber. Hence, this argument receives objective Case because it is governed by the verb; the verb itself surfaces in the third person singular (the unmarked option whenever tense is present). This is the only possibility accepted by the established Spanish grammars.

On the other hand, if R applies in the syntax, even though AGR is not co-superscripted with the argument of haber, it might still trigger verbal agreement, because it governs the NP, because it is a transitive verb without a subject, and because it is analogous to other presentational sentences with subjects [cf. (14)]. This is the outcome in non-standard Spanish. Notice that since there is no co-superscription, the NP argument will not be assigned nominative Case; this is an advantage because otherwise one would be at a loss to explain the ungrammaticality of (6b) where there is plural agreement and the subject pronoun is overtly marked nominative.

(6)b. *Habían ellos.
'There-were they.'
Moreover, this explanation does not conflict with the examples in (7) where plural agreement co-occurs with object clitics.10 The fact that no nominative Case is assigned to the argument of haber might also be a reason why this construction has not progressed more on the route towards complete agreement with its only NP argument.

To summarize, haber sentences in non-standard Spanish show agreement between their NP argument and the existential verb. In spite of this fact, it is impossible to establish unequivocally the grammatical function of the NP as that of subject, because the NP lacks most of the coding and behavioral properties proper to subjecthood.11 This discovery leads to the suspicion that this might be a hybrid construction. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the purported syntactic change has hardly evolved at all during the last six centuries. The hypothesis is that it is a more or less surface phenomenon, triggered in a manner analogous to other presentational sentences with subjects.

Notes

1 For a complete characterization of impersonal haber in standard Spanish see Suñer, 1981.

2 The three examples come from recorded speech. Moreover, I have read five contemporary plays that exemplify the colloquial speech of the River Plate region, and listened to four hours of taped speech from Buenos Aires, in the hope of finding more examples. None were encountered. Of course, there always remains the possibility that my data is either not representative, or accidentally devoid of the phenomenon under discussion. It is also worth noticing that most of Kany's examples from Argentina are illustrations of the stereotyped literary "gaucho" speech.

3 Since non-standard Spanish is being discussed, all the examples with haber appear in the third person plural form.

4 Contrary to what Keenan states, I do not consider most of these tests to be transformational.
5 I take this position for ease of exposition. The argument still holds under a different characterization of Equi.

6 Compare (11) with the following grammatical examples:

Irradiaban luz y olfán agradablemente
gave-out light and smelled pleasingly

dos docenas de rosas subj
two dozens of roses
'Two dozen roses sparkled and gave forth a pleasant fragrance.'

7 The fact that haber seems to have acquired a coding property before acquiring any (conclusive) behavioral properties might provide a counterexample to the claim that behavioral subject properties are acquired prior to subject coding properties (Cole et al., 1978). However, if agreement in subjectless sentences is analogical, then this test is not a dependable subject coding property for this type of sentence, and the acquisition hypothesis remains unchallenged by the Spanish data.

8 How this impersonal construction came about constitutes in itself an interesting topic. Cf. Bourciez (1910), and Bassols (1948) among others.


10 Borer (1981) reports cases (studied by Shoshani) in which the postverbal subject is reanalyzed as direct object in sub-standard Hebrew. Borer argues for random superscripting and against co-superscripting at D-structure. It might very well be that Spanish haber has not reached the random superscripting stage; in other words, there might be different stages of evolution.

11 As a matter of fact, if this agreement is analogical—as I think it is—then the NP occurring with haber would have no coding or behavioral properties in Keenan's sense.
References


