

The Subject in Spanish and Some Related Topics*

Chiyo Nishida Grigsby
University of Arizona

1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to define a grammatical construct subject for Spanish sentences. Naturally, this task is only possible within a broader context: What is the sentence as a syntactic entity, and what is it composed of? The framework employed here is proposed by Steele (to appear) in the analysis of Luiseno. In the following pages, the readers will find that her framework also has validity in regard to Spanish, a language clearly distant from Luiseno.

The organization of this paper is as follows. In Section 2, the traditional definitions of the subject will be reviewed, as well as the inadequacies and drawbacks inherent to these definitions. In Section 3, the Spanish sentence will be analyzed in some detail. In Section 4, based on this analysis of the sentence, an alternative definition of the subject will be proposed. In Section 5, the implications of this proposal will be examined and it will be shown that our analysis offers a better account of facts of the Spanish language than any previous analyses. In Section 6, a conclusion will be presented.

2. The Subject: Overview

In traditional grammar, the definition of the subject is given based on the analysis of the sentence as having a bipartite structure. Andrés Bello defines the two parts of a sentence as follows:

Let us take any simple sentence which makes complete sense: el niño aprende 'the boy learns', los árboles crecen 'the trees grow'. We can recognize, in each of these sentences two distinct phrases: The first phrase signifies a thing or a portion of things, el niño 'the boy', los árboles 'the trees': the second part makes known that which we think about the first one, aprende 'learns', crecen 'grow'. The first phrase is called SUBJECT or SUPPOSITION, and the second, ATTRIBUTE. The subject and the attribute combined form the proposition.

[translation mine]

(1977:8)

Real Academia Española (1975), Gili Gaya (1961) as well as Pons (1960) give a similar definition of the subject. In addition to analyzing a sentence into two parts, Subject and Attribute/Predicate, traditional grammarians presuppose an "agreement" between the subject and the verb, the nucleus of the predicate. Real Academia states the following in this respect:

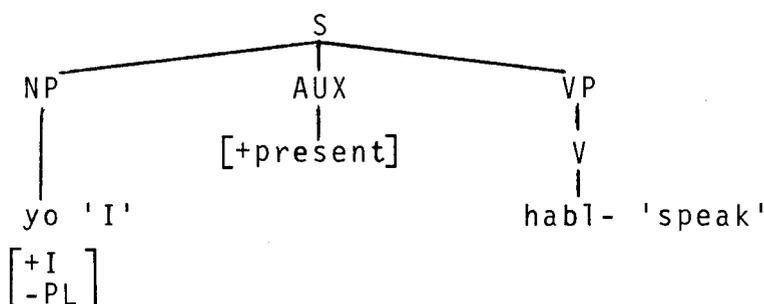
The elements of which the sentential unity is composed hold among them internal relationships which are manifested...in the agreement... The agreement is, in our language, the equality of gender and number between adjective or article and noun, and the equality of number and person between the verb and the subject. [translation mine]

(1975:386)

Thus, the underlined element in the sentences below is considered to be the subject, with which the verb is assumed to be in "agreement" in person and number.

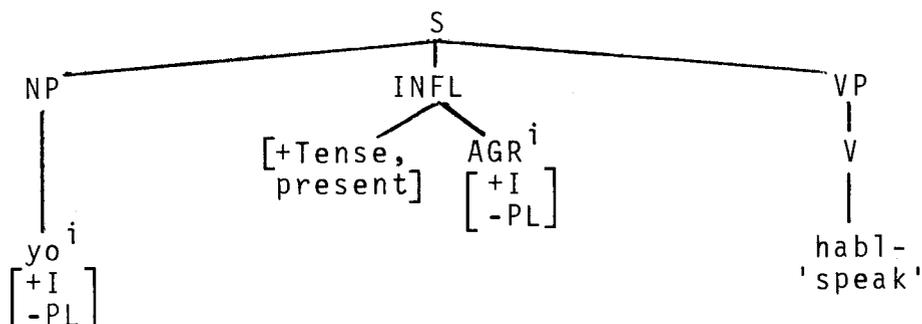
- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|
| (1) | <u>Yo</u> | hablo | 'I speak' |
| (2) | <u>Tú</u> | hablas | 'You (sg) speak' |
| (3) | <u>Él/ella</u> | habla | 'He/she speaks' |
| (4) | <u>Nosotros/nosotras</u> | hablamos | 'We (masc/fem) speak' |
| (5) | <u>Vosotros/vosotras</u> | habláis | 'You (pl. masc/fem) speak' |
| (6) | <u>Ellos/ellas</u> | hablan | 'They (masc/fem) speak' <1> |

Modern linguistic theories have consistently maintained the traditional view of the sentence structure as being bipartite, based on which the definition of the subject is given, and the notion of "agreement", although they offer formalisms and devices which are not evidenced in the traditional grammatical analyses. According to the earlier versions of generative grammar, a sentence is first generated via Phrase Structure Rules: S---> NP AUX VP etc. The syntactic structure of a sentence is represented in a hierarchical tree diagram, in conjunction with which the grammatical functions, subject, object, are defined. The subject is defined as the leftmost NP which is directly dominated by the S node, i.e. [NP, S]. For example, the deep structure of the sentence, yo hablo 'I speak' looks like the following:



Yo, which occurs under the node [NP, S] is the subject of this sentence.

represented in D-structure, as follows, (ignoring certain irrelevant details):



The constituent INFL moves to the right of V and is attached to it.<5> Phonological Form (PF) interprets the string [hablo-

[[+Tense (present/indicative)] [[+I, -PL]]] as hablo.
INFL AGR

As for "subjectless" sentences such as (7) through (12), Chomsky postulates that there is a phonologically null pronoun, namely, empty category *pro*,<6> which stands for the "subject NP", in D-structure. This follows from his stipulation that every clause must have a subject (Extended Projection Principle). Therefore, sentences such as (7) through (12) have an empty category posited under the node [NP, S], accompanied by features specifying person and number (and possibly gender).

- (7') *pro* hablo 'I speak'
[+I
-PL]
- (8') *pro* hablo 'You (sg) speak'
[+II
-PL]
- (9') *pro* habla 'He/she speaks'
[-I
-II
-PL]
- (10') *pro* hablamos 'We speak'
[+I
+PL]
- (11') *pro* habláis 'You (pl) speak'
[+II
+PL]

(12') pro hablan 'They speak'

$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +PL \end{bmatrix}$

Based on this analysis, Chomsky stipulates that it is a parameter of "pro-drop" languages that the "subject" of a finite clause can be "missing".

The "pro-drop" account of "subjectless" sentences based on the agreement theory encounters a problem in sentences such as the following.

(13) Llueve poco en Tucson
rain-ind/pres-3/sg little in Tucson

'It rains little in Tucson'

(14) Se habla dos idiomas en
clitic-3 speak-ind pres-3/sg two languages in
Canadá
Canada

'They speak two languages in Canada/Two languages are spoken in Canada'

Suppose that these sentences actually had a "subject" pronoun in the underlying structure, it should, then, be possible to recover what exactly has been "dropped". However, there is no pronoun that can occur in weather sentences (as they are interpreted) or sentences with impersonal -se. The "pro-drop" account of "subjectless" sentences presupposes that the "subject" pronoun can be "missing" in the surface structure, because it can be recovered from the verb morphology, and the sentence can be properly construed. Obviously, this does not apply to sentences such as (13) and (14).

There have been two major alternative analyses proposed for "subjectless" sentences such as (13) and (14) within the theory in which the sentence is analyzed in terms of phrase structure. One analysis postulates that these sentences are base-generated without "subject NP". Consequently, in such an analysis, the PS rule for Spanish is modified such that the "subject NP" is regarded as an optional element of the sentence: S--->(NP) INFL/AUX VP. The other analysis consistently maintains that sentences such as (13) and (14) do have a "subject NP" in their syntactic representation, and postulates that there is an abstract pronoun occupying "subject position" in the underlying structure of such sentences. This abstract pronoun is assigned, in addition to grammatical features, certain semantic features such as [-referential] (in 13) or [+human, -definite] (in 14), so that it can be distinguished from the equally phonologically null pronoun which is posited in sentences such as:

(9') pro habla 'He/she speaks'

[
-I
-II
-PL
]

As the traditional definitions of the subject have been reviewed and various alternative analyses of "subjectless" sentences examined, two essential questions naturally arise: 1. Why can some sentences have a "subject" pronoun occurring in them, while others never can? 2. Why does Spanish permit alternating forms: sentences such as (1) through (6), on the one hand, which have an 'overt' pronoun, and sentences such as (7) through (12), on the other, which do not have an 'overt' pronoun? These questions are obviously related, and can be reduced to one fundamental issue: How can we explain the variation which permits both sentences with a form instantiating what has been traditionally called "subject" and sentences without such a form? This issue is critical in studies of the Spanish language, in that it presupposes an important generalization to be captured. In GB theory as well as in its predecessors, there are different principles and mechanisms stipulated in order to account for "subjectless" sentences. However, in none of these theories has an adequate and coherent explanation of the issue here raised been offered to date. This inadequacy of linguistic theories appears to derive from the fundamental assumptions which they hold of the sentence structure and the subject.

When a language exhibits an option to have sentences both with and without an expression which has been traditionally defined as "subject", then, conceptually there are two ways to approach the phenomenon. One of them is to analyze such sentences as (7) through (12), (13) and (14) as "missing" a "subject". This follows from analyzing the sentence into two major parts, an NP and a VP, the NP being defined as the "subject". Such a position also presupposes a morphosyntactic relationship, i.e., "agreement", between the "subject NP" and the verb.

The alternate approach is to postulate that a sentence is syntactically complete without a form which has been traditionally called "subject", thus, there is nothing "missing" in sentences such as (7) through (12), (13) and (14). In contrast, (1) through (6) are to be analyzed as having an 'extra' element added to perform a certain non-syntactic function. This position can be characterized as "pro-add" theory, the morphosyntactic relationship "agreement" is not part of the analysis. Instead, there is a compatibility condition between the 'added' element and the inflectional properties manifested in the rest of the sentence, a statement of the conditions which must be true of an 'added' element given the inflectional properties of the sentence.

The approach which will be adopted in this paper is the latter, "pro-add" theory. In the following two sections, an analysis of the Spanish sentence will be presented, and an alternative definition of the subject will be proposed, based on the assumptions outlined above. The "pro-add" theory, as will be

seen in Section 5, offers an adequate and empirical explanation of the issue raised regarding the formal variation which Spanish sentences exhibit, as well as other facts of the Spanish language.

3. The Sentence

3.1 The General Framework

Following Steele (to appear), I will stipulate two principles which hold cross-linguistically.

- I. Any syntactic Domain of Analysis has a Domain-Defining Element.
- II. If the Domain of Analysis is good, its Domain-Defining Element is satisfied.

A Domain-Defining Element is the part which fixes the properties of the other parts in a string; it can be viewed as a function which maps other elements to a new entity. This requires that a Domain-Defining Element have an argument, part over which it ranges. Furthermore, a Domain-Defining Element must be a part of a string that can be termed a "connected domain"; this simply means that each part of a string is directly connected to some other part and every part in it has at least an indirect relationship to every other part. This requirement follows from the condition that the analysis of a string must exhaust its parts.

3.2 General Properties of the Sentence

Before undertaking the actual analysis of the Spanish sentence, it will be helpful to state the general properties of the sentence which (presumably) hold across languages. A sentence is a domain of analysis: hence, it must comply with the two principles set forth in 3.1.

- I. If a string is a sentence, it contains a Sentence-Defining Element (SDE, henceforth).
- II. If a sentence is good, the Sentence-Defining Element is satisfied.

I assume (along with Steele and others) that a sentence models a situation; that is, a sentence has "propositional" part and a part which provides a (speaker) judgement about the "propositional" part. The syntactic object which renders the judgement is the SDE. The "propositional" part is thought of most easily as an idea about which the judgement is made, i.e., a predicate and the arguments which it controls. The syntactic object which performs the predicational function, I will term (with Steele) the Argument-Categorizing Element (ACE, henceforth). Each ACE has an argument structure associated with it, specifying the arguments that it controls. Therefore, the objects which are minimally required of the sentence are:

- a) A sentence-Defining Element
- b) An Argument-Categorizing Element and whatever arguments it controls, which will be represented as ACE (Argument Structure)

3.3 Analysis of the Spanish Sentence

3.3.1 The Sentence-Defining Element

Following Dardis (1982), I assume that the elements composing an SDE in Spanish sentences can be: 1. particular intonation patterns, and 2. certain inflectional endings. For example, the particular intonation pattern assigned to the string distinguishes a statement from a question, as evidenced in (15) and (16) below.

- (15) No comes carne ↘ 'You do not eat meat' (statement)
- (16) No comes carne ↗ 'Do you not eat meat?' (question)

The particular inflectional verb ending signals that the sentence is a command, as shown in (17)

- (17) No com-as carne 'Do not eat meat' (command)

Further discussion on the elements composing an SDE in Spanish goes beyond the scope of this paper; for finer detail, see Dardis (1982).

3.3.2 The Argument-Categorizing Element and the Argument Structure

The element which composes an ACE in Spanish sentences is a subset of the category traditionally called "verbs". The formal property of verbs is that they can take a suffix which indicates tense.<7> I assume that it is specified in the lexicon how many arguments and what types of arguments each verb takes.<8> In Spanish, if a semantic predicate controls n-arguments, its corresponding ACE controls (n-1) arguments. I will call the argument which is outside the range of the ACE the subject. The asymmetry between this argument and other arguments is evident. A sentence in Spanish is good without a word (or constituent) instantiating the subject, as is evidenced in (7) through (12), (13) and (14), whereas an ACE is good only if it is accompanied by some element (clitic or free) instantiating the arguments specified in the argument structure. Observe the following sentences, all of which have the verb levant- 'get/pick (something) up'.

- (18) Levanté el libro
I-picked up the book

'I picked up the book'

- (19) Lo levanté
him/it I-picked up
'I picked/got him/it up'
- (20) Me levante
me I-got up
'I got (myself) up'
- (21) *Levanté
I-picked up
'*I picked up'

The verb levant- is a transitive verb which takes a direct object. (21) is bad, as it lacks a form instantiating the argument specified in the argument structure.

3.3.3 Specifications for [+tense] and [-tense]

The object ACE (Argument Structure) in Spanish is associated with properties which specify whether the propositional basis of an S is [+tense] or [-tense]. Here, the distinction between [+tense] and [-tense] is not based on the traditional dichotomy "inflected" vs. "infinitive"; but, rather, on the nature of the propositional basis of a sentence. According to Steele et al. (1981), the propositional basis of a sentence may be of two different types: 1. The propositional basis complete and responsible to fact, which is represented by the symbol P; 2. The propositional basis is incomplete and responsible to deed, which is represented by the symbol \sqrt{P} . The propositional basis which is [+tense] corresponds to P, while that which is [-tense] corresponds to \sqrt{P} . The part of the sentence which identifies the type of propositional basis is the inflectional suffix attached to the ACE. In Spanish, there are four sets of inflections which are traditionally classified as "moods": the indicative, the subjunctive, the imperative and the infinitive. To these four, I will add the gerund<9> to complete the sets of inflectional suffixes which mark the specifications for [+tense] or [-tense].

The propositional basis for the indicative is P, hence, [+tense]. There are five "tenses" in the indicative, each of which indicates a particular temporal location which makes it a P, in addition to aspect and/or modality. The five "tenses" include two nonpast, i.e., the present and the future, two pasts, i.e., the preterite and the imperfect and the conditional. The difference between the two past tenses is aspectual. The following sentences illustrate the five tenses of the indicative, which is [+tense].

- Future (22) Habl-arás en español
 speak-future in Spanish
 'You (sg) will speak in Spanish'
- Present (23) Siempre habl-as en español
 always speak-pres in Spanish
 'Always you (sg) speak in Spanish'
- Preterite (24) Habl-aste mucho en español hoy
 speak-pret a lot in Spanish today
 'You spoke a lot in Spanish today'
- Imperfect (25) Habl-abas en español cuando eras niño
 speak-imp in Spanish when you-were a boy
 'You used to speak in Spanish when you were a boy'
- Conditional (26) Me dijiste que habl-arías en español en
 me you-told that speak-pret in Spanish in
 clase
 class
 'You told me that you would speak in Spanish
 in class'
- (27) Habl-arías en español si pudieras
 speak-cond in Spanish if you-could
 'You would speak in Spanish if you could'

The propositional basis for the subjunctive, the imperative, the infinitive and the gerund is $\bar{N}P$, hence, [-tense].<10> The following examples illustrate sentences with a propositional basis which is [-tense].

- Imperative (28) Habl-a en español
 speak-imp in Spanish
 'Speak (sg) in Spanish'
- (29) Habl-ad en español
 speak-imp in Spanish
 'Speak (pl) in Spanish'
- Subjunctive/
 Present (30) Quizás habl-es en español
 perhaps speak-sub/pres in Spanish
 'Perhaps you (sg) will speak in Spanish'

- (31) No habl-es en español
not speak-sub/pres in Spanish
'Do not speak (sg) in Spanish'

Subjunctive/
Imperfect

- (32) Hub-ieras hablado en español
have-sub/imp spoken in Spanish
'You (sg) should have spoken in Spanish'
- (33) Quis-ieras hablar en español
want-sub/imp speak in Spanish
'You (sg) would like to speak in Spanish'

Infinitive

- (34) ¡(A) hablar en español!
to speak-inf in Spanish
'Speak in Spanish'
- (35) ¿Tú, hablar en español? (Ni en
you (sg) speak-inf in Spanish (Ni en
broma)
'You, speak in Spanish? (Not even in a
joke)'

Gerund

- (36) ¡Hablando en español!
speak-ger in Spanish
'Speak in Spanish!'
- (37) ¡Haciendo que?
doing what
'Doing what?'

3.3.5 Person and Number

Consider the following sentence.

- (38) Leo novelas
I-read novels
'I read novels'

This sentence has a predicate with two arguments. One of them is directly controlled by the ACE, and it is instantiated by novelas 'novels'. The other one, which is outside the range of ACE, is not instantiated in a lexical form, but we know, by the way the sentence is interpreted, that it is first person, singular, i.e., speaker. What part of the sentence gives this referential value? It is reasonable to assume that it is given by the suffix -o, which indicates as well a particular temporal location, for we

can alter suffixes, and obtain different referential values of the argument which is outside the ACE without changing the temporal property. Consider the following sentences.

- (38) Le-o novelas 'I read novels'
- (39) Le-es novelas 'You (sg) read novels'
- (40) Le-e novelas 'He/she reads novels'
- (41) Le-emos novelas 'We read novels'
- (42) Le-éis novelas 'You (pl) novels'
- (43) Le-en novelas 'They read novels'

Therefore, there is always a value for person and number that can be extracted from every suffix that specifies [+tense]. In short, a sentence has, in addition to an SDE, an ACE and the arguments it may control, a value for person and number, and this value pertains to the argument which is outside the range of the ACE. How, then, do we know that a certain suffix, for example, -o, marks a certain value for person/number, i.e., 1st/sq? The addition of a word which has the value 1st/sq, yo 'I', will not make the sentence ungrammatical, but the addition of a word with a different value does make the sentence ungrammatical.

- (38) Yo le-o novelas 'I read novels'
[1st
sg]
- (44) *Tú le-o novelas
[2nd
sg]
- (45) *El le-o novelas
[3rd
sg]

The only compatible word here is yo 'I', which has the value 1st/sq. From this, we infer that the suffix -o is marking 1st/sq.

Let us now examine the specific suffixes which mark [+tense] and see what value in terms of person and number each suffix is marking. The traditional conjugational paradigms will be used for purpose of listing suffixes. The so-called "indicative" has 13 sets of conjugational paradigms (disregarding irregular endings), which are shown below.

Present

1st Conjugation

-o	-amos
-as	-ais
-a	-an

2nd Conjugation

-o	-emos
-es	-éis
-e	-en

3rd Conjugation<11>

-o	-imos
-es	-ís
-e	-en

Imperfect

1st Conjugation

-aba	-abamos
-abas	-abais
-aba	-aban

2nd and 3rd Conjugation

-ía	-íamos
-ías	-íais
-ía	-ían

Preterite

1st Conjugation

-é	-emos
-aste	-asteis
-ó	-aron

2nd and 3rd Conjugation

-í	-imos
-iste	-isteis
-ió	-ieron

Future

1st Conjugation

-aré	-aremos
-arás	-aréis
-ará	-arán

2nd Conjugation

-eré	-eremos
-erás	-eréis
-erá	-erán

3rd Conjugation

-iré	-iremos
-irás	-iréis
-irá	-irán

Conditional

1st Conjugation

-arfa	-aríamos
-arí	-aríais
-arfa	-arían

2nd Conjugation

-erfa	-eríamos
-erfas	-eríais
-erfa	-erían

3rd Conjugation

-irfa	-iríamos
-irfas	-iríais
-irfa	-irían

The so-called "subjunctive" has 4 sets of paradigms, which are shown below.

Present

1st Conjugation

-e	-emos
-es	-éis
-e	-en

2nd and 3rd Conjugation

-a	-amos
-as	-áis
-a	-an

Imperfect

1st Conjugation

-ara	-áramos
-aras	-arais
-ara	-aran

2nd and 3rd Conjugation

-iera	-iéramos
-ieras	-ieramos
-iera	-ieran

As for present, preterite and future of the indicative, we have, in each conjugational paradigm, a set of six, formally

distinct suffixes. It is assumed that there is one single value for person and number given by each suffix. Here below are listed the values given by the suffixes which indicate [+tense] (indicative).

<u>Present</u>	<u>Preterite</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Person/Number</u>
-o	-é/í	-aré/eré/iré	1st sg
-as/es	-aste/iste	-arás/erás/irás	2nd sg
-e/e	-ó/ió	-ará/erá/irá	3rd sg
-amos/emos/imos	-amos/imos	-aremos/eremos/iremos	1st pl
-áis/éis/ís	-asteis/isteis	-aréis/eréis/iréis	2nd pl
-an/en	-aron/ieron	-arán/erán/irán	3rd pl

In contrast, for imperfect and conditional of the indicative and present and imperfect of the subjunctive, there are only five suffixes in each conjugational paradigm which are formally distinct. Consider the following sentences.

- (46) Hablaba español 'He/she/I used to speak Spanish' (Ind. Imp.)
 (47) Comía carne 'He/she/I used to eat meat' (Ind. Imp.)
 (48) Viviría en España 'He/she/I would live in Spain' (Cond.)
 (49) Ojalá hable español 'Hopefully he/she/I will speak Spanish' (Sub. Pres.)
 (50) Quisiera hablar español 'He/she/I would like to speak Spanish' (Sub. Imp.)

A word which has the value either 1st/sq or 3rd/sq is added to these sentences, and they are still good.

- (51) {Yo} Hablaba español ' {I } used to speak Spanish'
 {El}
- (52) Ojalá {yo } hable español 'Hopefully {I } speak
 {Carlos} Spanish'

Therefore, the value for person which can be extracted from suffixes such as -aba, -ía, -iría etc. allows for 1st and 3rd person, hence, we describe this value to be (non-2). In the Appendix are the values extractable from the suffixes which correspond to imperfect and conditional of the indicative and present and imperfect of the subjunctive.

The so-called "imperative" has three sets of paradigms, and each paradigm has only two forms.

Imperative

1st Conjugation

--	--
-a	-ad
--	--

2nd Conjugation

--	--
-e	-ed
--	--

3rd Conjugation

--	--
-e	-id
--	--

The value associated with these suffixes are the following.

<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Person/Number</u>	
-a/-e<13>	2nd	sg
-ad/-ed/-id	2nd	pl

There are three suffixes for the infinitive and two for the gerund.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Gerund</u>
-ar/-er/-ir	-ando/-iendo

The value for person and number associated with these suffixes is truly open; a word with any value can be added to sentences with an infinitive or a gerund.

- (53) ¿Yo, correr por la mañana? (Ni hablar)
'I, run in the morning? (No way)'
- (54) ¿Ellos, llegar a tiempo? (No es posible)
'They, arrive on time? (It's not possible)'
- (55) ¿Los hombres, en la guerra; las mujeres, trabajando?
'Men, in the war; women, working'
- (56) ¡Corriendo, vosotros!
'Run, you (all)!'

Thus, the value for person/number which is open will be represented as P N.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Gerund</u>	<u>Person/Number</u>	
-ar/-er/-ir	-ando/-iendo	P	N

To summarize, the suffixes which specifies [+tense] are marking the following sets of value for person/number.

- a. [1st, st]
- b. [2nd, sg]
- c. [3rd, sg]
- d. [(non-2), sg]
- e. [1st, pl]
- f. [2nd, pl]
- g. [3rd, pl]
- h. [P, N]

3.3.6 Gender and Number

Consider the following sentences.

(57)	Está be-ind/pres.-3/sg	cansado tired	'He is tired'
(58)	Está be-ind/pres.-3/sg	cansada tired	'She is tired'
(59)	Están be-ind/pres.-3/pl	cansados tired	'They (masc) are tired'
(60)	Están be-ind/pres.-3/pl	cansadas tired	'They (fem) are tired'

These sentences have a predicate with two arguments.<14> One is instantiated by the word cansado/cansada/cansados/cansadas 'tired', hence, internal to the Argument Structure; and the other, not instantiated in a lexical form is external to the Argument Structure, the subject. Though lexically not instantiated, we know, by the way each sentence is interpreted, that this external argument has the value masc/sg, fem/sg, masc/pl and fem/pl<15> in (57), (58), (59) and (60), respectively. The word instantiating the argument directly controlled by the ACE (est- 'be') exhibits the alternation -o~-a~-os~-as in its ending, and it is clear that these endings are what gives different values for gender/number of the argument not internal to the Argument Structure. Thus, in the Spanish sentence, there may be a word which marks a particular value for gender/number that is pertinent to the external argument, the subject.

In the suffix complex which marks gender/number, the alternation -o/-a marks the distinction between masculine and feminine, and the alternation -o/-s marks the distinction between singular and plural. Thus, the values given by each suffix complex are the following.

<u>Suffixes</u>	<u>Gender/Number</u>	
-o∅	masc	sg<16>
-a∅	fem	sg
-os	masc	pl
-as	fem	pl

Not all the words marking gender/number give values for gender/number which are relevant to the property at issue. Consider the following sentences.

- (61) Por fin vendí mi carro
 finally sell-ind/pret.-1/sg my(sg) car(masc)-sg
 ayer
 yesterday
 'Finally I sold my car yesterday'
- (62) Por fin vendí mis carros
 finally sell-ind/pret.-1/sg my(pl) car(masc)-pl
 ayer
 yesterday
 'Finally I sold my cars yesterday'
- (63) Es la pluma de José
 be-ind/pres.-3/sg the(fem/sg) pen(fem)-sg of Joseph
 'It is Joseph's pen'
- (64) Son las plumas de José
 be-ind/pres.-3/pl the(fem/pl) pen(fem)-pl of Joseph
 'They are Joseph's pens'

The underlined words in the above sentences, although they mark gender/number, do not give values for gender/number which are pertinent to the argument external to the Argument Structure; "accessible" values in Steele's term. The difference between the words cansado/cansada/cansados/cansadas 'tired' in sentences (57), (58), (59), and (60), on the one hand, and the words carro 'car', carros 'cars', pluma 'pen' and plumas 'pens' in (61), (62), (63) and (64), on the other, is evident. In the former type of words, both gender and number values are marked by a suffix complex, i.e., -o/-a/-os/-as, whereas, in the latter type, only number value is marked by a suffix, i.e., -(e)s, and gender value is inherently assigned to the word.

Consider now the following sentences.

- (65) Quiero el huevo bien cocido
 want-ind/pres.-1/sg the egg(masc)-sg well boiled-
 mas/sg
 'I want the egg well boiled'
- (66) Hará efectiv-as sus palabras
 make-ind/fut.-3/sg effective-fem/pl his/her word
 (fem)-pl
 'He/she will make his/her words effective'
- (67) Tengo mis anillos guardad-os
 have-ind/pres.-1/sg my ring(masc)-pl kept-mas/pl
 en el banco
 in the bank
 'I have my rings kept in the bank'

(72) Asustad-as por el ruido, prendieron
 frightened-fem/pl by the noise turn on-ind/pret.-
 3/pl

la luz
 the light

'Frightened by the noise, they (fem) turned on the light'

Furthermore, the accessible gender and number marking may be manifested in the word found in the embedded construction as evidenced in the following sentences.

(73) Podrían (haber (estado muy
 can-ind.cond.-3/pl have-inf. be-p.part. very
content-os)
 happy-mas/pl
 'They(masc) could have been very happy'

(74) Han (sido amig-as)
 have-ind/pres.-3/pl be-p.part. friend-fem/pl
 'We (fem) have been friends'

In short, the subject of a sentence also includes a value for gender - either masculine or feminine - in the sentences considered above. But, there is one other possibility. Observe the following sentences.

(75) Es feliz
 be-ind/pres.-3/sg happy-sg
 'He/she/it is happy'

(76) Son felic-es
 be-ind/pres.-3/pl happy-pl
 'They (mas or fem) are happy'

(77) Está insoportalbe
 be-ind/pres.-3/sg unbearable-sg
 'He/she/it is unbearable'

(78) Están insoportable-s
 be-ind/pres.-3/pl unbearable-pl
 'They (mas or fem) are unbearable'

The words constituting the argument directly controlled by the ACE in these sentences feliz/felices 'happy' or insoportable/insoportables 'unbearable' do not exhibit an overt marking for gender, but only for number, which is manifested in the suffix -Ø/- (e)s. The gender value of such words is open. Sentences with such words constituting an argument to the ACE, allow for the addition of a word whose value for gender can be

either masculine or feminine, as illustrated below.

(79) El niño es feliz 'The boy is happy'
[masc]
[sg]

(80) La niña es infeliz 'The girl is happy'
[fem]
[sg]

(81) Los niños son felices 'The boys are happy'
[masc]
[pl]

(82) Las niñas son felices 'The girls are happy'
[fem]
[pl]

I will represent this open value for gender as G.

In summary, there may be a word in the Spanish sentence, marking a value for gender/number which is pertinent to the argument that is outside the range of the ACE, and the following is the list of the possible values for gender/number at issue.

- a. [mas, sg]
- b. [fem, sg]
- c. [G, sg]
- d. [mas, pl]
- e. [fem, pl]
- f. [G, pl]

3.4 Recapitulation

I have sketched in this section an analysis of Spanish sentences. A Spanish sentence contains a Sentence-Defining Element and its complement. The complement to a Sentence-Defining Element is comprised of an Argument-Categorizing Element and the Arguments associated with it. In addition, the Argument-Categorizing Element always has a suffix indicating a temporal value [+tense]. Finally, and most critically for my purposes, the complement to a Sentence-Defining Element has a subject, where the subject is a value (indicating person/number/gender), extracted from its morphological properties.

4. The Subject

In the previous section, we have pointed out that, if the predicate controls n-arguments, the ACE controls (n-1) arguments. We have called this argument which is outside the range of the ACE the subject. Throughout the sentence, there is manifested a value for person/number and, in addition, there may be one for gender/number. The former is localized in the word which contains the ACE, whereas the latter is localized in the word which constitutes an argument to the ACE, or in some other word.

Whatever actual value for person/number or for gender/number may be manifested in the sentence, this value identifies the argument which is outside the range of the ACE, the subject. The subject, then, can be viewed as the value extracted for the particular formal properties of the sentence. I propose that every sentence in Spanish has a value array composed of person, number and gender, and that this composite value is the subject.

α person β number γ gender	Subject
--	---------

where α ranges over 1, 2, 3, Non-2 and P; β ranges over singular, plural and N; γ ranges over masculine, feminine and G.

This value array is a further abstraction of the properties of the sentence which we have discussed in the previous section. In Spanish, there are two types of sentences: Sentences of Type 1 have only [person/number] value manifested in them, whereas sentences of Type 2 have both [person/number] value and [gender/number] value manifested in them. Therefore, disregarding other parts of the sentence, the two types can be represented as follows:

Type 1: [person/number] ----- e.g. (38) Leo novelas
 'I read novels'

Type 2: [person/number] [gender/number]
 e.g. (60) Están cansadas
 'They(fem) are tired'

Sentences of Type 1 do not contain a word which manifests [gender/number]. I will assume that the absence of formal manifestation still assigns a 'value', an open (indeterminate) value or what has been represented above, as G. Thus, for all sentences of Type 1, γ value is G. By so generalizing gender, we will be able to represent the subject in the most uniform fashion. The α value and the β value for sentences of Type 1 are straightforward.

Let us now turn to sentences of Type 2. The value for number is given twice in these sentences. There are two cases observed; 1. The value for number in both places is either sg or pl; 2. The Value for number in [person/number] is open, i.e., N, whereas it is fixed in [gender/number] as either sg or pl. Sentences (58) and (60) repeated below illustrate the former case while (83) and (84) illustrate the latter.

(58)	Está be-ind/pres.-3/sg	cansada tired-fem/sg
'She is tired'		

(60) Están cansadas
 be-ind/pres.-3/pl tired-fem/pl

'They (fem) are tired'

(83) ¿Yo, ser enfermera?
 I be-inf.-P N nurse-fem/sg

'I, become a nurse?'

(84) ¿Nosotras, estar enojadas?
 we be-inf.-1/pl mad-fem/pl

'We (fem), being mad?'

In case 1, the value for number must be identical in both places, and this value constitutes β in the subject. In case 2, the fixed value is what constitutes β .

4.2 Inventory of Subjects in Spanish

Let us look at what actual value combinations are possible in Spanish. First, let us list the possible range of values for each of the three categories, person, number and gender. From the discussion above, the following set of values is possible for each category.

α person	β number	γ gender
1	sg	mas
2	pl	fem
3	N	G
(Non-2)		
p		

The value array which constitutes the subject will be a composite of one item from each category. Theoretically, there would be 45 combinations (5x3x3), however, there are several restrictions on the combinatory possibility.

- a. (Non-2) is only compatible with sg, hence the following combinations are unacceptable, omitting the value for gender.

* [(Non-2), pl]

- b. When person is fixed, i.e., 1, 2, 3 or (Non-2), number must be fixed, i.e., sg or pl, but not vice versa, hence, the following combinations are unacceptable, omitting the value for gender.

* [1, N]
 * [2, N]
 * [3, N]
 * [(Non-2), N]

- (85) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{El} \\ \text{Ella} \\ \text{Carlos} \\ \text{Mi padre} \end{array} \right\}$ lee novelas $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{He} \\ \text{She} \\ \text{Charles} \\ \text{My father} \end{array} \right\}$ reads novels'
- (86) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ellas} \\ \text{Las niñas} \\ \text{Silvia y mi hermana} \end{array} \right\}$ estan cansadas
 ' $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{They (fem)} \\ \text{The girls} \\ \text{Sylvia and my sister} \end{array} \right\}$ are tired'

Lexical items such as el, ella, Carlos and mi padre in (85), or ellas, las niñas and Silvia y mi hermana in (86) do not constitute a syntactic argument, i.e., the subject, of the sentence; they are simply an adstructural element added to the sentence to perform some non-syntactic function. This added form must be compatible with the subject, however, the association between the two is, by no means, a morphosyntactic one, i.e., "agreement". In the following section, I will provide evidence to show that the traditional "agreement" theory is inadequate to account for certain facts of Spanish data, thus, it must be abandoned. In contrast, the analysis here accommodates these data.

4.3.1 The "Agreement"

In the earlier versions of generative grammar, the "agreement" phenomenon is explained as a result of a syntactic operation which copies the features of the subject NP" onto the verb, or onto the predicate nominal etc. In GB theory, the "agreement" is treated as a checking procedure which matches the features of the two "agreeing" constituents, i.e., the "subject NP" and AGR. Despite the apparent difference in execution, the basic assumptions held by the two positions are the same.

1. The two "agreeing" constituents must contain identical grammatical features.
2. The "subject NP" has inherent specifications in terms of person, number and gender.

Chomsky states the following to illustrate these points.

...assuming the agreement involves identity of grammatical features...

(1982:86)

At the level of execution, we might assume that the lexical rules insert the features person, number and gender in the context [$\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{N} \end{array}$ -], and may or may not insert a phonetic matrix as well,...

(1981:193)

The "agreement" theory works in cases where a lexical item can only occur with a single inflectional value as exemplified in the following.

- (87) Yo { voy
 1/sq

 *vas
 2/sq

 *va
 3/sq

 *vamos
 1/pl

 *vais
 2/pl

 *van
 3/pl } 'I go'
- (88) La nina { *estoy
 1/sq

 *estas
 2/sq

 esta
 3/sq

 *estamos
 1/pl

 *estais
 2/pl

 *están
 3/pl } { *enfermo
 mas/sq

 *enfermos
 mas/pl

 enferma
 fem/sq

 *enfermas
 fem/pl } 'The girl is sick'

However, there are instances in which a particular expression can "agree" with a variety of inflectional values. The following provide examples of such instances.

- (89) a. Las mujeres tenemos esperanza
 the women 1/pl

 'We women have hope'
- b. Las mujeres tenéis esperanza
 the women 2/pl

 'You women have hope'

- c. Las mujeres tienen esperanza
the women 3/pl
'Women have hope'
- (90) a. La tropa huyó despavorida
the troop 3/sq fem/sq
'The troop fled terrified'
- b. La tropa huyeron despavoridos
the troop 3/pl mas/pl
'The troop fled terrified'
- (91) a. Esa criatura, después de un viaje tan largo, está
that creature 3/sq
agotado
mas/sq
'That child, after such a long trip, is
exhausted'
- b. Esa criatura, después de un viaje tan largo, está
3.sg
agotada
fem/sq
'That child, after such a long trip, is
exhausted'

If we were to hold that there is an "agreement" involving a strict match in grammatical features between the "subject NP" and the verb or between the "subject NP" and the adjective, such variations in "agreement" shown in (89), (90) and (91) should not be permitted; only one sentence in each set would be grammatical, while others would be ruled out on the basis of "disagreement". However, all the sentences in (89), (90) and (91) are well-formed and perfectly interpretable.

The "agreement" theory proves equally problematic when the alleged "subject NP" consists of a coordinate construction where several items are conjoined by conjunctions such as y 'and', o 'or', ni 'nor' etc. In the first place, there is a question as to whether it is adequate to assume that a coordinate construction has grammatical features of its own or not. Consider the following.

(92) Tú y yo vamos
2/sg 1/sg 1/pl

'you (sg) and I go'

(93) El florero y las flores son amarillos
3/sg/mas 3/pl/fem 3/pl mas/pl

'The flower vase and the flowers are yellow'

There may be some special principles stipulated to assign amalgamative grammatical features to a coordinate construction. Nevertheless, sentences such as (94) and (95) below pose a problem to the notion of "agreement" put forth as "identity of grammatical features", since a particular expression comprising the "subject NP" is compatible with two opposing values in number.

- (94) a. La directora y la madre del alumno
 the director and the mother of the pupil
 rechazó la propuesta
 3/sg
 'The director and the mother of the pupil turned down the proposal'
- b. La directora y la madre del alumno
 the director and the mother of the pupil
 rechazaron la propuesta
 3/pl
 'The director and the mother of the pupil turned down the proposal'
- (95) a. Esto y lo que tu dijiste precipitó el
 this and what you said 3/sg
 proceso
 'This and what you said precipitated the process'
- b. Esto y lo que tu dijiste se contradicen
 this and what you said 3/pl
 'This and what you said contradict each other'

Another instance in which several options of "agreement" are permitted is found when the "subject NP" consists of a construction of the type NP de NP 'NP of NP', where the first NP consists of a quantifier type of NP. Consider the following sentences.

- (96) Ninguno de nosotros $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{puede} \\ 3/\text{sg} \\ \text{podemos} \\ 1/\text{pl} \end{array} \right\}$ ir
 'None of us can go'
- (97) Ninguno de vosotros $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{puede} \\ 3/\text{sg} \\ \text{podéis} \\ 2/\text{pl} \end{array} \right\}$ ir
 'None of you can go'

either masculine or feminine, as illustrated below.

(79) El niño es feliz 'The boy is happy'
[masc]
[sg]

(80) La niña es infeliz 'The girl is happy'
[fem]
[sg]

(81) Los niños son felices 'The boys are happy'
[masc]
[pl]

(82) Las niñas son felices 'The girls are happy'
[fem]
[pl]

I will represent this open value for gender as G.

In summary, there may be a word in the Spanish sentence, marking a value for gender/number which is pertinent to the argument that is outside the range of the ACE, and the following is the list of the possible values for gender/number at issue.

- a. [mas, sg]
- b. [fem, sg]
- c. [G, sg]
- d. [mas, pl]
- e. [fem, pl]
- f. [G, pl]

3.4 Recapitulation

I have sketched in this section an analysis of Spanish sentences. A Spanish sentence contains a Sentence-Defining Element and its complement. The complement to a Sentence-Defining Element is comprised of an Argument-Categorizing Element and the Arguments associated with it. In addition, the Argument-Categorizing Element always has a suffix indicating a temporal value [+tense]. Finally, and most critically for my purposes, the complement to a Sentence-Defining Element has a subject, where the subject is a value (indicating person/number/gender), extracted from its morphological properties.

4. The Subject

In the previous section, we have pointed out that, if the predicate controls n-arguments, the ACE controls (n-1) arguments. We have called this argument which is outside the range of the ACE the subject. Throughout the sentence, there is manifested a value for person/number and, in addition, there may be one for gender/number. The former is localized in the word which contains the ACE, whereas the latter is localized in the word which constitutes an argument to the ACE, or in some other word.

- b. Además, somos más inquietos
besides be-ind/pres.-1/pl more anxious-mas/pl
que la generación de nuestros padres
than the generation of our parents

'Besides, we are more anxious than the generation
of our parents'

Both sentences have a verb marking [1, pl] and an adjective marking [mas, pl]: (103) a. has an NP which marks [3, sg, fem], while (103) b. does not have any NP which can be associated with the person/number or gender/number value manifested in the verb or in the adjective, respectively. If we were to supply a lexical item in (103) b, both la nueva generación, which is [3, sg, fem], and nosotros, which is [1, pl, mas] would be compatible. This means that determining the grammatical properties of an NP that might be "missing" is impossible. Since the "missing subject" cannot be "recovered" in terms of person, number and gender features, the claim that there is an abstract pronoun holding the "subject position" in so-called "subjectless" sentences is considerably weakened.

The lack of a morphosyntactic relationship between the alleged "subject NP" and the elements marking inflectional properties at issue, and, consequently, the impossibility of determining the grammatical features of the "missing subject" provides ample evidence to support our position that what has been called the "subject" in previous analyses is not a syntactic argument of the sentence, but simply an adstructural element added to the sentence. As has been previously mentioned, the adstructural element and the subject, defined as a value which is composed of person, number and gender, must be compatible for a sentence to be good. Therefore, there still remains the question of what constitutes the conditions of compatibility. I will set aside the task of elaborating such conditions for future investigation.

5. Implications

In the preceding two sections, I have presented an analysis of Spanish sentences, and proposed an alternative definition of the subject. In this section, I will examine some implications and consequences of my analysis, and demonstrate that my analysis offers a more coherent and adequate account of certain facts of the Spanish language.

For the sake of clarity, let us first review the position I have rejected in this paper. In GB theory and its predecessors, the sentence is analyzed into two major phrasal constituents, an NP and a VP, the NP being defined as the subject of the sentence. It is also presupposed that there is a morphosyntactic relationship, i.e., "agreement", between the "subject NP" and the verb. Consequently, it is assumed that sentences such as,

- (7) Hablo 'I speak'
(8) Hablas 'You (sg) speak'

where there is no lexical expression representing the "subject NP" are "missing" a subject ("dropped" or "phonologically null"); that the subject can be "missing" is because it is recoverable from the verb inflection due to the "agreement". Based on such an assumption, Chomsky divides languages into two types: "pro-drop" languages and "non-pro-drop" languages. He states their parametric difference as follows:

Suppose that a pronoun is simply the 'spelling' out of a pronoun with Case, i.e., pro. In other words at S-structure we insert the appropriate phonological matrix for pure pronominal EC with Case. In the non-pro-drop languages, it is always necessary to add this phonological matrix at S-structure, otherwise the content of the EC will not be properly determined. In a pro-drop languages, pro with Case can be left in subject position governed by AGR, since its content will be determined by AGR with Case, i.e., the pro.

(1982:86)

The "pro-drop" account of the so-called "subjectless" sentences encounters a problem, as there are certain types of sentences in Spanish which never have a pronoun occurring in them. Sentences which depict natural phenomena are one such type.

- | | | |
|-------|--|-----------------------------|
| (13) | Llueve poco en Tucson | 'It rains little in Tucson' |
| (104) | Nevó ayer | 'It snowed yesterday' |
| (105) | Relampaqueaba y tronaba toda la noche' | |
| | 'It was lightening and thundering all night' | |
| (106) | a. Hace frío | 'It is cold' |
| | b. Hace calor | 'It is hot' |
| | c. Hace sol | 'It is sunny' |
| | d. Hace viento | 'It is windy' |
| | e. Hace buen tiempo | 'It is a fine weather' |
| | f. Hace mal tiempo | 'It is a bad weather' |

As has been already pointed out, there are two alternative analyses proposed of sentences such as the above. Suñer (1982) claims that some sentences in Spanish are base-generated without a "subject NP", and gives the following examples.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------|------------------------|
| (107) | Hace mucho viento | 'It is very windy' |
| (108) | Había unos chicos | 'There were some boys' |
| (109) | Es lástima | 'It's (a) pity' |
| (110) | Está claro | 'It's clear' |
| (111) | Está muy llovisoso | 'It's very rainy' <18> |

Based on her claim, Suñer argues that, in Spanish, the "subject" is an optional element of the sentence, and proposes the PS rule for Spanish as: S-->(NP) INFL VP. As Suñer herself notes, one counterargument to her proposal is the presence of morphological marking on the verb, assuming the existence of a rule of Subject-

Verb agreement. She resolves this problem by stipulating the rule that the verb takes unmarked person and number form, i.e., third person, singular, when there is no "subject NP" generated in the underlying structure. It is not her claim, however, that all "subjectless" sentences have an underlying structure S---> INFL VP; she holds that sentences such as (7) through (12) have a "subject NP" in their underlying structure, under which an abstract pronoun is posited, and that there is an "agreement" between this abstract pronoun and the verb. Thus, Suñer assumes that some superficially "subjectless" sentences in Spanish are without a "subject NP" in the underlying structure while others are with a "subject NP", but it is "dropped" later in the derivation. This assumption of hers seems totally ad-hoc. Take, for example, the sentence es increíble 'He/she/it is unbelievable'. How do we know that this is a case where the "subject NP" has been "dropped" or a case where it has never been generated?<19> Whichever option we may adopt, the sentence comes out with the same surface form. Thus, there is no way to determine, in fact, whether the sentence in question never had a "subject NP" or whether it is "dropped". The drawback of Suñer's analysis, then, is that, by trying to accomodate exceptional cases, the presuppositions and assumptions of the theory within which she tries to account for most of the data are weakened.

Chomsky (1982) maintains that all clauses must have a subject, i.e., [NP, S], and argues that there are two types of phonologically null pronouns which can occupy the subject position of finite clauses in "pro-drop" languages: pro with reference and pro without reference. The empty category posited as the "subject" of sentences such as (13) etc. is the latter type, an analogue of the pleonastic it in English or il in French as exemplified in the following sentences.

- (112) It rains
- (113) Il pleut 'It rains'

Aoun (1981) elaborates further on this point, and classifies nominal elements into four categories, using the features [+referential] and [+phonetic]

- | | | | |
|---|----|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | a. | +referential, -phonetic | PRO<20> |
| | b. | +referential, +phonetic | lexical names and pronouns |
| 2 | a. | -referential, +phonetic | Expletive (it, there) |
| | b. | -referential, -phonetic | "Expletive PRO" |

It is the "Expletive PRO" specified as [-referential, -phonetic] that stands as the "subject" in the abstract structure of weather sentences.

Suñer (1983) proposes even another type of pro: pro with an arbitrary reference. Noting that so-called "impersonal-se" sentences such as,

- (14) Se habla dos idiomas en Canadá
- 'They speak two languages in Canada'
- 'Two languages are spoken in Canada'

or sentences with a verb marking third person, plural, such as,

(114) Lllaman a la puerta

'Somebody is knocking at the door'

are always interpreted as having an unspecified human agent, Suñer proposes that there is a phonologically null pronoun specified as [+human, -definite] occupying the "subject position" in the above sentences.

By postulating these special pro's, it is assumed that the particular way in which "subjectless" sentences are construed derives from some special semantic properties which the underlying "subject" has. If we were to follow this line of thought, we would have to postulate, at least, three more special types of pro for Spanish. Consider the following sentences.

(115) a. Todo el grupo comenzó el trabajo a la misma
'All the group started the work at the same
hora
hour'

b. Y a las dos, Ø terminó
'And at two _____ finished'

(116) a. Ese perro me enfada mucho
'That dog makes me very mad'

b. Ø me ladra cada vez que paso por ahí
'_____ barks at me each time I pass there'

(117) a. Juan dejó el reloj en algún lado
'John left the watch in some place'

b. Pero, ¿dónde estará Ø ?
'But, where can _____ be?'

In none of the b-sentences can the pronoun el 'he' or ella 'she' occur, though the verb marks third person, singular. If we were to postulate that there is an abstract pronoun where Ø is in these sentences, then, this abstract pronoun must be specified with features such as [+collective], [-human] and [-animate] in (115), (116) and (117), respectively, so that each of these sentences should not be interpreted the same way as (118)b.

(118) a. Carlos vino ayer
'Charles came yesterday'

b. Pero, Ø no me dijo nada de la fiesta
'But, he did not say anything of the party'

The consequence of this type of analysis is that we would have an enormous inventory of "abstract" pronouns. This seems a less than satisfactory result.

How would the theory which postulates empty categories explain the formal variation which Spanish sentences exhibit? Can it be made explicit anywhere in the theory why certain sentences in Spanish never have a pronoun occurring in them? In GB theory, while the subject is defined as a phrasal constituent of the sentence, and it is stipulated that every sentence must have this constituent in its syntactic representation, Spanish sentences are analyzed as either having the "subject" phonologically realized, or phonologically null in their surface structure. In this theory and in its predecessors, different principles and mechanisms have been proposed to account for "subjectless" sentences in Spanish. For example, Jaeggli (1980) proposes a principle called "Avoid Pronoun Principle", which states, "Avoid lexical pronoun when PRO is possible". However, when it comes to the essential question of why some sentences have the "subject" phonologically realized whereas others do not, none of the GB analyses offer any adequate explanation. In GB theory as well as in its predecessors, this essential question concerning the formal variation of Spanish sentences is totally ignored, or rather, it never has been an issue of relevance. This is a serious fault of the theory if the question has an easy and obvious answer under some other analysis.

At this point, one crucial difference between our analysis, which has been characterized as "pro-add" theory, and the "pro-drop" theory becomes evident. According to the "pro-drop" theory, all sentences are represented equally, the superficial difference being attributed to whether the "subject NP" is lexically realized or not. In contrast, according to my analysis, there is clearly a compositional difference between sentences such as (1), (2) and (3), on the one hand, and sentences such as (7), (8) and (9), on the other; in the former type, there is an 'extra' element added to them. When the two types of sentences are analyzed as compositionally different in terms of the presence or the absence of an adstructural element in the sentence, it is predicted that such a variation is not arbitrary, but is constrained by some non-syntactic factors. It is on this point that an important generalization is to be captured as regards to so-called "pro-drop" languages such as Spanish.

Let us look at weather sentences such as,

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|--|
| (13) | Llueve poco en Tucson | 'It rains little in Tucson' |
| (104) | Nevó ayer | 'It snowed yesterday' |
| (105) | Relampagueaba y tronaba toda la noche | 'It was lightening and thundering all night' |
| (106) | a. Hace frío | 'It is cold' |
| | b. Hace calor | 'It is hot' |
| | c. Hace sol | 'It is sunny' |
| | d. Hace viento | 'It is windy' |
| | e. Hace buen tiempo | 'It is a fine weather' |
| | f. Hace mal tiempo | 'It is a bad weather' |

These sentences invariably have no form associated with the subject. Why is this the case? Let us note that the subjects of these sentences receive a 'nonreferential' interpretation, which simply means that the 'causer' of the natural phenomenon cannot be referred to. It is systematically the case in Spanish that when a subject receives a 'nonreferential' interpretation (which includes arbitrary reference), there is no form associated with the subject in the sentence.

- (14) Se habla dos idiomas en Canadá
'They speak two languages in Canada'
- (119) Dicen que Juan está enfermo
'They say that John is sick'
- (108) Había unos chicos
'There were some boys'
- (120) Parece que Juan está enfermo
'It seems that John is sick'
- (121) Es la una
'It is one'

It appears, then, that the absence of an associated form is obligatory in sentences which receive a 'nonreferential' interpretation. Why is it not possible for such sentences to have a form associated with the subject? There is simply no (pronominal or otherwise) expression in Spanish, which could serve as the adstructural element, that is nonreferential. All nominal expressions and all pronouns are referential.<21> A sentence can have a form associated with the subject, when there is an expression available; otherwise a sentence must remain without such a form.

The above generalization pertaining to Spanish pronouns explains why in certain types of sentences, the occurrence of a pronoun is not possible, and why the formal variation not evidenced in English or French is allowed in Spanish sentences. Thus, what characterizes "pro-drop" languages such as Spanish, and distinguishes them from "non-pro-drop" languages such as English and French is not the syntactic option of having the "subject NP" of finite clauses phonologically null. Rather, it is the nature of their pronouns: "pro-drop" languages have only referential pronouns whereas "non-pro-drop" languages have both referential and nonreferential pronouns.

Our analysis also allows an account of the formal variation between the two sets of sentences as the following, whose only difference is the presence or the absence of the adstructural element.

- (1) Yo hablo
(7) Hablo 'I speak'

- (2) Tú hablas
 (8) Hablas 'You (sg) speak'
- (3) El/ella habla
 (9) Habla 'He/she speaks'

What is the difference between sentences such as (1), (2) and (3), on the one hand, and sentences such as (7), (8) and (9), on the other, and what will be the factors that govern the formal variation? Consider the following sentences.

- (122) ¿Quién quiere cafe? --- a. Yo quiero
 'Who wants coffee?' b. *___ quiero. 'I want (some)'
- (123) ¿Queréis ir a la fiesta? --- a. Yo quiero ir, pero no
 'Do you (pl) want to go to the party?' sé si mi marido quiera ir
- b. *___ quiero ir, pero no sé si mi marido quiera ir
 'I want to go, but I don't know if my husband wants to go'

Neither (122)b nor (123)b has a pronoun, and both are inappropriate. However, these sentences cannot be ruled out on syntactic grounds, for given a different context, they are perfectly acceptable.

- (124) ¿Quieres cafe? --- Sí, ___ quiero
 'Do you want coffee?' 'Yes, I want (some)'
- (125) ¿Quieres ir a la fiesta? --- Sí, ___ quiero ir.
 'Do you (sg) want to go to the party?' 'Yes, I want to go'

The above data demonstrates that the appropriateness of sentences in terms of the presence or the absence of a pronoun depends entirely on the context. Consider again (123)b.

- (123) b. Yo quiero ir, pero no se sí mi marido quiera ir

In this sentence, there is a contrast between yo 'I' and mi marido 'my husband' regarding 'wanting to go to the party'. The inappropriateness of (123)b indicates that, when a referential contrast is made, the presence of a form associated with the subject (in this case, a pronoun) is mandatory. On the other hand, when such a contrast is not made, the presence of an associated form is not required, which is exemplified in (124) and (125).

Clearly, a specific discourse function is assigned to the presence or the absence of an independent argument associated with the subject. This fact cannot be properly captured in analyses where sentences such as,

- | | | |
|-----|----------|-----------|
| (1) | Yo hablo | 'I speak' |
| (7) | Hablo | 'I speak' |

are not distinguished, and are regarded merely as variants. It has been noted in previous analyses of Spanish that the occurrence of a pronoun as in (1), (2) and (3) has an emphatic value (Hadlich etc.), and the difference between these sentences and sentences such as (7), (8) and (9) is functional (Jaeggli etc.). However, in none of the existing proposals can the association between a particular discourse function and the presence/absence of a pronoun be directly deduced from the fundamental assumptions on which the analysis of the sentence is based. In this respect, my analysis is clearly preferable.

We have concluded above that, in Spanish, all nominal expressions and, hence, pronouns are referential. The formal variation evidenced between (1) and (7), for example, naturally follows from this special characteristics of the Spanish language. Any form associated with the subject in a Spanish sentence is referential. When a pronoun (or any other expression) is 'added' to the sentence, a specific domain x is referred to, and the abstract value, subject, is associated with the reality. Through this reference process, a contrast is made between x and some other domain y, or between x and all other domains. If such a contrast need not be made, no semantic domain will be referred to; thus, no expression will be 'added' in order to be associated with the subject. Only when all pronouns are referential can a given language display a particular discourse function, i.e., referential contrast, by the 'addition' or 'non-addition' of a pronoun.

6. Conclusion

It may appear that what we have defined as the subject and what is termed in GB theory AGR in INFL have an obvious affinity in that both represent syntactically relevant inflectional properties in terms of person, number and gender. Chomsky defines and characterizes INFL and AGR as follows:

Let us assume that INFL may in principle be a collection of feature $[[\pm \text{Tense}] \text{ (AGR)}]$.

The "inflectional" element INFL may, in turn, be $[\pm \text{Tense}]$, i.e., finite ($[\text{+Tense}]$) or infinite ($[\text{-Tense}]$). If finite, it will furthermore, have the features person, gender and number; call this complex AGR.

In surface structure, INFL may appear phonetically as part of the verbal affix system, but I will assume here that in S-structure the representation is as in (10) ((10) S--->NP INFL VP).

(1981:52)

The basic assumptions here are: 1. INFL is a constituent which gets phonetically realized in the verb affix; 2. AGR is always

phonetically realized in the same affix as Tense. There are certain problems in these proposals posed by the data in this paper. In the first place, in Spanish, the inflectional properties at issue are not localized in one word, i.e., the verb, but are distributed throughout the sentence. Furthermore, while person/number in Spanish are marked in the same affix as Tense is, gender/number do not occur in a single word with Tense.

The subject in our analysis is crucially different from AGR: 1. It is not a constituent, but an abstraction of a cluster of inflectional properties manifested throughout the sentence in terms of person/number, and gender/number; 2. The subject in our analysis is treated independent of the inflectional properties involving tense. Consequently, the problems for AGR are not transferred to this analysis.

In summary, my analysis of Spanish sentences and the definition of the subject are a significant improvement on any existing analysis proposed within generative grammar in that:

1. It obviates the necessity for empty categories or "pro-drop" transformation.
2. It offers a coherent explanation as to why certain sentences in Spanish may never have a "subject NP", or why Spanish sentences manifest a formal variation in terms of the presence or the absence of an independent argument.
3. It is able to accommodate certain facts of Spanish involving "agreement", or rather, "disagreement".
4. It is able to account for the distribution of the syntactically relevant inflectional properties of person, number and gender.

APPENDIX

<u>Ind. Imp.</u>	<u>Conditional</u>	<u>Person/Number</u>
-aba/ía	-aría/ería/iría	(Non-2) sg
-abas/ías	-arías/erías/irías	2nd sg
-ábamos/íamos	-aríamos/eríamos/iríamos	1st pl
-abais/íais	-aríais/eríais/iríais	2nd pl
-aban/-ían	-arían/erían/irían	3rd pl

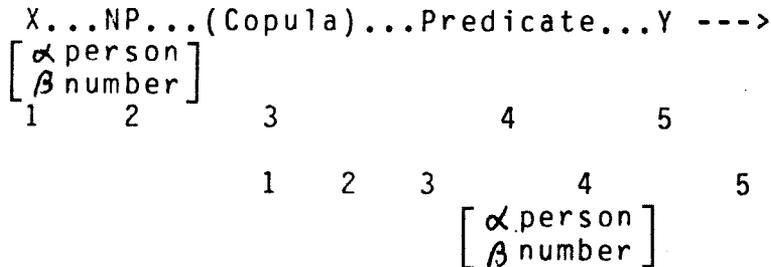
<u>Sub. Pres.</u>	<u>Sub. Imp.</u>	<u>Person/Number</u>
-e/a	-ara/iera	(Non-2) sg
-es/as	-aras/ieras	2nd sg
-emos/amos	-áramos/iéramos	1st pl
-éis/áis	-arais/ierais	2nd pl
-en/an	-aran/ieran	3rd pl

Footnotes

*I am deeply indebted to Susan Steele, whose seminar on syntax and semantics offered in fall, '83 inspired me to write this paper: she has patiently gone over numerous versions of this paper and has given me each time precise comments and suggestions for improvements. I am also grateful to Dick Oehrle for his comments to an earlier version, and to María Dardis for some interesting data. My thanks go to Ricardo Sansone and Cheryl Caudebec, who proofread the earlier versions and corrected my errors in English. Of course, I am solely responsible for any errors or misconceptions that may be found in this paper.

1. Vd./Vds., the formal 'you' (sg/pl), which are treated grammatically as third person, are excluded from the list.

2. There is another feature-copying transformation proposed independent of SVA, that is "Gender-Number Agreement", where the gender and number features of the subject gets copied onto the predicate. Quicoli (1976) states such a transformation rule as follows:



where predicate is expanded as follows:

Predicate $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Predicate Nominal} \\ \text{Adjective} \\ \text{Participle} \end{array} \right\}$

3. Noting that the use of a pronoun has an emphatic value, Hadlich (1971) proposes that pronouns be marked either [+emphatic] or [-emphatic] in deep structure. If a pronoun has the feature [-emphatic] in its feature matrix, then, it triggers pro-drop transformation, and the pronoun gets deleted.

4. The condition across AGR and "subject NP" is stated partially through Case assignment. Chomsky (1980) explains that Nominative Case is assigned to "subject NP" in "pro-drop" languages by AGR under government and strict feature matching ("agreement").

5. Chomsky (1981) talks about two possible places where the movement of INFL may occur in "pro-drop" languages: in Syntax and in PF. This issue will be disregarded here, as it is not relevant to our discussion.

6. In Chomsky (1982), there is a distinction made between PRO and pro. Previous to this, PRO represents both categories.

7. Here, I am not making a distinction between the so-called "main verbs" and "auxiliary verbs", since both types share the property of taking a tense suffix. For the definition of tense see 3.3.3.

8. Some ACE's may have several argument structures associated with them. Examine, by way of examples, com- 'eat', which can be used both as transitive or intransitive.

¿Comiste?
'Did you eat/Did you have lunch?' (Intransitive)

Comiste manzanas?
'Did you eat apples?' (Transitive)

9. Gerund is not traditionally treated as a 'mood'; nevertheless the inflectional property does identify that the propositional basis is \sqrt{p} ([-tense]), as I will shortly show.

10. In generative grammar (as well as in traditional grammar), the subjunctive is viewed as having a tense. Dardis (1982) argues that the subjunctive is tenseless, and groups it together with the imperative and the infinitive in her classification of Spanish sentences. Her argument is based on the fact that the subjunctive can be replaced, in certain types of clauses, by the infinitive without altering meaning. Consider the following examples from Dardis.

- a. Juan se va sin que yo lo sepa
'John without my knowing it' (Subjunctive/present)
- b. Juan se va sin saberlo yo
'John without my knowing it' (Infinitive)
- a. Juan se fue sin que yo lo supiera
'John left without my knowing it' (Subjunctive/
imperfect)
- b. Juan se fue sin saberlo yo
'John left without my knowing it' (Infinitive)

The striking fact about these sentences is, as Dardis points out, that both the subjunctive present and imperfect can be replaced by the infinitive, which is tenseless, without causing any change in meaning. She concludes that the subjunctive is not contributing to the meaning of the sentence in regards to the temporal location, for were it the case, the subjunctive could never be replaced by the tenseless infinitive. There are two forms of subjunctive; present and imperfect, and it is claimed in traditional grammar as well as in modern linguistic theories that these forms are correlated with a particular temporal location. However, as has been demonstrated above, this is incorrect. The choice between the two forms is constrained by some other factor. Consider, for example, the subjunctive in an embedded construction.

Pueden comer
can(ACE)-Ind.pres.-3/pl eat(Arg)

'They can eat'

15. The value [masculine] or [feminine] may represent both sexual and non-sexual distinctions. Consider the sentence below.

Está limpia
clean-fem/sg
'She/it is clean'

As is evident by the way this sentence may be interpreted, the value [feminine] does not necessarily represent a sexual distinction.

16. I will not make any distinction between 'neuter' and 'masculine', as suffixes marking gender/number show only two-way distinction as regards to gender. The following examples are illustrative.

a. Esto (neuter) es bueno 'This is good'
b. Este (masculine) es bueno 'This is good'
c. Esta (feminine) es buena 'This is good'

I will assign only one value to the ending -o, i.e., [masculine], and I will use the term masculine to indicate a value which is non-feminine.

17. Here, I am not using the term "bound" to indicate anaphoric relationships as in GB theory, but to indicate that there is a necessary association between items in the string.

18. Suñer does not include in her list sentences with weather verbs such as llover 'to rain', granizar 'to hail' etc., on the grounds that these "pattern" differently from those found in (107) through (111) in two areas: 1. Weather verbs do not occur embedded under control verbs, but do occur embedded under raising verbs; 2. Weather verbs occur with perception verbs as well as causative hacer 'make'.

19. Suñer obviously does not use the criterion whether an "overt" pronoun can occur or not in order to determine if a particular "subjectless" sentence has "subject NP" in the underlying structure, since she claims that sentences such as llueve 'it rains' or graniza 'it hails' do have a "subject NP" in the underlying structure. (See note 18)

20. At the time of Aoun's article, PRO, which occurs in a non-finite clause and pro, which occurs in a finite clause, had not been distinguished; PRO was used for both types of empty categories. (See note 7)

21. They must be also [+human], as no pronoun in Spanish can represent any semantic domain which is [-human].

References

- Aoun, Youssef (1981) "Expletive PRO's", MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, vol.4.
- Bello, Andrés (1977) Gramatica Castellana, Editorial Nacional, Mexico.
- Chomsky, Noam (1980) "A Note on Non-Control PRO", Journal of Linguistic Research, vol.1 No.4, Indiana University Linguistic Club.
- _____ (1981) Lectures on Government and Binding, Foris, Dordrecht.
- _____ (1982) Some Concepts and Consequences of the Theory of Government and Binding, MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass.
- Corbett, Greville G. (1983) Hierarchies, Targets and Controllers-Agreement Patterns in Slavic, Croom Helm: London & Camberra.
- Dardis, Mary (1982) Ph.D Qualifying Paper (No Title), mimeographed, University of Arizona.
- Gili Gaya, Samuel (1961) Curso Superior de Sintaxis Espanola, Bibliograf, S.A.: Barcelona, Spain.
- Hadlich, Roger (1971) A Transformational Grammar of Spanish, Prentice-Hall Inc.: Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
- Jaeggli, Osvaldo (1980) On some phonologically-null Elements in Syntax, Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.
- Jelinek, Eloise (1982) "Optional and Obligatory Pro-drop", mimeographed, University of Arizona.
- _____ (1984) "Empty Categories, Case and Configurationality", Natural Language and Linguistic Theory, D. Reidel Publishing Company: Doredrecht, Holland.
- Kato, Natsuko (1981) "Person and Number Assignment in Spanish", Sophia Linguistica VIII/XI, Sophia University: Tokyo.
- Moravcsik, Edith A. (1978) "Agreement", Universals of Human Language, ed. Joseph Greenberg, Vol4. Syntax, Stanford University Press: Stanford, Ca.
- Pons, Roca J. (1960) Introducción a la gramática, Editorial Teide, S.A.: Barcelona, Spain.
- Quicoli, Carlos (1976) "Missing Subjects in Portuguese", Current Studies in Romance Linguistics, ed. Lujan and Hensey.

- Quilis, Antonio (1983) La concordancia gramatical en la lengua hablada en Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto <<Miguel de Cervantes>>: Madrid.
- Real Academia Española (1975) Esbozo de una nueva gramática de la lengua española, Espasa-Calpe, S.A.: Madrid.
- Shroeten Jan (1981) "Subject Deletion or Subject Formation: Evidence from Spanish", Linguistic Analysis, vol.7, no.2.
- Steele, Susan et al. (1981) An Encyclopedia of AUX: A Study in Cross-linguistic Equivalence, MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass.
- Steele, Susan (to appear), Syntax of Luiseno.
- Suñer, Margarita (1982) "On Null Subjects", Linguistic Analysis, vol.9, No.1.
- _____ (1983) "pro arb", Linguistic Inquiry 14.