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AN INVESTIGATION OF PHONOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC VARIATION IN SPOKEN CHILEAN SPANISH

University of California, Los Angeles

PH.D. 1979

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
Los Angeles

An Investigation of Phonological
and Syntactic Variation in Spoken Chilean
Spanish

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics

by

Carmen M. Silva-Corvalán

1979
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1979
To my parents and my sons.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to the members of my doctoral committee, Donald Bowen, Paul Schachter, Robert Stockwell, Tracy Terrell, Sandy Thompson and Benji Wald. Special thanks to Professors Stockwell, Thompson and Wald for their valuable suggestions and comments on the earlier drafts of this dissertation. Most of all, I wish to thank my co-chairpersons, Sandy Thompson and Benji Wald. I am indeed fortunate to have had to work under their guidance not only during the completion of this dissertation, but during most of my graduate studies at UCLA. A great deal of what I know about linguistics comes from them. Above all, Sandy and Benji have been friends who have offered me advice, criticism and encouragement.

I am also grateful to Beatriz Lavandera for reading parts of this dissertation and for providing insightful comments and suggestions.

I owe much gratitude to those wonderful Chilean people who made this research possible by allowing me to record our conversations. Their cooperation is invaluable. Many thanks also to my friends Marta and Rafael Herrera for helping me find the people I needed.

I would also like to thank all the members of the Linguistics Department at UCLA for creating a friendly, encouraging and challenging atmosphere for study and research.

For financial support, I am grateful to the Ford Foundation in Chile, to the University of California, to the Department of
Linguistics at UCLA, to Steve Anderson for a research assistantship on the Language Typology project and to Fred and Eva Vollmer of Los Angeles. I also want to acknowledge the support of the National Science Foundation for awarding me grant BNS 78-08173, which allowed me to do the research for this dissertation.

Finally, and especially, I thank my sons Diego, Fernando and Rodrigo for their love, friendship and understanding, and my mother and father for showing me the value of learning and for their support throughout my life.
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1978--"The Ilokano Causative in Universal Grammar" in Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society, Berkeley, California

1978--"The Application of a Universal Definition of Passive to Certain Grammatical Constructions in Spanish" in Boletín de Filología, Universidad de Chile. Tomo XXIX.
ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

An Investigation of Phonological and
Syntactic Variation in Spoken Chilean Spanish

by

Carmen M. Silva-Corvalán

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics
University of California, Los Angeles, 1979
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Two major goals provide a motivation for the present study: 1) to find out whether syntactic variables may convey any social meanings; and 2) to investigate the range of variation and the linguistic properties of a number of variables used by socially different groups of speakers in order to determine what type of syntactic variation may be expected to correlate with social factors.

The data consist of recorded semi-directed interviews of 32 Spanish speakers from Santiago, Chile. The total sample is stratified by age, sex and level of education.

Chapter 1 specifies the scope of the study as well as its relation to other studies in the area of syntactic variation. It
also presents the methodology followed in the collection of the data and gives information about the speakers, the interviews and the language styles.

Chapter 2 investigates four phonological variables: velarization of /f/, deletion of intervocalic /b/, velarization of [bw] and the interchange of syllable-final /r/ and /l/. The total score for the social distribution of these variables establishes a clear linguistic differentiation of two social groups which correlates with lower and higher level of education.

Four syntactic variables are investigated in Chapters 3 through 5: 1) pleonastic clitics (PCs); 2) the (se) me le construction; 3) object-verb agreement; and 4) the placement of objects in preverbal position.

PCs and the (se) me le construction are discussed in Chapter 3. The occurrence versus non-occurrence of these variables stratifies the speakers into two groups by level of education, which correspond to the groups that resulted from the phonological stratification.

PCs are shown to provide the kind of evidence that Lavandera (1978) considers to be necessary to extend the notion of socio-linguistic variable to syntax.

Chapter 4 deals with the variable occurrence of preverbal objects and object-verb agreement. The structural properties of constructions with a preverbal object are discussed and an analysis in terms of Topicalized Objects and Adjoined Topic Objects is proposed. The occurrence of object-verb agreement is shown to depend on the degree of topicality of the object. Chapter 4 closes with a
discussion of the social correlations of these two syntactic variables. The conclusion is that preverbal objects and object-verb agreement are not influenced by social factors but by purely linguistic factors.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the question of the motives that may lead speakers to place an object in preverbal position. The analysis of the data leads to the conclusion that speakers may place an object in such place when the object constitutes old information, when it is the topic of the sentence or of the discourse, when it is a focus of contrast, and when the object is contrary to expectation. Each of these discourse functions is examined in detail. The investigation of the topic properties of preverbal objects concludes with the observation that there may be two topics within a sentence and, in addition, that there are no restrictions on the definiteness or referentiality of a topic (cf. Hooper 1976; Givón 1976; Li and Thompson 1976).

Chapter 6 presents a summary of the results of this study and their implications for the two issues posed at the onset. It concludes that the investigation of the possible discourse/semantic meanings that a syntactic variable may convey is an important and necessary step in the study of the sociolinguistic value of variation at the syntactic level. This conclusion is based on the observation that, at least with respect to the variables included in this study, no social correlations are found when the occurrence of the alternant forms is influenced by discourse/semantic factors. This conclusion
appears to have one exception: some discourse-motivated variables may set the children apart from other age groups.
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Orientation

In this dissertation I investigate some syntactic variables in spoken Spanish with two purposes: 1) to find out whether syntactic variables may convey any social meaning; 2) to investigate the range of variation and the linguistic properties of the syntactic variables used by socially different groups of speakers in order to determine what type of syntactic variation may be expected to correlate with social factors. It is hypothesized that various syntactic options may be used to a greater or lesser extent as a result of differences in the possibilities of exposure to formal and written language. Given the conservative and normative effect of education, it is expected that older age and higher level of education will correlate with a lower frequency of nonstandard linguistic variables.

In the recent sociolinguistic literature linguists have spoken of differential use or control of syntactic options across social groups (v. Bernstein 1966, 1972a, 1972b; Givón 1979b; E. O. Keenan 1977). Two basic assumptions underlie these linguists' proposals: a) that there are more or less complex syntactic modes of speech in languages, which are used with more or less frequency by different groups of speakers; and b) that more complex syntactic modes correlate

1

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with, among other factors, higher level of education, higher degree of formality and older age. I investigate this issue in the following chapters and arrive at the conclusion that, at least with respect to the variables included in this study, more or less syntactic complexity does not correlate with level of education.

On the issue of whether syntactic variables may be expected to be sociolinguistic variables, G. Sankoff (1973: 58) has stated that "the extension of probabilistic considerations from phonology to syntax is not a conceptually difficult jump." Lavandera (1978), on the other hand, considers it inadequate to extend sociolinguistic research to the study of morphological, syntactic or lexical variation at this point. Her position stems from the observation that the nature of non-phonological variation does not appear to be the same as that of phonological variation, that is to say, while phonological variants may be safely said to be two ways of saying the same thing, non-phonological variants may convey meaning differences beyond the referential level. Consequently, apparent non-phonological variants may not fit the definition of sociolinguistic variable as "the option of saying "the same thing" in several different ways" (Labov 1972a: 271). Thus, while the result of a study of phonological variation is interpretable without reference to any level of meaning, the analysis of the result of a study of syntactic variation must take meaning beyond the level of truth value into account. Lavandera (1978) further notes that certain studies of syntactic variation (G. Sankoff 1973, Weiner and Labov 1977) have reported that the syntactic variables investigated did not carry any social or stylistic significance,
i.e. they did not appear to be sociolinguistic variables. The choice between two or more syntactic variants in these cases was constrained almost entirely by syntactic factors, i.e. the variables were of a linguistic rather than a sociolinguistic nature. Lavandera, therefore, doubts the possibility of sociolinguistic covariance at the syntactic level. This covariance has been shown to exist, on the other hand, in the case of phonological variants (e.g. Cedergren 1973; Labov 1966; Trudgill 1973).

This dissertation represents an effort to contribute to our understanding of the properties that make certain syntactic linguistic variables likely sociolinguistic indicators. It seeks to contribute to the area of sociolinguistics by investigating the possibility of extending the notion of sociolinguistic variable to the level of syntax.

In the analysis of the syntactic variables included in this study, we take three levels of meaning into consideration:

a. The level of truth value
b. The level of discourse/semantic meaning
c. The level of social/interactional meaning

Syntactic variables that are the same at the level of truth value may interact with the other two levels of meaning in four ways:

1. They may have the same meaning at the discourse/semantic level and:
   a) convey different social/interactional meanings;
   b) have no social/interactional meaning.
2. They may convey differences in meaning at the discourse/semantic level and: a) also at the social/interactional meaning level; b) have no social/interactional meaning.

This dissertation provides evidence that supports possibilities (1a) and (2b), i.e. syntactic variables that do not convey any discernible discourse meanings are likely sociolinguistic variables (1a), while syntactic variables that convey differences in meaning at the discourse/semantic level are not likely to convey social information (2b).

The results that will be discussed in the following chapters indicate that Lavandera's (1978) observations are correct to the extent that some syntactic variables do not provide social information. On the other hand, the extension of sociolinguistic research to the analysis of syntactic variation is possible and amply justified, as shown by this dissertation. Furthermore, as stated by Labov (1977: 12) "the analysis of variation has been equally concerned with internal constraints on rule-governed behavior, and the light which these constraints throw on cognitive operations and "knowledge" of the grammar." Consequently, in the analysis of the syntactic variables investigated here, I do not focus only on the external social factors that may influence the choice of one or another variant but also on the internal linguistic factors (e.g. syntactic, semantic and discourse factors) that may determine this choice.
1.1 The Linguistic Problem

The research reported in this dissertation concerns itself specifically with some variable syntactic phenomena as they occur in spoken Chilean Spanish, to wit:

a. The variable occurrence of pleonastic clitic pronouns, as illustrated in (1).

1. Se le estoy pasándosela!
   'I am giving her to him'

b. The (se) me le construction, exemplified by (2)

2. (Se) me le murió mi hija.
   'My daughter died'

c. The occurrence of a clitic coreferential with a non-pronominal direct object, as shown in (3)

3. Losí recibí mal los recadosí
   'She receives the messages, wrong'

d. The variable preverbal placement of a direct object or an indirect object, as illustrated in (4) and (5)
4. Café tampoco tomo.
   'Coffee I don't drink either'

5. A tí te lo cuento.
   'I tell it to you'

The variables illustrated in (a.), (b.) and (c.) were included in this study because they involve redundant uses of pronoun clitics which are either not mentioned in Spanish grammars (e.g. the pleonastic clitics illustrated in (a.)), or considered to be unacceptable (b. and c.). I considered, therefore, that these would be interesting phenomena to study as they might shed some light on the linguistic and extralinguistic factor that constrain the spread of prescriptively unacceptable language features. Furthermore, when I collected the data I observed that pleonastic clitics (a.) and the (se)me le construction (b.) were noticeably more frequent in the speech of speakers with a low level of education, while there was no obvious social correlation with the use of coreferential clitics (c.). Consequently, I viewed the study of the function of these clitics in speech and the possible sociolinguistic implications as a step towards elucidating some of the questions posed at the outset of the investigation, namely whether syntactic variables could be sociolinguistic indicators in the manner that phonological variables are, and if so, what properties of these variables made them likely to be sociolinguistic indicators.
The variable illustrated in (d.) was included in the study for two reasons:

1. The preverbal placement of DO's appeared to be related to the occurrence of coreferential clitics (c.).

2. An earlier study (Silva-Corvalán 1976) of Topicalization and Left-dislocation in Spanish had indicated that the variable preverbal placement of DO's and IO's correlated with some discourse functions. This, then, appeared to be a syntactic variable that was qualitatively different from the phonological variables frequently discussed in the sociolinguistics literature (e.g. ιη-ιη, r-lessness and consonant cluster simplification in English; /s/ deletion and fricativization of /ʃ/ in Spanish) and apparently also different from the variables presented in (a.) to (c.) in that it conveyed meaning at the discourse level. Therefore, its study would allow us to investigate the possibility of extending the notion of sociolinguistic variable to an area of the grammar where the variables might correlate with differences of meaning beyond the propositional level.

The variable occurrence of the phenomena referred to in (a. to d.) and the frequency correlations of some of these syntactic variables with certain social factors are explained with reference to language change and discourse functions.

As stated before, this dissertation constitutes the first study of the occurrence of pleonastic clitics in Spanish.\(^1\) The social distribution of pleonastic clitics is shown to offer the kind of evidence that Lavandera (1978) claims to be necessary to extend the notion of sociolinguistic variable to the analysis of syntactic variation.
The linguistic distribution of pleonastic clitics, on the other hand, supports the hypothesis that language change spreads gradually and selectively.

The occurrence of a clitic coreferential with a postverbal non-pronominal direct object (c.) is shown to be sensitive to the relative topicality of the accusative noun phrases. This finding agrees with Givón's (1976) analysis of similar phenomena as markers of object-verb agreement in various languages. The variable occurrence of a clitic coreferential with a post-verbal direct object does not appear to be a sociolinguistic variable, i.e. it is a variable constrained by purely linguistic factors.

Both the structure and the function of constructions with a preverbal indirect object or direct object (d.) are investigated. The structural analysis offers evidence against the "verb-first or second" constraint that the Real Academia Española (1973) has proposed for spoken Spanish.

Within the framework of generative transformational grammar these constructions have been described in terms of Left-Dislocation and Topicalization (v. M. L. Rivero 1978) based on the presence versus absence of a copy pronoun. This dissertation presents evidence against such an analysis and proposes a classification into Adjoined Topic Objects and Topicalized Objects differentiated by the presence of an obligatory intonation break which correlates with the possible occurrence of a non-cliticized coreferential constituent.

The functional analysis of the preverbal placement of an object shows that four discourse functions appear to motivate the occurrence
of this variable: old information, topicness, contrast and contrary to expectation. The data support a view of old-new information as a continuum rather than a dichotomy in the manner suggested by the Functional Sentence Perspective theory (v. Firbas 1962), by Duranti and Keenan (1977) and by Prince (1978). This is different from Chafe's (1976) and Contreras's (1976) view of old-new as a dichotomy.

The analysis of the data with reference to the notion topic leads us to conclude that there are no restrictions on the definiteness nor on the referentiality of the topic noun phrase. This conclusion invalidates a language universal proposed by Givón (1976) according to which topics may not be referential and indefinite.

The constraints on the variable preverbal placement of objects are shown to be of a purely discourse/semantic nature, i.e. the variable carries meaning at the discourse/semantic level but no meaning at the social level.

1.2 **Methodology**

1.2.1 **The Language Sample**

This study is based on the language samples obtained through recorded interviews of 32 monolingual Spanish speakers living in Santiago, Chile. The recordings were made with a Sony stereo cassette-recorder, model TC - 520 CS, and two Sony EMC-16 microphones. The data consist of recorded semi-directed interviews of one to two hours with each of the 32 speakers selected.
1.2.2 The Speakers

The speakers were selected to fill a sample which could be
stratified according to social factors of ascribed status, namely age
and sex, and social factors of achieved status, level of education and
occupation. Level of education and occupation were chosen as indi-
cators of two social class levels: low level of education and manual
work correlate with low social class; high level of education and a
professional type of work correlate with higher or middle social
class.

The total sample of 32 speakers is stratified by age, sex and
educational level into the following categories:

I. By age: eight speakers in each group.

Group 1 - Children: between ages 4:6 and 6:0

Group 2 - Adolescents: between ages 15 and 17

Group 3 - 30 to 40 years of age

Group 4 - 50 or more years of age

II. By sex: sixteen male and sixteen female speakers. A parallel
number of males and females in each category.

III. By educational level: sixteen speakers in each group.

Group A: three or fewer years of school.

Group B: twelve or more years of school.

For the speakers in the age groups 1 and 2, the classification
into educational level was determined by the mother's level of
education since in Chilean society the mother appears to be more
influential than the father with respect to the development of speech
habits due to the greater amount of time that the mother spends with the children at home.

The speakers in group A are all involved in a manual type of work, the speakers in group B in a non-manual type of work. Consequently, the speakers in group A may be said to belong to a lower status social group, while the speakers in group B belong to a higher status social group within the Santiago community as a whole.

In order to minimize possible language differences due to geographic factors, I decided to include in the sample only speakers who had lived in Santiago all their lives. This proved to be impossible for the speakers in age groups 2, 3 and 4 (see App. 1) basically because for job-related reasons most of the people who were approached had lived in other cities. All the speakers are, however, from the central part of the country, an area extending from La Serena, about 200 miles north of Santiago (the capital of the country) to Angol, about 350 miles south of Santiago.

1.2.3 The Interviews

The purpose of the interviews was to obtain samples of casual speech from the speakers. Labov (1966: 603) has stated that a fundamental problem "is that of eliciting casual and spontaneous speech in the context of the formal linguistic interview, which normally evokes careful speech only." With this warning in mind, the interviews for the present study (which were all done by the investigator) were not structured but conducted in a conversational style. A few questions and topics had been prepared beforehand and were introduced with a
double purpose: to stimulate the conversation and to establish some uniformity in the topics discussed by the speakers in the various groups. This approach aimed at minimizing possible language differences motivated by a heterogeneity of discourse topics. On the whole, the speakers were left free to talk about the topics suggested by the interviewer in any manner they liked and to introduce any new topics that were of interest to them.

1.2.3.1 The Interview Situation

The approach techniques and the interview situations varied across the different groups of speakers:

Group 1: The four children in group A were interviewed in the State Nursery School which they attend from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. from Monday to Friday. Information about the children and their parents was obtained from the Director of the School. The recordings (an average of 1 hour per child) were done in six sessions of about 2 hours each during which the children were interviewed individually and in their peer group.

Two of the children in group B were interviewed in the Private Nursery School which they attend from 8:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. from Monday to Friday: C,f,5:6 and R,m,5:7. The recordings were done in three sessions of approximately two hours each during which the children were also interviewed individually and in their peer groups. R,m,5:7 was also interviewed at home, as were the other two children in this group. These were individual interviews between the subject
and the investigator, conducted in a casual manner while playing or eating.

On the whole, the children's interviews were successful in eliciting spontaneous speech. The samples contain dyadic exchanges, narratives of personal experiences, story-telling, role-playing, directives on how to play games, etc. The children were aware of the tape-recorder, frequently asked for the tape to be played back and enjoyed listening to themselves.

Groups 2, 3 and 4: All the speakers in these groups were interviewed individually by the investigator, with occasional participation of a friend or a member of the speaker's family who happened to pass by the place where the interview was being conducted.

The speakers in group B were either friends or acquaintances of the investigator's or were contacted through friends. Some of the speakers in group A were also contacted through friends and others were approached directly in the slum areas where they live, without any previous contact.

The recordings were done in one or two sessions in the speakers' homes, with four exceptions: the four males in sub-groups A-3 and A-4 were interviewed at their place of work. This reflects the investigator's difficulties in approaching males in these age brackets either at home or in the street, so a fairly formal introduction was necessary in each case.

All the speakers obviously agreed to being recorded. They were told that the purpose of the recordings was to collect data about all aspects of life in Chile for a book that the investigator was writing.
With this approach, an interview situation was created in which the
speakers would direct their attention to the content of what they
expressed rather than to the means of expression. Some of the
speakers in sub-groups B-3 and B-4 were aware of the investigator's
background in linguistic studies. Nevertheless, this did not seem to
affect the language of the interview, perhaps due to the casualness
of the topics being discussed or to the fact that the speakers and
the interviewer were friends.

1.2.3.2 The Language Styles

According to Labov's (1972a: 79-97) definition of careful,
casual and spontaneous speech, it is possible to say that these three
styles are illustrated in the samples of speech obtained from each one
of the speakers, though to different degrees.

Labov notes that careful style is the one that normally occurs
in an interview situation when the speaker is answering questions.
When the constraints of the formal interview situation are over-
ridden, spontaneous speech may occur, a style characterized by
excitement and emotion. Casual speech, on the other hand, is diffi-
cult to elicit in an interview situation given that by definition it
is "the everyday speech used in informal situations, where no atten-
tion is directed to language" (Labov 1972a: 86). Labov proposes that
casual speech may occur, however, and may be identified within the
interview by means of certain contextual and non-phonological cues.
If at least one of each of these two types of cues prevails, then the
style may be identified as casual. Of the contextual situations and
the non-phonological cues proposed by Labov, the following prevail at several points during the interviews conducted for this study:

Speech outside the formal interview (i.e. directed to familiaris).
Speech not in direct response to questions.
Childhood rhymes and customs.
The danger of death.
Changes in tempo, in pitch range, in volume, and laughter.

Given that style was not included as one of the possible external constraints on the occurrence of the linguistic variables, the investigator tried to neutralize possible style differences by creating informal situations where mostly casual speech could be obtained. Some of the interview techniques used with this purpose were the following:

1. Conducting the interview in the speaker's home.
2. Carrying out casual activities during the interview, such as eating candy, chewing gum, accepting a cup of tea, offering cigarettes, etc.
3. Telling one or two jokes.
4. Suggesting casual, everyday topics of conversation (v. App. 3).
5. Offering plenty of personal information. This establishes quick rapport with the speaker when he is a stranger. Often the interviewer suggested topics and stimulated the conversation by relating some personal experience which reminded the speaker of a similar one.
Nevertheless, the purpose of obtaining mostly casual speech was not achieved in every instance. Two of the factors that may have contributed to this partial failure are: a) The differences in age, sex and level of education between the interviewer and some of the speakers; and b) The presence of the tape recorder and the speaker's awareness that he was being recorded.

1.3 The Presentation

The data include a total of 75 hours of recording. Of these, an average of one hour for each one of the 32 speakers was included in the analysis. Whenever possible, this hour included passages with topics that recurred in the samples of all the speakers, or at least in those within the same age group.

The analysis of the data is presented as follows: Chapter 2 deals with the correlation between the frequency of occurrence of a number of phonological variables and the social factors under study. The pattern of sociolinguistic covariance stratifies the speakers into various social groups differentiated by age, sex and educational level. Chapter 3 concerns itself with the study of pleonastic clitics and the (se)me le construction. In Chapter 4, the structural properties of constructions with preverbal non-subject noun phrases is discussed. The function of these constructions in discourse are investigated in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 presents the general conclusions with reference to the functional and sociolinguistic considerations discussed in Chapters 2 to 5.
FOOTNOTES

1 Kany (1969: 160) limits himself to simply reporting the existence of these pleonastic clitics. According to him, they occur in colloquial speech in some regions of Spain (he does not state which) and in Chile.

2 A profile of the 32 speakers is given in Appendix 1. Each speaker is identified by an initial. No names are given.

3 See Appendix 3 for a list of the topics that elicited spontaneous speech from the speakers interviewed.
Chapter 2

PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

2.0 Introduction

Before reporting on the analysis of syntactic variation, I wish to present in this chapter a number of phonological variables which establish a clear linguistic differentiation of social groups. This procedure was chosen because other quantitative studies of language use (cf. Labov 1966; Cedergren 1973) in different speech communities have demonstrated regular cooccurrence patterns between phonological variables and extralinguistic factors such as style, age, sex, and social status.

The phonological processes to be examined in this chapter were selected for this study because they appeared to provide evidence for the linguistic stratification of the speakers independently of the syntactic aspects that were hypothesized to correlate with the social variables (cf. Chapter 1).

Chapter 2 focuses on the phonetic realization of four consonantal phonemes: /b/, /f/, /r/ and /l/, in certain phonological environments.

The phoneme /b/ is examined in the environment between a high and a low vowel, and both /b/ and /f/ are examined in the environment preceding the labiovelar glide [w].
/r/ and /l/ are studied in syllable final position. In this context, liquids appear to be confused in the speech of some of the speakers. That is, sometimes [r] occurs in the place of a standard /l/ and at other times [l] occurs in the place of a standard /r/.

The aim is to establish the correlation between the suggested variable rules (1) to (5)\(^1\) given below and the social factors included in the study.

1. \( f \rightarrow \langle x \rangle / ____w \) e.g. fue [\( f\text{w}e \rightarrow [\text{x} \text{w}e \rangle \) 'went'
   afuera [af\( \text{w}e\)\( r\)\( a \rightarrow [\text{a} \text{x} \text{w}e\)\( r\)\( a \) 'outside'

2. \( b \rightarrow \langle 0 \rangle / \)
   \( \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc.} \\
   \alpha\text{high} \\
   \alpha\text{low} \end{bmatrix} \)
   \( \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc.} \\
   \alpha\text{high} \\
   \alpha\text{low} \end{bmatrix} \)
   e.g. hab\( \text{a} \) /ab\( \text{i} \)\( a / \rightarrow [\text{a} \text{i} \text{a} \) 'had'
   uva /\( \text{u} \)\( b\)\( a / \rightarrow [\text{u} \text{a} \) 'grape'

3. \( bw \rightarrow \langle y \rangle \)\(^2\)
   e.g. abuelo [ab\( \text{w} \)\( \text{e} \)\( o \)\( \rightarrow [\text{a} \text{y} \text{w} \)\( \text{e} \)\( \text{lo} \) 'grand-
   bueno [\( \text{b} \text{w} \)\( \text{e} \)\( \text{n} \)\( o \)\( \rightarrow [\text{g} \text{w} \)\( \text{e} \)\( \text{n} \)\( \text{o} \) 'good'

4. \( +\text{flap} \rightarrow \langle -\text{flap} +\text{lateral} \rangle / ____\$ \) e.g. nerv\( \text{i} \)o n\( \text{e} \)\( \text{v} \)\( \text{i} \)o 'nerve'
   dejar d\( \text{e} \)\( j \)al 'leave'

5. \( +\text{lateral} \rightarrow \langle -\text{lateral} +\text{flap} \rangle / ____\$ \) e.g. alto ar\( \text{to} \) 'tall'
   e\( \text{l} \) centro e\( \text{r} \) centro 'the center'

It is hypothesized that these five rules reflect changes that could be considered natural within the history of Spanish, but that
due to the fact that these linguistic processes, to wit, velarization of /f/ and /b/, elision of /b/ in certain environments and the confusion of /l/ and /r/, have become social indicators, they are stigmatized and the changes have been blocked in the standard language.

A further goal of the investigation of the phonological variables in (1) to (5) is to discover the correlation between the non-linguistic system of social behavior and the linguistic aspects under study, that is, what Labov (1972b: 269) terms the embedding problem of language change.

Only the external social factors influencing the application of rules (1) to (5) are investigated.

2.1 The Status of /f/ and /b/ in the History of Spanish

2.1.1 On the whole, Spanish has preserved the Latin initial consonants, but there are a few notable exceptions of which /f/ is one.³ Latin /f/ becomes /h/ in Spanish in words like

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>facere</td>
<td>hacer</td>
<td>'make'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f̥liu</td>
<td>hijo</td>
<td>'son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f̥mu</td>
<td>humo</td>
<td>'smoke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>famine</td>
<td>hambre</td>
<td>'hunger'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This change had generalized to the literary language by the 16th century⁴ and at that time orthographic h was still realized phonetically as an aspirate (cf. Menéndez Pidal 1966: 121).
Latin /f/ was preserved when it was followed by a consonant or the glide [w] as in:

fočus ➔ fuego 'fire'
fõnte fuente 'fountain'
forte fuerte 'strong'
frõnte frente 'front'

Izzo (1977: 240) notes that around the 16th century "a new sound [x] arose from another source (viz /ʃ/ and /ʒ/) and spread so rapidly that in part it overtook and fused with [h] from /f/, chiefly in the extreme south" (of Spain). This phenomenon gave rise to social and regional differentiation in the pronunciation of /h/ from Latin /f/, and the aspirated alternant became nonstandard.

Menéndez Pidal (1966: 122) confirms Izzo's observation and states that aspirated /h/ and velar fricative /x/ were confused in some regional dialects.

Izzo further notes that the change to /x/ of the initial /f/ that is still preserved before /we/ in standard dialects has been reported for Mexico, Columbia, Argentina, Peru, and a part of Northern Spain. This observation, plus my data from Chilean Spanish, appear to indicate that the change from Latin initial /f/ to /h/ and its subsequent fricativization continued to spread to the environment preceding the velar glide. By the time of the discovery of America, the velarization of standard /f/ may have already been a clear indicator of social class and identified with a lower status group. This would have caused the spread of the velarized variant to the environment that was affected by the change later to be blocked in
the standard dialect, e.g. in fruta [frúta] ('fruit') and afuera [afwéra] ('outside').

2.1.2 The neutralization of the phonemic opposition between /b/ and /v/ in initial position appears to have started fairly early in the history of Spanish (cf. Menéndez Pidal 1966: 118-9). There was variation between /b/ and /v/ in initial position and this variation was occasionally reflected in the spelling in Old Spanish.

verrere > barrer 'sweep'
vermiculu bermejo 'scarlet'
vassura basura 'trash'

In intervocalic position, the neutralization of the stop-fricative opposition between /b/ and /v/ had already started in vulgar Latin (Menéndez Pidal 1966: 133); Hanssen (1966: 15) states that it generalized in the 16th century. In this environment, there is a weakening of all the voiced stops (b, d, g) and a further deletion in many cases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/d/ pedes</td>
<td>pies 'feet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fide</td>
<td>fe 'faith'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laudat</td>
<td>loa 'praise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>audire</td>
<td>oir 'hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>ligare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fumigare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>legale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>regale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>sabuco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tibi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rivu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lenition of /b/ in intervocalic position may then be considered a natural phonological process in Spanish, inasmuch as it has been a property of the language from its very beginnings, and the extreme manifestation of this lenition process is deletion. It will be shown later that the intervocalic environment has been extended to include a -consonantal, -vocalic allophone of /u/: the glide [w].

To conclude, this section has presented historical evidence that indicates that both velarization of /f/ and deletion of intervocalic /b/ are processes existing in the language for many centuries. Later in the chapter it will be shown that the influence of social factors has affected the spread of these processes to the phonological system of standard speech.

2.2. The Status of /f/ and /b/ in Chilean Spanish

In this section, it will be shown that some allophonic variants of /f/ and /b/ are stratified linguistic indicators, i.e. they show a regular distribution across social variables.6
The study focuses on the phonetic realization of these phonemes in the specific environments defined in the variable rules given on page 19.

2.2.1 /f/ has two allophones in Chilean Spanish:

- a labio-dental fricative which occurs in all environments.
- a bilabial fricative\(^7\) which occurs variably in inter-vocalic position.

Furthermore, when /f/ is followed by the velar glide [w], \(^8\) in words like fuimos ('(we) went'), fuerte ('strong'), afuera ('outside'), etc., it alternates with the velar fricative /x/.

This study focuses on the realization of /f/ in the specific environment where velarization may occur, i.e. before [w], as illustrated in variable rule (1) given before.

The results of the analysis of the data show that the velarization of /f/ is a linguistic variable that exhibits a regular distribution across social parameters and stratifies the speakers by virtue of the frequency with which it occurs in their speech (See Table 1, page 25).

Velarization of /f/ occurs in the sample of all the speakers in group A, with the exception of one of the adolescent women.\(^9\) Recall that in the selection of the sample, the level of education of the children and adolescents was defined on the basis of their mother's level of education. The women in group A-2 have had 5 and 8 years of elementary education respectively and have therefore been
Table 1. Percent of velarization of /f/ preceding [w]. Group "A": low level of education; group "B": high level of education. F: female; M: male. One speaker in each cell.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>&quot;A&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;B&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4:6-6:0</td>
<td>F 100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 100</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>F 0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30-45</td>
<td>F 32</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 45</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>F 96</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 96</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tot.</th>
<th></th>
<th>Tot.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>40</td>
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</tr>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

systematically exposed to the standard language, a situation that also applies to the men in the same group, who have 4 and 8 years of schooling respectively. However, the men show a higher percentage of the non-standard form, and one of them exhibits categorical velarization. It is interesting to note that this speaker is the brother of the woman with no velarization. Their different linguistic behavior
must be explained not only with reference to the sex difference (note that the other male youngster has a low 27%) but also with reference to their differing life styles: the speaker with categorical velarization dropped out of school in the 4th grade and has been arrested twice for vagrancy, whereas his sister plans to go to evening school to prepare for a secretarial job.

A comparison of the percentages for groups A and B clearly indicates the influence of literacy and the social stigma applied to velarization of /f/. Only the standard form occurs in groups B-2 and 3, and in the sample from the women in groups B-1 and 4. Velarization occurs variably only in the speech of the men in groups B-1 and 4. Note that the youngest speaker (4:6) has the highest percent of non-standard forms, a feature that will almost certainly be corrected within the next year or so of his life.

Figure 1 shows the correlation between the percent of velarization and age. The differential distribution of the variant is evident in the four sub-groups, with sub-groups 1 and 4 showing the largest difference. Note that Figure 1 is an inverted bell curve (\(\sim\)). While a bell curve (\(\sim\)) is an indicator of an innovating group in language change, as Labov (1972a) has pointed out in his studies, the inverted bell curve strongly suggests the suppression of a stigmatized feature (in our study by the age groups in the middle).

In section 2.1.1 it was pointed out that the velarization of /h/ from Latin /f/ was from the start associated with regional dialects of Spanish of lower prestige. Studies of current sound
Figure 1. Correlation between percentage of velarization of /f/ and age. 4 speakers per cell.

changes (v. Labov, 1972a) show that a linguistic innovation can begin with any particular group and spread outward, so that the original innovator need not be the highest-status group in the community. In the case of /f/ to /x/, it seems that its early association with a low-status group from regions with no political power\textsuperscript{12} caused the change to be stigmatized and consequently it did not spread to the standard language.

Why, then, does velarization occur in the speech of the men in groups B-1 and 4? A possible explanation is that children acquire this feature from their contact with noneducated speakers (e.g. nannies, cooks and washerwomen) who form part of their familiar
environment. Once they start school, the combined effort of teachers and parents succeeds in removing the non-standard feature from their language.

At this point, I have no explanation to offer for the velarization that occurs in the speech of the men in group B-4. The correlation between the percentage of velarization of /f/ and sex is illustrated in Figure 2.

![Graph showing correlation between velarization of /f/ and sex]

Figure 2. Correlation between percentage of velarization of /f/ and sex. F: female; M: male. 2 speakers in each cell.

The distribution of velarization according to sex offers evidence in support of Labov's statement (1972a: 301) that women are
more sensitive to the situation and correct more than men in their
careful speech. This does not apply to the women in groups A-1 and
4, however. A possible explanation for the lower frequency of /f/
velarization among the women in subgroups A-3 and A-4 is that Labov's
findings about women's linguistic behavior for the U.S. is also true
for Santiago. Labov states that "we find that women use the most
advanced forms in their own casual speech, and correct more sharply
to the other extreme in their formal speech." This suggests that
the speakers with low or zero velarization may be more sensitive to
the social stigmatization of this feature and in a fairly formal in-
terview situation "correct sharply" by using only the standard labio-
dental fricative in all environments.

Note that the children in the A group exhibit categorical
velarization, so it may be concluded that they have not acquired the
standard form yet and therefore no variation is possible. In group
A-4 there is some variation but the sex factor does not correlate
with a notable difference in the percentages. Note further that this
age group has the second highest percentage of velarization, 93%.
This result, together with that for group B-4 suggests as a possible
explanation that in this age bracket speakers are less sensitive to
sociolinguistic markers and are not concerned with audio-monitoring
as they have lost interest in playing a role associated with pre-
stigious speech.

The purpose of section 2.2.1 has been twofold: (a) to present
evidence that the substitution of /x/ for /f/ is a linguistic in-
dicator; and (b) to present evidence to the effect that the spread
of linguistic change cannot be explained without reference to external social factors. Both (a) and (b) require a study of language in using sociolinguistic methods of research.

2.2.2 In this section I will discuss the correlation between social factors and the deletion of the voiced bilabial obstruent /b/ between a high and a low vowel, irrespective of which of these occurs to the left of /b/; and the velarization of /b/ before [w], as shown in the variable rules (2) and (3), on page 19.

The standard allophones of /b/ are:

[b] a voiced bilabial obstruent which occurs after pause, after the homorganic nasal [m], and in some dialects after [l].

[β] a voiced bilabial fricative which occurs in all other positions.

In Chilean Spanish, /b/ deletion is particularly favored if it is surrounded by the two vowels, one of which is high and the other low, or if it is followed by the labiovelar glide [w].

2.2.2.1 The deletion of intervocalic /b/ is discussed first.

The results displayed in Table 2 show that /b/ deletion is a linguistic indicator which stratifies the speakers into two groups by level of education, and within group B it sets the adolescent group apart. There is some individual variation within each group, most noticeably one of the men in each of groups A-1, 3 and 4 and in group B-1, and one of the women in each of groups A-1, 2 and 3. Those in sub-groups 2 and 3 also have the lowest percent of velarization of /f/ in their groups as illustrated in Table 1, so this may be
Table 2. Percent of intervocalic /b/ deletion.  
One speaker per cell.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>&quot;A&quot;</th>
<th>Tot.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;B&quot;</td>
<td>Tot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4:6-6:0</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>78 07 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>70 0 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>10 43 27</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>85 95 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>30-45</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>82 24 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>85 54 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>45 53 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>18 83 51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tot.</th>
<th>Tot.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>25 4 29</td>
</tr>
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<td>40 69</td>
<td>32 30 62</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>37 67</td>
<td>37 29 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>33 72</td>
<td>26 33 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>24 64</td>
<td>40 10 50</td>
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<tr>
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<td>40 62</td>
<td>34 22 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>40 80</td>
<td>40 21 61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further evidence that these speakers are using more careful speech, or at least that /f/ to [x] and /b/ to 0 tend to cooccur. The low percentage of deletion in the speech of one man in group A-4 and two children in A-1 remains unexplained. The child in group B-1 is the same speaker with the highest percent of velarization of /f/, and, as will be shown later in Table 3, he also has the highest percent of velarization of /b/ in his group. This coincidence lends support...
to our earlier explanation of the deviance in terms of the speaker's age and his shorter time of exposure to formal standard Spanish. The children with the lowest percent of deletion (7% and 0%) in group A are the only speakers who use lexical items with [β] in intervocalic position where the standard language has zero. The attested items are:

\[
\begin{align*}
[\beta a] & \text{ for } [a\beta a] \quad \text{había} \quad 'had' \\
[dormíβa] & \text{ for } [dormíα] \quad \text{dormía} \quad 'slept' \\
[amanesíβa] & \text{ for } [amanesíα] \quad \text{amanecía} \quad 'dawned'
\end{align*}
\]

These forms, which might at first glance be considered cases of hypercorrection, are cases of morphophonemic regularization following the pattern of the first conjugation verbs, with thematic /a/, in the past imperfect, e.g. cantaba ('sang'), hablaba ('spoke'), soñaba ('dreamt'). It may be argued that this explanation does not apply to había, which should regularize to [aβíα] and not to [βa] , but as shown below, the interaction of analogy with certain phonological rules may give [βa] as the output of morphophonemic regularization.

In fact, deletion of intervocalic /b/ has had consequences at the morphological level in the language of the speakers in group A: it has created homophony between the imperfect forms of the verbs haber ('have', 'there to be') and ir ('go'). This is because the deletion of /b/ in the forms of haber creates a sequence of three vowels [αια] , the first one of which is frequently also deleted [αια] . This is not surprising since it is well known that one of the results of high frequency is exceptional wear, and this is common
in grammatical forms. The process is illustrated below with the forms for first and third person singular of the past imperfect of **haber** (a) and **ir** (b):\(^1\)

a) **había** /abío/  
lenition [abíα]  
deletion [aíα].  
contraction [ía]

b) **iba** /íba/  
lenition [íβa]  
deletion [íα]  
contraction [íα]

It is possible, then, that children apply the analogical rule to the contracted from [íα] ; the output is the attested form [íβa] .

Now observe the distribution of /b/ deletion in the various age levels, illustrated in Figure 3.

![Figure 3. Correlation between percentage of /b/ deletion and age.  
4 speakers per cell.](image-url)

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The two social groups are clearly stratified by /b/ deletion. In the case of group B-2, the 25% deletion corresponds only to /b/; no homophony between haber and ir forms is attested in any of the speakers.

In group A there is a slight increase in the percentage of deletion, from 50% to 62% between sub-groups 4 and 3, the percent remains almost stationary in group 2, 59%, and drops to 39% in group 1.

Can these results tell us something about how the change from intervocalic /b/ to ø is proceeding in the community? It seems to me that the 25% deletion in group B-2 indicates that /b/ deletion is not yet stigmatized or at least that it has not been confined to a particular class. Compare Figures 1 (p. 27) and 3 (p. 33). The categorical and almost categorical velarization of /f/ in groups A-1 and 4 respectively and the almost complete absence of velarization in group B are an indication of the stigmatization of this linguistic feature and its confinement to a social group of lower prestige. In the case of /b/ deletion, on the other hand, there is enough variation in group A for this feature not to be strongly associated with a lower prestige group. This allows the change to spread outward to the adolescent group of educated speakers. In however, it is difficult at this point to predict whether the change will continue progressing, whether it will remain constant, or whether it will recede.

Figure 4 illustrates the correlation between the percent of /b/ deletion and the sex variable.
Figure 4. Correlation between percentage of /b/ deletion and sex. 2 speakers per cell.

Except for group A-1, the women in all the deleting groups show a lower percent of the non-standard variable, though the difference is considerable only in group 2. This pattern is similar to that illustrated in Figure 2 for the velarization of /f/. It may be concluded, then, that, at least in our sample, adolescent women are the most sensitive to levels of formality and are thus most likely to adjust their speech in a non-casual situation to conform to some of the norms of the language of the prestige group.
To sum up, in section 2.2.2.1 it has been shown that /b/ deletion is a linguistic variable correlated with external social factors, namely literacy, sex and age. This feature is not confined to the lower status group. Its spreading to the adolescent group of speakers with higher level of education appears to indicate that this change may continue to progress.\textsuperscript{16} It was pointed out before that bell curves are indicators of an innovating group and this is the shape of the curve for the educated group in the sample.

2.2.2.2 This section discusses the velarization of /b/ as described by the variable rule (3) on page 19, repeated here for ease of reference.

3. \( \text{bw} \longrightarrow \langle \text{y} \rangle \wedge \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>&quot;A&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;B&quot;</th>
<th>Tot.</th>
<th>Tot.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4:6-6:0</td>
<td>F 88</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>94</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 100</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>F 31</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 70</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>30-45</td>
<td>F 36</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 57</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>F 22</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 44</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Percent of velarization of /b/ preceding [w]
One speaker per cell.
Table 3 displays the individual percentages of velarization of /b/. The distribution of the frequency of occurrence of this feature is fairly regular in each of the subgroups in group A as compared to those in group B, with the exception of subgroup B-1. Velarization stratifies the sample into two groups, A and B, along the literacy variable, and into two subgroups along the age variable within group B, setting the children's group apart. The speakers in group A and B-1 have the highest percentages of velarization.

A comparison of the results for groups A and B appears to indicate that, as in the case of /b/ deletion, this linguistic feature is not confined to nor even strongly associated with a lower status group. 18

Observe the correlation between percent of use of [ṽ] for bw and age, illustrated in Figure 5 (on page 38). The percent of velarized /b/ appears stable through subgroups 4, 3 and 2 and rises sharply in the children's groups. A comparison with children's velarization of /f/ shows that children either do not monitor their speech to adjust to the adult norms in a less casual situation, or are more capable of behaving casually in the situation that the
investigator has tried to make informal.

Observe that velarization of /b/ follows a different pattern from velarization of /f/. In the latter case subgroups 2 and 3 appear to be correcting sharply, while in the former case, the fact that the percentages remain fairly stable through groups A-4, 3 and 2 and increase slightly through groups B-4, 3, 2 suggests that this feature has not been stigmatized by the higher prestige group. This sociolinguistic matrix appears to be favorable to the spreading of the variable to all the subgroups in the community.

Figure 6 (on page 39) illustrates the correlation between percent of velarization of /b/ and sex.
Figure 6. Correlation between percent of velarization of /b/ and sex. 2 speakers per cell.

The correlation between velarization and sex is the expected one in groups A-2, 3 and 4, i.e. women use fewer of the velarized forms than men. However, the sex variable appears to establish differentiation only in the two adolescent groups. Recall that in the discussion of /b/ deletion and velarization of /f/ it was shown that this is the age bracket where women appear to be most sensitive
to linguistic stigma. The results displayed in Figure 6 give further support to this statement.

Section 2.2.2.2 has discussed the use of [ɣw] for [bw]. The analysis of the percentages of velarization for 32 speakers has shown that this feature is a sociolinguistic indicator that exhibits a regular distribution across level of education and age. It has shown further that velarization of /b/ is not confined to the lower prestige group even though the percentages are considerably lower in the higher prestige group.

2.3 Syllable-final Liquids in Chilean Spanish

In this section, the realization of the liquids /r/ and /l/ in syllable-final position is investigated. As stated in section 2.0, /r/ and /l/ variably become [l] and [ɾ] respectively in this environment, as illustrated in the variable rules (4) and (5) on p. 19, repeated here for ease of reference.

4. \([+\text{flap}] \rightarrow \langle-\text{flap} \rangle_{[-\text{lateral}]}/__\$\) e.g. nervio \(\rightarrow\) nelvio 'nerve'
   \(\rightarrow\) dejal 'leave'

5. \([+\text{lateral}] \rightarrow \langle+\text{flap} \rangle_{[-\text{lateral}]}/__\$\) e.g. alto \(\rightarrow\) arto 'tall'
   \(\rightarrow\) el centro \(\rightarrow\) er centro 'the center'

40

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2.3.1 Table 4 displays the individual results for the occurrence of the variable illustrated in rule (4) (henceforth "lateralization of r").

Table 4. Percent of lateralization of syllable-final /r/. Group A: low level of education; Group B: high level of education. One speaker in each cell.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>&quot;A&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;B&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tot.</td>
<td>Tot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4:6-6:0</td>
<td>F 0 31 16</td>
<td>0 06 03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 0 0 0</td>
<td>0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>F 06 03 05</td>
<td>0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 20 0 10</td>
<td>0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>30-45</td>
<td>F 11 30 22</td>
<td>0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 0 26 13</td>
<td>02 0 01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>F 11 20 16</td>
<td>0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 06 23 15</td>
<td>0 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tot.</th>
<th>Tot.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table 4 shows a clear difference between groups A and B: lateralization of /r/ occurs in the speech of only two speakers in group B, and with low frequency, as compared to eleven speakers in group A. The confinement of the variable to this group of lower prestige indicates that it may be socially stigmatized.

The low score in the children's groups is interesting given that the use of [l] in place of /r/ is a feature of baby-talk in Chilean Spanish even among educated speakers.

It is also interesting to note that, except for one of the girls in subgroup 1, all the women in group A use this variable while two of the men and two of the boys do not use it at all. This contrasts with the results illustrated in Tables 1, 2 and 3 and suggests that lateralization of /r/ may be an indicator of feminine speech within group A. Given the social stigmatization of the variable, adolescent women are expected to correct their speech in the interview situation. This would explain their lower scores vis-à-vis the women in subgroups 3 and 4.

2.3.2 Table 5 displays the individual results for syllable final /l/ realized as [r].

The rhoticization of /l/ fails to occur only in the speech of 2 children in group A, whereas in group B it occurs only in the sample of 2 speakers. The occurrence of [r] for /l/ is more widespread and slightly higher as compared to [l] for /r/ in group A. Still, there are some individual differences within each subgroup,
Table 5. Percent of /l/ realized as [r]. Group A: low level of education; Group B: high level of education. One speaker per cell.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>&quot;A&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;B&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tot.</td>
<td>Tot.</td>
</tr>
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<td>07</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>30-45</td>
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<td>10</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>50+</td>
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<td>02</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>38</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>90</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

No.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tot.</th>
<th>Tot.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>40</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

notably one woman in subgroups A-1, 2 and 4 and one man in subgroups A-1, 3 and 4.

As with lateralization of r, /l/ to [r] is confined to the group of lower prestige and appears to be equally stigmatized. Furthermore, the frequency of both variables declines along the
generational scale, as illustrated by Table 6, which displays the total percentages for each age group in group A.

Table 6. Percent of exchange of liquids by age. Four speakers in each cell. Group A: low level of education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r → l</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 → r</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:6-6:0</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-45</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 indicates that the confusion of liquids in syllable final position is being corrected by the younger speakers. The determining factor may be teacher-contact since the children have attended nursery school for 18 months and the adolescents have had between 4 and 8 years of schooling.

In the history of Spanish, /r/ and /l/ have been interchanged in many lexical items either as a result of dissimilation or metathesis (cf. Menéndez Pidal 1966: 181-5):

a) **Dissimilation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>carceres</td>
<td>cárcel</td>
<td>'jail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbores</td>
<td>árbol</td>
<td>'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marmores</td>
<td>mármol</td>
<td>'marble'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
locale    lugar    'place'
Guillelmo  Guillermo 'William'

b. Metathesis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Spanish</th>
<th>Modern Spanish</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parabla</td>
<td>palabra</td>
<td>'word'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>periglo</td>
<td>peligro</td>
<td>'danger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miraclo</td>
<td>milagro</td>
<td>'miracle'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is possible, therefore, that the apparent confusion between /r/ and /l/ in the speech of non-standard speakers may result from similar phonological processes, which are suppressed in the standard language. This remains to be investigated.

To conclude, in section 2.3 the interchange of /r/ and /l/ in syllable final position has been investigated and shown to be a linguistic feature confined to a social group of lower prestige.

2.4 Conclusion

Chapter 2 has investigated four phonological processes: velarization of /f/, deletion of intervocalic /b/, velarization of /b/ before the labiovelar glide [w] and the interchange of syllable-final /r/ and /l/ with the purpose of finding out their correlation with social variables of ascribed and achieved status, namely age, sex, and level of education. The results have shown that these processes have some clear social correlations and exhibit a fairly regular distribution across level of education, age, and to a large extent also sex. They stratify the speakers into two large groups:
a higher prestige group with higher education in whose speech the non-standard variables either do not occur or have a very low frequency, and a lower prestige group with little or no education who exhibit a high frequency of non-standard variables. Within each of these two groups, however, there is individual variation in the use of each of the variables. In fact, the linguistic stratification into two distinct social groups could not be done on the basis of any single language variable for all the speakers, but only on the basis of a number of variables. It is a set of features which determines whether a speaker belongs to one or another language group. In our study, it is the total score for all the phonological variables studied the one that stratifies the speakers most clearly into two groups, A and B, which correlate with lower and higher level of education, as illustrated by Table 7.

**Table 7.** Percent of non-standard phonological features. One speaker per cell.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4:6-6:0</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>30-45</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The phonological variables do not exhibit identical social distributions. Velarization of /f/ and the interchange of liquids appear to be stigmatized and almost strictly confined to the lower prestige group. On the other hand, /b/ deletion and the use of [yw] for [bw] do not seem to be strongly stigmatized. These correlations bear on the question of the embedding problem in language change. Evidence has been presented in this chapter that these phonological changes may be considered historically and systematically natural. However, social pressures have stopped velarization of /f/ from spreading outward from the lower status groups where the change originated. The other two processes, /b/ deletion and /bw/ velarization appear to be more recent innovations and are not strictly confined to the lower prestige group. If they become confined to this group, the changes may be stigmatized and blocked from spreading outward.
FOOTNOTES

1
The angle brackets to the right of the arrow are a notational device used to indicate that what is within the brackets is a variable output. See Labov (1972a) for a discussion of variable rules.

2
It would be possible to break down rule (3) into two rules:

3'. \( b \rightarrow <\emptyset> / \_w \) e.g. abuelo \([\text{abw}élo]} \rightarrow [\text{aw}élo]}\) 'grandfather'

3''. \( w \rightarrow <g^w> / \$ \_w \) awélo \( \rightarrow [a^ywélo}]\)

In fact, (3') shows that \([g^w}]\) is not the only allophone of /b/ in the environment before \([w}]\) since there may be \( \emptyset \) in the place of an underlying /b/ and no velarization.

Rule (3'') represents a variable phonological process in Spanish, namely the velarization of syllable initial \([w}]\), as in (a) below:

a. hueso \( \rightarrow [\text{w}éso]} \rightarrow [\text{gw}éso}]\)

In defining the labiovelar segment \([w}]\) in Spanish, Harris (1969: 21) notes that the velar quality is important since one of the realizations of \([w}]\) occurs "with varying amounts of voiced velar friction." Therefore, rule (3'') appears to be more general than (3) and should perhaps be preferred in a study that dealt with Spanish phonology. On the other hand, given that in Chapter 1 we are not concerned with the velarization of \([w}]\) when it is in syllable
initial position, as in (a) above, but only when it occurs after /b/, i.e. the alternation bw/s, it was decided to represent this process as in rule (3).

\[ ^3 \text{Initial } /s/ \text{ became } /x/ \text{ in words like:} \]

- sucu -> jugo /xúgo/ 'juice'
- sapone -> jabón /xábón/ 'soap'
- syringa -> jeringa /xerínga/ 'syringe'

Initial /j/ and /ʝ/ became zero before unstressed front vowels, as in:

- jenuarium -> enero 'January'
- jectare -> echar 'throw'
- germanum -> hermano 'brother'
- gelare -> helar 'freeze'

\[ ^4 \text{According to Hanssen (1966: 48), under the influence of Latin, /f/ was later restored in some words, e.g. fiebre ('fever'), fe ('faith'), fiero ('fierce'), fin ('end'), faz ('face').} \]

\[ ^5 \text{The standard language has later borrowed a few words from these nonstandard dialects, mostly from Andalucía, with a velar fricative which corresponds to Spanish /h/ from Latin /f/.} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Latin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jamelgo</td>
<td>'wretched horse' &lt; famelicum 'starving'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jalear</td>
<td>'amuse oneself noisily' { &lt; folgar 'rest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaleo</td>
<td>'fuss, row'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jolgorio</td>
<td>'rowdiness, fun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juerga</td>
<td>'spree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaca</td>
<td>'small horse' &lt; Spanish: haca</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ ^6 \text{See Labov (1972a: 237) for a discussion of such sociolinguistic terms as sociolinguistic variable, indicators and markers.} \]
This may be the intermediate stage in the change from /f/ to /x/.

The velar alternate is considered to be non-standard (cf. Hanssen 1966: 12). Velarization also occurs in another environment, before /u/, in the sample from one of the uneducated male speakers in the 50+ group, as in fundo [úndo] ('farm') and fumar [umár] ('to smoke').

See Appendix 2 for the position of the speakers in the Tables with one speaker per cell.

^N^ stands for the number of environments where a variable (in this case /f/ to [x] ) could occur.

It will be shown later that this speaker's (A,f,16,A) linguistic behavior is, in all the processes studied, the closest to the standard (or higher status) language norms (See Table 7 on page 46). Information to identify the speakers is given in parenthesis in the following order: initial, sex, age by completed number of years, group by level of education (underlined). Thus, the speaker referred to in this note is: A., female, age 16, group A.


It is possible that stress plays a role in the variable occurrence of /b/ deletion. This phenomenon has been attested in the following stress patterns:
a. \( \text{\check{V}} \rightarrow \text{V} \)  
\( [+\text{high}] \rightarrow [+\text{low}] \)  
e.g. /iba/ \( \rightarrow [\text{iba}] \) 'went'

b. \( \text{V} \rightarrow \text{\check{V}} \)  
\( [+\text{low}] \rightarrow [+\text{high}] \)  
e.g. /abía/ \( \rightarrow [\text{aíña}] \) 'had'

c. \( \text{\check{V}} \rightarrow \text{\check{V}} \)  
e.g. /abundante/ \( \rightarrow [\text{aundante}] \) 'abundant'

No examples of the other two possible combinations, (d) and (e), occurred in the data, however, so I decided not to include the feature stress in the variable rule.

d. \( \text{V} \rightarrow \text{\check{V}} \)  
\( [+\text{high}] \rightarrow [+\text{low}] \)  
e.g. [ibán] Iván 'Ivan'

e. \( \text{\check{V}} \rightarrow \text{V} \)  
\( [+\text{low}] \rightarrow [+\text{high}] \)  
e.g. [álbil] hábil 'skilful'

14 The rest of the imperfect forms follows the same process, with the exception of the second person plural, which does not occur in conversational Chilean Spanish.

15 It is possible that this change may be one of the factors that cause older standard speakers to remark that "youngsters don't know how to speak these days."

16 There are obviously alternative explanations for the occurrence of /b/ deletion in group B-2, one being that adolescents (in this group) have selected this non-standard variable as a linguistic
feature defining group membership. As such, it may either disappear or be confined to this age group.

17 It must be noted that there are a few lexical items where phonemic /b/ followed by /o/ is realized as a velar fricative, as in vomitar [yomitär] 'to vomit' and volver [yolβer] 'return'. This velarization is attested only in the sample from three speakers, distributed in groups A-1, 2 and 4.

18 This is not surprising since, as pointed out in footnote 1, it is possible that /b/ is first deleted before [w] and the velarization affects this glide. Velarization of [w] is considered to be standard, e.g. huaso [ywásɔ] ('Chilean cowboy'), hueco [ywéko] ('hole'), etc. Furthermore, in the history of Spanish, loan words containing a word initial velar glide enter the language with the velar obstruent preceding the glide:

from Germanic werre > guerra 'war'

from English wipe guaipé 'mop' (Chilean Spanish)
watch guachar (Mexican-American Spanish)

19 For the study of the variable occurrence of "lateralization of /r/" tokens were to be selected up to a number of 35 for each speaker with the condition that there should be at least 25 tokens where /r/ occurred in an environment preceding a consonant (e.g. "amor de" ('love of') as compared to "amor en" ('love in')). This condition resulted in a higher number of tokens for some speakers. On the other hand, the data from some speakers contained fewer than 35
tokens with syllable - final /r/. The highly frequent lexical items
por ('for', 'around') and porque were not included in the count
because they occurred categorically with [r].

For the study of this variable, illustrated in rule (5), the
tokens were selected to include: (a) a minimum of 15 lexical items
other than a determiner and a pronoun. This was decided in view of
the high frequency of occurrence of the determiner el ('the', masc.)
and its contracted form del ('of the') and the third person pronoun
él ('he'). (b) a minimum of 20 tokens with /l/ in the environment
preceding a consonant. Tokens were selected to complete a number of
40 for each speaker, but conditions (a) and (b) resulted in a
higher number of tokens for some of the speakers.

That is to say, given, for instance, a speaker's age and
level of education, we might be able to predict the frequency of
occurrence of these processes in his speech.

Note that in 1904 Menéndez Pidal (1966: 129) stated that
there is only a very slight tendency to delete intervocalic /b/.
Chapter 3

PLEONASTIC CLITIC PRONOUNS AND THE
"(SE) ME LE" CONSTRUCTION

3.0 Introduction
In this chapter I discuss two variable syntactic phenomena that affect the area of clitic usage:

I. The variable occurrence of pleonastic clitics, as illustrated in (A., 1 and 2) versus (B., 3 and 4).

A. With pleonastic clitics (PCs)
   1. Y él la fue a dejarla y entonces a mí no me gustó.
      'And he went to take her home and then I didn't like it'
      \[(A,f,16,A)\]

   2. ¡Se la estoy pasándosela!
      'I am giving her to him!'
      \[(S,f,62,A)\]

B. Without pleonastic clitics
   3. Nos íbamos a juntar nosotros con esos chiquillos.
      'We were going to meet ourselves with those guys'
      \[(A,f,16,A)\]

54
4. *Se la estoy pasando.*
   'I am giving her to him.'
   (S,f,62,A)

II. The occurrence of a non-referential *le* (3 per. sing. dat.) in reflexive constructions involving the use of a first person clitic used as a "dative of interest." The presence of the reflexive clitic *se* in these constructions is variable, as illustrated in (C-5, 6) and (D-7, 8) where *se* is expressed in (C) and omitted in (D).

C. 5. *Se me le* aparece en la noche en la, la ataud.
   'He appears to me at night in the, the coffin'
   (A,f,17,A)

6. Miguel, *se me le* tiró al dulce un día.
   'Miguel, he came on strongly one day'
   (S,f,62,A)

D. 7. Igual cuando *me le* aparecen los muertos a mí.
   'Same as when the dead appear to me'
   (A,f,17,A)

8. Y *me le* murió mi hija.
   'And my daughter died on me'
   (S,f,62,A)
These two phenomena are attested in the speech samples from the speakers in group A, whereas in the sample from the speakers in group B only two examples of pleonastic clitics and no (se) me le forms occur.

Pleonastic clitics and the (se) me le construction are interesting syntactic phenomena to study for at least three reasons: a) the distribution of the pleonastic clitics (henceforth PCs), as will be shown later in this chapter, argues for the validity of extending the notion "sociolinguistic variable" to syntax, a current issue in sociolinguistics (cf. Lavandera 1978); b) they may contribute to our understanding of how language changes spread; c) the social distribution of these syntactic phenomena bears on the question of what the differences are between standard and non-standard dialects with respect to our hypothesis about the existence of more or less syntactic variation in these dialects as a result of differences in the possibilities of exposure of formal and written language (cf. Ch. 1).

The occurrence of pleonastic clitics is discussed first.

3.1 Clitic Placement

In modern conversational Spanish clitics appear in postverbal position only after the infinitive, the present participle, and the imperative: hacerlo ('to do it'), haciéndolo ('doing it'), hágalo ('do it'). In all other cases, clitics appear immediately before the verb.
Given a sequence of two or more verbs, the clitics that are arguments of any of the verbs to the right may attach to any of the verbs to be left, under certain conditions. This phenomenon has been discussed and referred to in the literature (cf. Luján 1977, Quicoli 1976, Perlmutter and Aissen 1976, Suñer 1978) as clitic climbing / promotion / movement. It is illustrated in (9) and (10) below:

9. a) Quiero ir a darle una sorpresa.
   b) Quiero irle a dar una sorpresa.
   c) Le quiero ir a dar una sorpresa.
      'I want to give him/her a surprise'

10. a) Puedo comprármelo.
     b) Me lo puedo comprar.
     'I can buy me it'

Therefore, given a sequence of verbs which allow clitic movement the clitics may appear on any one of the verbs, but only on one. Thus, in his study of clitic ordering in Spanish Perlmutter (1971: 75-6) states that:

They (clitic pronouns) may occur in surface structure with the verb with which they originate in deep structure, or they may move up to a higher verb, but they can not occur in both places at once. For example, it is necessary to generate the three sentences of (173), while ruling out as ungrammatical such nonsentences as (those in 174).

(173) a. Quería seguir gritándomelo.
       b. Quería seguírmelo gritando.
c. Me lo quería seguir gritando.
   'He wanted to continue shouting it to me'

   b. *Me lo quería seguirmelo gritándomelo.

However, as I show in this chapter, "nonsentences" as those in
(174a) do occur in at least one dialect of Spanish. Furthermore, the
two examples that occur in the speech of the speakers of the standard
dialect is already an indication that the innovation represented by
the use of PCs may be adopted by this group.

3.2 Constraints on the Occurrence of Pleonastic Clitics

The following is a working definition of what constitutes a
pleonastic clitic: Given a series of two or more verbs, one or more
clitics on a verbal form are pleonastic if they have the same form,
function and referent as one or more clitics on another verb in the
same verb series. 5 Thus, lo is pleonastic in (11), because it has
the same form (lo), function (accusative) and referent ("el asiento",
'the seat') as the clitic in the embedded verb, but it is not pleo-
nastic in (12) because the two lo's have different referents: the
lo on the causative verb refers to the agent of the embedded verb
poner ('put'), while the lo on poner refers to the object that was
put "in the patio."

11. El asiento, María lo quería ponerlo en el patio.
   'The seat, Mary wanted to put it in the patio'
12. María lo hizo ponerlo en el patio.

'Mary made him put it in the patio'

In what follows, the contexts where the PC variable may occur are discussed and defined with respect to the classes of verbs that cooccur in verb series. The order of the presentation is as follows: 3.2.1 focuses on sequences involving reflexive verbs; 3.2.2 deals with constructions involving subject to object raising;⁶ and 3.2.3 discusses the context where 96% of the pleonastic clitics occur: sequences of verbs involving equivalent subject deletion.

3.2.1 Reflexives as Matrix Verbs

When a reflexiv matrix verb enters into a sequence with another reflexive verb, the occurrence of a pleonastic reflexive clitic depends on two factors: a) how obligatorily reflexive the verbs are in form; and b) how the use of a non-reflexive form affects the meaning of the verb.

It is well-known that a large number of verbs in Spanish are reflexive in form though not in meaning. I will call these pseudo-reflexives because even though the referent of the subject and the reflexive pronoun is the same, they do not have an agent-patient relationship. Pseudo-reflexives include:

a) Verbs of movement


'John left at 4'
b) **Inchoative verbs**

14. Juan se adormeció con la música.
    'John got drowsy with the music'

c) **Verbs of emotion (cf. Bello, 1925: 199)**

15. Juan se asombró con la noticia.
    'John became surprised at the news'

    On the other hand, true reflexive verbs convey a true reflexive meaning, as in (16), where Juan (the agent) performs an action on himself (the patient).

16. Juan se mató.
    'John killed himself'

    Of the pseudo-reflexive verbs, some are obligatorily reflexive in form if no outside (i.e. different from the subject referent) patient is involved (17) and others involve various degrees of differences in meaning when used non-reflexively (18-22).

17. Juan se \( \{ \text{atrevió a} \) \)
    mirar los platillos voladores
    \( \{ \text{dedicó a detuvo a} \) \)
    sentó a
    \( \{ \text{puso a quedó a acordó de largo a} \) \)
    cansó de cabreo de
    \( \{ \text{preocupó de animó a llevó} \) \)
    mirando los platillos voladores
'John dared to look(ing) at the flying saucers'
dedicated himself to
stopped to
sat down to
started to
stayed to
remembered to
started to
got tired of
got fed up of
made it a point of
dared to
spent

With meaning differences:

18. a) Juan \( \{ \text{se amaneció} \} \) mirando los platillos voladores.
b) \( \{ \text{Ø amaneció} \} \)

a) 'stayed up all night'
b) 'woke up and started'

19. a) Juan \( \{ \text{se fue} \} \) a Santiago.
b) \( \{ \text{Ø fue} \} \)

a) 'John left for Santiago.'
b) 'went to'

20. a) Juan \( \{ \text{se vino} \) a Santiago.
b) \( \{ \text{Ø vino} \} \)

a) 'John moved to Santiago'
b) 'came to'
With no discernible meaning differences:

21. Juan (se) fue en bus a la escuela hoy.
    'John went to school by bus today'

22. Juan (se) {paso, quedó} mirando los platillos volados.
    'John spent time looking at the flying saucers'
    'Stayed'

What is relevant to our problem of defining the context for the occurrence of pleonastic clitics is that there are two environments involving sequences of reflexive verbs where coreferential reflexive clitics appear on more than one verb and yet they are not pleonastic:

a) When the two verbs are obligatorily reflexive in form and therefore always require a reflexive clitic, as in (23–24); and (b) when the use of the non-reflexive form of a verb involves a change in meaning, as in (25–26) and therefore the reflexive clitics are required on both verbs.

a) 23. Juan se atrevió a quedarse a estudiar.
    'John dared to stay to study'

    24. Juan se cansó de acordarse de ti.
    'John got tired of thinking about you'

b) 25. i) Juan se atrevió a {irse, irse} a Paris.
    ii) {ir Ø}

    i) 'John dared to leave for Paris'

    ii) 'Go to Paris'
26. i) Juan\textsubscript{i} se\textsubscript{i} cansó de \{amanecer\textsubscript{e}se\textsubscript{i}\} estudiando.
ii) \{amanecer $\emptyset$\}

    i) 'John got tired of \{staying up studying\}
    ii) \{waking up and starting to study\}

On the other hand, when there is no discernible meaning difference, the standard norm requires that one of the reflexive clitics be suppressed (cf. Bello, 1925: 293).

27. Juan se atrevió a ir*se en bus hoy a la escuela.
    'John dared to go to school by bus today'

28. Juan se puso a reir*se de él.
    'John started to laugh at him'

Considering these facts about sequences involving reflexive verbs, the definition of PCs given on page 58 needs to be modified to include an exception: Given a series of two or more verbs, one or more clitics on a verbal form are pleonastic if they have the same form, function and referent as one or more clitics on another verb in the same series, with the exception of reflexive clitics in verb series that are obligatorily reflexive either in form or in meaning.

One further point needs to be made with reference to reflexive verbs. When the matrix verb is reflexive and the embedded verb/s is not, there are no cases of doubling of the reflexive clitic on the embedded verb. Observe examples (29-30).
29. Pero él no se lo atrevió a hacer
   'But he didn't dare to do it
   (G,m,50,A)

30. Yo se la estaba pasándose
    'I was giving her to him
    (S,f,62,A)

In (29) there is only one PC, lo, the reflexive pronoun se belongs to the matrix verb atreversé and is not copied in the embedded verb hacer. In (30) the two clitics are pleonastic: se (the "spurious se", v. Perlmutter, 1971: 20-5) and la, and both are arguments of the embedded verb pasar. In fact, whenever there are sequences of clitics that are arguments of an embedded verb, all or none may be doubled on the matrix verb. This contrasts with the situation in (29) where se is not copied downwards, thus lending support to the hypothesis that clitics are not copied to the right (v. Suñer, 1974: 156) i.e. in the embedded verb, but only to the left.

We conclude this section by defining the first context for the occurrence of PCs:

**Context 1:** Pleonastic reflexive clitics may occur variably when, in a complex unit of reflexive verbs, one or more of these verbs is not an obligatory reflexive verb either in form or in meaning (see examples 27-28 on p. 34).

An analysis of the data for this study supports our predicted context for pleonasm. There are 3 cases of a matrix reflexive verb
followed by an optional reflexive; the 3 contain a pleonastic reflexive clitic:

31. Ligerito se le aparecía la mujer, y se ponia a reírse de él.
    'Right after the woman appeared to him and she started laughing at him'

32. Entonces se le aparecía una mujer ahí y se ponía a reírse de él.
    'Then a woman appeared to him there and she started laughing at him'

33. La gente se pone a reírse de mí.
    'People start laughing at me'

These three examples occur in the sample from the same speaker: (G,m,51,A). Unfortunately, three cases are not sufficient to conclude that this speaker does not possess the rule illustrated by examples (27-28) on page 63, but this is a possibility. Therefore, until further data prove the contrary, <context 1> is proposed as an environment for the variable occurrence of pleonastic clitics.

3.2.2 Sequences Including Verbs with Sentential Subjects

Sequences including verbs with sentential subjects offer a case of apparent but not real PCs. This is because sentential subjects with verbs like gustar ('like'), faltar ('be pending'), tocar ('to one's turn'), costar ('be difficult') are frequently placed after the verb and this ordering creates verbal sequences of the type illustrated in (34), which would appear to be cases of PCs.
34. \( Me_i \{ \text{gusta falta toca cuesta} \} \) comprar\(Me_i \) ropa.

'I like to buy myself clothes'
It is pending
It is my turn
It is difficult

As stated above, it appears that (34) illustrates another context for the variable occurrence of pleonastic clitics. However, even though the clitics in (34) meet two of the conditions for pleonasm: same form and reference, they do not have the same function. Indeed, the clitics on the finite verbs are dative, i.e. coreferential with an indirect object, whereas those in the infinitival clause are dative reflexive, i.e. coreferential with the subject of the clause. This functional difference shows up more clearly in the third person where the difference in function correlates with a difference in form, as in (35).

35. A Juan\(i \} le_i \{ \text{gusta falta toca cuesta} \} \) comprar\(se_i \) ropa

'John likes to buy himself clothes'
etc.

Furthermore, the verbal sequence created by the postverbal placement of the sentential subject does not constitute a verb series since it does not include a matrix verb (see note 5).
It is concluded, then, that sequences including verbs with sentential subjects are not a possible environment for the occurrence of PCs.

3.2.3 Verb Series with Subject to Object Raising

In this section I discuss verbal sequences where an object of the matrix verb is the subject of the embedded one. In 3.2.3.1 it is shown that when pronominal forms are used, even though the clitics may have the same form and surface function (accusative) they are not coreferential and therefore do not meet the definition of pleonasm. In 3.2.3.2 the same matrix verbs are analyzed in sequences where the embedded infinitive has passive-like properties. It is concluded that these sequences offer a possible but not a preferred environment for PCs due to the ambiguity that may arise in interpreting the referent of the PC.

3.2.3.1 Different classes of matrix verbs may have as an argument a direct or an indirect object that is the subject of the embedded verb.

a) Verbs of perception

36. \( \{ Vi_{Of} \} \) a Juan hacer el paquete.

'I saw heard felt

John making the parcel'
b) **Causative Verbs**

37. \(\text{Ordenó} \) a Juan hacer el paquete.

\(\text{Hice} \)  
\(\text{Dejé} \)  
\(\text{Permití} \)

'I ordered  
made  
let  
allowed

38. \(\text{Mandé} \) a Juan a hacer el paquete.

\(\text{Puse} \)  
\(\text{Eché} \)  
\(\text{Invité} \)

'I sent  
put  
sent  
invited

c) **Other Verbs**

39. Le ayudé a Juan a hacer el paquete.

'I helped John to make the parcel'

40. \(\text{Descubrí} \) a Juan haciendo el paquete.

\(\text{Encontré} \)  
\(\text{Pille} \)

'I discovered  
found  
captured

If the noun phrases in some of the examples in (36-40) are replaced by pronominal forms the following sentences result:

41. \(\text{Lo}_i \)  
\(\text{vi} \)  
\(\text{deje} \)  
\(\text{encontré} \)  
\(\text{hacerlo}_j \)

\(\text{haciéndolo}_j \)
'I saw him do it
let found doing it

42. \( L_e \) \big\{ \text{ordené} \big\} \text{hacerlo}
\big\{ \text{permítí} \big\}
\text{ayudé a}

'I ordered him to do it.'
allowed helped

In (41), although the clitics have the same form and function
(accusative), they are not coreferential and therefore do not meet
the definition of pleonasm. Indeed, the clitic on the matrix verb is
coreferential with the subject of the embedded verb (Juan), while the
clitic on the embedded verb is coreferential with the direct object
of this verb (el paquete).

In (42) non-coreferentiality correlates with functional
difference (dative-accusative), so these sequences are not a possible
context for pleonasm either.

3.2.3.2 Notice, on the other hand, that the same matrix verbs occur
in constructions without an object coreferential with the subject of
the embedded clause. These constructions are of two types: in (a)
there is an understood agent of the action expressed by the embedded
verb which is different from the subject of the main verb, in which
case the infinitive acquires passive-like properties (cf. Bello, 1925:
293); in (b) the matrix verbs are not causative and the verbs in the
sequences are understood as having an identical subject.
a) 43. \{ Hice \}
\{ Ordené \}
\{ castigar a Juan \}
'I made John to be punished'
ordered

44. \{ Llevé \}
\{ Mandé \}
\{ Ayudé \}
\{ a limpiar el vestido. \}
'I took the dress to be cleaned'
sent
helped
to have the dress cleaned'

b) 45. \{ Eché a \}
\{ Puse a \}
\{ Dejé \}
\{ coser la carne \}
'I put the meat to cook'
put
'I let the meat cook'

Replacing the noun phrases in (a-b) by pronominal forms, a context for the possible occurrence of PCs becomes evident, as shown in (43'-45')

a) 43'. \( \text{Lo}_i \)
\{ hice \}
\{ ordené \}
\{ castigar\text{lo}_i \}.

44'. \( \text{Lo}_i \)
\{ lleve \}
\{ mandé \}
\{ ayudé \}
\{ a limpiar\text{lo}_i \}.

b) 45'. \( \text{La}_i \)
\{ eché a \}
\{ puse a \}
\{ dejé \}
\{ coser\text{la}_i \}.

Notice, however, that (43'-45') are ambiguous between a reading in which the clitics on the matrix and the embedded verb are coreferential (in which case they would be pleonastic) and one in which
they are not coreferential. In the latter case, i.e. when they are not coreferential and therefore not pleonastic, the clitics on the matrix verb are interpreted as being coreferential with the subject of the embedded verb, except those on ordenar and ayudar, which require raising to indirect object (while the other verbs require raising to direct object)\(^7\) so the clitics are unambiguously pleonastic. (43'45') illustrate, then, a context for the variable occurrence of PCs, context 2, defined below.

**Context 2.** In verb series with a matrix verb which may have an object coreferential with the subject of the embedded verb, pleonastic clitics may occur variably if this object is not expressed.

It is possible that the ambiguity\(^8\) that arises in interpreting the referents of the clitics makes context 2 not a preferred one. A lower percent of pleonastic clitics occurs here as compared to other contexts: of a total of 24 sequences of verbs of the type discussed in section 3.2.3, only one, i.e., 4%, has a PC (See Table 8 on page 77).

46. Entonces la Srta. Visitadora \(\underline{\text{me}}_i\) mandaba a dejarme\(\underline{\text{me}}_i\) almuerzo.

'\text{Then the social worker} \underline{\text{me}}_i \text{sent to bring} \underline{\text{me}}_i \text{ lunch}'

\((M,f,56,A)\)

71
3.2.4 Verb Series with Equivalent Subjects

In this section I discuss verb series with equivalent subjects as possible contexts for the occurrence of PCs. The analysis of the data shows that these sequences are a favorable environment for the occurrence of the variable.

Pleonastic clitics in verb series with equivalent subjects occur in the samples of all the speakers who exhibit this type of pleonasm, as illustrated in (47-59).

47. Tía, parece que se va a hundirse esto.
   'Aunt, this looks as if it is going to sink'
   \((N,m,5,A)\)

48. Yo me tenía que vacunarme.
   'I had to get vaccinated'
   \((G,f,5,A)\)

49. El la fue a dejarla.
   'He went to take her home'
   \((A,f,16,A)\)

50. Y yo después lo andaba buscándolo.
   'And then I was looking for him'
   \((C,m,15,A)\)

51. Entonces después, no lo podíamos encontrarlo.
   'And then, we couldn't find him'
   \((0,m,17,A)\)

52. Esa acequia nunca la van a poder cortarla.
   'That stream they'll never be able to stop it'
   \((M,f,42,A)\)
53. Y de recuerdo le voy a dejarle un florero.
   'And as a souvenir I'm going to leave you a flower pot'

54. Yo aquí te voy a pagarte a ti.
   'Here I'm going to pay you'

55. Yo lo quisiera verlo.
   'I wish to see him'

56. Y la Sra. M. decía que iba a ir a buscar los detectives po,
    y que me los iba a echármelos.
   'And Mrs. M. said that she was going to go get the detectives,
    and that she would confront me with them'

57. Mi papá no los quiso encerrarlos a nosotros.
    'My dad didn't want to lock us up'

58. Yo la vine a cuidarla.
    'I came to look after her'

59. Ninguno de estos jóvenes, se los puede echárseles (los
    troncos - en los hombros)
    'None of these youngsters can carry them' (the trunks - on
    their shoulders)
As (47-59) illustrate, there are no constraints on the kind of clitic that may be pleonastic; it may be reflexive, dative, accusative, singular or plural. Sequences of two clitics may also be pleonastic (56, 59). No sequences of three clitics occur in contexts for pleonasm, but there is no a priori reason for doubting the possible occurrence of a sentence like (60).

60. Dijo que se me la iba a tratar semela bien.

'He said that se (imp.) on me her was going to treat her well'

One further question is whether clitics could occur pleonastically on more than two verbs in a sequence of three or more verbs. Although this appears to be plausible, it is not attested in the data, where PCs occur only on one of the verbs in three verb series, as in (52) above.

An analysis of all the equivalent subject verbal sequences in the data appears to indicate that PCs may occur in them with no restrictions. It seems to me, however, that pleonasm may be subject to the same constraints for clitic movement in this context, two of which are referred to below.

In the literature on clitic movement several proposals have been made to account for the fact that there are certain verbs that do not allow a clitic pronoun which is an argument of an embedded verb to be either attached to them or moved over them onto a higher verb. Thus, (61b-62b) are ungrammatical.
61. a) Juan sueña con encontrarla
     b) *Juan la sueña con encontrar.

62. a) Juan lamenta conocerla
     b) *Juan la lamenta conocer.

'John regrets knowing her'

Perlmutter & Aissen (1976) refer to these verbs as "non-trigger verbs", as opposed to "trigger verbs" which are the ones that allow clitic movement because they trigger what Perlmutter and Aissen call Clause Reduction or Union (1976: 5). However, they leave the question of why verbs may belong to one or the other class unanswered.

Other studies (see reference on p. 57) have proposed differing and interesting hypotheses but, as Suñer (1978) notes, none of them succeeds in accounting for the constraints on clitic movement. Suñer herself concludes that:

Although there is a process of Clitic Promotion in Spanish, it is not of a purely syntactic nature. Clitic Promotion may be defined over a number of semantic classes of matrix verbs, i.e., the Modal/Aspectual, Motion and Causative classes. Beyond these, Clitic Promotion seems to be a property of idiosyncratically marked lexical verb entries. (p. 26)

It is not my purpose to solve the problem of what the constraints on clitic movement are, but only to point out that all the cases of PCs occur with verbs which would allow clitic movement. Nevertheless, this can only be stated as a positive constraint given that none of the verbs that have been cited as being non-trigger occur in contexts that would allow pleonasm.
To conclude this section, Context 3 for the variable occurrence of PCs is defined: Pleonastic clitics may occur variably in verb series with equivalent subjects\textsuperscript{11} of the type discussed in section 3.2.4.\textsuperscript{12}

In section 3.2, three contexts (v. pp. 64, 71, 76) where pleonastic clitics may occur have been discussed and defined with respect to the classes of verbs that cooccur in verb series. These three contexts have been defined as follows:

**Context 1:** Pleonastic reflexive clitics may occur variably when, in a reflexive verb series, one or more of these verbs is not an obligatory reflexive verb either in form or in meaning.

**Context 2:** In verb series with a matrix verb which may have an object coreferential with the subject of the embedded verb, pleonastic clitics may occur variably if this object is not expressed.

**Context 3:** Pleonastic clitics may occur variably in verb series with equivalent subjects of the type discussed in section 3.2.4.

As stated before, Context 3 is the most favorable to the occurrence of PCs, at least compared to Context 2, as indicated by the results given in Table 8 (page 77). The categorical occurrence of PCs in Context 1 is not reliable given the low number of tokens.

In what follows, the correlation between the occurrence of PCs and certain linguistic and social variables is investigated.
Table 8. Percent of pleonastic clitics by context for 12 speakers, group A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Pleonastic Clitics</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Context 1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context 2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context 3</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3. Pleonastic Clitics as a Sociolinguistic Variable

Of the 16 speakers in group A only three do not use PCs: two children (P,f,5:6; C,m,5:1) and one adolescent (A,f,17:11). The total percent of constructions with PCs, in the contexts defined in the preceding section, for the speakers in group A is 11%. This result contrasts sharply with that of the speakers in group B, of which only two use one sentence each containing a PC (63-64).

63. Pasamos la preselección, después nos fuimos perfeccionándonos más.

'We got through the first screening, then we kept improving more'

(T,f,16,B)

64. Al principio yo siempre creí que luego nos íbamos a trasladarnos nosotros aquí a Santiago.

'At first I always thought that soon we would move here to Santiago'

(D,f,68,B)

Table 9 shows the individual percentages of PCs for the speakers in group A. (See page 78).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Individual %</th>
<th>Tot. % Per Sex</th>
<th>Tot. % Per Age Group</th>
<th>Individual No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:6-6:0</td>
<td>F 05 0 03</td>
<td>M 07 0 04</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>43 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 08 0 04</td>
<td>M 29 33 31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>F 08 0 04</td>
<td>M 29 33 31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-45</td>
<td>F 11 06 09</td>
<td>M 03 18 11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>55 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td>F 10 12 11</td>
<td>M 18 13 16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>79 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>113 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>89 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34 63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note that the children use a very low number of PCs, two of them in fact use none. This contrasts with the results illustrated in Table 1 for velarization of /f/, where the children evidence a categorical occurrence of a non-standard feature which is quite frequent in the other age groups and almost categorical in group 50+. This appears to indicate that when a variable is of low frequency children acquire it at a later stage. On the other hand, based on a comparison of the results for the phonological variables, it does not seem adequate to assume that the very low frequency of occurrence of PCs in the children's sample might be due to self-correction to adjust to the syntactic norms of the language of the prestige group. This is because the children in group A evidence a high percentage of non-standard phonological features,
which appears to suggest that they are not correcting their speech. Self-correction, on the other hand, does seem to be possible in the adolescent women and the 30-45 age groups since these speakers appear to be sensitive to the non-casualness of the interview situation as suggested by the fact that they have the lowest percentages of non-standard phonological features in group A (See Table 7 on page 46). This would explain the low percentages for the adolescent women (8% and 0%) and for one female and one male (6% and 3%) in the 30-45 age group.

Figure 7 illustrates the percentages according to sex and age group.

![Bar Chart](image)

**Figure 7.** Percent of pleonastic clitics by age and sex. Two speakers in each cell. Group A: low level of education.
The results illustrated in Figure 7 indicate that the occurrence of PCs is a linguistic variable that correlates with ascribed social factors, age and sex, within group A. If it can also be shown that the occurrence versus non-occurrence of a PC does not correlate with any meaning differences, i.e. that these are "two ways of saying the same thing", we will have proved that this is a syntactic sociolinguistic variable.

Observe first that men use pleonastic clitics more frequently than women. Even though the difference is only slight in groups 1, 3 and 4, it becomes quite significant in the adolescent group, 4% and 31% for females and males respectively. Correlation with age appears to affect the males' sub-groups only, particularly if the woman with 0% in subgroup 2 is not considered in the total. The percent of PCs remains almost stable in the males' samples in groups 3 and 4 and rises sharply, from 11% and 16% to 31%, in the adolescent group. On the basis of these results, it may be tentatively concluded, until the meaning equivalence is shown, that the occurrence of PCs has become a sociolinguistic variable most noticeably in the 15-17 age group, clearly differentiating the men from the women in this group (sex correlation) and from the men in all the other age groups (age correlation).

It may be argued that the generational difference is an indication of language change which should be held apart from the issue of its social significance. This position, however, seems untenable to me. Language change is inextricably interrelated with social factors as I showed in Chapter 2, so a separation of these two sets
of facts in these two areas appears to be inadequate. Whether the higher score for the adolescent males is an indicator of change, which it seems to be, it does not invalidate the social significance of the variable as an indicator of age differences.

Lavandera (1978: 171) has stated that "it is inadequate at the current state of sociolinguistic research to extend to other levels of analysis of variation the notion of sociolinguistic variable originally developed on the basis of phonological data." Her position stems from the realization that a study of morphological, syntactic, or lexical variation needs to be based on an articulated theory of meaning (which is lacking), given the definition of sociolinguistic variation as "the option of saying "the same thing" in several different ways: that is, the variants are identical in referential or truth value, but opposed in their social or stylistic significance" (Labov, 1972a: 271). Lavandera questions the validity of the requirement of semantic equivalence in the study of syntactic or morphological variation and proposes to abandon it.

She (1978: 179) further proposes to extend the study of variables to include forms which differ in referential meaning and are carriers of social and stylistic significance. While I do not deny that this type of study of variation may be carried out, I would like to argue here that the sociolinguistic variable as defined by Labov does not stop at the level of phonology and may be extended to the syntactic level. This claim is based on the fact that the two conditions stated by Lavandera (1978: 181) as prerequisites for the analysis of syntactic alternants as "sociolinguistic variables" hold
for the pleonastic clitic variable under study, to wit: (1) it can be proven to be the carrier of some non-referential information and to have social significance; and (2) it is a kind of linguistic device of the language similar to phonological variables, that is, it is a variable whose defining property is a quantifiable co-variation. This covariation suggests that the frequency relations are carriers of social significance.

I have already shown that the differences in frequencies of occurrence of PCs correlate with social differences of age and sex. The question that remains to be answered is whether clauses differing only in the presence versus absence of a PC "say the same thing", i.e. are cognitively synonymous. The following minimal pairs suggest that the presence of a PC in fact does not affect the meaning.

65. a) Y me gustaba ir a verla en la noche
    b) porque yo le iba a dejar le cosas,
    c) le iba a dejar carne, así, y las hermanas se ponían envidiosas.

  a) 'And I liked to go to see her at night'
  b) because I went to bring her things,
  c) I went to bring her meat, there, and the sisters got envious'

(G,m,51,A)
66. a) Y ahí mataron al perro.
    b) Yo lo, yo lo, yo lo iba a matarlo, pero,
    c) con un fierro lo iba a matar, con el Domingo.
   a) 'And they killed the dog there.'
   b) I, I, I was going to kill it, but,
   c) with an iron I was going to kill it, with Domingo.
   (C,m,15,A)

67. a) Cuando despierto la tengo a ella tomá de la cintura así,
    b) se la estoy pasándosela a él
    c) se la estoy pasando.
   a) 'When I wake up I have her by the waist like this,
   b) I am giving her to him
   c) I am giving her to him'
   (S,f,62,A)

(65-67) are continuous pieces of discourse selected from
various speakers in group A. (b) and (c) in each example illustrate
minimal pairs with and without a PC respectively. The truth value
of (b) and (c) is not affected by the presence or absence of the PC.

The possibility of meaning differences beyond truth value,
along the lines of Bolinger's definition of linguistic meaning, was
also considered. However, the analysis appeared to indicate that
PCs are simply an instance of redundancy in an area of Spanish syntax,
critic usage, which evidences similar redundancy processes in other
environments (cf. discussion in section 3.4).
In section 3.3, the significance of PCs as a sociolinguistic variable has been discussed. It has been shown that: (a) the variable carries no meaning differences; and (b) that the frequency of occurrence of the variable correlates with certain social factors. Therefore, it is concluded that Lavandera's (1978) doubts about the possibility of extending the notion of sociolinguistic variable, originally developed for the study of phonological data, to the analysis of syntactic variation do not seem to be justified.

3.4 The Spread of Pleonastic Clitics

In this section the emergence of PCs is explained as a manifestation of a phenomenon that may be comparable with similar redundant processes that have affected the area of clitic usage in the history of the Spanish language. The distribution of PCs is also investigated in order to find out how it can contribute to our understanding of language change.

3.4.1 Modern spoken Spanish requires a dative clitic coreferential with an expressed indirect object, as in (68, 69) and an accusative clitic coreferential with a direct object both when this appears in preverbal position and when it is pronominal, as in (70 and 71).

68. Le$_i$ di el libro a Juan$_i$

69. Le$_i$ di el libro a él$_i$

'I gave the book to John'

84
70. A Juan, lo vi en la playa.
   'John I saw him at the beach'

71. Lo, vi a él en la playa.\(^{17}\)
   'I saw him at the beach'

Clitic pronouns were not obligatory in the contexts illustrated in (68, 69 and 71) in Old Spanish, as seen in (72-74).\(^{18}\)

72. Sabed, sennor, que a mí ð disen Teodor.  \(\text{(me)}\)
   'Mind you, Sir, they call (me) Teodor'

73. Lengua de omne mortal non era digna de nonbrar ð a el nin ponerle nombre. \(\text{(lo)}\)
   'Mortal man was not worthy of naming (him) nor of giving him a name'

74. E ð mandó a nós que la cunpliesemos. \(\text{(nos)}\)
   'And he sent (us) to fulfill it'

As for the clitic required by a fronted direct object (71), Hanssen (1966: 198) states that "the examples are rare in the early literature" (my translation), so this requirement may also be assumed to be an innovation.

Bello (1925: 240) refers to the usage of clitics coreferential with a direct object or an indirect object as a "pleonasm that is in accordance with the genius of the Castilian language" (my translation). It is possible, therefore, to consider the emergence of PCs in the contexts discussed in section 3.2 as a further manifestation of
this pervading tendency to use redundant clitic pronouns in the language, while at the same time acknowledging the possibility that the various types of redundancy may not have the same motivation and effect. The motivation for the development of the PCs discussed in this chapter has not been investigated. On the other hand, if the occurrence of PCs becomes categorical, the effect will be the elimination of a variable rule of clitic movement in this dialect of Spanish.

As pointed out in section 3.1, clitics may attach either to the verb of which they are arguments or to another verb to the left:

75. Puedo comprarlo
    'I can buy it'

76. lo puedo comprar.

The variation illustrated by (75-76) is being eliminated by the speakers who produce sentences with PCs like the one in (77)

77. lo puedo comprarlo

3.4.2 The verbs listed in Table 10 are attested to occur with PCs when used as matrix verbs. Table 10 illustrates the number of occurrences of these verbs for the total sample in the contexts where PCs may be used, and the number and percent of occurrence of PCs for each one of the verbs. The total number of verbal sequences which conform to contexts 1, 2 and 3 (cf. section 3.2) is 734.
Table 10. Frequency of pleonastic clitics by matrix verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
<th>Pleonastic Clitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ir a</td>
<td>'to go'</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poder</td>
<td>'can'</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>querer</td>
<td>'want'</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tener que</td>
<td>'have to'</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>estar</td>
<td>'be'</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>venir a</td>
<td>'come to'</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandar a</td>
<td>'send to'</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>empezar</td>
<td>'begin'</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponerse</td>
<td>'start'</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dejar de</td>
<td>'stop'</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andar</td>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atreverse</td>
<td>'dare'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terminar de</td>
<td>'finish'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observe that the correspondence between the frequency in the use of the verbs which occur more than five times in the sample and the frequency with which they are found with PCs is quite regular, with only two exceptions, tener que and venir a. PCs occur more frequently with the verbs that are used more frequently in discourse. In other words, PCs spread more rapidly to those verbal sequences that have a matrix verb with a high percent of occurrence in discourse.
Observe Table 11, which illustrates the percent of usage of PCs with the various matrix verbs that occur at least five times in the sample for each speaker.

**Table 11.** Percent of pleonastic clitics by matrix verb. One speaker per cell. Group 1 (4:6-6:0), etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>ir a</th>
<th>poder</th>
<th>querer</th>
<th>venir a</th>
<th>estar</th>
<th>tener</th>
<th>que</th>
<th>mandar a</th>
<th>empezar</th>
<th>tratar</th>
<th>de</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - F</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - M</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 - M</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - M</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - F</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - F</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - M</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - M</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - F</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - F</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3 - M</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3 - M</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - F</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - F</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - M</td>
<td>08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - M</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88
Table 11 shows that the frequency of occurrence of a verb in discourse also correlates with the frequency of occurrence of the PCs on an individual basis. If a speaker uses PCs at all, he will use them first with ir a, the most frequent verb in the relevant contexts. Recall, furthermore, that the two examples of PCs in the sample from group B occur with ir (see examples on p. 77). This is strong support for the hypothesis that change spreads gradually and selectively, affecting first the most frequent and transparent contexts (cf. discussion in section 3.2) and the most frequent items within these contexts.

To summarize, section 3.4 has explained the emergence of PCs in Chilean Spanish as a further manifestation of similar redundant processes that have evolved in the history of the language. The ultimate effect of the occurrence of PCs is the elimination of a variable rule of clitic movement in this dialect. The linguistic distribution of PCs has been shown to support the hypothesis that change spreads gradually and selectively. Finally, the social distribution of PCs has offered the kind of evidence that Lavandera (1978) claims to be necessary to extend the notion of sociolinguistic variable to the analysis of syntactic variation.

3.5 The "(se) me le" Construction

In section 3.5 I discuss the se me le / me le variable illustrated in (C-5,6) and (D-7,8) on page 55. Three different hypotheses that may account for the transition from the standard form se me to
the innovative non-standard forms (se) me le are investigated on the basis of synchronic sociolinguistic data.

3.5.1 The Standard and the Non-Standard Forms

The reflexive clitic se\textsuperscript{20} may occur in combination with one or two clitics as shown in (78-81).

78. Se\textsubscript{i} me\textsubscript{j} olvidaron las llaves\textsubscript{i}. (a mf)\textsubscript{j}
'I forgot the keys'

79. Se\textsubscript{i} te\textsubscript{j} rompi\textsuperscript{o} la pierna\textsubscript{i}. (a tí)\textsubscript{j}
'Your leg broke'

80. Se\textsubscript{i} le\textsubscript{j} muri\textsuperscript{o} el perrito\textsubscript{i} a mi hijo\textsubscript{j}.
'My son's little dog died'

81. Se\textsubscript{i} me\textsubscript{1} le\textsubscript{1} muri\textsuperscript{o} el perrito\textsubscript{i} a mi hijo\textsubscript{i}.
'My son's little dog died on me\textsubscript{1}'

The clitic pronoun me in (81) functions as a dative of interest\textsuperscript{22}, i.e. it indicates that the person referred to by it is somehow affected by the event. In addition to the standard language constructions exemplified in (78-81), some of the speakers in group A use a type of construction with the same sequence of clitics as in (81), but where the pronoun le (3 p. sing. dat.) is non-referential, i.e. no constituent may be identified as coreferential with this le either within the sentence or in the wider discourse context, as in (82) (see also 5-8 on p. 55):
82. Y entonces tuve esa hija que le digo yo que se me le, murió (a mí)

'And then I had that daughter that I'm telling you that died on me.'

In (82) se is the reflexive pronoun coreferential with esa hija, me is the dative of interest coreferential with a mí (not expressed in 82), but le has no identifiable referent. The reflexive pronoun se is sometimes deleted in these constructions. Thus, there are sentences like the ones in (83-85) where the three clitic sequence has been reduced to me le:

83. En serio, me le ocurrió comprar queso.

'Seriously, it occurred to me to buy cheese'

(C,m,15,A)

84. El frío me le jue p'arrí'a así.

'The cold went up through me like this'

(S,f,62,A)

85. Me mostro el número, nunca me le ha olvidado.

'He showed me the number, I have never forgotten it'

(L,m,59,A)

The social distribution of these constructions is illustrated in Table 12.
Table 12. Distribution of (se) me le in group A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>se me le</th>
<th>me le</th>
<th>No. of Possible Contexts</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1 09</td>
<td>10 91</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 12 shows, the context for the occurrence of a (se) me le sequence is rather infrequent. This may account for the uneven distribution of the innovative form throughout the members of the group, as compared with the distribution of PCs. The low frequency of occurrence would also account both for the fact that the children
have not yet acquired it, and for the fact that it has not been adopted by any of the speakers in group B. Recall that PCs, which are relatively more frequent, are used by two children in group A and by two adults in group B.

Table 12 further indicates that the (se) me le construction is not in variation with the standard se me form for five of the six speakers who use it. Unfortunately, the data are not sufficient to support invariance conclusively. On the other hand, the presence of the reflexive pronoun se is variable in the speech of two of the speakers, one woman in group 2 and another in group 4. 25

This points out the problem of the amount of data that is needed in order to study syntactic variables that do not occur frequently in conversation. It is certainly possible to use other techniques to complement the interviews, such as direct elicitation, questioning intuitions of grammaticality, repetition tests, etc. However, the data obtained with these techniques may not be comparable with those obtained through recorded unstructured interviews where the speakers attend to the content rather than to the form of the utterances. (86-87), for instance, illustrate free linguistic exchanges where the interviewer uses the standard clitic sequences se te (86) and se le (87) and the speakers use the non-standard construction me le (86-87). It is possible that in a more controlled test situation the speaker might correct his speech to adjust to the norms of the standard language.

93
86. I: ¿Y cómo se te pasó lo de la alergia al fin? (a tí)_j
   A: Me le pasó con unas pastillas.
I: 'And how did you get over the allergy in the end?'
A: 'It went away with some tablets'

87. I: Así no se le junta tanta. (ropa)_i (a usted)_j
   S: No me le junta tanta cosa. (a mí)_j
I: 'That way not many clothes get piled up' (to you)_j
S: 'Not many things pile up on me'

I = Interviewer
A = A,f,17:11
S = S,f,62

3.5.2 The Transition Problem

The data poses the question of which of the two forms, se me le or me le, represents an earlier stage.

3.5.2.1 The first hypothesis investigated was that there were four stages in the evolution from se me to me le, involving an intermediate stage of clitic inversion:

Stage 1 - standard form: el número nunca se me ha olvidado (a mí)_j
   'I have never forgotten the number'

Stage 2 - clitic inversion: mej se
Stage 3 - se → le
Stage 4 - reinsertion of se s
Stage 2 was proposed on the grounds that the order me se occurs in the speech of non-standard speakers of Spanish in Argentina (B. Lavandera, p.c.), Venezuela (P. Bentivoglio, p.c.) and Peru (D. Quiñones, p.c.). Furthermore, Gilt y Gaya (1951: 210), Hanssen (1966: 197) and Bello (1925: 245) note in their grammars that the order me se and te se is a vulgarism that should be avoided, which implies that it must also be attested in Spain. Therefore, it seemed plausible that non-standard Chilean speakers could have had this inverted ordering as well.

The transition from stage 2 to 3 would involve the change of se to le in the position after a first person clitic. This also appeared to be plausible given the general rule of clitic ordering in Spanish according to which clitics that appear together with the same verb must follow the sequence: se - 2nd pers. clitic - 1st pers. clitic - 3rd pers. clitic. Furthermore, the change from se to le could have been favoured by the fact that se and le alternate, i.e. they are in complementary distribution, when they have the dative function: in sequences of two-third person clitics only se may occur, as illustrated by (88).

88. a) Le₁ di el libro₂ a Juan₃
    b) Se₁ lo₂ di a Juan₃

   a) 'I gave the book₂ to John'
    b) 'I gave it₂ to him₃
Once the marker of reflexivity is lost, speakers feel the need to restore it and they do so by inserting se in its standard position in stage 4 of the change.

The clitic inversion and se restoration hypothesis seems plausible, but the following facts suggest that it is not correct:

1) There are no cases of clitic inversion in the data. The (se) me le speakers use the standard order with se to the left of other clitics.

89. Seṭ lej apareció el diabloj. (a él)j
    'The devil appeared himself to him.'

90. Tenía una (mujer)j que sej mej murió hace poco. (a mí)j
    'I had one (woman)j who died on mej recently.'

91. Seṭ lesj confirmaban las oracionesj. (a ellos)j
    'Their prayersj came true' (to them)j

2) The direction of the se/le alternation in the standard language is the reverse of the one that would have to take place in me le and it occurs in a different context:

a) Standard language: dative le becomes se when it is followed by a third person accusative clitic (v. p. )

b) Non-standard language: reflexive se becomes le when it occurs after me.
Therefore, the reinterpretation stage does not seem to be justified.

3) The frequency and distribution of the se me le / me le variants suggest that se me le represents an earlier stage, if the generational difference is interpreted as reflecting two stages in the evolution of the language.

Observe Table 13, which displays the percent of se me le / me le for two speakers, one in the over 50 age group and the other in the adolescent group, both in group A.

Table 13. Percent of se me le / me le for two speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>se me le</th>
<th>me le</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S,f,62</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\frac{15}{16}) 31%</td>
<td>(\frac{11}{16}) 69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A,f,17:11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\frac{1}{11})</td>
<td>(\frac{10}{11}) 91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The higher score for me le with respect to se me le in the speech of A,f,17:11, the younger speaker, and the more similar percentages for both forms in the speech of S,f,62, the older speaker, indicate that me le may be the more recent form. 24

3.5.2.2 An alternative hypothesis is that there are three stages in the evolution from se me to me le involving an intermediate stage of
"le insertion" on the basis of analogy with other constructions of the language.

Stage 1 - standard form: nunca se me ha olvidado
Stage 2 - "le insertion": se me le
Stage 3 - variable deletion
of se: (se) me le

Stage 2 raises the problem of accounting for the insertion of a non-referential and apparently totally unjustified dative pronoun le. Analogy with structures of the type illustrated below was considered a possible source:

92. Se, me le, murió el perro, a mi hijo. (same as e.g. 82, p.)
   'My son's little dog died on me'

93. Quiero que se me le, prepare la mejor comida. (a él)
    +impers.
   'I want that the best food be prepared for him on me'

94. Se, me le, estaba ahogando mi hija. (a él)
   'My daughter was drowning herself on him on me'

However, even though (92-94) constitute possible bases for analogical change from (95a) to (95b), there are some problems to this claim:

95. a) Se, me, apareció el diablo. (a mí)
    'The devil appeared to me'

98
b) \( \textit{Se} \; \textit{me} \; \textit{le} \) apareció el diablo.

1) There is no identity of function between \textit{me le} in (92-94) and (95b): the "dative of interest" \textit{me} in (92-94) is not an argument of the verb, while the dative \textit{me} in (95b) is. \textit{Le} is coreferential with an indirect object in (92-94), but not in (95b).

2) A more serious problem is posed by the fact that the proposed analogical model is nonexistent in the data from Chilean Spanish.\(^{28}\)

We must conclude, then, that "\textit{le} insertion" on the basis of analogy with structures of the type illustrated in (92-94) is not an adequate explanation for the emergence of the sequence \textit{se me le} as in example (95b).

The third stage, variable deletion of \textit{se}, appears to be quite plausible. Note that none of the verbs that cooccur with \textit{se me le} is a true reflexive verb (cf. footnote 24), so the speakers do not feel the need for a pronoun which in these contexts has become bleached of its reflexive meaning.

3.5.2.3 I proceed now to discuss a third hypothesis: that there are three stages in the evolution from \textit{se me} to \textit{me le}, that \textit{se me le} is an intermediate stage which results from an extended use of \textit{le} as a "dative of involvement", and that the variable deletion of \textit{se} is the consequence of avoiding the use of three clitic sequences in speech.\(^{29}\)

Stage 1 - standard form: nunca \textit{se me} ha olvidado
Stage 2 - dative of involvement: \textit{se me le}
Stage 3 - variable deletion
of se: (se) me le

Examples (96-99) below illustrate a fairly frequent conversational use of a dative clitic which I will call "dative of involvement."

96. Yo no le voy nunca a un hospital.
    'I never go to a hospital'
    (R,m,35,A)

97. La R. no le salía a ninguna parte.
    'R. didn't go anywhere'
    (A,f,38,A)

98. Yo me le enojo a veces.
    'Sometimes I get angry'
    (S,f,62,A)

99. A veces me le iba todas las tardes. (para las chacras)
    'Sometimes I left every afternoon' (for the fields)
    (A,f,17:11,A)

The dative clitic le in (96-99) refers to the addressee and makes him a participant of the event described by the proposition. The pragmatic function of the clitic appears to be that of involving the addressee in the event may be with the purpose of securing his attention. Among equals, the informal te is used, as in (100).
100. Yo te iba ahí todos los días.
    'I went there every day'

    (E,f,34,B)

    As in the se me le construction, le / te in (96-100) do not have a referent in the discourse, though in (96-100) the referent in the situational context is clearly the addressee. On the basis of the suggested function of the clitic, (96-100) could be paraphrased as follows:

    "{Usted note} lo que {le} digo:" 'Mark what I'm telling
    {Tú nota} {te} you:'

96.' Yo no voy nunca a un hospital.

97.' La R. no salía a ninguna parte.

    etc.

and in the same manner

101. Nunca se me le ha olvidado.

may be paraphrased as:

101.' "Usted note lo que le digo: nunca se me ha olvidado"

    The extension in the use of datives of involvement to constructions of the type illustrated in (78) to (80) accounts for the fact that le cooccurs only with me. Our hypothesis predicts that the sequence se te le is not possible because te and le belong to
different systems of formality. The prediction is borne out by the data. Other possible sequences, *se le/les le*, are prevented from occurring by the general rule of clitic ordering referred to on p. 95.

Although the sequence *se nos le* is not attested, our hypothesis would predict its possible occurrence. However, because in the *se me le* dialect the almost categorical denasalization of /n/ in *nos* ('us') gives *los* as output which is homonymous with the third person plural pronoun, it is possible that the sequence *se nos le* will not evolve.

Stage 3, the variable deletion of *se*, results from the speakers' avoidance of three clitic sequences. In about 50 hours of recording the only sequences of three clitics correspond to the *se me le* constructions discussed in this section (5 tokens for the whole sample). The speakers find it easy to get rid of a pronoun which, as justified before on p. 99, has become bleached of its reflexive meaning.

3.5.3 Summary

In section 3.5 the *(se) me le* variable attested in the language of some of the speakers in group A was investigated. Three different hypotheses that could account for the transition from the standard form *se me* to the innovative non-standard variable *(se) me le* were considered. On the basis of the linguistic analysis and the social distribution of the variable, it was concluded that *se me le* is the intermediate stage between *se me* and *me le*. The emergence of *se me le* was explained as a result of the spread of the use of *le* as a
"dative of involvement" and the reduced form me le as a consequence of the avoidance of the use of sequences of three clitics in spoken Chilean Spanish.

3.6 Conclusion

In Chapter 3, two variable syntactic phenomena that affect the area of clitic pronoun usage have been discussed: (1) the occurrence of pleonastic clitics; and (2) the (se) me le sequence in reflexive constructions.

PCs were shown to be a syntactic sociolinguistic variable inasmuch as it carries no meaning difference and its frequency of occurrence correlates with social factors. The sparsity of cases of (se) me le did not allow us to investigate its significance as a sociolinguistic variable.

The occurrence versus non-occurrence of the two variables (1 and 2) stratifies the speakers into two large groups: A and B, which correspond to the groups that resulted from the phonological stratification discussed in Chapter 2. Both variables are attested in the language of the speakers in group A. Within this group, PCs have a higher frequency and wider distribution as compared to the (se) me le construction. On the other hand, the (se) me le construction is not used by any of the speakers in group B and only two speakers in this group use PCs, one case each, during one hour of recording.

The study reported in Chapter 3 is significant for the central question investigated in this dissertation, namely the hypothesis
that more or less syntactic variation correlates with social group differences. It was hypothesized that the conservative and normative effect of education would have an effect on the range of syntactic variation in the language of the speakers. Accordingly, younger and less educated speakers were expected to evidence a higher frequency of stigmatized and non-standard linguistic variables in their speech. The results of Chapter 3 partially bear out the hypothesis inasmuch as this hypothesis succeeds in predicting the linguistic behavior evidenced by group A as compared to group B. The PC variable studied in Chapter 3 is considered to be ungrammatical by Perlmutter (see p. 57) and both PCs and the (se) me le construction are not even mentioned as possible Spanish constructions in Spanish grammars (e.g. Real Academia Española (1973); Bello (1925); Gili y Gaya (1951)). The two variables occur in the speech of the lower class, less educated speakers (group A), whereas the higher class, more educated speakers (group B) do not use these options.32

On the other hand, the hypothesis fails to predict the children's linguistic behavior. The results show that the children in group A use the lowest percent of PCs within this group and the children in both groups, A and B, do not use the (se) me le sequence. If these non-standard language variables are innovations, which they seem to be, then the results indicate that children are not linguistic innovators. The innovations are not the result of children's reanalysis or imperfect learning. Rather, they originate in the adults' groups and their acquisition by the children appear to depend on how widespread the innovated forms are and on how
frequently they occur. Thus, the more widespread and frequent PC variable is used by the children in group A, while the less frequent (se) me le construction is not.

With respect to PCs, it was shown that if their use becomes categorical, it will result in the loss of a variable rule of clitic movement which would still be available to the speakers in group B. The (se) me le sequence, on the other hand, could not be proved to be in variation with the standard form se me\textsuperscript{33} due to the scarce data.
FOOTNOTES

1 The information in parenthesis identifies the speaker as follows: initial, sex, age by completed number of years, group by educational level (A or B). A smooth English translation of the Spanish examples is given in each case. The clitic pronouns relevant to the discussion are underlined in the Spanish examples.

2 The corresponding standard usage is se me (se, 3rd person reflexive, singular or plural; me, 1st person "dative of interest").
   E.g. Se me aparece en la noche en la, la ataúd.
   'He appears to me at night in the, the coffin'

3 Below is a list of the clitic-pronouns used in Chilean Spanish. Note that this is a "loísta" dialect, i.e. the masculine accusative clitic is lo/los and not le/les as in the "leísta" dialects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Reflexive</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>me / nos</td>
<td>me / nos</td>
<td>me / nos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (formal)</td>
<td>se / se</td>
<td>lo / los (masc.)</td>
<td>le / les</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>la / las (fem.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Henceforth, I will refer to it as clitic movement, without necessarily adhering to a transformational description of this phenomenon.
The notion of verb series is proposed in order to refer to sequences of two or more verbs that may allow the occurrence of pleonastic clitics. A verb series includes either of two special classes of matrix verbs: one class allows Equi-NP deletion (a) and the other allows object raising (b). A verb series does not include conjoined verbs.

a. El la fue a ver.
   'He went to see her.'

b. La hice limpiarlo.
   'I made her clean it.'

I use terms such as "subject to object raising" and "equivalent subject deletion" as convenient labels but do not commit myself to a transformational descriptive model.

See note 3.

Even though this ambiguity is resolved in context.

Denasalization of /n/ is very frequent in non-standard Chilean Spanish. It affects almost categorically the first person plural clitic nos, which becomes homonymous with los, the third person plural clitic. In (57), the PC los is coreferential with a nosotros ('to us').

Perlmutter & Aissen (1976: 5) list the following "non-trigger verbs:"

| parecer     | 'seem' |
| debe (de)   | 'must (epistemic)' |
| insistir (en) | 'insist' |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb (conjugation)</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>soñar (con)</strong></td>
<td>'dream (of)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>decidirse (a)</strong></td>
<td>'decide (to)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>evitar</strong></td>
<td>'avoid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sugerir</strong></td>
<td>'suggest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pedir</strong></td>
<td>'ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>decir</strong></td>
<td>'say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>afirmar</strong></td>
<td>'affirm'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. The following is a list of all the matrix verbs which appear in these sequences in the data:

- **acabar de** | 'have just' |
- **alcanzar a** | 'have time to' |
- **andar (a)** | 'go' |
- **comenzar a** | 'start' |
- **deber** | 'must' |
- **dejar de** | 'stop' |
- **empezar a** | 'begin' |
- **esperar** | 'hope' |
- **estar** | 'be' |
- **ir (a)** | 'go (to)' |
- **llegar (a)** | 'come' |
- **pasar (a)** | 'pass, go' |
- **pensar (de)** | 'think' |
- **poder** | 'can' |
- **preferir** | 'prefer' |

12. Note that reflexive verbs are not included here.

13. The children are not included in this table because PCs are so rare in this age group that if the children's sample were included the results might not reflect accurately the behavior of the majority of the speakers.

14. The total number of tokens of contexts for the occurrence of PCs was not computed for group B. Given the same number of speakers in both groups and same average length of the speech sample for all speakers, we may assume a similar total number of tokens in both groups, i.e. ca. 700-800 tokens. 2 out of 700 is 0%.
Bolinger (1977: 4) states that: "Linguistic meaning covers a great deal more than reports of events in the real world." For him, meaning includes such things as centrality vs. peripherality of a part of the message, the speakers' attitudes towards each other, their feelings towards the message, etc.

Under certain conditions that are investigated in Chapter 4.

Note that the clitic pronoun is not required when the direct object is non-pronominal and in postverbal position. Nevertheless, it is sometimes used in this context in conversational Spanish, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Examples taken from Sturcken (1953).

There is a case to be made for collapsing ir a and venir on a semantic basis as they frequently appear to be two faces of the same coin. The common meaning is "movement in a certain direction in order to do X"; the two faces are "in a direction away from where the speaker is" (ir a) and "in a direction towards where the speaker is" (venir a). If these two verbs are collapsed in the analysis of frequency correspondences, only tener que remains an exception.

And obviously all the other clitics.

There are no examples of this type in the data for groups A and B.

Bello (1925: 253) calls it "dativo superfluo" and proposes that it originates from its function as a possessive in Spanish. Compare Spanish and English:
Se me quebró la pierna
I broke my leg

These represent the only cases of sequences of three clitics in the data for the 32 speakers.

Four verbs cooccur with se me le:

appear
'tirarse al dulce' 'come on strongly'
die' 'cansarse' 'get tired'

Of these, aparecerse and morirse plus the verbs listed below occur with me le:

caeirse 'fall'
confirmarse 'confirm'
cortarse 'pass'
desaparecerse 'disappear'
deshacerse 'disappear'
irse 'leave'
juntarse 'pile up'

ocurrirse 'occur'
olvidarse 'forget'
pararse 'go away'
perderse 'get lost'
presentarse 'present'
quitarse 'go away'
revelarse 'reveal'
verse 'show up'

Outside the interview situation, I have heard speaker (A,f,38,A) who in Table 12 appears with only one se me le token, use me le sentences, such as the following one I noted down:

Y ahí fue cuando me le perdió la cartera.

'And it was then when my purse got lost on me'

This ordering constraint is stated in Stockwell, Bowen & Martin (1965: 194). Within the generative-transformational theory, it has been restated by Perlmutter (1971: 45) in the form of a surface structure constraint: se II I III.
Of all the grammars consulted (see References), Hanssen's is the only one where the me le construction is cited. Only in passing, Hanssen (1966: 197) states that "in Chile, me le pasa ('(it) passes (itself) to me' = I get over it) is constructed on the basis of analogy with se le pasa ('he gets over it')" (my translation).

This analogy, which formally appears to be plausible, is functionally difficult to justify. Se le and me le may belong to the same paradigm (cf. note 1) in, for instance, se lej presentó ('(he) presented himself to her') and me lej presenté ('(I) presented myself to her'). But functionally, se le and me le in se le pasa and me le pasa are not the same: se is coreferential with the subject and le with the indirect object in se le pasa; me is coreferential with the indirect object (note that the verb is third person singular) and le is non-referential in me le pasa.

The acceptance of Hanssen's analogical model as a basis for the change implies also a complex process of reanalysis of coreferentiality relationships that makes this an unconvincing analogical model. Furthermore, it suggests that me le is the earlier stage and does not account for the occurrence of the se me le sequence.

I am a native speaker of this dialect and do not use the types of constructions in (92-94). Furthermore, I do not recall having heard them used outside the interview situation by any speaker. Examples of this type are cited in studies of Spanish syntax, however (cf. Bello, 1925: 245; Gili y Gaya, 1951: 210; Perlmutter, 1971: 51).
Formally, this hypothesis postulates the same line of development from se me to (se) me le as in 3.5.2.2, but it motivates the insertion of le and offers a different explanation for the variable deletion of se.

Third person clitic pronouns are used for the second person in the formal style of address (see note 3).

With the exception of two of the children in group A, who have not acquired either of the two variables. Clitics in fact appear to be acquired late in the process of L1 acquisition. Note the following examples where children fail to use an obligatory clitic:

a) Y eso ¿ a donde poniémos?  
(C,m,5:1,A)  
'That, where do we put (it),'

b) Una vez cortó, cortó ahí la luz de la escalera.  
(M,m,4:6,B)  
'One time the light there in the stairs went out'

c) Mire a mí, a mí no se cae nunca.  
(W,m,5:7,A)  
'Look, it never falls on me'

On the other hand, adults in both groups A and B never fail to use an obligatory clitic.

See p. 77 for the two exceptions.

Recall that only one speaker uses both forms, but only once each.
Chapter 4

PREVERBAL NON-SUBJECT NOUN PHRASES

4.0 Introduction

Chapter 4 deals with the study of two related variables: 1) a type of construction where a direct object (DO) and/or an indirect object (IO) appear in preverbal position in any given sentence; 2) the variable occurrence of an accusative clitic coreferential with a postverbal DO in the same sentence.

The variable preverbal occurrence of a DO or an IO is illustrated in (A, 1 to 4) and (B, 5 to 8).

A. a) Preverbal DO

1. La verdura te la llevan de Santiago.¹
   'The vegetables, they bring them to you from Santiago'
   \(E,f,34,B\)

2. La verdad de las cosas es que nosotros petróleo tenemos muy poco.
   'The truth of the matter is that oil we have very little'
   \(H,m,33,B\)

b) Preverbal IO

3. Entonces a la Q. le empieza a producir una neurosis.
   'Then it starts causing a neurosis to Q.'
   \(H,m,33,B\)
4. A ti te lo cuento.
   'I tell it to you' (D,f,68,13)

   It is possible to say that the examples in (A) are variable occurrences of those in (B), where the DOs and IOs are in post-verbal position. Indeed, the sentences in (A) have the same truth value as those in (B) and therefore fit the definition of syntactic variable as "two ways of saying the same thing."

B. a) **Postverbal DO**
   5. Te llevan la verdura de Santiago.
   'They bring you the vegetables from Santiago.'
   6. La verdad de las cosas es que nosotros tenemos muy poco petróleo.
   'The truth of the matter is that we have very little oil.'

b) **Postverbal IO**
   7. Entonces le empieza a producir una neurosis a la Q.
   'Then it starts to cause a neurosis to Q.'
   8. Te lo cuento a tí.
   'I tell it to you.'

The variable occurrence of a clitic coreferential with a post-verbal DO is illustrated in (C) and (D).

C. **Without the clitic**
   9. Yo cuando ò conocí a mi esposa le dije, ....
   'When I ò met my wife, I told her, ....'
   (R,m,35,A)
D. With the clitic

10. A mí se me abrió el mundo cuando lo conocí a E.

'My world changed when I met E.'

\( (E,f,34,B) \)

From the total sample of 32 speakers, 16 were selected for the study of the variables illustrated in (A to D), one speaker from each subgroup (by age, sex and level of schooling), with the purpose of investigating the possible social correlations of the variable.

Approximately 16 hours of recording were analyzed, an average of one hour per speaker. Table 14 displays the percentage of occurrence of D0s and I0s for a total sample of 3,161 sentences with a DO in pre- or postverbal position and 475 sentences with an IO in pre- or postverbal position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14. Percentage of preverbal D0s and I0s in the total sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preverbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident that I0s have a much higher likelihood of occurring preverbally than D0s. The very low 7% of preverbal D0s indicates that for speakers of Spanish the usual position for the DO
is postverbal and that only under some specific conditions will the DO be placed preverbally. These conditions are identified and discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4 deals with the structure of constructions with a preverbal object. It is organized in the following way: In section 4.1 the structural properties of constructions with a preverbal object (O) are discussed with reference to the relative ordering and possibilities of cooccurrence of various constituents in preverbal place. The analysis of these constructions in terms of Left-Dislocation and Topicalization on the basis of the presence versus absence of a copy pronoun is investigated and shown to be deficient. Section 4.2 deals with the question of the presence versus absence of a pronominal clitic coreferential with a nonpronominal DO. This clitic, analyzed in transformational grammar as being triggered by the occurrence of a Left-Dislocated DO, is here viewed as a marker of DO-Verb (V) agreement whose frequency of occurrence depends on the degree of topicality of the DO. Section 4.3 discusses the social correlations of the linguistic variables studied in Chapter 4, namely preverbal versus postverbal Os and the presence versus absence of DO-V agreement. The conclusions are stated in section 4.4.

4.1 Structural Properties

In this section, the structural properties of constructions with a preverbal O are discussed with reference to the relative ordering and possibilities of cooccurrence of various constituents. 4.1.1 presents the various orderings attested in the data and deals with
the acceptability of sentences with two preverbal constituents. 4.1.2 investigates the adequacy of an analysis of these constructions in terms of Left-Dislocation and Topicalization.

4.1.1 Word Order

In Spanish, the main constituents of a sentence may adopt different surface positions with respect to one another and with respect to the verb. For example, the main constituents of the proposition "María le dio el libro a Juan en la biblioteca" ('Mary gave the book to John in the library') may be moved around without making the sentence ungrammatical:

11. En la biblioteca María le dio el libro a Juan.

12. En la biblioteca le dio María el libro a Juan.

13. El libro se lo dio María a Juan en la biblioteca.

14. A Juan le dio María el libro en la biblioteca.

15. María le dio a Juan el libro en la biblioteca.

The examples above illustrate that word order is not required to identify the function of the different constituents of the sentence since Spanish makes use of other grammatical devices for this purpose, namely subject-verb agreement and various markers for the verb complements. Compare, for example, the sentence "John saw Mary" in English and Spanish:
   subject object

17. Mary saw John.
   subject object

18. Juan vio a María.
   subject object

19. A María la vio Juan.
   object subject

where the functions subject and direct object are identified by the
absence of a marker on the subject and the presence of the preposition
a in the direct object in Spanish, while in English they are identi-
fied by the linear arrangement of the constituents.

Studies of Spanish syntax (v. Real Academia Española (1973),
Gili y Gaya (1951), Kahane & Kahane (1950), Hatcher (1956), Bolinger
(1952; 1954-5), Contreras (1976)) have pointed to the fact that
Spanish allows freedom in the linear arrangement of the major con-
stituents of the sentence but none of these studies have used data
from conversational spoken Spanish.

The Real Academia Española (1973: 394-5) states that the main
constituents of a sentence may follow two possible orderings:
a) "orden lineal" ('linear order'), that one in which the subject
occurs in preverbal position and the verbal complements follow the
verb in the order Direct Object - Indirect Object - other complements;
and b) "orden envolvente" ('winding order'), any deviations from the
linear order. In this study, I will be concerned with variations in
the linear order that involve the occurrence of a DO or an IO in
preverbal position as stated on page 1. Obviously, these constituents, as well as the subject, may occur in postverbal position but this ordering will be referred to only when required by the discussion of the function of the preverbal placement of DOs and IOs.

The following preverbal positions for DOs and IOs are attested in the data:

\[
\begin{align*}
S & \quad 0 & V \\
0 & \quad 0 & V \\
0 & (S) & V
\end{align*}
\]

where 0 stands for either DO or IO, the commas stand for obligatory pauses, i.e. intonation breaks, and the brackets are used in the conventional way to indicate optionality. A DO or an IO coreferential with a non-cliticized DO or IO in the sentence may occur in S-initial, S-medial or S-final position. In this case, an obligatory pause separates the S-initial, medial or final 0 from the rest of the sentence.

The preverbal placement of a DO usually cooccurs with a coreferential pronominal clitic on the V. The conditions that determine the occurrence of this pronominal clitic, referred to here as object-verb agreement, are discussed in section 4.2.

(21) to (30) illustrate the various orderings collapsed in schema (20) above.

21. \[S \quad 0 \quad V\]

Yo todo lo que he vivido p'atrás de amargo lo dejo de lado.

'Everything sad in my past life, I leave it aside.'

\[(E,f,34,B)\]
22. O S V
La perrita chica mi hermana la quería.
'The little puppy my sister loved it.'

(G,f,5,A)

23. O S V
Todos los que se portan mal la tía les pone delantal.
'All those who don't behave themselves, auntie makes them wear an apron.'

(C,m,5,A)

24. O O V
A mi papá hartos entierros le han dado también.
'To my dad lots of buried treasures they've given him too.'

(0,m,17,A)

25. O V
"Blanca Nieve" la veo en la tele.
'"White Snow" I see it on T.V.'

(G,f,5,A)

26. O, O S V
0 si no a los zorros, a los zorros yo los encerraba con perros.
'Or else the foxes, the foxes I locked in with the help of dogs'

(0,m,17,A)
27. 0 V, O

Esta la hicimos ayer no más, esta pieza.

'This one we made only yesterday, this room.'

(0,m,17,A)

28. 0 V, 0

A mí no me gustaba, a mí.

'Me it didn't please, me.'

(F,f,5,B)

29. S O V

El mismo médico a mí me lo ha dicho

'The doctor himself has said it'

(D,f,68,B)

30. 0, 0 V

A mí, a mí no me pega.

'Me, me she doesn't hit.'

(G,f,5,A)

With respect to the relative ordering of the S, the V, the DO and the IO in a sentence, grammars of Spanish (cf. Gili y Gaya (1951), Real Academia Española (1973)) state that any ordering is grammatical, with the exception of constructions where the V occurs beyond the 2nd place, which are considered to be extremely rare in the written language and unacceptable in the spoken language as a single phonic group.7 This statement appears to be contradicted by the data analyzed in this dissertation (cf. examples 22, 23, 24, 26,
29): in 27 sentences i.e. 6% of the sentences with a preverbal 0, the V occurs in 3rd place.\textsuperscript{8}

Gili y Gaya and the Real Academia Española illustrate their statement about the unacceptability of sentences with the V in 3rd place with sentences where the DO is indefinite (31 to 33):

31. *Juan una casa compró el año pasado.
   'John bought a house last year'

32. *El año pasado una casa compró Juan.

33. *Una casa mi padre compró el año pasado.
   'My father bought a house last year'

Observe, however, that (31) to (33) become acceptable when the preverbal DO is definite:

31.' J. la casa la compró el año pasado.
   'the house'

32.' El año pasado la casa la compró J.

33.' La casa mi padre la compró el año pasado.

The acceptability of (31', 32' and 33'), and the actual occurrence of examples (22, 23, 24, 26, 29) indicate that the constraint on the occurrence of the V in 3rd place is not of a strictly syntactic nature, since factors such as the definiteness of the preverbal NPs may override such a constraint.
At this point, it might be thought that the constraint is on the occurrence of a preverbal indefinite DO. This is not so, however, since (34) is acceptable:

34. Una casa compró mi padre.
   'My father bought a house'

and (24) above is also acceptable.

The apparent unacceptability of (31, 32, and 33) appears to derive, therefore, from their being quoted out of context and from the low frequency of occurrence of these constructions in speech. Indefinite DOs occur very infrequently in preverbal position (v. section 4.2) and, as stated above, in only 6% of the sentences does the V occur in 3rd place after two Os or the S and an O. However, low frequency does not entail unacceptability, but only that the characteristics of the discourse did not require a more frequent use of a given construction.

In section 4.1.1, data illustrating the various possible orderings of preverbal objects has been presented. The occurrence of S O V, O S V, and O O V sentences in the data has been offered as evidence against the "V-first or second" constraint in spoken Spanish.

4.1.2 Adjoined and Topicalized Objects

Section 4.1.2 investigates the adequacy of an analysis that describes constructions of the type illustrated in (21) to (30) in terms of Left-Dislocation (LD) and Topicalization (T) based on the
presence vs. absence of a copy pronoun. It presents evidence against such an analysis and proposes a classification into Adjoined Topic Objects and Topicalized Objects differentiated by the presence of an obligatory intonation break which correlates with the possible occurrence of a non-cliticized coreferential constituent.

Within the framework of generative transformational grammar (TGG), constructions like those illustrated in (A) on page 113 have been claimed to be the output of transformations that move NPs to the front of the sentence. Thus, (35) below would result from the application of LD and (36) from the application of T.

35. Un día a la Karen, la empujaron.
'One day Karen, they pushed her'

(F,f,5,B)

36. Café tampoco tomo.
'Coffee I don't drink either'

(S,f,62,A)

Ross (1967) proposed these two rules as a copying and as a chopping rule respectively. In the case of T, a chopping rule, the term of the structural description which is permuted around a variable to the left is deleted in its original position. In the case of LD, a copying rule, the moved NP is set off by commas and a pronominal form is left in the original place.

More recently, Chomsky (1977) has proposed a revised analysis for LD and T. This new approach, according to which Left-Dislocated
elements are base generated and only T remains a movement rule, has been extended to the analysis of Spanish by M.L. Rivero (1978). Rivero (p. 1) defines base-generated left-dislocated sentences as those that "have an NP set off by commas at the beginning of a clause - TOP position -, and a pronoun (or NP) which is anaphorically related to the phrase in TOP position."9

In what follows, it will be shown that neither Ross's nor Rivero's definition of LD accounts for the structural characteristics of most of the constructions with preverbal NPs in our data. Observe the examples below:

37. Ese detalle lo contaban por muy bien cierto.
   'That detail they told it as if it were really true'
   (G,m,50,A)

38. Y a tu papá también te lo van a llevar preso.
   'And your father they'll also arrest him.'
   (A,f,16,A)

39. Pero ese susto yo lo he tenido siempre.
   'But that fear I've always had'
   (E,f,34,B)

40. Porque esa monja la adorábamos.
   'Because that nun we adored her'
   (T,f,16,B)

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41. **La perrita chica mi hermana la quería.**

   'The little puppy my sister loved it'

   (G,f,5,A)

42. **A mí me sacaron una foto.**

   'They took a picture of me'

   (C,m,5,A)

43. **Y la verdura no, la verdura te la llevan de la zona central.**

   'And not the vegetables, the vegetables they bring them to you from the central part'

   (E,f,34,B)

44. **O si no a los zorros, a los zorros yo los encerraba con perros.**

   'Or else the foxes, the foxes I locked them in with the help of dogs'

   (0,m,17,A)

45. **En cuanto a amistades, a nosotros no nos dejaron tener muchas amistades.**

   'As for friends, they didn't let us have many friends'

   (D,f,68,B)

46. **Yo esto lo he venido a saber ahora último.**

   'This I have come to know it only lately'

   (D,f,68,B)
47. Yo eso no lo creo.
   'That I don't believe it'

The S-initial NPs in (37-42) are not set off by commas, i.e. intonation breaks, in the data. They constitute a single phonetic group (v. Note 7) with the same intonational pattern of a sentence with a linear order SVO, as illustrated in (48):

48.

a) OSV

Pero ese susto yo lo he tenido siempre.  (Example 39)
   'But that fear I've always had'

b) SVO

Y el papá tenía un tesoro.
   'And the father had a treasure'

as opposed to the intonation break illustrated in (49), characteristic of constructions like those in (43-45):

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49.

a) 0, OSV

0 si no a los zorros, a los zorros yo los encerraba con perros.  (Example 44)
'Or else the foxes, the foxes I locked them in with the help of dogs'

If commas are part of the structural definition of LD, then sentences like (37-42), which are very frequent in the data, are not examples of LD. However, even though commas are included in the definition, some of the illustrative examples given by Rivero are inconsistent with it. (50) is Rivero's example (16):

50. En cuanto a María, la enciclopedia dicen que se la regalaron a ella.
'As for María, the encyclopedia they say that they gave it to her'

Rivero gives (50) as an example of two successive dislocated NPs: María and la enciclopedia. Note, however, that no comma sets off la enciclopedia from the rest of the sentence, a fact that Rivero leaves unexplained. In fact, (50) would be unacceptable with a comma-break after la enciclopedia. The recursive power of base
rule (51b), justified for English (cf. Chomsky, 1977: 91) on the basis of sentences like those in (52) generates unacceptable sentences in Spanish.

51. a. R1 : $S \rightarrow \text{TOP } S$

b. R2 : $S \rightarrow \text{COMP} \{ \frac{S}{S} \}$

52. As for John, as far as this book is concerned, he will definitely have to read it.

There are no examples like (52) in my data. It may be contended that the data do not reflect the speakers' competence. However, my own native speaker intuitions (i.e. competence!) about Spanish reject such sentences as in (53), a translation of (52), while accepting the paraphrases in (54).

53. *En cuanto a Juan, 

\[ \{ \text{por lo que se refiere a} \text{este libro} \}, \{ \text{en cuanto a este libro} \}, \{ \text{hablando de este libro} \}, \{ (él) lo tendrá que leer definitivamente. \} \]

54. 

\[ \begin{align*}
&\{ \text{En cuanto a} \} \\
&\{ \text{Por lo que se refiere a} \} \\
&\{ \emptyset \}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
&\{ \text{Juan, este libro (él)} \} \\
&\{ \text{este libro, Juan} \}
\end{align*} \]

Examples (43-45) have the same structure as (54). In (43-45) the NP immediately to the right of the comma does not fit Rivero's
definition of LD: it cannot be set off by commas, and it cannot be preceded by configurations which typically precede dislocated NPs, as shown by (44').

44'. *O si no a los zorros, a los zorros, yo los encerraba con perros.

*O si no a los zorros, \{ con respecto a los zorros, \{ hablando de \{ en cuanto \{ en relación \}
\}
\}
\}
\}

*Or else the foxes, \{ with respect to the foxes \{ speaking of \{ as for \{ in relation to \}
\}
\}
\}

On the other hand, the S-initial NPs in (43-45), and indeed any NP introduced by configurations of the type illustrated in (44'), must be set off by commas.

The analysis I propose abandons the by now traditional classification into Left-Dislocated and Topicalized constructions on the basis of the occurrence or non-occurrence of a coreferential constituent. 10 I abandon this classification for two reasons: a) the occurrence of a coreferential constituent is not determined solely by the preverbal placement of an O, as illustrated in (55-59), but by
other factors which will be discussed in the following section;
b) there are constructions with sentence initial O's and no anaphorically related constituent in the sentence, as exemplified by (57, 58), which appear to fit both the definition of Topicalization and of Left-Dislocation given in TGG.

55. _Le_i mandaron un telegrama a mi señora_i
   'They sent a telegram to my wife'
   (R,m,35,A)

56. Really me abrió el mundo cuando lo conocí a F.
   'Really the world changed for me when I met F.'
   (E,f,34,B)

57. Entonces, ella parte que los_i recibe mal los recados_i.
   'Then, she starts with the idea that she receives the messages wrong'
   (H,m,33,B)

58. Café tampoco tomo.
   'Coffee I don't drink either'
   (S,f,62,A)

59. Buena suerte no he tenido nunca.
   'Good luck I've never had'
   (O,m,17,A)
In (55) the IO a mi señora must have a coreferential clitic pronoun on the V, regardless of its position in the sentence (cf. Ch. 3, p. 85). In (56, 57), even though the DOs a E. and los recados are in postverbal position, they have coreferential accusative clitics. In (58, 59) the preverbal DOs could not have a copy clitic even if introduced by a configuration of the type of "as for", considered to be characteristic of Left-Dislocated constructions, as exemplified in (60, 61).

60. En cuanto a café, tampoco tomo.
   'As for coffee, I don't drink it either'

61. En cuanto a buena suerte, no he tenido nunca.
   'As for good luck, I've never had it'

A comparison of the Spanish and English versions of (58-61) shows that in English there is a direct correlation between the occurrence (it in 60, 61) versus non-occurrence of a coreferential pronoun and LD and T respectively. The fact that this correlation does not exist in Spanish, i.e. that LD is not necessarily a copying rule in Spanish, as shown by (58, 59) versus (60, 61), offers further support for rejecting the extension to Spanish of the definitions of LD and T given for English.

In the light of the preceding discussion, I would like to propose that there are two types of structures with preverbal 0s in Spanish:
1. Structures with preverbal Os that are arguments of the verb. These preverbal Os: a) are not set off by comma-breaks;\textsuperscript{12} and b) may be in an anaphoric relation with a clitic pronoun, but not with a full noun or independent pronoun within the sentence. I call these Topicalized Objects. (21–25, 29, 37-42, 46, 47) are examples of Topicalized Os. (25) and (42) are repeated below.

   'White Snow' I see it on T.V.'

42. A mí me sacaron una foto.
   'They took a picture of me'

2. Structures with sentence adjoined objects. Sentence adjoined Os: a) usually occur in S-initial position but may also be S-final or medial; b) are set off by comma-intonation breaks from the rest of the sentence; and c) may be in an anaphoric relation with a clitic pronoun, a full noun or an independent pronoun in the sentence to which they are adjoined. I call these Adjoined Topic Objects.\textsuperscript{13} Examples (26, 27, 28, 30, 43-45) illustrate Adjoined Topic Objects. In all of these the Adjoined Topic O is coreferential with a non-cliticized O which is topicalized in all the examples except in (45), where the coreferential O is postverbal. (30) and (44) are repeated below.
30. **A mí, a mí** no me pega.
   'Me, she doesn't hit me'

44. O si no **a los zorros, a los zorros** yo los encerraba con perros.
   'Or else **the foxes, the foxes** I locked them in with the help of dogs'

Topicalized constructions are by far the most frequent of the two types. Furthermore, there is a class of verbs with dative objects which are almost categorically topicalized. They are illustrated in (62-68).

62. **A mí** no me gusta juntarme con esos cabros.
   'To me, to get together with those guys doesn't please me'
   (0,m,17,A)

63. Puede que **a tí** te gusten los amigos.
   'Maybe the friends will be pleasing **to you**'
   (E,f,34,B)

64. **A mí** me entra la duda realmente.
   'Doubt overcomes me really'
   (E,f,34,B)

65. Si **a ustedes** les pasa algo, díganmelo a **mí**.
   'If something happens **to you**, tell me'
   (A,f,38,A)
66. A mí me parece que hay mucho de fantasía.
    'It seems to me that there is a lot of fantasy'
    \( (F,m,70,B) \)

67. Pero a él no le daba miedo.
    'But he wasn't scared'
    \( (G,m,50,A) \)

68. A mí me dio hambre.
    'I became hungry'
    \( (F,f,5,B) \)

Structurally, the crucial difference between an Adjoined Topic 0 and a Topicalized 0 is that the latter is within a sentence boundary while the former is adjoined to a sentence, i.e. outside the sentence. The fact that the ATO is outside the sentence allows the occurrence of non-cliticized 0s, coreferential with the Adjoined Topic 0, within the sentence. The functional properties of these two types of constructions are investigated in Chapter 5.

To sum up, section 4.1.2 has presented evidence against an analysis of constructions with preverbal 0s in Spanish in terms of LD and T as defined for English. This conclusion has been shown to be based on the following facts: a) the comma-break is not obligatory in constructions that would otherwise have to be analyzed as Left-Dislocated; b) constructions that would otherwise have to be analyzed as Left-Dislocated do not necessarily have a constituent anaphorically related to the dislocated NP; c) There are constructions with 0s
adjoined to the sentence that are obligatorily separated by an intonation break from the sentence to which they are adjoined. These O's allow the occurrence of a non-cliticized coreferential constituent in the sentence. Based on these observations, a different analysis has been proposed that describes constructions with preverbal O's in terms of Topicalized O's and Adjoined Topic O's. Adjoined Topic O's (described in (c) above) are outside the sentence. Topicalized O's, on the other hand, are within the sentence and do not allow a non-cliticized coreferential constituent in the same sentence, i.e. there is no doubling of any verbal argument in the sentence.

4.2 Object-Verb Agreement\textsuperscript{16}

This section discusses the syntactic factors that determine the presence of a clitic pronoun coreferential with a preverbal or post-verbal DO\textsuperscript{17} versus the absence of such a pronoun as exemplified in (69-80).

I. Preverbal DO
   A. With a clitic pronoun

69. Y la verdura no, la verdura te \textit{la} llevan de la zona central.
   'And not the vegetables, the vegetables they take \textit{them} to you from the central part'

\(E,f,34,B\)
70. Ese perro lo matamos.
   'That dog we killed it'
   (G,f,5,A)

71. Y eso hay que revolverlo primero.
   'And that they have to stir it first'
   (S,f,62,A)

72. Un hogar mal constituido no lo necesita nadie.
   'A poorly founded home nobody needs it'
   (E,f,34,B)

   B. Without a clitic pronoun

73. Pero el cobre se llevaban, pues.
   'But the copper they took'
   (H,m,33,B)

74. Un mechoncito chico pues le sacan no más.
   'A small lock of hair they cut him only'
   (F,m,70,B)

75. Sobrinas no más tengo.
   'Nieces only I have'
   (S,f,62,A)

76. Yo soy la que más educación le ha dado a los chiquillos
   'I am the one that most education has given to the children'
   (A,f,38,A)
77. Effortil me dieron a mí.
    'Effortil they gave me.'
    \((E,f,34,B)\)

78. Eso no más enseñan ahí.
    'Only that they teach there'
    \((A,f,16,A)\)

II. Postverbal DO

A. With a clitic pronoun

79. A mí se me abrió el mundo cuando lo conoci a E.
    'The world changed for me when I met E.'
    \((E,f,34,B)\)

B. Without a clitic pronoun

80. Yo cuando conoci a mi esposa le dije --------
    'When I met my wife I told her --------'
    \((R,m,35,A)\)

Examples (69) to (80) illustrate the variable occurrence of the
clitic pronoun. Its cooccurrence with preverbal DOs is discussed
first.

4.2.1 In her study of inverted objects of inanimate reference in
Spanish, Hatcher (1956) observes that the coreferential clitic is
usually present when the O is definite and usually absent when the O
is indefinite. This general statement is supported by our data,
which also includes objects of animate reference. As shown by the
examples on pp. 136-138 and by the results of Table 15, both
definite and indefinite preverbal DOs may have a pronominal copy but
the tendency is clearly for this copy to be present when the DO is
definite and absent when it is indefinite.

Table 15. Percentage of object-verb agreement by definiteness
of the preverbal DO.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverbal DO</th>
<th>Ø Clitic</th>
<th>Clitic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ definite</td>
<td>17/143</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- definite</td>
<td>37/47</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>126/143</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10/47</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data indicate that the presence of a pronominal copy does
not depend solely on definiteness, even though this is an important
factor. It is possible, on the other hand, that the occurrence of
the clitic may respond to a scalar rather than a binary value for
"definiteness", as the examples below appear to suggest.

81. Hogar \{\*lo\} necesitamos todos.
    'A home we all need'

82. Un hogar \{?lo\} necesitamos todos.
    'A home we all need.'

83. Un hogar bien constituido \{lo\} necesitamos todos.
    'A well founded home we all need it.'

139
84. El hogar \( \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 1_0 \\ ?_0 \end{array} \right\} \) necesitamos todos.

'The home we all need it'

Chafe (1976: 39) proposes that an item is given the status of definite by a speaker when he thinks that the listener knows and can identify the particular referent that he (the speaker) has in mind. On the basis of Chafe's definition, Li and Thompson (1976: 461) consider generic nouns to be definite. However, this definition does not appear to be sufficient to account for the acceptability of the clitic pronoun in the continuum illustrated by (81-84). El hogar in (84) may be generic as hogar in (81) may be, so the speaker may assume that the listener knows the class of referents that may be categorized by the noun hogar. Tentatively, we conclude that the presence of the clitic may be sensitive to a syntactic rather than a pragmatic definition of definiteness. In order to investigate this possibility, four points in a continuum are identified with respect to the combination of two features, \([\pm \text{ determiner}]\) and \([\pm \text{ definite}]\). The term specificity is here used as a cover term for the combination of the two features, determiner and definite. A bare noun is less specific than a noun modified by a determiner, and a noun modified by an indefinite determiner is less specific than one modified by a definite determiner. The combinations of the features \([\pm \text{ determiner}]\) and \([\pm \text{ definite}]\) classify the DQs into four groups, along a scale of increasing specificity, as shown in Figure 8 and illustrated by examples (85-92).
Figure 8. DO-Verb agreement continuum.19

(a) [-determiner]
   [-definite]

85. Padrastro tengo.
    'Stepfather have'
    \(G,m,50,A\)

86. Ochenta mil pesos dice que le dieron.
    'Eighty thousand pesos she says they gave her'
    \(S,f,62,A\)

(b) [+determiner]
   [-definite]

87. Un hogar mal constituido no lo necesita nadie.
    'A poorly founded home nobody needs it'
    \(E,f,34,B\)

88. Un mechoncito chico pues le sacan no más.
    'A small lock of hair they cut him only'
    \(F,m,70,B\)
Based on the results displayed in Table 15 and on the discussion of examples (81-84), it is hypothesized that the two ends of the continuum, \([-\text{determiner}, \text{-definite}]\) and \([+\text{determiner}, +\text{definite}]\), will correspond to absence and presence of a pronominal copy respectively, and that the intermediate points, \([+\text{determiner}, \text{-definite}]\) and \([-\text{determiner}, +\text{definite}]\), will correspond to a lower versus a higher percentage of pronominal copies.
It has been observed (cf. Moravcsik, 1974; Givón, 1976; Hawkinson and Hyman, 1975; Wald, 1979) that in many languages grammatical agreement between the verb and its arguments follows certain implicational hierarchies that are related to the likelihood of a given constituent to qualify as the topic of a sentence. \(^{20}\) With respect to case and definiteness, the following implicational schema have been suggested by Givón (1976: 152) to be directly correlated with topicality:

a. AGENT $>$ DATIVE $>$ ACCUSATIVE
b. DEFINITE $>$ INDEFINITE
c. HUMAN $>$ NON-HUMAN

and therefore also with the existence of verb agreement.

The frequency with which the semantic function "agent" and the discourse function "topic" correspond to the syntactic function "subject" is reflected in the categorical existence of subject-verb agreement in Spanish. \(^{21}\) The semantic function "dative" corresponds to the grammatical relation "indirect object" and, as stated before, IO-V agreement is also obligatory. \(^{22}\) Over 90% of the IOs are definite and human in the data, two features that correlate with topicality, and 43% (v. Table 1, p. 25) of the IOs are in topic position, i.e. preverbal. Almost the opposite situation holds for DOs: Of a total of 555 DOs, \(^{23}\) only 15% are human and 36% are definite. DOs, therefore, are the least likely topics and this is reflected in the variable pattern of DO-V agreement.
The results displayed in Table 16 partially bear out the hypothesis: DO-V agreement increases along a scale of increasing specificity of the DO in preverbal position, i.e. the more "topic-like" the DO is. The two ends of the continuum, however, show a slight amount of variation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>[-determiner]</td>
<td>34/39 87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ -definite ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>[+determiner]</td>
<td>5/10 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ -definite ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>[-determiner]</td>
<td>8/48 17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+definite ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>[+determiner]</td>
<td>7/93 8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+definite ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DO-V agreement is almost categorical for the group [+determiner, +definite], 92%. Conversely, the percentage of DO marking in the group [-determiner, -definite] is quite low, 13%. The areas of greater variation are the intermediate groups and, as predicted, [-determiner, +definite] corresponds to a higher percent of DO-V agreement. This suggests that DO-V agreement may be in the process
of syntacticization (a point already reached by IOs and by personal pronoun DOs, regardless of position), that the spread of this agreement phenomenon is gradual, and that it affects DOs along a scale of increasing specificity which reflects the likelihood of the DO to be the topic of the sentence.

4.2.2 Accusative clitics coreferential with a postverbal DO (post 0) have been observed to occur variably in Spanish (v. Bentivoglio, 1978; Bordelois, 1974; Roldán, 1971). Grammars, however, do not usually refer to this phenomenon (e.g. Real Academia Española, 1973; Gili y Gaya, 1951) and those that do consider it an unacceptable redundancy (see Bello 1925: 241). Section 4.2.2 shows that the occurrence of clitics coreferential with a post 0, i.e. postverbal DO-verb agreement, is not a random redundant phenomenon but one that responds to semantic and syntactic factors related to topicality.

Verb agreement with a postverbal DO as exemplified by (79) on p. 135 is not frequent in Chilean Spanish. Of a total of 2,947 post 0s only 25 cooccur with an accusative clitic in the same sentence, i.e. 8%. On the basis of the results obtained for preverbal DO-V agreement, this low percentage is not surprising given that post 0s are not expected to be the topic of the sentence. We predict, therefore, that V agreement will spread first to post 0s that are likely to qualify as the topic of the sentence, i.e. to [+human] and [+specific] DOs. The results confirm this prediction: the 25 DOs are [+determiner, +definite], and 14 of them are [+human]. In order to compare percentages, and restricted by the size of the
data, only those DOs whose referent had been mentioned in either of
the preceding 2 clauses were counted. This decision was based on
the observation that most of the post 0s with V agreement, 17 out of
25, had been mentioned in one of the preceding 2 clauses.

(93) and (94) illustrate the variation:

93. a) Yo le caí muy bien a mi suegra
    b) Yo la quería mucho a la Sra. M.
    c) Yo no le decía nunca suegra
    d) le decía "la mamita" no más.

a) 'I was liked by my mother-in-law,
b) I loved Mrs. M. a lot,
c) I never called her mother-in-law
d) I called her "mommy" only:

(G,m,50,A)

where the post 0 in (b) has been referred to in the preceding clause
and is marked for V agreement by means of the accusative clitic la.

94. a) la Sra. anterior de don O. era mi abuelita, pues
    b) Entonces, mi papá conocía a don O.
    c) me acuerdo que ___

a) 'Mr. O's first wife was my grandma,
b) Then my dad knew Mr. O. and
c) I remember that ___

(E,f,34,B)
where the post O in (b), referred to in the preceding clause, is not marked for V agreement.

Table 17 displays the results for the 16 speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DO</th>
<th>1o</th>
<th>0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+human</td>
<td>11/33 33%</td>
<td>22/33 67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+definite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-human</td>
<td>6/107 6%</td>
<td>101/107 94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+definite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>± human</td>
<td>17/140 12%</td>
<td>123/140 88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+definite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results indicate that post O-V agreement is not a random, unacceptable redundant phenomenon. The variable occurrence of the accusative clitic responds to semantic and syntactic factors related to topicality. The frequency of occurrence of the clitic correlates with the degree of topicality of the DO. Thus 33% of the [+human, +definite] DOs, higher in the hierarchy of topicality than [-human, +definite] DOs, are marked for V agreement as compared to 6% marking for the [-human, +definite] DOs.

In section 4.2, the presence or absence of a clitic pronoun coreferential with a DO in the same sentence has been put in universal
grammar perspective and has been discussed as a variable phenomenon of DO-V agreement. It has been shown that both pre- and postverbal D0s may be marked for V agreement by means of a coreferential accusative clitic. The frequency of occurrence of this clitic correlates with the degree of topicality of the DO in such a manner that [+determiner, +definite] preverbal DOs (i.e. in topic position) are almost categorically marked (92%, see Table 16 on p. 143) and [-definite] postverbal DOs are never marked. Figure 9 illustrates this cline (as shown on page 149).

It is predicted that the spread of DO-V agreement, in a possible process of syntacticization, will follow the cline represented in Figure 9 in such a manner that if DO-V agreement becomes categorical it will affect first [+determiner, +definite] preverbal DOs and last [-definite] postverbal DOs.

4.3 Sociolinguistic Aspects of the Variables

Section 4.3 studies the possible correlations between the linguistic variables: pre- versus postverbal IOs and DOs, presence versus absence of DO-V agreement, and the social factors investigated in the study, namely age, sex and level of education. The contexts of occurrence of the variables are defined in 4.3.1, IOs are discussed in 4.3.2, DOs in 4.3.3, and DO-V agreement in 4.3.4.

4.3.1 Identification of the Context of Occurrence

The contexts in which preverbal IOs may occur had to be defined in order to compare their frequency of occurrence across the social
Figure 9. Percentage of DO-V agreement along a scale of topicality of the DO.
variables. The basic question to be answered was: does every occurrence of a post O correspond to a possible preverbal O? Observe the following passage taken from a narrative of what a speaker did once she suddenly felt very sick while staying at a hotel in Buenos Aires:

95. a) Total que consultamos en el hotel.
   b) No había ningún médico en el hotel, o sea que había que empezar por llamar.
   c) Pero nos dieron el nombre de una farmacia donde el farmacéutico era más o menos entendido, por lo menos en lo que es presión y todas esas cosas. Y fui p'allá.
   d) Me dijo: "Mire le voy a tomar la presión,"
   e) Me tomó la presión. No se podía convencer el gallo que yo anduviera en pie. Me dijo: "Señora, vaya a acostarse.
   f) Tómese un café con cognac."
   g) Y me dio unas gotitas.

a) 'So we consulted at the hotel.
   b) There wasn't a doctor at the hotel, so we had to start by calling.
   c) But they gave us the name of a pharmacy where the pharmacist was more or less well prepared, at least, on the question of blood pressure and all those things. And I went there.
   d) He told me: "I'm going to take your blood pressure."
   e) He took my blood pressure. The guy couldn't believe that I was up and around. He told me: "Madam, go to bed."
f) Take a coffee with cognac."
g) And he gave me some drops.'

There are no syntactic constraints on the preverbal placement of the DOs in (b)-(g), as shown by the grammaticality, in isolation, of each of the examples below:

(b') Ningún médico había en el hotel.
(c') El nombre de una farmacia nos dieron.
(d') La presión se la voy a tomar.
(e') La presión me la tomó.
(f') Un café con cognac tómese.
(g') Unas gotitas me dio.

It must be noted, nevertheless, that in the passage given in (95), (b' to g') do not appear to be acceptable versions of (b to g), that is to say, there seem to be discourse constraints on the occurrence of preverbal DOs. This suggests that the variable under study (shown by 1 to 4 on pp. 113-114) may convey meaning differences at the discourse level. This possibility is investigated in Chapter 5, but is disregarded in the definition of the context of occurrence of the variable since the definition of linguistic variable is based on truth value and does not take discourse meaning into consideration. Furthermore, there are discourse contexts where both the preverbal or postverbal placement of the DO is acceptable without any apparent discourse meaning difference, as shown in 96.
96. a) I: ¿Pero qué tratamiento le dan a la presión baja, fuera del café con cognac?
   
   b) E: Effortil me dieron a mí.

   a) 'I: But what do they give for low blood pressure, apart from coffee with cognac?

   b) E: Effortil they gave me.

   (E,f,34,B)

   where the reversed order:

   b') E: A mí me dieron Effortil.

   with sentence stress on Effortil in both b and b', appears to be as adequate an answer to the question in (a) as (b) is, with no discernible meaning difference conveyed by the pre- or postverbal placement of the DO.

   The context of occurrence was thus defined as any sentence containing a non-cliticized DO (but see note 25). The context for the variable occurrence of IOs in preverbal position was defined likewise: any sentence containing a non-cliticized IO.

   In order to investigate the effect of recency of reference of the DO in discourse on its occurrence in preverbal place, DOs were classified into the following five categories:

   I. when the DO had been mentioned in one of the preceding 2 clauses.

   II. when the DO had been mentioned in one of the preceding 3 to 7 clauses.
III. when the DO had been mentioned in the discourse beyond the preceding 7 clauses.

IV. when the DO was a demonstrative pronoun (e.g. éste, eso, ésa, etc. 'this, that'). This group was justified on the basis of the possible deictic function of these pronouns.

N. when the DO constituted new information in the specific situation referred to by a sentence, regardless of whether the referent of the DO had been mentioned before, i.e. it superceded groups I to IV. For example in (97).

97. Yo y mi hermano queríamos ir al circo. Pero a él no más lo llevaron.

'Me and my brother wanted to go to the circus. But they took him only.'

a él was coded "N" even though it had been referred to in the preceding clause, because it is new information in the specific context where it occurs: it tells us who, of two possible candidates, was taken to the circus.

Due to the lower number of IOs (475 as compared to 3,161 DOs), these were classified into two categories only:

N: as defined for DOs above.

Q: all the other categories collapsed, i.e. as described for all the DOs in I to IV above.

The results of the analysis of IOs are discussed first.
4.3.2 Preverbal IOs

The analysis of the total percentages of IOs (N + 0) in pre-verbal position for the speakers in groups A (low level of education) and B (high level of education) indicates that there is no clear pattern of correlation between the frequency of occurrence of pre-verbal IOs and the social factors. The absence of a sociolinguistic correlation also holds when the results are broken down for new information (N) IOs, as Figure 10 indicates.

Figure 10. Percentage of new information (N) preverbal IOs. Two speakers per cell.
On the other hand, the distribution of the percentages of old information preverbal IOs appears to suggest some sociolinguistic correlation. Figure 11 displays the results by age and level of education.

Figure 11. Percentage of old information preverbal IOs. Two speakers per cell.

![Bar chart showing percentage of old information preverbal IOs by age group.]

Figure 11 shows that when the IO is old information the speakers in the subgroups in B tend to place it preverbally more frequently than the speakers in the corresponding subgroups in A, with only one exception, the adolescent subgroup, which shows almost the same percentage. A comparison of the results in Figures 10 and 11
indicates that the speakers place old information IOs (Figure 11) in preverbal position more often than they do new information IOs (Figure 10), except for the children in group A, who do it with almost the same frequency (62% and 63%). It may be concluded, then, that for most speakers the occurrence of the variable is dependent on the informational weight of the IO with respect to the other sentence constituents. This factor will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 5. At this point, let us recall that IOs are usually definite and human (see page 143) and thus qualify to be topics and to appear in preverbal position. On the other hand, subjects and to a lesser extent also DOs may be chosen as the topic of the sentence, thus causing the IO to appear postverbally. Consequently, it is likely that the frequency of occurrence of preverbal IOs correlates with features of the discourse where the IOs occur and that the social correlation that the results illustrated in Figure 11 suggests is a reflection of these different discourse features rather than a reflection of social differences.

We conclude, then, that when the frequency of occurrence of preverbal IOs correlates with a social factor, it may be only tentatively suggested that this is a significant correlation, i.e. that the frequency may be predicted by a given social factor. This conclusion is based on the observation that the pre- or postverbal placement of an IO appears to be constrained by various factors related to the properties of the discourse where the IO occurs. Of these factors, only one has been controlled: old-new information, and a pattern of correlation emerges only with respect to the
preverbal occurrence of old information IOs. I proceed now to discuss the possible correlations between the frequency of occurrence of preverbal DOs and the social factors.

4.3.3 Preverbal DOs

There is no pattern of social correlation between the frequency of occurrence of preverbal DOs in any one of the five categories (I to N, v. p. 152-3).

The percentage of preverbal new information DOs is quite low in all the subgroups, as Table 18 shows.

Table 18. Percentages of preverbal new information DOs. One speaker per cell.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. 4:6-6:0</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 15-17</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 30-45</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 50+</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 18 indicates that the frequency of occurrence of new information DOs does not stratify the speakers along any of the social parameters.

On the other hand, when categories I to IV (by recency of reference) are collapsed, the frequency of occurrence of the preverbal DOs appears to correlate with age and level of education. Observe the results in Figure 12).

Figure 12. Percentage of old information preverbal DOs in categories I to IV by education and age. Two speakers per cell.
In each subgroup, the speakers with a lower level of education (A) tend to place DOs in preverbal position more frequently than the speakers with a higher level of education (B). In both groups, A and B, children have the highest percentage of preverbal DOs. These results may be interpreted to suggest that the speakers with a lower level of schooling and the children in both groups are more sensitive to the topic properties that recently mentioned DOs may acquire and will thus tend to place more frequently these DOs, when they do not constitute the focus of new information in the sentence, in preverbal position. It is difficult, however, to support this interpretation in the light of the results of the frequency of occurrence of old information preverbal IOs (cf. Figure 11 on p. 155). With respect to IOs, it is the speakers with a higher level of education who have a higher percent of preverbal occurrences, i.e. who appear to be more sensitive to the topic properties of IOs. This apparent contradiction in the interpretation of the results seems to support the claim that the frequencies reflect properties of the discourse where the variables occur.26

On the other hand, the percentages of preverbal old information IOs and DOs in the children's subgroups are consistently higher than the others in each group (A or B). This suggests that the variable may have a correlation with age, that is to say, that children, as compared to all other age groups, tend to place more frequently in preverbal position the IOs and DOs that constitute old information. This observation supports the view that in child language the linear arrangement of the constituents of a sentence
frequently conforms to a topic-comment structure rather than to a
strictly subject-predicate structure (cf. Gruber 1967; Givón 1979b;

4.3.4 Postverbal DO-V Agreement

In this section I proceed to present a brief discussion of the
correlation between the frequency of occurrence of DO-V agreement
when the DO is postverbal and two social factors: age and level of
education. The discussion is limited to postverbal DOs because, as
stated before (cf. section 4.2), in this environment the clitic is
considered to be redundant (cf. Bello 1925: 241) and its variable
occurrence appears to reflect a process of change.

When the DO is indefinite, postverbal DO-V agreement is cate-
gorically nonexistent in the sample from all the speakers.

Table 19 (page 161) displays the percentages of postverbal DO-V
agreement for human and non-human definite DOs. In order to compare
frequencies only DOs that had been referred to in one of the two
preceding clauses (category I, see page 161) were included in the
count.27

The number of tokens for the variable presence of the clitic is
rather low: 69 in group A and 78 in group B. The conclusions must
necessarily be tentative. Observe that the frequency of occurrence
of the clitics is low and that it appears to set the adolescents
apart from the other age groups. However, such a small sample does
not warrant the conclusion that the innovation is being suppressed.
More data are needed in order to investigate the weight of other

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Table 19. Percentage of postverbal DO-V agreement for definite DOs by age and level of education. Two speakers per cell.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>A</th>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. 4:0-6:0</td>
<td>1/9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0/16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 15-17</td>
<td>0/8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0/17</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 30-45</td>
<td>0/10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4/25</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 50+</td>
<td>8/42</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4/20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

factors, such as humanness and discourse topicality, in the results obtained for each subgroup of speakers.

Table 20 compares the percentages of postverbal DO-V agreement for human versus non-human definite DOs by level of education.

Table 20. Percentages of postverbal DO-V agreement by humanness and level of education. Eight speakers per group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>+human</th>
<th></th>
<th>-human</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>6/19</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>3/50</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>5/22</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>3/56</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The important point here is that the coreferential clitic does not seem to be socially stigmatized: its frequency of occurrence is similar in groups A and B, with a slightly higher frequency in A.

It is interesting to compare these results with the clitics discussed in Chapter 3. PCs and the (se) me le construction stratified the speakers into two large groups (A and B) according to level of education. Both variables were attested in the language of the speakers in group A and were nonexistent in group B.\textsuperscript{28} PCs were shown to have no discernible discourse function, while the accusative clitic coreferential with a DO, i.e. DO-V agreement, and the variable occurrence of preverbal IOs and DOs appear to be motivated by discourse factors. In this case, that is to say when the linguistic variables convey different discourse meanings, they are attested in the language of the speakers in both groups (A and B). There are some correlations between the frequency of occurrence of the variables discussed in Chapter 4 and the social factors studied. However, the only correlation that appears to be consistent is the higher percentage of preverbal old information Os evidenced in the speech of the children in the sample. This correlation lends some support to the hypothesis that child language is more pragmatically oriented in the sense that the structure of the sentence is more frequently one of topic-comment rather than subject-predicate.
4.4 Conclusion

In Chapter 4, two variable syntactic phenomena have been discussed: (1) the occurrence of preverbal Os; and (2) DO-V agreement. It has been shown that these two variables are qualitatively different from the syntactic variables discussed in Chapter 3 in that the occurrence of preverbal Os and DO-V agreement appear to have a discourse motivation while PCs and (se)me le do not.

This qualitative difference correlates with different patterns of sociolinguistic covariance: PCs, which do not convey meaning differences at any linguistic level, were shown to convey social meanings related to level of education, age and sex. Preverbal Os and DO-V agreement, on the other hand, which convey discourse meaning differences, did not prove to have the same clear pattern of social correlation.

It is likely that this qualitative difference may determine the sociolinguistic value of the syntactic variables in all languages in such a manner that syntactic variables that do not convey meaning differences at any linguistic level (probably a reduced number) will lend themselves to being indicators of social stratification, while syntactic variables that have the same truth value but which convey different discourse meanings will not correlate with sex and level of education. With respect to the age parameter, on the other hand, child language may have a higher frequency of certain discourse-motivated variables.
The structure of constructions with preverbal Os led us to propose a schema (20, p. 119) to represent the various positions for DOs and IOs attested in the data. The occurrence of SOV, OSV, and OOV sentences was offered as evidence against the "V-first or second" constraint in spoken Spanish.

Chapter 4 further proposed to abandon for Spanish the English-based differentiation between Left-Dislocation and Topicalization primarily based on the presence of any type of anaphorically related element in the place that the dislocated constituent would occupy in the sentence. Instead, an analysis in terms of Topicalized Os and Adjoined Topic Os was proposed in order to account for the possibility of a non-cliticized coreferential constituent in the sentence when the 0 is Adjoined.
FOOTNOTES

1 The objects and clitics relevant to the discussion are underlined in the examples.

2 This appears to be evidence against the notion that Spanish is a "free word order" language, at least with respect to the position of DOs.

3 I have adopted Givón's (1976) term and refer to the occurrence of dative and accusative clitic pronouns in Spanish as an object-verb agreement phenomenon, which is sensitive to the relative topicality of the dative and accusative NPs. I decided this on the basis that my data support Givón's proposal that these clitics are sensitive to topicality in Spanish. Givón has presented data that supports the same analysis in many other languages (e.g. Swahili, Amharic, Mojave, etc.).

4 No reference is made in this study to constituents other than the subject, the verb, the DO and the IO.

5 "Non-cliticized" is a necessary qualification here because the pause is not obligatory when the initial or final 0 is coreferential with a clitic pronoun. In the dialect under study, IOs and pronominal DOs always require a coreferential clitic pronoun (a. and b.) a phenomenon that is here referred to as Object-Verb Agreement. As
will be explained later, the occurrence of a coreferential clitic may also be triggered by a non-pronominal DO (c.). Finally, the O of a sentence may be an anaphoric clitic pronoun (d.). In none of these cases would an initial or final O be obligatorily separated by a pause.

a. Ayer la_1 vi. a ella_1
   'Yesterday I saw her_1'

b. Le_1 di el libro a María_1
   'I her_1 gave the book to Mary_1'

c. El libro_1 se_1 lo_1 di a María_1
   'The book_1 I gave it_1 to Mary_1'

d. Se_1 lo_1 di.
   I gave it_1 to her_1'

On the other hand, intonation breaks or pauses may separate any constituent, including the subject, from the rest of the sentence when this constituent is long or when the speaker hesitates (e.g. pauses to think). This is different from the obligatory pause that separates a S-initial, S-medial or S-final O, regardless of its length, when it is coreferential with a non-cliticized O in the sentence.

6 This prevents the doubling of constituents in the same sentence. The same restriction applies to the cooccurring Os in schema (20, p. 119) which must be reinterpreted as corresponding to
different constituents, i.e. IO + DO, or DO + IO.

A phonic group is defined as a "sequence of sounds delimited by pauses" (Real Academia Española, 1973:10, my translation).

This percentage includes only sentences where either two Os or an O and the subject occupy the first two places and no pause separates these arguments. The percentage would be much higher if other constituents were included, e.g. adverbial and prepositional phrases.

The "commas" included in the definition, obviously based on the written mode of the language, are reinterpreted here as "intonation break" or "pause" in speech.

Contreras (1976) also departs from this traditional classification. He collapses LD and T into one process: Topicalization. In his analysis, Topicalization is a movement rule, the topocalized element is Chomsky-adjointed to the sentence and always leaves a pronominal copy which may undergo a deletion rule. Contreras's analysis does not allow for topocalized elements within the sentence. He feels that the topic is not an ordinary constituent because "topics are normally separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause" and this "would seem to indicate that they have a special status" (p. 83).

The discussion in section 4.1 shows that Contreras's analysis is only partially correct given that he includes in his definition of topocalized elements NPs that are normally not separated by a
pause (a.), i.e. he fails to differentiate Topicalized O's from Adjoined Topic O's.

a. Eso me lo dijiste ayer. (Contreras's example 9.5a)
   'That (you) told me yesterday'

   The conditions that determine the occurrence of a pronominal copy are discussed in section 4.2.

   See footnote 5.

Adjoined Topics do not necessarily have to be on an object relation to the verb of the sentence to which they are adjoined, as in (a.), where the adjoined topic is coreferential with the subject.

a. Pero yo, yo no creo en el diablo.
   'But me, I don't believe in the devil'

This class includes, among others, the following verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gustar</td>
<td>= please</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encantar</td>
<td>please</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entrar (la duda, el miedo, la desconfianza)</td>
<td>be overcome by (doubt, fear, distrust)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasar</td>
<td>happen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parecer</td>
<td>seem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar (miedo, alegría, hambre, enfermedades)</td>
<td>become (afraid, sad, hungry, sick)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faltar (plata, tiempo)</td>
<td>lack (money, time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doler</td>
<td>hurt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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salir (la mejor, una mala)  get (the best, a bad one)
costar  cost
tocar (hacer algo)  be one's turn (to do something)
llegar (una carta, visitas)  receive (a letter, quests)

These are verbs that very frequently have an inanimate subject (e.g. the phrases given in parentheses) in postverbal position and a [+human] IO in preverbal position. This ordering follows a rule of Spanish that places the topic NP in preverbal position according to a hierarchy of topicality (cf. Silva-Corvalán, 1977: 53).

I make this claim on the basis that the doubling of constituents in a sentence is not allowed in Spanish, i.e. a verb may not have two arguments of the same type. Thus, (a) would be ungrammatical:

a. *A mí me dio hambre a mí.

'I became hungry'

while (b) and (c), where the preverbal or postverbal IOs are outside the sentence boundary, are grammatical:

b. A mí, me dio hambre a mí.
c. A mí me dio hambre, a mí.

16 See note 3.

17 Preverbal IOs are not included in this discussion because, as stated before, IOs always require a coreferential clitic pronoun on the verb regardless of their position in the sentence. For the same
reason, personal pronoun DOs are not included either (v. note 5).

18 Included in the category determiner are: the definite and indefinite articles, the possessive and demonstrative adjectives, the indefinite determiner *cualquier* ('any').

19 *lo* stands for any of the accusative clitics: *lo-s* (masc, sing-pl.), *la-s* (fem, sing-pl.).

20 The discourse function TOPIC is discussed in Chapter 5.

21 Subject-verb agreement is signalled by the verb ending.

22 IO-V and DO-V agreement is signalled by means of dative and accusative clitics respectively. See notes 3 and 5.

23 The 555 DOs were counted in the data from two of the speakers: R, m, 35 (group A), and E, f, 34 (Group B).

24 The following decisions were made in the classification of nouns in one of the four groups:

a. Proper nouns of animate reference were not included in the count. In spoken Chilean Spanish these nouns occur variably with a determiner and categorically trigger DO-V agreement when in topic position. Only 4 cases occur in the sample.

b. Names of disciplines (e.g. medicine, chemistry, agronomy) and of products (e.g. Coca-Cola, Effortil, Tylenol) were classified in group 1 ( [-determiner, -definite] ) on the basis that they could have occurred with a determiner if they had, for instance, been mentioned before in the discourse. In this case, they would
trigger verb agreement, as (A and B) illustrate:

A. *La química siempre la ha estudiado con gusto.*

   'Chemistry (he) has always studied it with pleasure'

B. *El Effortil lo recetan para la presión baja.*

   'Effortil (they) prescribe for low blood pressur'

c. The noun *todo* ('everything') was classified as [+definite] while *algo* and *nada* were classified as [-definite] on the basis that *todo* appears to have an implied definite determiner while *algo* and *nada* do not, as their paraphrases suggest:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{todo} &= \text{todas} \{ \text{las} \} \text{ cosas} \quad 'all the things' \\
\text{algo} &= \text{alguna} \{ \emptyset \} \text{ cosa} \quad 'any thing' \\
\text{nada} &= \text{ninguna} \{ \emptyset \} \text{ cosa} \quad 'no thing'
\end{align*}
\]

25 Considering the amount of data, it was decided not to include sentential DOs (a. to c.) in the study.

a. *Le dijo que volvería mañana.*

   '(He) told her that (he) would return tomorrow'

b. *Le mostró lo que tenía en la mano.*

   '(He) showed her what (he) had in his hand'
c. No se si viene.

'(I) don't know if (he)'ll come'

It was also decided to leave out haber ('there to be') sentences because the NP argument of haber appears to be being reinterpreted as the subject of the sentence. This is indicated by the verb ending frequently agreeing in person and number with the NP:

a. Había una persona.

'There was one person'

b. Habían varias personas.

'There were several people'

The NP appears almost categorically after the verb haber. This is in fact the most frequent position for subjects of existential verbs (cf. Hatcher 1956, Silva-Corvalán, 1977).

26 Such properties as whether a given NP is the focus of contrast, or the discourse topic, or whether in a given discourse situation a D.O. is unexpected, all to be discussed in Chapter 5.

27 Recency of reference is not a required condition for the occurrence of a coreferential clitic (v. section 4.2). There are cases of post DO-V agreement when the DO has been referred to beyond the 7 preceding clauses in the discourse.

28 Except for two cases of PCs in group B, one in the sample from T.,f,16 and the other in the sample from D,f,68.
Chapter 5

THE FUNCTION OF PREVERBAL NON-SUBJECT NOUN PHRASES

5.0 Introduction

Chapter 5 deals with the question of the motives that may lead speakers to place a DO or an IO in preverbal position. The analysis of the data leads us to conclude that speakers may place an object in preverbal position in the following situations: 1) When the object constitutes old or older information as compared to the other constituents in the sentence; 2) When the object is the topic of the sentence or of the discourse; 3) When the object is a focus of contrast; and 4) When the object is contrary to expectation or occurs in an unexpected or surprising situation.

Chapter 5 is organized as follows: Section 5.1 delves into the notions of old and new information and argues for an old-new continuum rather than a dichotomy. 5.2 concerns itself with a study of the topic properties of preverbal Os as they occur in discourse. The function of Adjoined Topic Objects in discourse is discussed in section 5.3. 5.4 investigates the contrastive function of sentence initial objects and proposes that a focus of contrast is also the topic of the sentence. Section 5.5 deals with indefinite preverbal Os and demonstrates that definiteness is not a constraint on
topicality. The notion of being "contrary to expectation" is discussed in section 5.6. The conclusions are stated in section 5.7.

5.1 Old-New Information

Various studies of Spanish word order (cf. Bolinger 1954-5; Contreras 1976; Silva-Corvalán 1977) have contended that the primary function of word order is the signaling of old and new information, or thematic and rhematic material, in such a manner that in one and two argument sentences, new information will be postverbal and old information preverbal. Old information is defined as presupposed information (Bolinger, 54-5), or as information that the speaker assumes to be in the addressee's consciousness at the time of speaking (Chafe 1976, Contreras 1976). Both Chafe (1976) and Contreras (1976) postulate old and new as a dichotomy since it does not make sense to talk about elements that are more or less present in the listener's consciousness. I would like to suggest, on the other hand, that old-new is not a dichotomy and that the referents of the various constituents may be more or less new with respect to one another.

Furthermore, the linear arrangement of the constituents in a sentence is sensitive to these different degrees of newness in such a way that the constituents will be ordered along a scale of increasing newness.

Duranti and Keenan (1977) have argued similarly in favour of a given (old)-new continuum. They propose that "referents may be given to different degrees" (page 38). A similar stand is taken by Prince (1978: 887) who proposes the notion of "bridge", defined as "the inference one must make to get from the new information back to what
is known," to account for the fact that certain elements in discourse, or particular pieces of information, do not have to be in the addressee's consciousness but they may still be assumed to be there if they are appropriate to the situation and hence knowable from implications.

Duranti and Keenan's and Prince's proposals may be compared with the Praguian notion of Communicative Dynamism (CD). Within the Functional Sentence Perspective theory, sentence elements may convey different degrees of CD, i.e. they may be more or less known (old). In Firbas's (1962: 36) words, "in accordance with the character of human thought and with the linear character of the sentence--known elements are followed by unknown elements, or to put it more accurately, sentence elements follow each other according to the amount (degree) of Communicative Dynamism (CD) they convey, starting with the lowest and gradually passing on to the highest."

Our data support the claim that old-new is a continuum, as illustrated in the following passage:

(1) I: (a) Así es que ¿Cuál es el profesor o la profesora que más te gusta, por ejemplo?

T: (b) ¿A mí? (c) A todo el curso le gustaba una monja que se fue.

I: Ah, ya.

T: Tuvimos-1 (d) Era la profesora jefe, una monja que era bien amorosa que se llamaba Madre Inés. (e) La tuvimos el primer semestre y se tuvo que ir a España por a ... hacer una ...

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un congreso. (f) No se a qué, a qué se tuvo que ir y todo el curso fue a Pudahuel y lloramos y todo. (g) Ahí quedó la media crema en él, en el curso (h) porque esa monja la adorábamos, (i) porque era tan amorosa. (j) Hacía clases de matemáticas y de física. (k) Generalmente son las, las, las, los ramos que más nos cuesta (l) y esa monja hacía todo lo posible para, para ayudarnos. (m) Nos hacía clases, o sea, nos hacía clases... después de cla-, de horas... para, para recuperarnos ¡Qué se yo! (n) O sea, era bien amorosa.

'I: (a) So who's the teacher you like the best, for example?  
T: (b) Me? (c) All the class liked a nun that left.  
I: Oh, I see.  
T: We had- (d) She was the homeroom teacher, a nun who was very cute who's name was Mother Ines. (e) We had her for the first semester and she had to go to Spain for... to do a... a congress. (f) I don't know why, she had to leave and all the class went to Pudahuel and we cried and everything. (g) That left a mess in the, in the class (h) because that nun we adored her, (i) because she was so cute. (j) She taught Mathematics and Physics. (k) On the whole, they are the, the, the, the most difficult subjects (l) and that nun did her best to, to help us. (m) She taught classes, that is, she taught classes ... after cla-, hours ... to, to give us extra help. You know! (n) That
is, she was real nice.

(T,f,16)

(1) is taken from a part of the interview during which T. and
the interviewer (I) have been talking about T.'s school. (c) exempli-
ifies a preverbal IO in a sentence which answers the question in (a).
(h) exemplifies a preverbal DO.

According to Chafe's and Contreras' definition of old and new
as a dichotomy, it does not seem to be possible to consider a todo el
curso (in c) to be old information. An investigation of the dis-
course preceding the passage in (1) indicates that (a todo) el curso
has not been referred to nor implied before, so it may not be assumed
that the referent of this IO is in the listener's consciousness, nor
that it is presupposed. The subject una monja que se fue, on the
other hand, provides the piece of information required by the ques-
tion in (a) and is, as expected, in postverbal position. But if the
IO is not old information, its expected position should also be post-
verbal. The fact that the IO is preverbal suggests the possibility
that it may be viewed as old information by the speaker. In fact,
it appears possible to relate a todo el curso with the information
given in the preceding discourse about the speaker's school. This
association is possible because in the discourse situation, where the
speaker is talking about her school, "her whole class" is a likely
referent to come up in the conversation and it may be assumed to be
identifiable by the listener through her knowledge of how schools are
organized. On the other hand, even though the speaker may be expected
to refer to nuns in this situation (it is a catholic school) "a nun who left" is not identifiable by the listener, who could not be expected to know that there was a particular "nun who left." Furthermore, the referent of a mí (the speaker), which is presupposed, appears to be included in the referent of a todo el curso. Note that the question asks for information about which teacher the speaker likes best. In her answer she includes herself as a member of her class and provides information about which teacher was liked the most by all the class. It may be said, therefore, that relative to each other, the referents of the IO and the subject in (c) are "given to different degrees" or that they convey "different degrees of CD": both the IO and the subject provide new information but the IO is less new than the subject in the sense just explained. These different degrees of newness are reflected in the word order in the manner described by Firbas (see page175). This analysis would account for the preverbal placement of the IO and the postverbal placement of the subject in (c). The referent of the DO in (h) is old information. Esa monja has been introduced and identified as Madre Inés in the immediately preceding discourse while the fact that the whole class adored her is new.

Moving from the known (old) to the unknown (new) establishes discourse cohesion. It is not surprising, then, that when the referent of an O constitutes old information or may be inferentially related to the preceding discourse and thus assumed to be more given (old) than the other constituents, the O will be placed in initial position, as in (c) and (h).
It is concluded, then, that if old and new are viewed as a continuum, it is possible to explain the linear arrangement of constituents both in sentences like (c) in terms of signaling an increasing degree of new information and in sentences like (h) in terms of signaling old and new information. In this view, one of the functions of preverbal 0s would be to establish discourse cohesion: the speaker places the 0 in preverbal position when it is either old or relatively older as compared to the other constituents in the sentence, thus establishing a link between the known and the unknown.

5.1.1 Summary

Section 5.1 has shown that one of the motives that lead speakers to place an 0 in preverbal position is to signal it as old (or older) information. The word order of the data analyzed has lent support for a view of old-new information as a continuum rather than a dichotomy. This view accounts for the frequent arrangement of the constituents in a sentence along a scale of relative newness. The progression from old to new information has been noted to contribute to establishing cohesion in discourse.

5.2 Preverbal 0s as Topics

agreement about the fact that topics appear in sentence-initial position, as the examples below illustrate (topics underlined).

2.  ..._a un hermano_ por lo menos hay que escribirle una cuartilla.  
    '...a brother you must at least write one page to'  
    (Contreras 1976: 81)

3.  ... _allei se j' aprono la valigia non riesconono piu_  
    to her if to her open the suitcase neg. can anymore  
    a richiuderla...  
    (Italian, Duranti and Keenan 1977: 25)  
    to close it  
    'To her, if they open her the suitcase they cannot close it anymore!'

4.  ... _As for the play, John saw it yesterday_  
    (Chafe 1976: 49)

5.  ... _Nei-xie shumu  shu-shēn  da_  
    Those tree tree-trunk big  
    'Those trees(topic) the trunks are big'  
    (Mandarin, Li and Thompson 1976: 462)

6.  ... _Sakana_wa  t'ai  ga  oisii_  
    fish (top.) red snapper subj. delicious  
    'Fish (topic) red snapper is delicious.'  
    (Japanese, Li and Thompson 1976: 468)
There is also agreement to the effect that topic is a discourse notion i.e. it is determined by such discourse factors as givenness, contrast, frequency of reference, etc. while, for instance, subject is a syntactic notion, i.e. it plays a role in such syntactic processes as V-agreement, Equi-NP deletion, imperative subject deletion, etc., even though subjects are frequently also topics.

On the other hand, definitions of what a topic is, or what the function of the topic may be, appear to be conflicting. Chafe (1976: 49 and 50-51), for instance, states that the so-called topic in English (Example 4) "is simply a focus of contrast that has for some reason been placed in an unusual position at the beginning of the sentence" and suggests that we should stop calling these items "topics". The function of the Chinese-style topics (Examples 5, 6), on the other hand, which Chafe calls "real topics", is typically that of setting "a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds". This observation leads Chafe to say that these topics do not seem to be what the sentence is about, a statement which conflicts with Wierzbicka's (1975: 73) definition of topic as "what the sentence is about" and apparently also with Hyman and Zimmer's (1976: 209) definition of "actual topic" as "what a speaker may be talking about at any given moment."

Based on Chafe's assessment of the function of Chinese-style topics, Li and Thompson (1976: 463) contend that "the functional role of the topic is constant across sentences" and interpret it as being the "center of attention" (page 464). On the other hand, Duranti and Keenan (1977) and Keenan and Schieffelin (1976), based on
analyses of recorded speech, assign a range of pragmatic functions to the topic: floor-seeking, directive force in the course of requesting information or action, contrastive function, the reintroduction of a prior proposition or a referent back into focus, etc.

We will propose here a unified functional role for topic: the topic provides an individual framework or an individual point of reference for the predication. In this sense, the topic is what the predication is about, that is to say, if a sentence S consists of X and Y and X is the topic, then Y is/predicates Y about X. According to this definition of the function of a topic, phrases that provide a spatial or temporal framework within which the main predication holds (cf. Chafe's definition of topic on p.181) are not topics. The difference between a spatial or temporal framework and a topic is that the former is not what the predication is about. The function of a spatial or temporal framework is that of setting the scene for the predication so we will refer to them here as scene-setting phrases. This analysis, which is contrary to Chafe's statement that "real topics" do not seem to be what the sentence is about, is borne out by the data to be discussed in this section.

Structurally, a topic may be either adjoined to the sentence (AT) or it may be a subject or an object NP in preverbal position. Given the word order facts of Spanish (See schema (20) in Ch. 4, p. 119), we claim that in any one construction there may be up to three constituents which may be called topics: the AT and two preverbal NPs within the sentence. Even though the most frequent situation is for a sentence to have only one topic, the possible occurrence of two
topics within the sentence and another topic adjoined to the sentence must be acknowledged. Each of these topics provides, in a cyclic manner, an individual framework or reference point for the predication and represents what the predication is about.

At this point, I propose the following definition for topic: a topic is a preverbal noun phrase, either adjoined to or within the sentence, which provides an individual framework for the predication and represents what the predication is about.

We proceed now to present data that show that Os are placed in preverbal position when they are the topic of the sentence. The analysis of these data supports the functional definition of topic proposed above. In the discussion in this and the following sections, the terms foregrounded and backgrounded will be used with the following meaning: a foregrounded NP is any preverbal NP that is assigned sentence stress or mid or high level pitch. A backgrounded element is any sentence constituent that is either unstressed or on a low level pitch.

Let us observe again example (h) from passage (1) on p. 175, repeated below for ease of reference.

(h) porque esa monja la adorábamos.
'because that nun we loved her'

The topic of the discourse unit illustrated in (1) is the nun who left, that is, the speaker's favorite teacher. This discourse topic is suggested by the question in (a), it is established in (b) and it is identified in (d). There is no doubt that the DU is about
the class's favourite teacher, the nun who left, and not about the whole class. On the other hand, both in (h) and in the remaining discourse, the whole class ('we', understood in (h)) appears to be at the center of events, providing a point of view for the events and experiences described by the speaker: the nun is the topic of the DU, but she is viewed through the eyes of the whole class and her actions are described with reference to the whole class. This appears to be the function of the subject in a sentence. Notice that "the whole class/we" is usually coded as the subject in (1), either expressed or understood. The referent of the topic, on the other hand, is not necessarily coded as subject. In (h), for instance, esa monja ('that nun') is the DO and nosotras ('we') is the understood subject. Both noun phrases could have qualified as the topic in (h) but only esa monja has been chosen for that role.

It had already been shown that the referent of esa monja is the discourse topic: it represents what the speaker is talking about. This is also reflected in the fact that the nun is the referent that is most mentioned (explicitly or implicitly) in the DU (21 times as opposed to 11 references to "the class", the 2nd most mentioned referent).

The DO esa monja has been placed in preverbal position in (h) because the speaker has chosen it as the topic of the sentence: it provides an individual framework for the predication and is what the predication is about, i.e. in (h), the speaker communicates something about the nun: the fact that they (the class) adored her.
Givón (1976: 152) has suggested a hierarchy of topicality that reflects the likelihood of the different NPs of a given sentence to qualify as its topic:

a. Human > Non-human
b. Definite > Indefinite
c. More involved participant > Less involved participant
d. 1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person

According to this hierarchy, of the two NPs in (h), the subject is more likely than the DO to be the topic of the sentence: it is more involved (experiencer versus experienced), and it is 1st person. However, even though lower on the Universal Hierarchy of Topicality (UHT), the DO has been chosen as the sentence topic. It is likely that discourse considerations will supersede the UHT, that is that whenever the referent of an NP has already been established as the discourse topic it will be chosen as the sentence topic as well even if lower on the UHT than another NP in the sentence.

It is concluded, then, that the DO in (h) has been placed in initial position because the speaker has chosen it as the topic of the sentence. 8

Let us now observe the following passages taken from a conversation with G, male, 50 years of age. G. is a member of the Baptist Church and in the discourse preceding this passage has related how he has converted some people to his faith. In (7) and (8), G. is talking about an old lady he took care of when he was young.
7. I: (a) ¿Y le ha tocado a usted ver gente así de estos hogares gente enferma, donde alguno estuviera muy grave y ... se hubiera muerto ... o se hubiera sanado, una cosa así?

G: (b) Aquí no. Pero en el campo antes ... porque ... como yo siempre fui tan sano en mis cosas, (c) yo cuidé muchas ancianitas, viejitas antiguas. (d) Yo debía de haber tenido casa en Molina, pero como yo era niño no sabía esas cosas, que había que hacer esos papeles, (e) porque esos los dejan con escritura a uno. (f) Yo cuidé una viejita antigua. Era muy católica, muy pechoña. (g) Tenía una propiedad, casa antigua con viñas p'adentro, así, potrerillo (h) Y ella tenía mucha arboleda, porque ella hacía injertos, injertaba los árboles frutales, así que tenía de toda clase de frutas. Los primeros duraznos que ella sacaba eran unos duraznos de, de la virgen que llamaba yo, duraznos muy ricos. (i) Y esa señora a mí me enseñaba a leer, (j) pero como yo era ... de la cabeza tan dura, nunca aprendí. (G. and I. laugh). A rezar sí que aprendía. (k) Y esa viejita la cuidé yo. (e) Porque primero murió el viejito, el esposo. El esposo de ella se iba pa' la cordillera así porque decían que tenía otra señora él por allá. No se, pues, si sería verdad o no. Entonces él venía de... (m) Ella tenía mucha lana de vellón, en sacos. Ella me enseñó a llenar camas, a hacer colchones. (n) Yo no sabía hacer eso. (o) Entonces, el viejito un día le robó dos sacos de lana para llevarselos a la otra mujer que tenía,
pa' la cordillera. Y dicen que tenía mujer por allá. (p) Y ése ... se llamaba Pedro S. él, tenía dos carretas con bueyes. (q) Y las dos carretas con bueyes las perdió. (r) Seguro que la otra señora se las quitó, seguro.

I: '(a) And have you seen people from these homes, sick people, someone who may have been seriously ill and ... had died ... or had gotten well, something like that?

G: (b) Not here. But in the country before ... because ... as I was always very healthy, (c) I took care of many old ladies, very old ladies. (d) I should have had a house in Molina, but as I was a child I didn't know about these things, that those papers had to be done, (e) because those they leave notarized to you. (f) I looked after an old lady. She was catholic, very devout. (g) She had a property, an old house with vineyards in the back, like that, fields. (h) And she had a lot of trees, because she did grafts, she grafted on to fruit trees, so she had all kinds of fruit. The first peaches that she got were these peaches, the virgin's peaches as I called them, delicious peaches. (i) And that lady taught me how to read, (j) but as I was ... so dumb, I never learnt (G. and I. laugh). I did learn to pray though. (k) And that lady I looked after her. (l) Because the old man died first, the husband. Her husband used to go to the mountains because they say that he had another woman there. I don't know if that was true
or not. Then he came from— ... (m) She had a lot of wool, in sacks. She taught me how to stuff mattresses, to make mattresses. (n) I didn't know how to do that. (o) Then, the old man one day robbed her of two sacks with wool to give them to the other woman he had, in the mountains. And they say that he had a woman there. (p) And that man ... he was called Pedro S., had two oxcarts. (q) And the two oxcarts he lost them. (r) Surely the other woman stole them, surely.'

(G,m,51,A)

8. G: (a) Ella me enseñó a cantar a mí.
I: (b) ¿Usted cantaba con guitarra o-?
G: Sí. (c) Ella me enseñó a tocar la guitarra a mí, a cantar, así que ... (d) Ya ni me acuerdo las tonadas que ella me enseñaba. (e) Así que yo la cuidé a esa viejita (f) y, después cuando ya estaba bien mal ------- (goes on with narrative about how she died)

G: '(a) She taught me how to sing to me.
I: (b) Did you accompany yourself with the guitar or-?
G: Yes. (c) She taught me how to play the guitar to me, how to sing, so that ... (d) I already forgot the songs that she taught me. (e) So I looked after that lady (f) and, afterwards when she was very sick ------- (goes on with narrative about how she died)

(G,m,51,A)
As in the passage from T. (1, p. 175), the question asked by the I. in (7a) suggests a topic: sick people. G. establishes it in (c) as "old ladies" and in particular "one very old lady" (f) that he took care of. This very old lady becomes the discourse topic, she is what G. is talking about, and she is thus frequently mentioned in this narrative. Just as the nun was viewed through the eyes of the whole class in (1), the very old lady is viewed through the eyes of the speaker in (7) and (8) and her actions are described with reference to him.

*Una viejita antigua* is established as the topic of the discourse in the DO in (f). It appears again as the DO in (k), where it is placed in S-initial position to signal that it is the topic of the sentence, and in (8e), where it would also be expected to occur preverbally but instead, that position is occupied by the subject *yo*. (f), (k) and (e) are an illustration of the complexity of factors that determine word order in Spanish:

7f.  *Yo cuidé una viejita antigua*  
     'I looked after an old lady'

7k.  *Y esa viejita, la cuide yo.*  
     'And that lady, I looked after her.'
8e. Así que yo la cuidé a esa viejita. 'So I looked after that old lady.'

(7f, k, and 8e) have the same intonation contour. In (f) the sentence stress falls within the DO, which conveys the new information and is placed at the end of the sentence. There is no new information in (k) and (e) and the sentence stress falls within the last constituent of the sentence. We will refer to this pattern of intonation with a slight fall (or rise) of the pitch within the last constituent of the sentence as neutral intonation. It must be noted that this pattern of intonation is the most frequent one. It occurs when all the constituents of the sentence are old (k, e) or new, and when the constituents are arranged along a scale of old-new information (f).

The SVO order in (f) is the predictable one: It corresponds to an arrangement along a scale of old to new information and also to what the Academy of the Spanish Language calls "neutral order" (See Ch. 4). Based on the discussion of T.'s DU (1, p.175), the sentence initial position of the DO in (7k) is also the expected one. Note that here again the fact that esa viejita is the discourse topic supersedes the UHT and allows the DO to be placed in topic position over the subject referent, which is higher on the UHT since it is first person and a more involved participant (agent).

The conditions that determine the expression of the subject in Spanish are complex (v. Silva-Corvalán 1977, 1978). Note that in (7k) the subject pronoun yo ('I') is redundant since the verb ending
unambiguously signals first person singular subject, I would like to suggest that the expression of the subject in (7k) and its postverbal placement may be due to a constraint on the occurrence of the verb in a position where it must bear sentence stress when it is neither new information nor contrastive (cf. section 5.4 on contrast). The data support this as a formal constraint in Spanish: a verb may not occur in sentence final position with sentence stress when it is neither new information nor contrastive. What is being claimed here is that (7k') would be unacceptable in the discourse where (7k) occurs because it would force an interpretation of the verb, which bears sentence stress, as either conveying new information or as being the focus of a contrast, and the discourse does not support either of these functions.

7k'. Y esa viejita la cuide. 'And that old lady (I) looked after her'

Discourse considerations also appear to determine the S-final position of the topic esa viejita in (8e). That the speaker views the DO as a topic is evidenced by the presence of the accusative marker la (v. discussion of DO-V agreement in Ch. 4). However, the subject yo occupies the S-initial position and forces the DO to be postverbal due to the verb final constraint proposed above. The preverbal placement of the subject needs to be explained.

Silva-Corvalán (1977) has shown that one of the factors that determines the expression of a pronominal subject in Spanish is a
situation of contrast and that in this situation the subject will be placed in initial position. It seems likely that this factor accounts for the expression and placement of the subject in (8e). In the discourse immediately preceding passage (8), G. has introduced a new referent, the old lady's only son. G. states that this son never showed much concern for his mother and did not even worry about providing a proper grave for her after she died. It is possible, therefore, that G. may have the son in mind as the contrastive alternative to yo when he says sentence (8e). The fact that yo is stressed and said in a relatively high pitch in (8e) supports this analysis, particularly if it is compared with the unstressed subject in (7f) where the discourse does not suggest any possible situation of contrast.

Observe now the DOs in (7e) and (7n).

7e. porque esos los dejan con escritura a uno.

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

'because those they leave them notarized to you'

7n. Yo no sabía hacer eso.

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

'I didn't know how to do that'

In both (7e) and (7n) the DO is old information and therefore it could occur preverbally as it does in (7e). However, there is an
important difference between (7e) and (7n). The subject in (7e) is third person plural non-referential. This is in fact a case of subjectless sentence since if the third person plural pronoun ellos/as ('they', masc/fem) is expressed, it must be referential. Esos qualifies, then, as the topic of the sentence and is placed in initial position. The subject in (7n), on the other hand, is referential and also higher than eso on the UHT. Furthermore, because the referent of eso, "hacer camas" ('make mattresses'), is not the discourse topic, the UHT is not violated. Yo occupies the S topic position and eso is placed in its "neutral" postverbal position.

Compare the position of the IO in (7i) and (a, c).

7i. Y esa señora a mí me enseñaba a leer.

'And that lady to me taught me how to read'

8a. Ella me enseñó a cantar a mí.

'She taught me how to sing to me'

8c. Ella me enseñó a tocar la guitarra a mí.

'She taught me how to play the guitar to me'
Observe that a mí could qualify as the topic of the sentence. However, because the subject is more involved and its referent is the discourse topic as well, it is chosen as the sentence topic and occupies the sentence initial position. Being old information, a mí should appear before the verb, which conveys the new information in (7i and 8a,c) as it does in (7i). (7i) is an example of a sentence with two topics: both the subject and the IO provide an individual framework for the predication in a cyclic manner. Esa señora provides a framework for the predication a mí me enseñaba a leer, and a mí provides a framework for the predication me enseñaba a leer.

There is no obvious explanation for the postverbal placement of the IO in (8a, c) at this point. Nevertheless, note that in this position the IO must be unstressed (cf. the IO in (7e), a uno). It seems possible to postulate that the IO in (7e, 8a, c) is an afterthought, but since it is not separated by a pause from the rest of the sentence and no discernible function may be assigned to it, this appears to be just a label for the observed phenomenon. Therefore, I will limit myself to stating the fact that old information may be placed after the sentence stress, in which case the elements that are presupposed do not bear stress and are said on a low pitch.

Let us look at the DO in (7p) and (7q):

7p. Y ése --- tenía dos carretas con bueyes.  

- . . - . . . - . . . 

'And that one ----- had two oxcarts'  

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7q. Y las dos carretas con bueyes las perdió. 

'And the two ox carts he lost them'

The verb conveys the new information in (7q) so it may occur in S-final position with sentence stress. The DO las dos carretas con bueyes is the topic of the sentence in (7q): It sets an individual framework within which the proposition las perdió holds and it is what this proposition is about. Old information and topicness, then, account for the preverbal placement of the DO in (7q). Indeed, a postverbal DO would have been acceptable as a continuation of (7p) only if said on a low pitch after sentence stress on the verb (but unacceptable if said with a neutral intonation (See page 190). It would have been possible also for the speaker to refer to las dos carretas con bueyes in (7q) only anaphorically, as in (7q').

7q'. Y las perdió. 

'And he lost them'

However, neither of these two alternatives, postverbal placement and anaphoricity, would have accomplished the same effect of calling the listener's attention to las dos carretas since the DO could not have been assigned intonation prominence. Anaphoric reference, lack of stress and low pitch are backgrounding devices. In a situation where the speaker wants to assign intonation prominence to a particular referent which does not convey new information, he can place it in sentence initial position. In this position, the intonation
pattern of the sentence allows old information to be stressed and said in a higher pitch (as in 7q). Thus, preverbal placement plus intonation converge to foreground an otherwise presupposed, backgrounded referent in order to establish it as a reference point or individual framework for the predication.

The discourse where (7q) occurs supports this analysis. G. does not feel much sympathy for the husband and even less for "the other woman." He conveys this lack of sympathy by calling to the addressee's attention the fact that the two oxcarts that the man had, probably all he had, were stolen by the other woman.

(9) offers an example of a scene-setting phrase:

9. El otro día al papi también le pasó una tanda.

'The other day a big one happened to my dad also'

(G,f,5,A)

The IO al papi is in preverbal position because it is old information and has been chosen as the sentence topic: it provides a framework for the predication también le pasó una tanda and it represents what this predication is about. The adverbial el otro día sets a temporal framework within which the proposition al papi también le pasó una tanda holds (cf. Chafe's (1976: 50) definition of topic) and it is in sentence initial position. However, we have postulated (see p.182) that spatial and temporal frameworks are not topics because they are not what the predication is about. Thus, al papi le pasó una tanda is not something that the speaker is saying about el otro día,
but something that happened the other day (temporal framework), as the differing adequacy of the exchanges below indicates:

10. a) ¿Qué me puedes decir acerca de tu padre?
    b) El otro día al papi le pasó una tanda

   a) 'What can you tell me about your dad?'
   b) 'The other day a big one happened to my dad'

11. a) ¿Qué pasó el otro día?
    b) El otro día al papi le pasó una tanda.

   a) 'What happened the other day?'
   b) 'The other day a big one happened to my dad.'

Furthermore, if Adverbial Phrases may be topics, then the UHT would have to be discarded. This does not seem to be an adequate solution, though. It appears, then, that sentence initial adverbial phrases are typically scene-setting devices rather than topics proper. Adverbial phrases create a spatial or temporal setting or framework but they do not appear to represent what speakers usually talk about.

(12) is another example of a topic DO:

12. El Ami lo- mira, el Ami lo hacen partir y yo ------
    'The Ami- see, the Ami (they) it start and I ----'

(M,m,5,B)
The discourse topic where (12) occurs is the family's cars. The sentence topic, el Ami, is one of the two cars they have. El Ami has been introduced in the preceding discourse as a particular case of the discourse topic. It is old information in (12), it qualifies as the sentence topic and is thus placed in S-initial position. In this position, the topic provides an individual framework for the predication lo hacen partir.

5.2.1 Summary

Section 5.2 has shown that object NPs are placed in preverbal position when they are chosen as the topic of the sentence. In this position, the intonation pattern of the sentence allows the speaker to assign intonation prominence to a constituent which does not convey the new information. The data supported the proposed unified functional role for topic as that of providing an individual framework for the predication. As such, the topic was shown to represent what the predication is about.

Section 5.2 has also offered evidence in favor of acknowledging the possible cooccurrence of two topics within a sentence. This conclusion agrees with a similar stand taken by Duranti and Keenan (1977, see note 5) on the basis of their analysis of spoken Italian.

The function of the topic supported by the data agrees with Wierzbicka's (1975: 73) definition of topic as "what the sentence is about" and to a certain extent also with Chafe's inasmuch as he also views the topic as setting an individual framework within which the predication holds. On the other hand, Hyman and Zimmer's (1976: 209)
definition of "actual topic" as "what a speaker may be talking about at any given moment" is what we have called here discourse topic. The sentence topic may, however, concur with the discourse topic or be a particular case of the discourse topic (see further discussion in section 5.3).

Adverbial and prepositional phrases in sentence initial position have been shown to function as a scene-setting device, a spatial and temporal framework, for the proposition. A scene-setting device is not a topic in that it does not represent what the sentence, nor what the discourse is about. On the other hand, a topic may provide an individual framework for the proposition and be what the sentence is about.

Section 5.2 has proposed a verb final constraint in Spanish according to which the verb may not occur in sentence final position and bear sentence stress if it is neither new information nor contrastive. This constraint has been shown to add to the complexity of the factors that determine word order in Spanish.

Finally, I would like to point out that examples of preverbal topic Os occur in the samples from all the speakers. The examples analyzed in this section have been selected from the speakers in groups A and B, from males and females, and from different age groups. It has been shown that the constraints on the placements of Os in preverbal position and the function of S-initial Os as topics are the same for all speakers, i.e. that constraints are of a discourse nature rather than of a syntactic or social nature.
5.3 Adjoined Topic Objects

Adjoined Topic Objects (ATOs) have been defined (v. Ch. 4, p.133) as sentence adjoined patient NPs which usually occur in S-initial position but may also be sentence final or medial. These Os are set off by intonation breaks from the rest of the sentence and may be in an anaphoric relation with a clitic pronoun or a non-cliticized IO or DO in the sentence to which they are adjoined.\textsuperscript{15}

Section 5.4 discusses the occurrence of sentence initial ATOs in discourse.\textsuperscript{16}

In this section, we show that the functional role of the ATO is basically the same as that of the intrasentential topic: it provides an individual framework for the predication and represents what this predication is about. We will propose, on the other hand, that two functional properties differentiate an ATO from a sentence topic: 1) The ATO frequently announces the sentence topic since it is coreferential with it, but not vice versa; and 2) The ATO directs the hearer's attention to a referent that is being established or re-established as a discourse topic or as a particular case of a discourse topic. While (2) is also a possible function of the sentence topic, it is not necessarily so. This means that the referent of a sentence topic may or may not be the topic of a DU, as we showed in section 5.2, while the referent of an ATO is necessarily also the topic of a DU and is mentioned more than once in this DU. This observation is contrary to what Keenan and Schieffelin (1976b: 246) have noted about constructions of the form "Referent + Proposition", like the ones discussed in terms of ATOs here.
Keenan and Schieffelin claim that "one would expect that frequently mentioned or discussed referents would appear infrequently in these constructions," but this expectation is invalidated by our data.

In section 5.3 we will further present data that bear out Chafe's (1976) proposal that certain topics originate as "premature subjects." We will argue, however, that premature subject topics may arise not only as a result of an aberration in the timing of case choices, as postulated by Chafe (Ibid.), but also as a result of the speaker's sudden realization that he needs to give some further information about the referent of the topic before stating what he first had in mind.

We proceed now with the analysis of the data.

Observe the following passage taken from a conversation about premonitory dreams:

13. I: Pero hay gente como que sueña, como que tiene-
S: ¡Sí!
I: como que a veces la gente avisa-
S: ¡No, no! ¡Sí, sí, sí, cosas así! a) Pero yo, yo, a mí me pasa así, a mí. A veces sueno, sueño cosas así, a veces sueño. Y me salen ciertas las cosas a veces.
I: ¿Sí?
S: Sí. b) Fíjese co-, mi hermana, todavía no la atropellaban a mí hermana, soñaba yo. Y a F. dije un día, a F. mi marido "Oye F., le dije yo, ¿Querías que te diga una cosa? Mi hermana va a tener que ser muerta con auto," le dije.
I: 'But there are people who dream, as if they have-
S: ' Yes!
I: 'as if sometimes people let you know-
S: 'No, no! Yes, yes, yes, things like that! a) But I, I, to
me it happens like that, to me. Sometimes I dream, I dream
things like that, sometimes I dream. And those things turn
out to be true sometimes.
I: 'Yes?
S: 'Yes. b) Look ho-, my sister, they hadn't run over my
sister yet, I used to dream. And to F. I said one day, to
F. my husband, "I say F., I told him, you want to know some-
thing? My sister's going to have to be killed by a car,"
I said to him'

(S,f,62)

Chafe (1976: 51-52) has proposed that "still another candidate
for the term topic stems from what may be considered a slight aberra-
tion in the timing of choices that must be made by a speaker as he
puts what he has in mind into words." Chafe calls these topics "pre-
mature subjects" and speculates that a topic might have originated as
"a subject which is chosen too soon and not as smoothly integrated
into the following sentence." (13a) appears to illustrate such a
type of topic. The speaker has chosen the topic for the sentence, yo
('I'), i.e. the referent about which something will be said, before
the case frame is chosen. 17 Thus, the adjoined 0 is in the nominative
case but the coreferential constituent inside the sentence is in the

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dative case, a mí ('to me'). The adjoined 0, yo, reintroduces a referent into the DU\textsuperscript{18}, announces the topic of the sentence\textsuperscript{19} to which it is adjoined, it provides a framework within which the proposition a mí me pasa así holds and it is what the proposition is about.

(13b) also appears to be a case of premature subject since the ATO is not marked as a DO. The ATO mi hermana reintroduces the referent of the NP into this discourse unit and establishes it as a particular case of the discourse topic.

The referents of the ATOs in (13a, b) are mentioned frequently in the narrative which follows about how the speaker learnt of her sister's accident. The accident had been related by the speaker about fifteen minutes earlier in the conversation.

It also seems possible, as proposed above, that premature subject topics arise when a speaker introduces or reintroduces a referent and decides to give some further information about it before stating what he first had in mind. When this is the case, the sentence to which the 0 is adjoined consists of parenthetical information about the 0, which the speaker feels is needed for the development of the discourse. This seems a possible analysis for (13a), where the speaker's first idea may have been to say "Pero yo, yo a veces sueño" ('But I, I sometimes dream') and before completing the assertion she decided to give the parenthetical information a mí me pasa así, a mí, which leaves the subject yo stranded and apparently adjoined to the parenthetical sentence. The same analysis seems adequate for (13b).
14. I: ¿Y qué te han contado de la iglesia?
C: Nada. a) Si mi mami-, a mi mami le cuentan. b) Yo se todas las cosas de la iglesia. Desde antes cuando era chico las se.
I: 'And what have they told you about the church?
C: 'Nothing. a) My mother-, to my mother they tell her. I know everything about the church. Since I was little I know them'

(C,m,5,A)

15. Yo cuando fui a esa fiesta, mi mamá me dejó sola. Fue a buscar a mi hermano. a) Y después yo, a mí me dio hambre y más. Y cuando llegó mi mamá con mi hermano me-, estaba así acurrucada al lado de una planta. Y después cuando vino mi mamá, se asomó a mí, yo lloré, porque me había dejado sola, b) porque tenía hambre.

'Me when I want to that party, my mother left me alone. She went to get my brother. a) And then I, I became hungry ('to me hunger gave'). And when my mother arrived with my brother me', I was kneeling next to a plant. And then when my mother came, she came to me, I cried, because she had left me all alone, b) because I was hungry'

(F,f,5,A)

In the discourse where (14) occurs, C. has told the I. that he goes to church with his mother. In (14) the speaker initiates a sentence with the NP mi mamá, which reintroduces its referent into
the discourse and announces the topic of the sentence. The speaker
interrupts himself and restarts the sentence with the topic in its
appropriate dative case. The IO is the topic and focus of contrast
in (14a).

In (15a) the premature subject vo ('I') also reintroduces a
referent and announces it as the topic of the sentence. The referent
of this ATO is also the topic of the DU in (15). It is possible that
the speaker started with the idea of saying:

'Y despues vo tenía hambre'

'And then I was hungry'
as in (15b), the last statement of the DU, but she interrupts herself
and decides to use an inchoative verb instead, 'become hungry,' which
requires a dative experiencer in Spanish: a mí me dio hambre ('to-me
me hunger gave = I became hungry').

Keenan and Schieffelin (1976b: 242, 246) note that constructions
of the form "Referent + Proposition", like the ones discussed in terms
of ATOs here, appear most often in "an environment in which the
referent does not appear in the immediately prior discourse." This
observation leads them to conclude that these constructions bring "a
referent into the foreground of the listener's consciousness" because
"the referent is usually not currently a "center of attention' i.e.
not usually the current "topic"' so "one would expect that fre-
quently mentioned or discussed referents would appear infrequently
in these constructions."

Three of the four cases of ATOs discussed above do not appear
to support Keenan and Schieffelin's contention. Note that only in
(13a, b) had the referent of the ATO yo and mi hermana not been mentioned in the immediately prior discourse. However, the speaker, yo (as in 13a and 15a), is usually a "center of attention" and in the children's sample mi mami ('my mom') is a frequently mentioned referent.

The data discussed here support, on the other hand, the claim that the adjoined element "brings a referent into the foreground of the listener's consciousness," as in (13b), but this adjoined element may also signal that a referent that may already be in the listener's scope of attention is the topic of the DU.

There are constructions where it is difficult to decide whether the ATO is a premature subject or whether the speaker intended to introduce the referent in this manner, as in (16, 17).

16. Siempre a mí me vacunan un poquitito no más. Me vacunan un poquitito, a) pero yo, a mí no me dolió porque cerré los ojos y b) mi hermana, mi hermana le dolió cuando, cuando después cuando llegó a la casa, después a mí al ratito ni me ni me dolía. Después cuando a mi hermana no le dolió, ahí adonde me dolió.

'They always vaccinate me just a little. They vaccinate me a little, a) but I, to me it didn't hurt me because I closed my eyes and b) my sister, to my sister it hurt her when, when afterwards when she got home, then to me soon it didn't- it didn't hurt. Then when to my sister it didn't hurt her, that's when it hurt me'

(G,f,5,A)
17. A: Estaba sola yo aquí. Y me senté al frente ahí. Y le pedí harto a la J. ¡Sola, ah! Y ... le mandé a decir una misa. Pero yo, por mi cuenta, ¿ah? Y no, como digo, no tuvo ni un problema don D.

I: Nada pues. Si así, oiga. ¡Sorprendente!

A: Nada, nada, nada. (Pause) Pero ... a) la J., como digo, usted le ofrece algo y si no se lo paga el cuadro se cae. Va pasando usted y se cae, aunque usted vaya por alla'. Y a mí me ha pasado varias veces. (Pause). La J. es así. Sí, la J. es así.

A: 'I was alone here. And I sat in front there. And I prayed to J. a lot. Alone, ah! And ... I had a mass said for her. But me, on my own account, ah? And, as I say, don D. didn't have a single problem.

I: 'Nothing. I know. Surprising!

A: 'Nothing, nothing, nothing. (Pause). But, ... a) to J., as I say, you offer her something and if you don't do it the picture falls down. You pass by and it falls down, even if you don't pass close by. And to me it has happened several times. (Pause) J. is like this. Yes, J. is like this.'

(A,f,38,A)

In (16, 17) the ATO is coreferential with an IO in the sentence. What appears to indicate that these ATOs are premature subjects is the fact that the pronoun in (16a) is not in the dative case and the NP in (16b and 17a) do not have the IO marker a. On the other hand, the
sentences to which the Os are adjoined do not seem to give simply parenthetical information about the O, and there is no indication of self-interruption after the ATO is expressed. It is possible, then, that ATOs do not need to be marked as objects given their non-argument status.\textsuperscript{20} 

Whether these ATOs originate as premature subjects or not, their function is the same as in the cases discussed in (13-15): the ATO provides an individual framework for the predication to which it is adjoined and is what the predication is about. Furthermore, the referent of the ATO is also the topic of the DU.

In (16a, b) the ATOs reintroduce referents mentioned in the immediately preceding sentences (16a) and within the preceding five minutes of conversation (16b). The ATOs announce the topic of the sentence to which they are adjoined and provide a framework for the proposition. In every case discussed, the proposition is about the ATO and the referent of the ATO is mentioned again in the DU. This supports our claim that this is one of the features that differentiate ATOs from topicalized Os, whose referents are not necessarily mentioned again in the DU. In this sense, topicalized Os are more of a sentence phenomenon while ATOs would be more of a discourse phenomenon. Further support for this differentiation is derived from the fact that, given certain verbs (v. Ch. 4, note 14), it is possible to predict with some degree of accuracy that the IO referent will be the topic of the sentence and will appear in sentence initial position. The occurrence of an ATO, on the other hand, may not be predicted. It depends exclusively on discourse and pragmatic considerations related to the
frequency of mention of the ATO referent, the need to give some paren-
thesetical information in a given situation, self-correction in the
choice of case for the referent of the ATO argument, and the speaker's
intent to direct the addressee's attention to a particular referent
about which something will be said and which will be mentioned again
in the DU. The introduction or reintroduction of referents into the
discourse, on the other hand, is a function that both ATOs and sen-
tence topics may perform as well as non-topic constituents. We view
this, therefore, as an uninteresting and secondary function of the
topic. (17) is the last paragraph of a narrative about J.'s extra-
ordinary power. J. had been mentioned in this respect about eight
minutes earlier in the conversation. (17a) reestablishes J. as the
topic of the discourse after this role had apparently been shifted to
don D. in a DU embedded in the DU narrative. The ATO, then, redirects
the addressee's attention towards a particular referent which is also
the topic of the discourse. That J. is the discourse topic is
supported by the frequent mention it receives in the narrative and
by the concluding sentence "J. is like this. Yes, J. is like this."

ATOs may also introduce new referents into the discourse, as
exemplified by (18).

18. I: ¿Y nunca le tuvieron miedo a los animales, por ejemplo, que
andan-?

O: No. a) Por ser a las culebras; las culebras cuando iban así,
así porque se, algunas se iban a las gallinas. Y a mí como,
yo como andaba a caballito en un palo así, como era chico,
yo llegaba y le-, al ladito así, les pegaba en la cabeza. Quedaban-se enrollaban y morían. Así. b) O si no a los zorros, a los zorros yo los encerraba con perros, porque teníamos hartos perros. Los encerraba y ahí los mataban a los zorros. Yo no les tenía miedo a los animales.

I: 'And were you ever afraid of the animals, for instance, that go-?

O: 'No. a) For instance the snakes, the snakes when they went like this, like this because-, some of them attacked the hens. And to me like this, me as I rode on a stick like this, as I was little, I went and, on the side like this, I hit them on the head. They lay there, they rolled up and died. Like that. b) Or else the foxes, the foxes I locked up with the help of dogs, because we had lots of dogs. I locked them up and there they killed them the foxes. I wasn't afraid of the animals'

(0,m,17,A)

(18) illustrates what Keenan and Schieffelin (1976b: 244) call "particular cases": The ATO draws the listener's attention to a particular case of a general phenomenon. In other words, the ATO introduces a referent that further illustrates the current discourse topic. In (18) the discourse topic is "animals that you may be afraid of." The particular cases are "the snakes" and "the foxes", both introduced in adjoined topic constructions.
To conclude, it must be noted that ATO's are assigned either high pitch or sentence stress. Only two ATOs are said in a mid pitch (13a, 15a), both involving the pronoun yo in apparent cases of premature subjects. This pattern of intonation, therefore, appears to offer further support for an analysis in terms of premature subjects since it is possible that if the speaker had intended to initiate the utterance with yo as an ATO, he would have assigned high pitch or sentence stress to it.

5.3.1 Summary

Section 5.3 has discussed ATOs in discourse. Some of the data analyzed appears to support Chafe's (1976) contention that some types of topics originate as premature subjects. Regardless of how the ATO originates, however, its main function has been shown to be that of providing an individual framework for the predication. The ATO is thus what the predication is about. Furthermore, the ATO signals that a referent is being established or reestablished as a discourse topic or as a particular case of a discourse topic.

In this section we have shown that, contrary to what Keenan and Schieffelin have claimed (see p. 206), the ATO referent may have been mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse and it may also be a referent that is frequently mentioned or discussed.

Functionally, ATOs were shown to be different from topicalized O's in one important respect: while the ATO is also the topic of a DU, i.e. it is what more than one predication in the same DU is about, the
topicalized 0 may be the topic of a sentence only, i.e. it may be what
one predication is about.

Finally, it must be noted that ATOs are attested in the language
camples from all the speakers.

5.4 **Topics as Focus of Contrast**

In his analysis of what he calls "English-style topics", Chafe
(1976: 50) notes that contrastive foci placed in an unusual position
at the beginning of the sentence are frequent in English (Chafe's
examples 13 and 14 are given as 19 and 20 below). However, he ques-
tions the validity of calling these sentence initial items "topics"
as they appear to have a different function from "real topics" (i.e.
those that "set the frame within which the sentence holds", p. ).

19. The play, John saw yesterday.

20. As for the play, John saw it yesterday.

In this section, evidence that invalidates Chafe's claim will
be presented. This evidence supports the hypothesis that in Spanish
a preverbal 0 which is the focus of contrast may also be the topic of
the sentence in the sense that it provides a framework within which
the proposition holds and it represents what the speaker is talking
about in that particular sentence. This accounts for the fact that
when an object NP is the focus of contrast it is frequently placed in
initial position.
In this initial position, the focus of contrast is assigned high pitch. A postverbal 0, on the other hand, may also be the focus of contrast, but in this position it must be assigned a special contrastive stress with a steep fall of the pitch. I will claim, therefore, that if an 0 in an apparent situation of contrast occurs postverbally with sentence stress but no special contrastive stress, it only conveys new information, i.e. the speaker does not intend to present it as contrastive. The speaker has, then, two options to signal an 0 as a focus of contrast: preverbal placement accompanied by high pitch; or postverbal placement with special contrastive stress. The data indicate that preverbal placement is by far the more frequent option.

I will call a noun phrase the **focus of contrast** when the referent of the NP in question stands in opposition to a closed number of alternatives which are clearly identifiable. The notion of alternatives in opposition, not just a list of alternatives, in that only one of the alternatives may be chosen as the right one with respect to a contrasting situation, is crucial to the definition of contrast. Furthermore, when an NP1 is the focus of contrast, there is always an element X which stands in relation to this NP and participates in the contrastive situation in opposition to another element Y which stands in relation to NP2, the alternative contrasting with NP1. There are, then, at least two contrastive elements in a contrastive sentence. NP2 and Y are not necessarily explicit in discourse. (21) and (22) illustrate the definition of focus of contrast.
21. a) La señorita me mandaba al pan a mí.

'The lady sent me to buy bread'

b) A las otras no las mandaba. c) A mí me mandaba.

b) 'The others she didn't send. c) Me she sent.

(S,f,62,A)

22. a) P: (Talking to I. and showing a cut in her finger)

Tía. Este pasto corta.

'Auntie. This grass cuts'

b) G: No. A mí no me corta.

'No. Me it doesn't cut'

(G,f,5,A)

In (21), a las otras (NP1) is explicitly in contrast with a mí (NP2) and no mandaba (X) is explicitly in contrast with mandaba (Y). In (22b), on the other hand, the NP1 a mí is a focus of contrast, but the alternative candidate is only implied in the enlarged discourse context. Thus, G. in (22b) contrasts the fact that the grass may cut P., but it does not cut her (a mí). A mí (NP1) is implicitly in contrast with a tí ('you', NP2) and no me corta (X) is implicitly in contrast with te corta ('cuts you', Y).
In sections 5.1 and 5.2 it was pointed out that old information Os may be foregrounded by placing them sentence initially. In this position, the O may be stressed and said on a high pitch. Note that if an O is given sentence stress in postverbal position it may simply convey new information. So if the speaker wants to signal it as a focus of contrast, the O must be assigned a special contrastive stress with a steep fall of the pitch. On the other hand, by placing the O in initial position, no special contrastive stress is needed. This analysis is supported by a comparison of the intonation pattern of example (21) with (23) and (24) given below:

23.  
   a) A mí me gusta, me gusta también el campo.
      .-. .-. .-. .-. .-. .-. .-. .-
      'To me it pleases me, the country pleases me also'

   b) A él también le gusta, o sea, escalar montañas.
      .-. .-. .-. .-. .-. .-. .-. .-
      'To him it also pleases him, I mean, to climb mountains'
      (T,f,16,B)

24.  
   Realmente a los hijos, tú les das todo sin esperar nada.
      .-. .-. .-. .-. .-. .-. .-. .-
      'Really to your children, you give them everything, without expecting anything'
      (E,f,34,B)
In the discourse where (21) occurs the speaker is talking about the things she had to do in her first job as a housemaid. The referent of a mí is old information so when it is placed at the end of the sentence in (21a) it is unstressed and in a low pitch. Because it is the focus of contrast in (21c), it is placed in initial position and assigned high pitch. High pitch and preverbal position converge, then, to signal focus of contrast.

(23) is taken from a conversation about T. and her boyfriend. She has been telling the I. about the places where she would like to live. In this context, she states that she and her boyfriend like the country (23a, b). Even though it might appear that a mí and a él are in contrast, they are not, because there are no other contrasting elements (X and Y) with respect to which a mí and a él may be being contrasted, i.e. the requirement that there must be at least two contrasting elements in a contrastive sentence is not met. This is supported by the fact that (23a, b) may not be conjoined by a typically contrastive conjunction:

25. *A mí me gusta también el campo, sin embargo a él también le gusta.

'To me the country is pleasing, however it is also pleasing to him'

while if there were two contrasting elements with respect to which a mí and a él might be contrasted, the contrastive conjunction would be acceptable:
26. A mí me gusta también el campo, sin embargo a él no le gusta. 'To me the country is pleasing, however it isn't pleasing to him.'

A mí and a él are placed in initial position in (23a, b) because they are old information in addition to the fact that with verbs of the type of gustar the IO is usually (cf. Ch. 4, note 14) preverbal. However, because the IOs are not contrastive, they are said on a relatively low pitch.

(24) exemplifies a case where two DOs, todo and nada are being contrasted with respect to dar ('give') and esperar ('expect'). The DOs are placed in new information postverbal position where they would have been assigned sentence stress. However, because they are the foci of contrast, they must receive a special contrastive stress with a steep fall of the pitch. What is claimed here is that if the same DOs occurred in initial position in a contrastive situation, they would not need to be assigned this special contrastive stress, as shown in (27). As proposed before, if Os in an apparent situation of contrast occur postverbally with sentence stress but no special contrastive stress, they only convey new information, i.e. the speaker does not intend to present them as contrastive but simply as pieces of new information. This is shown in (28).

27. I: Bueno, ¿y usted qué le hace a él? ¿Usted le lava la ropa, lo cuida?
A: ¿A quién?
I: A é1, a M.
A: a) Yo no le hago nada, señora Carmen, al M., nada
   
   b) Nada, nada nada. c) Todo le hace su madre, sus hermanas.
   
I: 'So, what do you do for him? Do you wash his clothes, take care of him?
A: Of whom?
I: of him, M.
   
a) I don't do anything, Mrs. Carmen, for M., nothing.
   
b) Nothing, nothing, nothing. c) Everything his mother does for him, his sisters.'
   
(A,f,38,A)

Observe that (27) answers the I.'s question in the expected order old-new information in (a). The DO nada simply conveys the information requested by the I.'s question. It may be argued that in (27b) the speaker already has in mind the idea of contrasting nada and todo with respect to herself and M.'s mother. What may be elliptical in (27b) is "le hago yo" ('I do for him'). In (27c) the DO todo, contrasted with nada is placed in initial position and assigned high pitch, but not necessarily special contrastive stress, while in (24) the postverbal DO todo had to be assigned contrastive
stress. Example (27') is taken from a passage where the speaker is explaining what some students once did to correct the spelling of some French words.

27.' Uno le cambiaba una letra, otro le ponía un acento aquí.

"One changed a letter, another one put an accent here"

In (27') the DOs are not contrastive. The DOs are assigned sentence stress because they convey new information. The subject NPs fit the definition of focus of contrast (p. 213) and the DOs are part of the elements (X and Y) with respect to which the subject NPs are being contrasted.

To signal the DOs in (27') as contrastive, the speaker has two choices: 25 a) to assign special contrastive stress to them; or b) to place them in sentence initial position and assign high level pitch to them.

I have claimed that a preverbal contrastive O is also the topic of the sentence in the sense that it provides a framework for the predication and is what the predication is about. When the referent of an NP is the focus of contrast it is frequently coded as old information and placed in topic position. This is explained by the fact that the contrastive NP is usually old information in discourse and even when the NP2 introduces a new referent, the contrastive situation allows the speaker to construct a bridge between this referent and the
referent of the NPI that it is being contrasted with because both NPs belong to the same specific semantic field. Thus, the NP2 is interpreted as old, or older, information as compared to the elements (X and Y) with respect to which the NPs are being contrasted and which provide new information about the contrastive NPs.

The following data support this claim.

28. a) A la H. no le queda buena, b) a mí me quedo buena.
   a) 'It doesn't fit H., b) it fitted me well'

(0,m,17,A)

(28) is taken from a passage about H.'s boyfriend. The boyfriend has given H. a jacket which, the speaker says, does not fit H. but it fits him (the speaker). H. is old information in (28a) since she has been referred to frequently in the immediately preceding discourse about her boyfriend. The new information in (28a) is that "the jacket didn't fit her" (element X). A mí in (28b) could be viewed as new information in that it tells us who the jacket did fit, an information that we did not have before. However, because a mí is being contrasted with a la H. and they belong to the same specific semantic field (people whom jackets may fit), it is viewed as presupposed and placed in sentence initial position. In this position, both foci of contrast, a la H. and a mí, are the topic of the sentence: they are preverbal, they provide an individual framework or reference point for the predication and they are what each predication is about. In (28a), the speaker says something about H., that the
jacket didn't fit her' and in (28b), the speaker says something about himself (a mí), that the jacket did fit them.

In (29) below, one of the contrasting alternatives is not explicit but it may be identified in the enlarged context.

29. I:  a) ¿Y nunca has estado en una situación en que tú digas "¡Oy! Dios santo ayúdame. Si tú me ayudas yo te voy a rezar" o algo así?

O:  b) No. A la Virgen no más le he hecho eso, a la Virgen del Carmen.

I:  a) 'And have you ever been in a situation in which you said "Oh! My God, help me. If you help me I'm going to pray to you" or something like that?

O:  b) No. To the Virgin only I have said that, to Virgin Carmen.'

(0,m,17)

In (29b) la Virgen is contrasted with Dios (given in 29a). The implied contrast is that O. has made vows to the virgin but not to god. Note that la Virgen is a new referent. However, because it is a focus of contrast and it belongs to the same specific semantic field (divine beings with superhuman powers) as the NP referent that it is being contrasted with ("Dios", 'God'), it is coded as old information and placed in sentence initial position. The IO a la Virgen is also the topic of the sentence because in this preverbal position it provides a framework for the predication and is what the
predication is about. That is, in (29b) the speaker is saying something about la Virgen, that he has made vows to her. This analysis is supported by the acceptability of (a) and the unacceptability of (b), said with neutral intonation, as an answer to (30):

30. ¿Qué me puedes decir acerca de la Virgen?
   a) a la Virgen le hago mandas siempre.
   b) *Le hago mandas siempre a la Virgen.

'What can you tell me about the Virgin?'
'a) The Virgin, I always make vows to her'
'b) I always make vows to the Virgin'

A similar analysis may be offered for (31):

31. I: ¿Y la profesora castiga a los niños a veces?
    F: A mí no me castiga, porque yo me porto bien en el colegio.

I: 'And does the teacher punish the children sometimes?
F: Me she doesn't punish, because I behave myself at school'

(F,f,5,8)

In the discourse where (31) occurs, F. and the I. have been talking about F.'s school. F.'s response to the I.'s question implies that the teacher punishes children who misbehave. A mí is implicitly contrasted with "other children" who are punished by the teacher.

The object NP which is the focus of contrast in (31) is in S-initial position and it is assigned the highest level pitch. The focus of contrast is also the topic NP: it provides a framework for the
predication and it is what the predication is about, i.e. not being punished is being said about a mí.

Preverbal position is not a sufficient condition to convey contrast. The requirement that the focus of contrast be assigned high pitch must also be met. This conclusion is supported by the observation that when no situation of contrast may be identified, the preverbal O may be said in low pitch, as in examples (23a and b) on p. 215 and (32-33 ) below:

32. I: a) ¿Así que a la señora la conocí por estos lados?
   R: b) A mi señora la conocí ... en el Barrio Alto.

I: a) 'So you met your wife around here?'
R: b) My wife I met ... in the Barrio Alto'
   (R,m,35,A)

33. Esto me lo contó la C.

'This C. told me'
   (D,f,68,B)

In (32, 33) there is no situation of contrast implied. The referent of esto (in 33) is a narrative about someone who was cured of an illness by a healer. At the end of the narrative, the speaker gives information about who told her the story. It is difficult to
assume a contrasting alternative for *esto* since the speaker has not
referred to the telling of any other stories. The DOs in (32, 33)
have been placed in initial position because they are old information
and this ordering functions as a discourse cohesion device. Both DOs,
a mi señora and *esto*, are assigned relatively low pitch.

5.4.1 **Summary**

Section 5.4 has demonstrated that, contrary to what Chafe
(v. p. 212), for instance, has claimed, a focus of contrast placed in
sentence initial position is also the topic of the sentence. It has
further shown that this focus of contrast is assigned high pitch,
while if it appears in postverbal position it must be assigned a
special contrastive stress, i.e. a steep fall of the pitch.

The preverbal placement of an NP which is the focus of contrast
appears to be related to the fact that this NP usually constitutes
old information and is viewed by the speaker as the topic of the
sentence while the situation with respect to which it is being con-
trasted conveys the new information about the contrastive topic.

No social factors have been found to correlate with the
occurrence or non-occurrence of preverbal DOs to convey contrastive-
ness.

5.5 **Indefinite Topics**

Chapter 4 showed that the occurrence of an accusative clitic,
a marker of DO-V agreement, appeared to be sensitive to a syntactic
(for instance the presence or absence of a definite determiner) rather
than to a pragmatic definition of definiteness (v. Ch. 4, section 4.2). This was evidenced in the increasing percentage of O-V agreement along a scale of increasing specificity. As pointed out in Chapter 4, Chafe (1976: 39) has proposed that an item is given the status of definite by a speaker when he thinks that the listener knows and can identify the particular referent that he (the speaker) has in mind. Based on this pragmatic definition of definiteness, Li and Thompson (1976: 461) state that "one of the primary characteristics of topics, then, is that they must be definite." Hooper (1976: 6) agrees with Li and Thompson and points out that one of the differences between topics and subjects is that "a topic must be definite, but definiteness is not required of subjects." The purpose of section 5.5 is to show that the proposed constraint on the definiteness of the topic is not borne out by the data in this study. Section 5.5 will explore the conditions under which what have been referred to here as syntactically indefinite nouns may occur in preverbal position and it will conclude that indefinite preverbal 0s may have a topic function.

Furthermore, we will provide evidence that topics may be referential and indefinite. This evidence invalidates Givón's (1976: 154) language universal according to which topics may never be referential and indefinite.

Let us observe the following examples:

34. Un caballero, de la p- de la bomba de parafina lo mataron, los carabineros. 27

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'A gentleman, from the p- from the gas station the police killed him'

(G,f,5,A)

35. **Una hermana mía, también la mataron, un auto.**

'A sister of mine, they also killed her, a car'

(S,f,62,A)

36. **A una señora, cuando se le murió el esposo, le decía, le decía una cosa, pero garabatos.**

'To a lady, when her husband died, he told her, he told her something, just insults'

(G,f,5,A)

In (34) and (35) an indefinite DO appears in topic position, and in (36) an indefinite IO appears in topic position. The DOs and the IO are the topic NP in their respective sentences: they are placed in S-initial position, they provide a framework for the predication and they are what the predication is about. Both syntactically and pragmatically these NPs are indefinite: The noun is modified by an indefinite determiner, and the speaker cannot assume that the listener knows, nor that he can identify the particular referent that he (the speaker) has in mind. **Un caballero de la bomba de parafina, una hermana mía and una señora** imply that one of a certain number of referents that could fit the definition given by those NPs is being referred to, but the listener cannot identify exactly which one. On the other hand, the indefinite NP topics in (34-36) are
referential in the sense that there is a particular entity ('person' in this case) referred to by each one of them and this particular entity exists.

(34-36) indicate that referential indefinite topics do occur in languages. As pointed out before, this is evidence against statements to the effect that topics must be definite or that they may never be referential indefinite, a restriction that Givón (1976: 154) has postulated as a language universal. What does seem to be true is that topics are more frequently definite.

(37-40) offer further examples of indefinite D0s in sentence initial position.

37. Y entonces el doctor optó por sacarle un pedazo de pulmón, la base del pulmón. Uno de los lóbulos parece que se lo extirpó total.

'And then the doctor decided to remove a piece of lung, the bottom part of the lung. One of the lobes it seems that he removed completely'

(D,f,68,B)

38. (Cree que algunas enfermedades se sanan con remedio de la naturaleza). 28 Una sola enfermedad conozco y, y he podido comprobar que es cierto, que es la de, la de las verrugas.

'(He thinks that some illnesses may be cured with secret natural methods). One illness I know and, and I have
proved it's true, that is the, that is warts'

(F,m,70)

39. Tenía hijas. Una tenía un salón de belleza.---- Y un hijo tenía, muy curadazo el hijo.

'She had daughters. One had a beauty shop. ---- And a son she had, a drunkard the son.'

(G,m,51)

40. Me dejaba la máquina de coser.---- Una máquina de mano tenía, le quedó nueva.

'She lent me her sewing machine. ---- A manual sewing machine she had, she left it new.'

(G,m,51)

The referents of the DOs in (37, 38) may not be identified by the listener but they exist, so they are referential and indefinite. The DOs in (39, 40) are also referential. The referent of the DO in (40) has been introduced before and in (40) it is further qualified as a "manual sewing machine". It may be argued, then, that it is definite in Chafe's terms because it is known to the listener when (40) is said and the listener can identify the particular referent as being "the manual sewing machine that X had". It might be thought that a similar argument could apply to un hijo in (39). On the basis that it is the only son that X had, it would appear to be identifiable. However, it is not known to the addressee, i.e. it is being introduced into the discourse for the first time and the speaker
could not assume its existence, so in this sense it is indefinite. Syntactically, the D0s in (37-40) are indefinite.

The S-initial D0 in (37) is the topic of the sentence: it provides a framework for the predication and is what the predication is about.

The topic function of the D0s in (38-40) needs to be investigated. Notice that these sentences appear to be existential, that is to say, what they do is to assert the existence of the D0s una máquina de mano, un hijo and una sola enfermedad either objectively as a possession (tener, 'have') or in the mind of the subject referent (conocer, 'know'). Therefore, even though the D0s in (38-40) seem to provide a framework for the predication in their S-initial position, it is doubtful that they represent what the predications are about; in this sense they do not appear to be topics.

This statement is based on the observation that (a) below does not appear to be an appropriate answer to question (41), which requires some information about the NP, as compared to (b), which is an appropriate answer to (42).

41. ¿Qué me puedes decir acerca de una sola enfermedad / un hijo / una máquina de mano?

a) ? la conozco / tenía / tenía.
   'What can you tell me about a single illness / a son / a manual sewing machine?'

a) ? 'I know it / she had / she had'

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42. ¿Qué me puedes decir acerca de un caballero de la bomba de bencina?

b) Lo mataron

'What can you tell me about a gentleman from the gas station?

b) 'They killed him'

The DO in (38-40) seems to be the focus of an implied contrast, as the DO in (37). In (38), the implied contrastive sentence could be "other illnesses I don't know." In (40), una máquina de mano is implicitly contrasted with una máquina eléctrica ('an electric sewing machine'). The DO in (39) also appears to be the focus of contrast with an implied sentence "She didn't have only daughters."

It is possible, then, that there are two conditions under which referential indefinite 0s may appear in topic position: 1) When they represent what the sentence is about and provide a framework within which the predication holds, as in (34-36); 2) When they are a focus of contrast (37-40), in which case they may not necessarily be the topic of the sentence in the full meaning of topic, that is to say, they constitute a framework or reference point for the predication, but in the case of existential sentences, they do not appear to be what the predication is about.

The contrastive function accounts for the preverbal placement of most of the indefinite DOs in the data. Further examples are given below.
43. Tenía tres (perritos). Pero una, se la llevó mi tío.
'It had three (puppies). But one, my uncle took it away'

(G,f,5,A)

44. Toda persona yo creo que necesita un hogar. Un hogar mal constituido no lo necesita nadie.
'Everyone needs a home. A poorly founded home nobody needs it'

(E,f,34,B)

45. I: a) ¿Tú crees que has tenido buena suerte, mala suerte, o qué?

0: No se po'. A ver, b) buena suerte no he tenido nunca. 
   c) Mala suerte he tenido.

I: a) 'Do you think you've had good luck, bad luck, or what?

0: I don't know. Let me see, a) Good luck I've never had.
   c) Bad luck I've had.'

(0,m,17,A)

In (43) and (45c) the DO is referential indefinite and in 
(44, 45a) it is non-referential indefinite given that the negative 
propositions in (44, 45a) do not imply the existence of "a poorly 
founded home" nor of "good luck." In (43-45) the DO is a focus of 
contrast. 31

In (46-49) below the DO may be argued to be generic and thus 
definite in the sense that generics refer to a class of items that may 
be assumed to be known and identifiable by the listener. However, 
based on syntactic considerations (cf. Ch. 4, section 4.2), nouns
that could be termed generic were included in the group of \textit{\texttt{ indefinite, -determiner} } nouns in this study.\textsuperscript{32}

46. (El papel de nacimiento no lo tengo). \textit{Pero carnet tengo}.  
'(I don't have my birth certificate). \textit{But identity card I have}'  
(S,f,62,A)

47. (No quería microbiología) \textit{Agronomía quería}.  
'(He didn't want microbiology) \textit{Agronomy he wanted}.'  
(T,f,16,B)

48. Tengo hartos papeles (para hacer volantines). \textit{Hilo no tengo}.  
'I have lots of paper (to make kites). \textit{Thread I don't have}.'  
(G,f,5,A)

49. (Toma leche de desayuno. Te no toma). \textit{Café tampoco te-}, \textit{tampoco tomo}.  
'(She drinks milk for breakfast. Doesn't drink tea). \textit{Coffee I don't, I don't drink either}'  
(S,f,62,A)

The DOs in (46-49) have a contrastive and a topic function which account for their preverbal placement. Note that these indefinite contrastive topics introduce new referents into the discourse. These referents, however, are members of the very specific semantic fields to which the NPs they are being contrasted with
belong: Identity card and birth certificate as identifying documents in (46); agronomy and microbiology in relation to possible areas of study in (47); thread and paper in relation to kites in (48); coffee, tea, and milk as breakfast drinks in (49). As stated in section 5.4, this semantic relation appears to provide a bridge (cf. section 5.1, p. 174) between the two NPs that are being contrasted. Thus, the referent of the contrastive NP in (46-49) is coded as old information and placed preverbally, followed by the element with respect to which it is being contrasted, which conveys new information. The contrastive NP is in each case assigned high level pitch.

5.5.1 Summary

The data analyzed in section 5.5 have provided evidence that there are no restrictions on the definiteness or referentiality of the topic NP, that is to say, that a topic may be definite, referential indefinite or non-referential indefinite. This evidence invalidates two claims that have been made in the linguistic literature: 1) a language universal proposed by Givón (1976: 154) according to which topics may never be referential indefinite; 2) the widespread assumption that topics must be definite (v. Li and Thompson (1976); Hooper (1976), etc.). Section 5.5 has shown that the same conditions under which definite 0s may appear in topic position hold for referential and non-referential indefinite 0s, namely when the referent of the 0 represents what the predication is about and when it is the focus of contrast.
Once again, there appear to be no sociolinguistic correlations with respect to the use of indefinite Os as topics or as foci of contrast.

5.6 Contrary to Expectation

In this section we show that an object NP is placed in S-initial position when it is contrary to expectation, i.e. when there is something surprising about the situation where the DO occurs.

Contrary to expectation and contrastiveness are shown to be similar notions since the former also conveys some meaning of contrast inasmuch as it contradicts either the listener's or the speaker's own expectations. However, they are not synonymous because contrastiveness does not necessarily imply unexpectedness or surprise. Furthermore, in a situation of contrast, as discussed in section 5.4, two NPs (NP1, NP2) are contrasted with respect to two contrasting elements (X, Y), while in a situation which is contrary to expectation two NPs (NP1, NP2) are contrasted with respect to a single element (X). Schematically, the difference between contrast and contrary to expectation may be represented as in (50).

50. $\begin{bmatrix} \text{NP1} & - & X \\ \text{NP2} & - & Y \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{NP1} \\ \text{NP2} \end{bmatrix} - X$
The element of surprise is caused by the unexpectedness of the information conveyed by the object NP, for example, a certain amount which is somewhat amazing or contrary to what either the listener or the speaker himself expects.

This analysis is supported by the following data:

51. I: Y tuvieron que pagarle a su- ?
    S: ochenta mil pesos dice que le dieron la- ... Me contaron en la casa a mí que le habían dado a un hijo de ella.
    I: 'And did they have to pay your- ?
    S: 'Eighty thousand pesos he says that they gave him the- ...
    They told me at home that they had given to one of her sons')
    (S,f,62,A)

52. R: ¿Y cómo le cortan, le cortan así el pelo, en cualquier parte?
    F: Un mechoncito chico pues le sacan no más.
    R: 'And how do they cut, do they cut the hair, from anywhere?'
    F: 'A small lock of hair they cut him only'
    (F,m,70,B)

53. I: D. tiene cincuenta (años).
    E: ¡Cincuenta tiene D.!
    I: 'D. is fifty years old.'
    E: 'Fifty D. is!' (E,f,34,B)
54. F: Me hicieron seis puntos.
I: ¿A sangre fría?
F: A sangre fría. Seis puntos me hiciéron!
F: 'They gave me six stitches.
I: 'In cold blood?'
F: 'In cold blood. Six stitches they gave me!'

(F,m,70,B)

55. Y sentía una pesadez, una pesadez así en la cabeza. ----
¡Parecía veinte mil problemas tenía adentro!

'And I felt a heaviness, a heaviness like this in the head. ----
It seemed as if twenty thousand problems it had inside!'

(R,m,35,A)

56. ¡Hasta los calzones los lavaba en el lavaplatos!

'Even the underpants she washed in the kitchen sink!'

(S,f,62,A)

In (51-56) the preposed DO constitutes a special focus of attention in the sentence. The DO is said either in a high pitch or with sentence stress. Some of these sentences have been transcribed within exclamation marks because they seem to correspond to what is traditionally considered to be an exclamatory sentence.

In (51, 52) the DO answers a question, i.e. it conveys the new information, and it is thus expected to occur postverbally. It seems almost natural, and certainly appealing, that in order to convey a surprising situation the elements in a sentence would be placed in an
unexpected position in terms of an ordering along the lines of old-
new information. Note that the preposed NP is foregrounded, i.e.
its pitch and sentence stress, while everything else in
the sentence is backgrounded and said in a low pitch.

In the discourse preceding (51), S. has related how one of her
sisters and a little child were run over by a car and killed. In
her response to the I.'s question about whether the family had
received any compensation, S. wants to convey her surprise at the
small amount of money they were given (about U.S. $2,000). S. makes
this feeling explicit later in the conversation by saying that
"Eighty thousand pesos is nothing for the life of two people."

The function of the preverbal placement of the DO in (51),
then, is to convey the meaning that the NP referent is contrary to
expectation, that is, the NP ochenta mil pesos is implicitly con-
trasted with a much higher sum of money that would have been the
expected compensation for the death of two people.

The answer in (52) is also a statement that contradicts the
questioner's expectation. F. has been explaining that warts may
be cured "naturally" by burying some hair from the person who is
affected by the warts under a tree next to running water, without
the person's being aware of it. R. wonders how they are going to cut
the person's hair without him noticing it, as if he expected that a
lot of hair had to be cut. F. responds that only one small lock of
hair needs to be cut, which is contrary to what R. appeared to
expect.
The notion contrary to expectation has been suggested to play a role in some English Root Transformations (RT's) by Gary (1974). Gary has shown that an NP whose referent is given and definite may occur in sentence final position as a result of Directional Adverb Preposing, Participle Preposing or Prepositional Phrase Substitution only when the NP referent is "contrary to expectation". This discourse consideration allows the placement of constituents in an unexpected order.

In this sense, the preposing of the new information DO in (51, 52) is similar to the effect of the RTs discussed by Gary. When a DO is not contrary to expectation and simply conveys the new information requested by a question, it occurs postverbally, as (57, 58) show:

57. I: ¿Y qué edad tiene ahora ya?
   S: Yo tengo sesenta años.
   I: 'And how old are you now?'
   S: 'I am sixty years old' (I have sixty years)

58. I: ¿Pero usted ha visto peleas buenas?
   R: Sí. Ha visto peleas.
   I: 'But you've seen good fights?'
   R: 'Yes. I've seen fights.'
I have claimed that contrary to expectation and contrastiveness are similar notions but that they are not synonymous because contrastiveness does not necessarily imply unexpectedness. Thus, there is nothing unexpected in most of the contrastive sentences discussed earlier in this chapter. Two are repeated here to illustrate this point.

59. Tengo hartos papeles (para hacer volantines). Hilo no tengo. 'I have lots of paper (to make kites). Thread I don't have'
   (Ex. 48, p. 231)

60. (El papel de nacimiento no lo tengo). Pero **carnet** tengo. 'I don't have my birth certificate), But **identity card** I have' .

In (59, 60) the situation does not justify an interpretation according to which the speaker would have been expected "to have thread" (59) or "not to have an identity card" (60). Indeed, having an identity card is the expected situation.

(53, 54) on pp. 235-236 repeat the preceding statement, so they do not add any new propositional information. On the other hand, they carry information at the discourse-semantic level. The referent of a DO conveying new information strikes the speaker as surprising so he repeats the statement and places the DO in sentence initial position in the repetition in order to foreground it and thus convey to the addressee the feeling that there is something extraordinary about the situation.
In (53) the I. tells the speaker that D. is fifty years old, the speaker expresses her surprise at D.'s age, whom she expected to be much younger, by repeating the statement, placing the DO in sentence initial position, and backgrounding the rest of the sentence.

In (54) the speaker repeats the statement and foregrounds the DO to convey how surprising and unexpected it was to have been given six stitches without anesthesia.

(55) shows that repetition is not required to convey an element of surprise. In the discourse preceding (55), R. relates his experience when he once got drunk and his head felt very strange. "It seemed as if twenty thousand problems I had inside," he states. The same propositional meaning could have been conveyed with the order VO. However, at the discourse level, the VO order conveys the information that the referent of the DO is new (or newer). In order to convey that this referent is surprising and unexpected in the situation, the DO must be placed in preverbal position.

In the discourse where (56) occurs, S. has been criticizing a woman who worked as a housemaid in the same house where she did. S. states that this woman had been fired because she used to wash her clothes in the kitchen sink. In (56), the speaker foregrounds the DO to convey how surprising and unexpected it was for this woman to wash "even th underpants" in the kitchen sink.

It is concluded, then, that another motivation for placing an 0 in S-initial position arises when the referent of the DO is contrary to expectation or unexpected in a given situation, regardless
of whether the DO conveys old or new information.

5.6.1 Summary

The notion contrary to expectation, first suggested by Gary (1974) in a study of some English RTs, has been discussed in this section and shown to play a role in the placement of DOs in S-initial position in Spanish.

It must be noted that these constructions with a S-initial 0 which is contrary to expectation are not attested in the children's sample of speech but occur in the samples from the speakers in all the other groups.

5.7 Conclusions

In her study of preverbal inanimate objects in written Spanish, Hatcher (1956) focuses basically on the variation reflected by the presence and absence of a coreferential clitic pronoun (0 + 1o V vs. 0 V). She proposes 0V as the order used to predicate the existence or non-existence of an object. This is in fact one of the uses of the OV construction, as pointed out in section 5.5. However, there are many more cases of sentences that Hatcher would have considered to be existential which have the order VO

61. Teníamos una tetera. 'We had a kettle'
62. Me ofrecieron a mí un trabajo. 'They offered me a job'
63. Yo hacía colecta. 'I used to do collection'
   (R,m,35,A)
Being aware of this situation, Hatcher (1956: 40) states that "sooner or later, we must simply face the problem of 'emotional nuance'" as the motivation for the OV ordering. She proposes that the emotional quality conveyed by OV is "some concern of the speaker with the truth (significance, relevancy, importance) of what he is saying, as he appeals to his partner for belief, sympathy, or confirmation" (p. 41).

Chapter 5 of this dissertation has endeavored to make this notion of 'emotional nuance' more precise. It has presented evidence that 0s are placed in preverbal position when: a) they are old information; b) they are the topic of the sentence; c) they are the focus of contrast; and d) when they are contrary to expectation.

The data analyzed did not support a view of old-new information as a dichotomy, as sustained by Chafe (1976) and Contreras (1976), but rather as a continuum, as suggested by Duranti and Keenan (1977), by Prince (1978) and by the Praguan functionalists (v. Firbas, 1962).

Preverbal 0s have been shown to function as the sentence topic (section 5.2), i.e. they provide a framework for the predication and represent what the predication is about. Both sentence topic 0s and ATOs may concur with the discourse topic or with the topic of an embedded DU, they may introduce a new referent or reintroduce referents that have been mentioned before in the discourse. ATOs on the other hand, have been shown to be intersentential topics since their referents occur as topics in more than one sentence and are
therefore always mentioned again in the DU. This is not a constraint on the intrasentential sentence topic.

Chapter 5 has further demonstrated that a preverbal contrastive 0 may also be the topic of the sentence (section 5.4).

The occurrence of indefinite topics in the data was discussed in section 5.5. The discussion demonstrated that there are no restrictions on the definiteness or referentiality of a topic. This conclusion invalidates the widespread assumption that topics must be definite (see p. 224) and Givón's (1976) language universal according to which topics may never be referential and indefinite.

With respect to intonation, it has been shown that sentence topics and ATOs may be assigned level stress and mid or high pitch. ATOs may also be assigned sentence stress and it appears that sentence topics that signal contrary to expectation or unexpectedness are obligatorily assigned sentence stress. Thus, intonation contributes to foreground a referent which is viewed as the framework for the predication.

Chapter 5 has been limited to a discussion of data from Spanish. It seems possible, however, that the generalizations stated in Chapters 4 and 5 may apply to all languages that allow zero subject anaphora. This may be because zero subject anaphora appears to allow more freely the placement of 0s in subject position while at the same time they retain their object argument status. This permits, for instance, the frequent occurrence of IOs in initial position without the need to recur to synchronic processes such as
passivization or diachronic processes such as the subjectivization of IOs in earlier stages of English.

The functional analysis reported in Chapter 5 has been based on a study of non-subject preverbal NPs. It is interesting to compare the results obtained in Chapter 5 with the results reported by Silva-Corvalán (1977) for the expression and placement of subject NPs in spoken Mexican-American Spanish. Two of the factors determining the expression of the subject pronoun and its preverbal position were: a) to signal it as the focus of contrast; and b) to establish its referent as the topic of a DU. The convergence of the results of these two studies add to the validity of the conclusions. Furthermore, it points to the possibility of non-dialectal differences in the use of word order to signal discourse functions.

The motives that lead speakers to place IOs in preverbal or sentence initial position have been shown to apply in the same manner across the social variables under study. The speakers in all the subgroups (by age, sex, and level of education) used preverbal IOs to indicate topicality, old information, contrastiveness and, excepting the children, to signal that the IO is either contrary to expectation or occurs in an unexpected situation. These results contrast sharply with the variables studied in Chapter 3, which were shown to stratify the speakers into two large groups, A and B, according to level of education. Furthermore, the frequency of occurrence of PCs was shown to correlate with age and sex within group A.

PCs and preverbal IOs are qualitatively different variables. The occurrence of a PC does not have any discernible discourse
meaning, while the occurrence of a preverbal 0 has discourse motivations and conveys different meanings at this level. Therefore, as pointed out in Chapter 4, it does not appear to be adequate to interpret the frequencies of occurrence of this syntactic variable that may correlate with certain social groups as indicators of social differences.

On this point, Lavandera (1979) has suggested that "for two or more alternant forms which have the same sense but contrast in stylistic meaning, the stylistic meaning can be reinterpreted as a signal of social and stylistic significance." If the alternant forms correlate with different social groups, these correlations may indicate different communicative styles. Lavandera has proposed this "reinterpretation principle" in the context of her study of the variable use of indicative vs. subjunctive mood in Argentinian Spanish, which shows that men use the indicative mood more frequently than women. According to Lavandera, this correlation may be reinterpreted to reflect that men have a more assertive communicative style.

Lavandera's reinterpretation is appealing. However, I would like to suggest that a communicative style results from a set of features, rather than just one language feature which may convey a given stylistic meaning, such as assertiveness. This should be similar to the manner in which a set of phonological features determines whether a speaker belongs to one or another language group (v. Ch. 2).

The only consistent correlation that appeared in the study of the preverbal 0 variable was the higher frequency of occurrence in
preverbal position of Os that do not convey new information in the children's samples with respect to the other age groups in A or B. However, as Chapter 5 showed, this variable may convey different discourse meanings. This poses a problem for the reinterpretation of the stylistic meaning that the frequency correlations may have, at least at this point in the investigation. As stated in Chapter 4, the only function that was controlled was the signalling of old-new information, but the analysis of the data in Chapter 5 demonstrated that old information alone does not necessarily determine the preverbal placement of the O. This means that a number of preverbal Os coded as signalling old information may have been in that position because they were also, for instance, the focus of contrast or contrary to expectation. This possibility seems to be supported by the fact that the social correlations observed for DOs do not hold in the case of IOs in the adults' samples (See Ch. 4, sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3), an apparently contradictory result.

To conclude, the analysis of the discourse motivations that appear to constrain the variable occurrence of preverbal Os indicates that the apparent frequency correlations displayed in Figures (4, 5) on pp. 35 and 38 may not at this point be reinterpreted as signals of social or stylistic significance.
FOOTNOTES

1 The dash is used to indicate an interrupted word or sentence. Dots ( ... ) are used to indicate short pause. Somewhat longer pauses are explicitly indicated as (Pause).

2 The conditions under which the preposition a, which frequently marks definite animate DOs, is dropped have not been studied. In (h) a vowel sandhi phenomenon appears to be the cause of the elision of a in speech.

\[ \text{porque a esa monja la adorábamos} \]

3 Schachter (1976, 1977) has discussed the properties of the constituent referred to as the topic in Philippine languages. He suggests that the Philippine topic shares some characteristics with constituents that function as topics in non-Philippine languages, namely referentiality and definiteness. However, Chapter 5 shows that topics in Spanish may be nonreferential and indefinite. This qualitative difference necessarily leaves the Philippine topic outside the scope of the generalizations suggested in Chapter 5.

4 Our analysis of the data appears to support Li and Thompson's claim that the topic may be a "center of attention." However, faced by the impossibility of being able to offer an independent functional definition of "center of attention" at this point, no more will be said on this issue.
A similar proposal has been made by Duranti & Keenan (1977) on the basis of their analysis of spoken Italian. Specifically, Duranti & Keenan propose that "in constructions with a LD, the Subject remains a Subject, co-occurring with the left-dislocated constituent. In this sense, LDs have two attention foci, two points of departure, that is, two topics (my emphasis). A speaker does not always have to choose between topic candidates, he may give both this status" (p. 74).

The notion of discourse unit (DU) is introduced and discussed at length in Wald (1976). Basically, a unit in discourse is defined as consisting of more than one sentence with internal coherence of sense and content spoken by a single speaker. A narrative is a DU, but within a narrative there may be one or more embedded DUs.

Li and Thompson (76: 464) have noted that "the subject can be characterized as providing the orientation or the point of view of the action, experience, state, etc., denoted by the verb."

Indeed, if esa monja had not been expressed in (h), the sentence would have had exactly the same interpretation given the presence of the clitic la and the absence of any other possible referent for la in the discourse. However, the speaker chooses to reintroduce the topic of the discourse with a full non-pronominal reference in (h). The constraints on the expression of the DO in (h) may be similar to those on the expression of subject pronouns in Spanish. It should be worth while investigating the constraints on the expression of DOs in a further study.
An explanation about the notation used to mark intonation is in order:

a. The upper and lower parallel lines are intended to represent higher and lower relative pitch and the space in between the pitch range.

b. The dots represent unstressed syllables whose pitch is immaterial to the discussion.

c. The dashes represent stressed syllables said on a level pitch.

d. A long slanting line \ represents either a steep fall of the pitch, or a level pitch with the following syllable said in a significantly lower pitch.

e. A short slanting line pointing downwards \ represents a slight fall of the pitch.

f. A short slanting line pointing upwards / represents a slight rise in pitch either on the syllable which is marked thus, or starting from the following syllable. Stress is defined as "subjective impression of prominence" (Schmerling, 1976: 4). (d, e, and f) represent what is here referred to as sentence stress.

More is said about the pitch and pattern of stress of foci of contrast in section 5.4.

These subjectless sentences may be adequately translated into English either in the active form with a non-referential they, or in the passive form:

a. They leave those with a notarized certificate.

b. Those are left with a notarized certificate.
This supports Keenan's (1976) statement that subjects are normally referential. In Spanish, the referentiality of a pronominal subject appears to be a requirement, i.e. there are no "dummy," non-referential subjects, as compared, for instance, to English:

Spanish                      English
Ø hace frío.               it is cold.
Ø está lloviendo.          it is raining.
Ø tocaron la campana dos veces anoche. they rang the bell twice last night.

The subject is designated as being 'more involved' following Givón's (1976: 152) interpretation of the case hierarchy AGENT > DATIVE > ACCUSATIVE as corresponding to decreasing participant involvement.

A series of dashes is used to indicate that some language material, considered irrelevant to the discussion, has been skipped.

See Chapter 4, note 13.

The following examples illustrate a sentence medial and a sentence final ATO.

a. Yo realmente creo que a los niños hay que inculcarles, a ellos, como persona, ciertas cosas.
'I really think that to the children you must teach, to them as people, certain things'

(E,f,34,B)

250
b. Porque ésta la hicimos ayer no más, esta pieza.

'Because this one we made only yesterday, this room.

(0,m,17,A)

The constructions exemplified in (a. and b.) have not been included in this study because there is only one example of sentence medial and four examples of sentence final AT0s in the data.

17 The hesitation phenomenon reflected in the repetition of the pronoun yo appears to be further support for this analysis.

18 See Keenan and Schieffelin (1976b) for a discussion of this function in English.

19 This is different from Li and Thompson's (1976: 464) claim that the topic "announces the theme of the discourse." What I claim is that an AT0 announces the topic of the sentence to which it is adjoined. Later it will be shown that the referent of an AT0 may also be the topic of a discourse unit but not necessarily the theme of the discourse, if by "theme of the discourse" is understood the subject or topic that the speaker is discussing, exchanging views about or considering in a particular discourse.

20 AT0s may be marked, however, as shown by the example below:

a. Bueno a mí, me dicen a mí, como yo soy enferma de los nervios,
me dicen que no tome desayuno. Como saben que a mí me have mal
el té.

(S,f,62,A)
21. "The snakes" are also introduced in an adjoined topic construction. It is not discussed here because it is coreferential with the subject of the sentence to which it is adjoined and subject topics are not included in this study.

22. There is obviously at least one other choice, clefting, but this will not be discussed.

23. By "enlarged discourse context" is meant, in addition to speech, the participants involved in the act of communication, gestures, the physical environment, the participants' inferential capacities, their shared background knowledge of the world, etc.

24. The DOs may not occur in initial position in (24) because they are part of the elements (X and Y) with respect to which the IO a los hijos, which occupies the initial position, is implicitly being contrasted with "other people" to whom you do not give everything without expecting something in return. Furthermore, the objects of infinitival clauses introduced by sin ('without') and para ('for') are categorically postverbal in the data, so nada could not appear preverbally:

*nada sin esperar

sin nada esperar

25. See note 22.
26 Givón (1976: 154) specifically states that "One universal restriction on TS (topic-shift) constructions, both left dislocated (TS) or right dislocated (AT), is that the topic constituent may be either definite or generic, but never referential indefinite."

27 The meaning of the notation used to mark the relevant intonation features is the following:

- = high level pitch
\_ = unstressed or low level pitch
\_\_ = sentence stress

28 It might be contended that una hermana mía is definite. I consider it indefinite on the grounds that una could be any of a number of sisters, as the translation "a sister of mine" indicates. Una hermana mía is similar to (a) but different from (b). (b) is definite, but (a) is also indefinite in my analysis.

a) Una de mis hermanas 'One of my sisters'
b) Mi hermana 'My sister'

29 Material in parenthesis is elliptical but recoverable from the receding discourse.

30 According to the definition of referentiality used here, i.e. the implication of existence, indefinite DOs of negative predicates could never be referential. This view is also taken by Givón (1975: 62), who states that "the truth of the verb implies the referentiality ('existence') of the object" so that past tense negative verbs may never take a referential object.
31 The contrast in (44) is justified on the assumption that the noun hogar has a positive connotation, i.e. it implies "un buen hogar" ('a good home'), as opposed to un hogar mal constituido, which no one needs.

32 This decision appears to be justified for Spanish on the basis that generic nouns may occur with or without a determiner:

a. Compramos \{ cafés \} en el Supermercado

b. \{ el cafés \}

a. 'We bought \{ coffee \} at the Supermarket'

b. \{ the coffee \}

(a. and b.) may have a generic reading, but only (b.) allows also a reading in which the referent is old information. In this sense, (b.) seems to me to be syntactically more definite than (a.)

33 ATOs, on the other hand, do not have an argument status since they are outside the sentence. This is also the case with the "left-dislocated" NP in English.

34 The definition of "communicative style" is certainly a further problem.
Chapter 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I discuss some of the implications of the analysis presented in the preceding chapters. As stated in the introduction, two basic purposes motivated the research reported in this dissertation: 1) to find out whether syntactic variables may convey any social meaning; 2) to investigate the range of variation and the linguistic properties of a number of syntactic variables used by socially different groups of speakers in order to determine what type of syntactic variation may be expected to correlate with social factors. It was hypothesized that age and level of education would influence the range and choice of the syntactic options used by speakers in such a manner that older age and higher level of education would correlate with a lower frequency of nonstandard variables.

In order to investigate this issue, I decided to establish first a clear linguistic differentiation of social groups on the basis of the frequency of occurrence of a number of phonological variables (Ch. 2) in the speech of the various speakers. The phonological variables investigated were: velarization of /f/, deletion of intervocalic /b/, velarization of /b/ before the labiovelar glide [w], and the interchange of syllable-final /r/ and /l/. The results of this study showed that these variables stratify the speakers into two large groups: a higher status group
with higher education in whose speech the nonstandard variables either do not occur or have a very low frequency, and a higher status group with little or no education who exhibit a high frequency of nonstandard variables. The linguistic stratification into distinct social groups could not be done on the basis of any single phonological variable for all the speakers, but only on the basis of the four variables studied. This led us to conclude that what determines whether a speaker belongs to one or another socio-linguistic group is a set of linguistic features, not just a single feature. In our study, it was the total score for all the phonological variables studied the one that stratified the speakers most clearly into two groups, A and B, which correlate with lower and higher level of education.

At the phonological level, therefore, higher level of education correlates with a lower frequency of stigmatized, nonstandard features. The correlation with age, on the other hand, does not show a similar linear progression. As predicted, children and adolescents have the highest frequencies of nonstandard features in their respective groups, but the speakers in the 50+ age group have a higher percent of nonstandard variables than those in the 30-45 group. This leads us to conclude that in the interview situation the speakers in the 30-45 group are most sensitive and adjust their speech to the standard norms (cf. Labov 1966 on /r/ stratification with age in NYC).
Four syntactic variables were included in this study: 1) The occurrence of pleonastic clitics (PCs); the \( (se)\, me\, le \) construction; 3) the occurrence of verb agreement with a post-verbal non-pronominal DO; and 4) the preverbal placement of a DO or an IO.

The discussion in Chapter 3 showed that PCs are a syntactic sociolinguistic variable inasmuch as it carries no meaning difference at any linguistic level and its frequency of occurrence correlates with social factors. The sparsity of cases of \( (se)\, me\, le \) constructions did not allow us to investigate its significance as a sociolinguistic variable within group A. The occurrence versus non-occurrence of these two variables stratifies the speakers into two large groups by level of education, A and B, which correspond to the groups that resulted from the phonological stratification. Both variables occur in the speech of the speakers in group A (low level of education) while in the speech of those in group B (high level of education) the \( (se)\, me\, le \) sequence does not occur and only two examples of PCs are attested.

These results confirm the hypothesis that the possibilities of exposure to formal and written language have an effect on the range of syntactic variation used by speakers. Accordingly, when the speakers have had a reduced exposure to formal and written language (e.g. because of lack of schooling), their speech is less conservative and evidences features that deviate from the standard norm. At the syntactic level also, therefore, higher education correlates with a lower frequency of nonstandard variables and here again the correlation with age does not show a similar linear progression. The results show
that the children and the 30-45 age group have lower percentages of PCs than the adolescents and the 50+ group. A comparison of these results with those obtained for the phonological variables supports our interpretation of the linguistic behavior of the speakers in the 30-45 age group as reflecting some speech monitoring to adjust to the standard norms. The children have the lowest percent of PCs in group A and they do not use the (se) me le construction. This appears to indicate that the acquisition of these variables by the children depends on how widespread the variables are and on how frequently they occur. Thus, the more widespread and frequency PC variable is used by the children in group A, while the less frequent (se) me le construction is not. This conclusion is supported by the age distribution of the phonological variables. Velarization of /f/, for instance, frequent in the speech of all the adult speakers in group A, was categorical in the children's sample.

The results for the age distribution of PCs and the (se) me le sequence indicated that children are not innovators since these nonstandard variables appear to constitute innovations in the language and the analysis indicated that they originate in the adults' groups.

Within group A, the frequency of occurrence of PCs correlates with two ascribed social factors, age and sex. This was offered as the kind of evidence that Lavandera (1978) considers to be necessary to extend the notion of sociolinguistic variable to syntax, i.e.
1) the variable can be proven to be the carrier of some non-referential information and to have social significance; and 2) it is a kind of linguistic device of the language similar to phonological variables, that is, it is a variable whose defining property is a quantifiable covariation. This covariation suggests that the frequency relations are carriers of social significance.

No discourse/semantic factors were found to influence the occurrence of PCs, i.e. this is a type of syntactic variable that has the same meaning at the discourse/semantic level but conveys different social meanings.

The presence or absence of a clitic pronoun coreferential with a DO was discussed in Chapter 4 as a phenomenon of object-verb agreement. This term was adopted from Givón (1976) on the basis that our data agreed with his proposal that these clitics are sensitive to topicality both in Spanish and in many other languages (e.g. Swahili, Amharic, Mojave, etc.) Chapter 4 showed that the frequency of occurrence of an accusative clitic coreferential with a pre or postverbal DO correlates with the degree of topicality of the DO in such a manner that [+determiner, +definite] preverbal DOs (i.e. in topic position) are almost categorically marked for verb agreement and [-definite] postverbal DOs are never marked.

The sociolinguistic implications of object-verb agreement were investigated only for the cases of agreement with a postverbal non-pronominal DO. The discussion was thus limited to an environment where the clitic is considered to be redundant (v. Bello 1925: 241)
and nonstandard. The results showed that the variable occurrence of O-V agreement had a discourse/semantic motivation and did not convey any social differences related to level of education, age and sex.

The variable occurrence of preverbal objects (Os) was also investigated in Chapter 4. The structure of constructions with preverbal Os led us to propose schema (20), repeated below, to represent the various positions for DOs and IOs attested in the data. The occurrence of SOV, OSV, and OOV sentences was offered as evidence against the "verb-first or second" constraint in spoken Spanish proposed by the Real Academia Española (1973).

20. \[
\begin{align*}
(0,) & \quad S & 0 & V \\
& & 0 & 0 & V \\
& & 0 & (S) & V
\end{align*}
\]

Chapter 4 further proposed to abandon for Spanish the English-based differentiation between Left-Dislocation and Topicalization primarily based on the presence of any type of anaphorically related element in the place that the dislocated constituent would occupy in the sentence. Instead, an analysis in terms of Topicalized Os and Adjoined Topic Os was proposed in order to account for the possibility of a non-cliticized coreferential constituent in the sentence when the object is adjoined.

The functional factors that influence the placement of objects in preverbal position were investigated in Chapter 5. The analysis of the data led us to conclude that speakers may place an object in preverbal position in the following situations: 1. When the object constitutes old or older information as compared to the other
constituents in the sentence; 2. When the object is the topic of the sentence or of the discourse; 3. When the object is a focus of contrast; and 4. When the object is contrary to expectation or occurs in an unexpected or surprising situation.

The data analyzed in Chapter 5 did not support a view of old-new information as a dichotomy, as sustained by Chafe (1976) and Contreras (1976), but rather as a continuum, as suggested by Duranti and Keenan (1977), by Prince (1978) and by the Praguiian functionalists (v. Firbas, 1962).

Preverbal objects were shown to function as the sentence topic, i.e. they provide a framework for the predication and represent what the predication is about. Both Topicalized Os and ATOs may concur with the discourse topic or with the topic of an embedded DU, they may introduce a new referent or reintroduce referents that have been mentioned before in the discourse. ATOs have further been shown to be intersentential topics since their referents occur as topics in more than one sentence and are therefore always mentioned again in the DU. This is not a constraint on the intrasentential sentence topic.

The discussion of indefinite topics in the data demonstrated that **there are no restrictions on the definiteness or referentiality of a topic**. This conclusion invalidates the widespread assumption that topics must be definite and also Givón's (1976) language universal according to which topics may never be referential and indefinite.
Chapter 5 further showed that an object noun phrase is placed in sentence initial position when it is the focus of contrast and when it is contrary to expectation. These two functions were shown to be similar since contrary to expectation also conveys some meaning of contrast inasmuch as it contradicts either the listener's or the speaker's own expectations. However, they are not synonymous because contrastiveness does not necessarily imply unexpectedness or surprise. Furthermore, in a situation of contrast, as discussed in section 5.4, two noun phrases (NP1, NP2) are contrasted with respect to two contrasting elements (X, Y), while in a situation which is contrary to expectation two NPs (NP1, NP2) are contrasted with respect to a single element (X). Schematically, the difference between contrast and contrary to expectation was represented in schema (50), repeated here.

50. \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CONTRAST} \\
\text{NP1} \quad X \\
\text{NP2} \quad Y
\end{array}
\quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{CONTRARY TO EXPECTATION} \\
\text{[NP1]} \quad X \\
\text{[NP2]}
\end{array}
\]

The correlation between the frequency of occurrence of preverbal object NPs and the social factors was investigated in Chapters 4 and 5. The motives that lead speakers to place objects in preverbal or sentence initial position were shown to apply in the same manner across the social variables. The speakers in all the subgroups (by age, sex and level of education) use preverbal objects to indicate topicality, old information, contrastiveness and,
excepting the children, to signal that the object is contrary to expectation. This suggests that this function is acquired late in the process of acquisition of communicative competence.

Due to the fact that there was not enough data for each one of the different discourse factors that influenced the placement of objects in preverbal position, only one was controlled in the quantification of the data by social factors: old-new information. The results showed that there was no pattern of social correlation between the frequency of occurrence of preverbal DOs or IOs with sex or level of education. The only correlation that appeared to be consistent was the higher percentage evidenced in the speech of the children as compared to the other speakers in their respective groups A and B. This correlation lends some support to the hypothesis that child language is more pragmatically oriented in the sense that the structure of the sentence is more frequently one of topic-comment rather than subject-predicate (cf. E.O. Keenan 1977; Givón 1979 b).

Four syntactic variables were studied in this dissertation: pleonastic clitics, the (se) me le construction, DO-V agreement and preverbal objects. These variables have been shown to be qualitatively different. This qualitative difference correlates with different patterns of sociolinguistic covariance. PCs and the (se) me le sequence,1 which do not appear to have a discourse motivation, were shown to correlate with level of education. PCs were also shown to correlate with age and sex. Preverbal objects and DO-V agreement, on the other hand, which convey discourse and semantic meaning differences, did not prove to have a clear pattern.
of social correlation. PCs and (se)me le stratified the speakers into two large groups (A and B) by level of education. Both variables were attested in the language of the speakers in group A and were nonexistent in group B. Preverbal Os and nonstandard DO-V agreement (i.e. the occurrence of a clitic coreferential with a postverbal non-pronominal DO) are attested in the language of the speakers in both groups (A and B).

Based on the results of this investigation I conclude that there are some syntactic variables which convey social meanings and that this possibility is determined by the discourse/semantic properties of the syntactic variables. Thus, variables that do not convey meaning differences at the discourse/semantic level will lend themselves to being indicators of social stratification, while syntactic variables that have the same truth value but which convey different discourse meanings will not correlate with level of education and sex. With respect to the age parameter, on the other hand, certain discourse-motivated variables may set the children apart from the other age groups.

We conclude, therefore, that the investigation of the possible discourse/semantic meanings that a syntactic variable may convey is an important and necessary step in the study of the sociolinguistic value of variation at the syntactic level. If the variables are shown to convey discourse/semantic meaning, as in the case of DO-V agreement and preverbal placement of objects, we predict that no social correlations will be found and that the occurrence of any one of the alternant forms will be influenced by purely linguistic factors.

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These conclusions bear on our hypothesis about the influence of age and level of education upon the range and choice of the syntactic options used by speakers. This study has included both standard (e.g. preverbal Os) and nonstandard variables (e.g. PCs and DO-V agreement). It has been shown that level of education does not influence the frequency of use of the standard variable nor of the nonstandard DO-V agreement and that these two variables have discourse/semantic meanings. On the other hand, the occurrence of PCs, a variable that does not have any discernible discourse function, does correlate with level of education and stratifies the sample into two groups. It has further been shown that older age does not correlate with a lower frequency of PCs and DO-V agreement. We conclude, therefore, that the possibilities of exposure to formal and written language provided by a high level of education do not influence the range and frequency of use of the syntactic options used by the speakers when these options are determined by discourse/semantic factors. On the other hand, speakers who have not been exposed to the normative effect of education use nonstandard syntactic options that are not determined by discourse/semantic factors with a higher frequency. This indicates that, at least with respect to the variables included in this study, more or less syntactic complexity in speech does not correlate with level of education.
1 Recall that the scarce number of tokens of the (se)me le construction did not allow us to quantify its frequency of occurrence by age and sex within group A.
### Appendix 1
Profiles of the Speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Born In</th>
<th>Time In Santiago (years)</th>
<th>Schooling</th>
<th>Mother's Schooling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group 1 - Children</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group A</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>5:7</td>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>Santiago (Stgo.)</td>
<td>5:7</td>
<td>Pre-1st gr.</td>
<td>2nd grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>5:8</td>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>Stgo.</td>
<td>5:8</td>
<td>Pre-1st gr.</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>5:1</td>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td>Stgo.</td>
<td>5:1</td>
<td>Pre-1st gr.</td>
<td>3rd grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>5:8</td>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td>Stgo.</td>
<td>5:7</td>
<td>Pre-1st gr.</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group B</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>5:3</td>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>Stgo.</td>
<td>5:3</td>
<td>Pre-1st gr.</td>
<td>12th grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>5:6</td>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>Stgo.</td>
<td>5:6</td>
<td>Pre-1st gr.</td>
<td>College Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>4:6</td>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td>Valdivia</td>
<td>4:2</td>
<td>Nursery</td>
<td>Post-graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.</td>
<td>5:7</td>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td>Stgo.</td>
<td>5:7</td>
<td>Pre-1st gr.</td>
<td>Post-graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Group 2 - Adolescents</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Time In Santiago (years)</td>
<td>Schooling</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Group A</td>
<td>16:7</td>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3rd grade</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td></td>
<td>17:11</td>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9th grade</td>
<td>3rd grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4th grade</td>
<td>3rd grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9th grade</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>Group B</td>
<td>16:6</td>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>16:10</td>
<td>11th grade</td>
<td>College Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td></td>
<td>16:10</td>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>16:6</td>
<td>12th grade</td>
<td>Post-Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td></td>
<td>16:6</td>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9th grade</td>
<td>College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Born In</td>
<td>Time In Santiago (years)</td>
<td>Schooling</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
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<td>Stgo.</td>
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<td>Washer Woman</td>
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<td>Fem.</td>
<td>Stgo.</td>
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<td>Housewife</td>
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<td>La Serena</td>
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<td>Time In Santiago (years)</td>
<td>Schooling</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
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<td>Cook</td>
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<tr>
<td>L.</td>
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<td>Stgo.</td>
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<td><strong>Group B</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Masc.</td>
<td>Stgo.</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>University Professor</td>
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<td>C.</td>
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<td>Masc.</td>
<td>Stgo.</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>Writer</td>
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</table>
### Position of the Speakers in the Tables

**With One Speaker Per Cell**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP A</th>
<th>GROUP B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F (G, 5:8) (P, 5:7)</td>
<td>(C, 5:6) (F, 5:3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **4:6-6:0**
   - M (C, 15)
   - (O, 17)  (O, 17)  (L, 16:6)
   - F (A, 38) (M, 42)  (E, 34)  (R, 42)

2. **15-17**
   - M (R, 35) (M, 39)  (H, 33)  (P, 41)
   - F (S, 62) (M, 56)  (D, 68)  (M, 66)

3. **30-45**
   - M (G, 51) (L, 59)  (F, 70)  (C, 69)

4. **50+**

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Appendix 3

List of Topics That Elicited Spontaneous Speech (i.e. casual style) From the Speakers

1. From all groups
   1. Accidents
   2. Sports and hobbies
   3. Illnesses
   4. Fights: at school, in the street, with siblings, during childhood.
   5. Religion: church activities, the speaker's idea of God and the devil, religious vows.

2. From the speakers in Group 1 (children)
   1. T.V. programs
   2. Pet Animals
   3. Christmas and birthday parties.
   5. Things the parents do.
   6. Games
   7. Story-telling
   8. Role-playing: shopping, having guests, telephoning friends and relatives.

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3. From the speakers in Group 2 (Adolescents)
   1. Cheating at school
   2. Good and bad teachers
   3. Boyfriends and girlfriends
   4. The best parties
   5. Relationship with parents and siblings
   6. E.S.P.
   7. Premonitory dreams
   8. Good and bad luck

4. From the speakers in Group 3 and 4
   1. How they met their spouse
   2. Children's births
   3. Memories of their childhood and youth
   4. Jobs
   5. Comparing family life across generations
   6. Crime: drugs, drinking, robbery
   7. Experiences with healers, charlatans, gypsies
   8. Premonitory dreams
   9. E.S.P.
   10. Good and bad luck
   11. (Group A) Buried treasures. Pacts with the devil.
       Miracles.
   12. (Group B) Travelling
REFERENCES


Keenan, E. and T. Bennett (Eds.) 1977. Discourse Across Time and Space. SCOPIL, Los Angeles, University of Southern California.


