Losing the "neuter": The case of the Spanish demonstratives[1]

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Abstract

This paper explores the semantic features of the so-called "neuter" in the demonstrative system of Modern Spanish and presents a diachronic analysis of the semantic as well as morphophonological changes which have taken place from Latin to Spanish.

We show that the semantic features commonly assumed as being associated with gender (or classification), and more particularly, with the "neuter", (e.g., [(in)animate]), are not able to capture the semantic difference between "neuter" and feminine / masculine, neither in Latin nor in Spanish. For Latin, we argue that the relevant difference for this classification is based on the fact that the neuter is underspecified for a feature [discrete] (vs. presence of the feature [discrete] for masculine / feminine) and elaborate a feature geometry for demonstratives which captures this fact. As the opposition between [discrete] and [non-discrete] is strictly speaking not a matter of classification, i.e., one of gender, but a specification of the operation of individuation, this leads ultimately to the reduction of the Latin classification-node in the geometry and to the Modern Spanish feature geometry. There, the absence of [individuation] results in what mistakenly is called "neuter", i.e., in expressions whose refer-

1. This paper is the revised version of our talk given at the third NEREUS-workshop *Definiteness, Specificity and Animacy in Ibero-Romance Languages* at the Universidad de Alcalá in October 2006, which was partially based on a talk presented before at the *Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española* in Mérida, México, in September 2006. Parts of it have been presented at the colloquium "What's new in grammaticalization?" in May 2007 at the Freie Universität Berlin. We want to thank the audience of the three congresses for very helpful comments. We would like to thank especially Lucia Grimaldi, Julia Zwink, Volker Gast and Guido Mensching for careful proof reading and giving many helpful hints. We owe much also to detailed remarks by three anonymous reviewers. Usual disclaimers apply.

Probus 21 (2009), 217–247
DOI 10.1515/prbs.2009.007

0921–4771/09/021-0217

ent does not have to be individuated (vs. feminine/masculine, with a specified feature [individuation]).

We present a detailed morphophonological analysis of the Latin pronominal morphology, which is based on a realizational approach and which uses case feature decomposition and the morphological schemes proposed by Wiese (2003). This analysis leads us to the conclusion that there are no specific morphological schemes for the neuter in the Latin demonstratives (Vd, i.e., /ud/, being the mere default in our analysis). The most intriguing fact here is the absence of genuine neuter endings in the plural, both in Latin and in Modern Spanish. We do not consider this a mere coincidence, but as a hint at the fundamental semantic change mentioned above, the feature [individuation] being superordinate to [group] (for plural). Finally, we describe the important morphological change in the pronominal system from Latin to Spanish, i.e., the reduction from a five-case-system to a two case-system, in detail and argue, based on the notions of underspecification and default, that Spanish /o/ just preserves the default status of Latin /ud/, being thus no "neuter" gender marker at all.

1. Introduction

Spanish is normally characterized as a two-gender language which, as is well known, has developed from Latin which had a three-gender-system (cf., e.g., Penny 2002 [1991]). However, its pronominal system with the "determiner" *lo*, opposed to masculine *el* and feminine *la*, and especially with the personal pronouns *ello* (< *illud*) and *lo* (< *illud*) as well as the demonstrative pronouns *esto* (< *istud*), *eso* (< *ipsum*) and *aquello* (**accu illud*) looks like a 'resurrection' of the Latin three-gender system with a genuine neuter form (cf., e.g., Ambadiang 1999). Yet, there are several arguments in the literature against such an interpretation: In contrast to other languages, there are no clear morphological endings for neuter forms in Spanish. It is commonly assumed that the adjective in *eso es bonito* 'this is cute' inflects according to the masculine pattern (cf. Hall 1968; Ojeda 1984; Hare 1994). Furthermore, the gender of pronouns is normally controlled by the noun which they "substitute". Yet, in Standard Spanish there are no nouns with neuter gender (cf. Bosque 1999). And, in contrast to other determiners and pronouns as well as to the Latin neuters, the so-called Spanish "neuter" does not allow plural forms (cf. Hare 1994): compare *el útil* ~ *los útiles* 'the useful one(s)/useful thing(s) or person(s)' with *lo útil* ~ **los útiles* 'what is useful/that which is useful/the usefulness', *el peor* ~ *los peores* 'the worst one(s)/worst thing(s) or person(s)' with *lo peor* ~ **los peores* 'the worst' etc.

In particular this last point seems to indicate semantic factors as determining the morphosyntax of the so-called Spanish "neuter" forms, as, from a morpho(phono)logical point of view, there is no good reason why *-o* should not be combined with *-s*. And indeed, there are several works which describe the phenomenon at issue using denotational properties of the respective referents of the pronominal "neuter" forms. The semantic features normally associated with the Spanish "neuter" are [−animate], [−countable] and above all [+abstract] and [+propositional] (cf. Ojeda 1984, 1993; Penny 2002 [1991]; Hare 1994; Bosque 1999).

We present a diachronic analysis for the Latin demonstrative *iste*, which also holds for *ille*, and for the Spanish demonstratives which originate from these. In our analysis we accept the claim that there is no actual "neuter" gender in Spanish, and we will reveal, by a detailed semantic and morphophonological analysis, the reason for the non-existence of the "neuter" gender in Spanish and explain why the so-called "neuter" does not admit plural forms.

The paper is structured as follows: In Section 2 we discuss the semantic features of the "neuter" in Modern Spanish, before we compare the Latin "neuter" with the Spanish "neuter" in pronominals in Section 3. We show that the semantic features mentioned above are not able to capture the semantic difference between "neuter" and feminine/masculine, neither in Spanish, nor in Latin. Section 3.1 shortly presents the feature geometry for personal pronouns proposed by Harley and Ritter (1999, 2002a, 2002b) and reveals the main problematic aspects of their analysis for Latin and Spanish pronouns. In the following Section (cf. 3.2), we elaborate our proposal concerning the "individuation node" and the "classification node" in the geometry: arguing that already the Latin neuter is underspecified for a feature [discrete] (vs. presence of the feature [discrete] for masculine / feminine), we modify slightly the features associated with the different nodes in the original feature geometry of Harley and Ritter and present a detailed morphophonological analysis of the Latin pronominal morphology (more specifically of demonstrative pronouns) in Section 3.3. We show that there are no specific endings for the neuter in the Latin demonstrative pronouns *iste* (and *ille*) and discuss the implications of this finding in Section 3.4. After having revealed the main problems of the geometry elaborated so far, we uncover the changes which have taken place from Late Latin to Modern Spanish in Section 4. We retrace the possible development in the features of the feature geometry from Latin to Modern Spanish in Section 4.1, where we show the reduction of the "classification node" and the proper function of the so-called "neuter", being underspecified for [individuation], and we present then our morphophonological analysis of Spanish "neuter" demonstratives in Section 4.2. The main hypothesis and the results of our analysis are summarized in Section 5.

2. Semantic features of the Modern Spanish "neuter"

Looking for the actual semantic features associated with the Modern Spanish "neuter" pronominal forms, we can see from the examples in that the feature [−animate] (or [−human]) is, to start with, not able to capture the semantic difference between "neuter" and feminine/masculine: *este* in (1a) and *esta* in (1b) as well as *esto* in (1c) can all refer to inanimate or non-human objects.

(1) a. *Este (coche) no me gusta.*
this-M.SG (car) NEG me-DAT.1SG like-PRS.IND.3SG
'I don't like this (car).'

b. *Esta (falda) no me gusta.*
this-F.SG (skirt) NEG me-DAT.1SG like-PRS.IND.3SG
'I don't like this (skirt).'

c. *Esto no me gusta.*
this-"N."SG NEG me-DAT.1SG like-PRS.IND.3SG
'I don't like this.'

The Spanish expression for Hegel's philosophical concept of *el absoluto* (cf. Lapesa 2000: 177) further shows that not even the feature [+abstract] is relevant, because the concept of *el absoluto* is as abstract as *lo absoluto*. Here, the difference seems to lie in the feature [individuation]: *el absoluto* denotes a well-defined concept in Hegel's oeuvre, while *lo absoluto* is the undefined, undelineated 'absoluteness' in general.

So it seems as if the Spanish "neuter" was associated more or less systematically with something like [non-individuated] (for a similar assumption see Hall 1965, 1968; Manoliu Manea 1970; Mariner 1973; Velleman 1979; Klein-Andreu 1981; Lapesa 1984; Álvarez Menéndez 1999). The features [−animate], [−human] and [+abstract] are not able to capture the semantic difference between the Spanish "neuter" on the one side and feminine/masculine on the other side.

In order to better identify the function of the so-called Spanish "neuter" pronouns, we have to clarify the semantic feature [individuation], for which they are not specified, contrary to masculine or feminine pronouns. We consider all linguistic expressions that denote countable and (sets of) discrete unities to have a feature [+individuated] (cf. Stark in print: 12). Although [individuation] is related to countability, it does not exactly coincide with this concept. Nor is it describable completely by the features [bounded] and [internally structured] proposed by Jackendoff (1991) in order to describe four different denotation types. [Individuation] means the denotation of sets (of sets) composed by discrete entities, the set with only one element being included (cf. Ojeda 1993).

We assume that the so-called Spanish pronominal neuters prototypically refer to [non-individuated] referents like, e.g., propositions (see, e.g., *lo que Carlos hizo* 'what Carlos did' vs. *el que Carlos hizo* 'the one [thing] which Carlos made') or to abstract 'non-locatable' and uncountable concepts such as *lo bueno*. The important semantic property of these entities is the absence of spatial or temporal delineation and of internal structure (cf. Jackendoff 1991); i.e., they do not have perceptual properties, and they do not take place (cf. the distinction between propositions and events in Zucchi 1993).[2]

3. The "neuter" in Latin and the "neuter" in Romance

In order to start the discussion of the diachronic analysis of the "neuter", we have to take into account that the relevant literature considers, on the one hand, that the denotation of the Latin neuter has only a slight if ever relation to the neuter in Spanish (cf. Fernández Ordóñez 2007: 422), and that, on the other hand, many linguists see an at least partial continuity with regard to the function of the Latin and the Spanish neuter (cf. Manoliu Manea 1970: 246). In what follows we want to show the nature of this continuity. In order to do so, we will use the feature geometry elaborated in Harley and Ritter (1999, 2002a, 2002b) to describe the semantic features of personal pronouns in different languages and review it in several respects.

3.1. Review of the feature geometry for pronouns proposed by Harley and Ritter

Starting from the assumption that the morphological features provided by Universal Grammar are "highly constrained" as well as "systematically and hierarchically organized" (cf. Harley and Ritter 2002a: 482), Harley and Ritter (1999, 2002a, 2002b) show that the possible groupings of the features of pronouns as well as the hierarchy among these features are best treated in form of a feature geometry. The organization of the geometry is "constrained by basic conceptual categories" (Harley and Ritter 2002a: 518), i.e., as, e.g., "plurality presupposes individuation" (Ojeda 1984: 172), plurality must depend on individuation. Thus, individuation must be located higher in the geometry than plurality. As we will see, this idea is highly relevant for our analysis.

2. For this reason, Otheguy (1978) assumes a feature [discrete] associated with Spanish masculine and feminine pronouns, and [non-discrete] for "neuter" pronouns. Yet, this seems to be too specific and to allude to an underlying countability distinction, which, at least in European Standard Spanish, is not associated with the opposition between masculine/feminine on the one hand and "neuter" on the other.

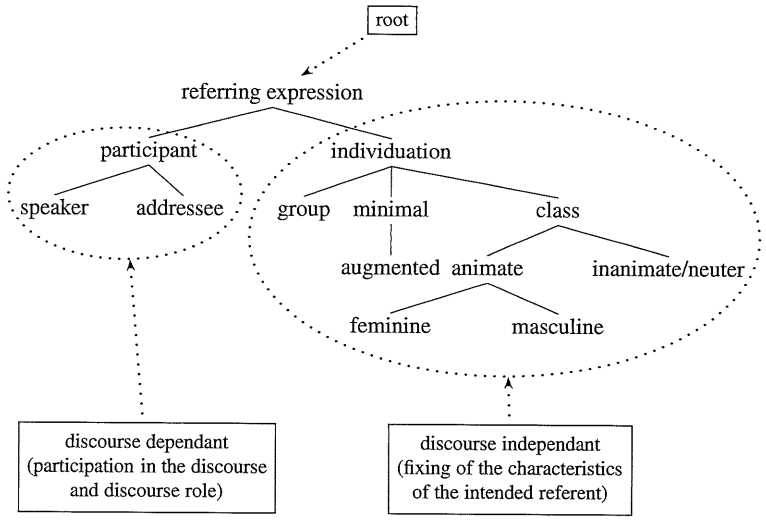


Figure 1. *Feature geometry for personal pronouns (Harley and Ritter 1999: 8, 2002a: 486)*

Furthermore, by using feature geometries for our diachronic analysis, we do not need an additional mechanism which maps the semantic or conceptual features (like, e.g., the reference set [speaker + addressee] or [1+2]) onto the morphological ones (e.g., [1pl]) (cf., e.g., Zwicky 1977 for such mapping processes). In contrast to these mapping mechanisms, features of the feature geometries used here, like, e.g., [speaker, group] are, as will be illustrated in Section 3.3 and 4.2, directly associated with the respective morpho(phono)logical schemes or exponents.

In the feature geometry given in Figure 1, all features depend from the root node [referring expression], which is subdivided into two parts: The left part is discourse dependent and specifies firstly whether the referent participates in the discourse (1st and 2nd person) or not (3rd person), and secondly, in case the referent participates, whether the discursive role is speaker or addressee. The right part of the geometry is discourse independent and contains features which fix the characteristics of the intended referent. [Individuation] indicates, as defined above, the denotation of a delimited individual or a limited group of discrete, distinguishable individuals. The features dependent on [individuation] – [group], [minimal] and [augmented] – are used to represent number systems. The [class]-node (= classification) encodes gender and other class information, and, according to Harley and Ritter (1999, 2002a, 2002b), the features

dependent on [class] distinguish mainly between animate or inanimate/neuter objects. The feature [animate] is further subdivided into [feminine] and [masculine] and accounts for the distinction between these two genders. Thus, as the right part of the geometry shows, the authors consider the features [animate] and [inanimate] as basic for the gender distinction.

It is exactly this last subdivision which will be of main interest in our paper: According to Harley and Ritter, the gender distinction is to be located relatively low in the geometry. We argue that the so-called Spanish "neuter" is, instead, associated with a distinction located higher in the geometry. Yet, before we deepen our main claim, we first have to introduce some central aspects of feature geometries.

Not every language makes use of all the features represented in Figure 1: since in Latin and in Spanish, there is neither a dual nor a paucal, the features [minimal] and [augmented] are not "active" in these two languages. Another basic idea of feature geometries is that the *valeur* of each possible combination is defined contrastively. That is, there is no need to fully specify each combination in order to obtain a certain *valeur*. So in Spanish and Latin, languages with a 'three-person-system' (or "a two-way person contrast", cf. Harley and Ritter 1999) and a two-number-system, all first and second person pronouns have on the left side of the geometry at least the specification [participant]. Third person pronouns are specified as 'non-participant' by means of the absence of the feature [participant].

Now, we will not accept for Latin or Spanish the assumed subdivision under the [class]-node. It is not possible, neither for Latin, cf. (2), nor for Spanish, cf. (1), to assume that only animates are referred to by feminine or masculine pronouns. These pronouns can easily also refer to inanimates, probably already in Proto-Indo-European (cf. Villar 1984: 192).

(2) a. *multae* istarum *arborum* *mea*
many-NOM.F.PL those-GEN.F.PL trees-GEN.F.PL my-ABL.F.SG
manu *sunt* *satae*
hand-ABL.F.SG are-PRS.IND.3PL set.out-NOM.FEM.PL
'many of those trees are set out with my own hands' (Cic., Cat. M. 59)

b. *forsitan* *quaeratis* *qui* iste
perhaps inquire-PRS.SBJV.2PL what-NOM.SG this-NOM.M.SG
terror *sit*
alarm-NOM.M.SG is-PRS.SBJV.3SG
'You may perhaps inquire what this alarm is' (Cic., Rosc. Am. 5)

c. *quotus* *enim* istud *quisque*
how.many-NOM.M.SG then this-NOM.N.SG whoever-NOM.M.SG

fecisset
would.have.done-PLUPRF.SBJV.3SG
'for how many would have done this?' (Cic., Lig. 26)

Though it is true that in Latin, inanimate referents, apart from some cases of metonymy like Lat. *scortum* 'prostitute' and *mancipium* 'slave', are normally neuter, also in their pronominal reference (cf. Hofmann and Szantyr 1997 [1972]: 6–12). Nevertheless, the examples in (2a) and (2b) clearly show that the division proposed by Harley and Ritter (1999, 2002a, 2002b) cannot be valid for a language like Latin (or Spanish). Moreover, Latin and Spanish "neuter" pronouns (and maybe also nouns) simply seem to be unspecified for the feature [individuation], they may, but do not have to, refer to (sets of) discrete individuals, whereas masculine and feminine pronouns always refer to individuals or groups of individuals.

All together, the feature geometry proposed by Harley and Ritter (1999, 2002a, 2002b), which is meant to be universal, has its weak point clearly in the [class]-node and its subdivision, as the authors assume themselves. It cannot, for example, explain pronominal systems with more than three genders, as in Bantu languages (cf. Corbett 1991). Accordingly, the authors admit that:

> [...] gender (or class) features vary more widely in the world's languages than either person or number. [...] It may turn out that some systems involve an open-ended set of lexically determined classes while others involve a closed set of grammatically determined classes. The former would of course be beyond the scope of our geometry. Consequently, we leave the problem of identifying the dependents of the [class]-node open for future research. (Harley and Ritter 2002a: 514)

Moreover, as shown in the above examples, the subdivision of the [class]-node proposed by Harley and Ritter (2002a) cannot explain the Latin and Spanish data. Therefore, we propose a light revision of the features associated with the [class]-node in what follows, which might help to describe the changes that took place in the right part of the geometry from Latin to Modern Spanish.

3.2. *Individuation and classification in Latin*

We will start the discussion with the original proposal of Harley and Ritter (2002a, 2002b), considering only the right part of the geometry, and focus on the above mentioned idea that the *valeur* of each possible combination is defined contrastively. As we do not need to fully specify each combination, we can reduce the geometry in Figure 2a as illustrated in Figure 2b.

If the feature [feminine] is absent in this geometry, the obtained interpretation will automatically be [masculine], while the absence of the feature [animate] will result, per default, in [inanimate/neuter]. The possible feature combinations of the geometry in Figure 2b are summarized in Figure 3.

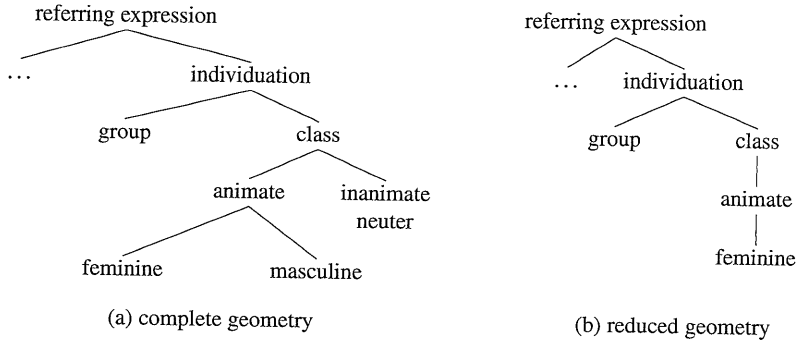


Figure 2. *Right part of the geometry (cf. Harley and Ritter 2002). (Since, as mentioned before, in Latin and in Spanish there is neither a dual nor a paucal, we have omitted the features [minimal] and [augmented] in the following geometries.)*

As we have mentioned before, we do not accept the proposal of Harley and Ritter (1999, 2002a, 2002b) with respect to the [class]-node for Latin, since feminine and masculine cannot be clearly associated with the feature [animate]. But if we keep on assuming a semantic based gender system for Latin (at least for pronouns), we have to ask ourselves which feature could be responsible for the distinction between feminine/masculine on the one hand and neuter on the other. In what follows we start from the assumption that the relevant semantic features are [discrete] (for Latin feminine/masculine) vs. not specified for the feature [discrete] (for Latin neuter).[3]

According to Hofmann and Szantyr (1997 [1972]: 9), the Latin neuter denotes in many cases an unstructured mass or something not well contoured or delineated: "[D]as Neutrum [bezeichnet] eine ungegliederte Masse [...] und dessen Plural [war] [...] ursprünglich [...] eine singularische Kollektivbildung [...]" [The neuter denotes an unstructured mass and its plural was originally a collective form in the singular] (Hofmann and Szantyr 1997 [1972]: 9). The neuter *caseum*, for example, refers to a 'mass of cheese'; while the masculine form *caseus* denotes 'a piece of cheese' (the opposition between feminine *oliva*

3. That is, masculine and feminine demonstratives are always [+individuated] (also in syntax and morphology), whereas the neuter ones are morphosyntactically unspecified for this feature (e.g., [Øindividuated]), i.e., depending on the context they are interpreted as [+individuated] or
[−individuated]. We assume that this value-setting, which is relevant for the intended interpretation, is a LF-phenomenon.

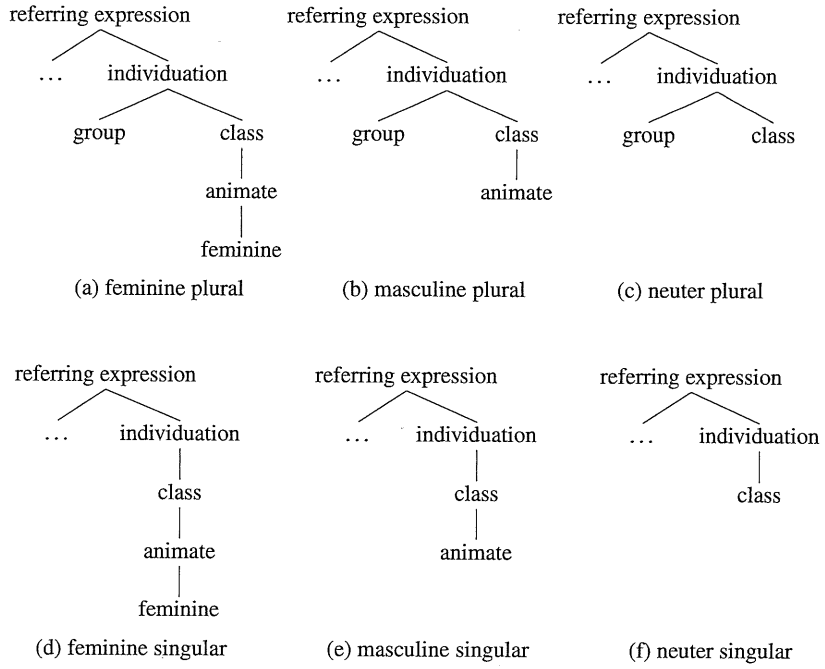


Figure 3. *Possible combinations*

'olive' and neuter *oleum* 'oil' is similar). Neuter nouns are at least "ambiguous" or polysemous in that they regularly allow a [±individuated] interpretation. For example, the Latin neuter noun *pratum* can be interpreted as [+individuated], i.e., as 'pasture land', or as [−individuated], i.e., as 'pasture' or 'that what feeds the cattle' (Güthling 1949, s.v. *pratum*).[4]

Thus, we can assume that, in Latin, the neuter is sometimes associated with something uncountable and is in this sense non-specified for the feature [discrete]. This seems to hold even more for demonstrative pronouns. At least in the examples in (3), *illud* refers clearly to propositions.

4. Similarly *gubernaculum* 'rudder' (= [+individuated]) vs. 'leadership' (= [−individuated]), *mendum* 'physical error, mistake, affliction' (= [+individuated]) vs. 'oversight, arithmetical error, spelling mistake' (= [−individuated]), and *templum* 'temple' (= [+individuated], physical object) vs. 'seat of a deity/heaven' (= [−individuated]) (cf. Güthling 1949).

(3) a. Illud *excruciat:*
This-NOM.N.SG torment-PRS.IND.3SG
discessus *ab* *omnibus*
separate-PTCP.PRF.PASS.NOM.M.SG from all-ABL.N.PL
bonis
good-ABL.N.PL
'This torments him: he was separated from all his goods.' (Cicero Tusc. 1,83; Menge 2000: 104)

b. *Ne* illud *quidem* *intellegunt* *ita*
NEG this-NOM.N.SG even understand-PRS.IND.3PL. so
necesse *fuisse*
necessary-ACC.N.SG be-INF.PRF
'They do not even understand that this would be so necessary.' (Cicero Brut. 289; Menge 2000: 104)

c. Illud *perlibenter* *audivi* *te*
This-NOM.N.SG very.willingly hear-IND.PRF.1SG you-ACC.SG
esse.
be-INF.PRS
'I have heard (this) with great pleasure that it was you.' (Georges 2004; s.v. *ille*)

d. *Venio* *nunc* *ad* illud *tuum:*
come-IND.PRS1SG now to this-ACC.N.SG yours-ACC.N.SG
non *deieci*
NEG repress-IND.PRF.1SG
'I come now to what you have said: I have not forgotten it' (Cicero, Caec. 64; OLD, s.v. *ille*)

Assuming this, the right part of the geometry in Latin has to be illustrated as in Figure 4 below where the three Latin genders are associated directly or indirectly with the opposition between [discrete] vs. not specified for [discrete].

The feature [discrete] will play a crucial role for the morphophonological analysis presented in the next section.

3.3. *Morphophonological analysis of Latin* iste

The two number, three gender and five case features of Latin allow 30 different combinations, i.e., we get a paradigm consisting of 30 different cells. Yet, as shown in Table 1, *iste* (the same holds for *ille*) has only 15 different forms.

In this paradigm the feminine has 9 fields, the masculine (depending on how the dative singular and the nominative plural are analyzed) 9 or 8 and the neuter only 7. The low number of fields in the neuter is due to the fact that *iste* has

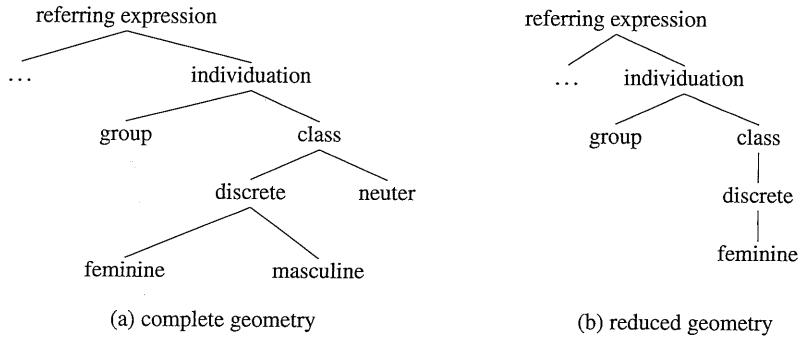


Figure 4. *Latin*

the same form for nominative and accusative, a point which will be relevant for the following discussion. Furthermore, there is no gender distinction at all in the dative and genitive singular as well as in the ablative and dative plural, the latter showing only one form for both cases. Moreover, masculine and neuter show the same form in the ablative singular and in the genitive plural. And finally, the nominative/accusative plural form of the neuter is identical to the

Table 1. *Paradigm of* iste

			fem.	mas.	neut.
sg.	−obl	nom.	***ista***$_i$	*iste*	*istud*^{a}
		acc.	*istam*	*istum*	
	+obl	abl.	*istā*	*istō*^{b}	
		dat.	***istī***$_j$^{c}		
		gen.	*istīus*^{c}		
pl.	−obl	nom.	*istae*	***istī***$_j$	***ista***$_i$^{a}
		acc.	*istās*	*istōs*	
	+obl	abl.	*istīs*^{c}		
		dat.			
		gen.	*istārum*	*istōrum*^{b}	
			9	9/8	7

a no nom./acc. distinction in the neuter
b no mas./neut. distinction
c no gender distinction at all

nominative singular of the feminine. Thus, only in the nominative/accusative singular the neuter has a specific form.[5]

If we assume that the correspondences between the mentioned forms are not accidental, i.e., if we do not want to assume sheer homophonous elements (cf., e.g., Villar 1984, who assumes that the syncretic form for nominative and accusative neuters is not accidental, but reflects a mixed system, where nominals denoting animate referents show an accusative-nominative case-marking system, whereas nominals denoting inanimates follow the "neuter" system with one form for several functions), we have to take them into account in our morphological analysis. We want to do this by starting from two basic morphological assumptions: First, in line with Wiese (2003), we will decompose the case features. This allows us to explain some cases of the mentioned syncretism. And second, we assume a realizational morphological theory, where form and function are associated with each other by a set of correspondence rules (like, e.g., in *Distributed Morphology*, Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994).[6]

In his analysis of the Latin declension, Wiese (2003) distinguishes 12 different form types which show different markers for case and number. Apart from this, the Latin nominals may also have theme vowels, which mark the respective declension class, and/or so called "declensional vowels", i.e., vowels present in different endings (e.g., in case endings). These vowels together with the case and number marker lead to different schemes. Table 2 gives a partial overview over Wiese's assumption. For reasons of space we have only considered those markers and schemes which are relevant for the pronominals *iste* (and *ille*).[7]

5. This is true for *iste* and *ille*, but not for *ipse* (< *is* + particle *pse*), where the neuter form *ipsum* is identical with the masculine. Cf. as well the following quote: "[...] ntr. *ipsum* (nicht *-ud*) seit Plt. Bacch. 284, offenbar als junge Ergänzungsform; denn für *ipse* als vorwiegend personales Pronomen war ein Neutrum kaum benötigt" [ntr. *ipsum* (and not *-ud*) since Plt. Bacch 284, maybe as a young additional form to the paradigm, for *ipse* as a mainly personal pronoun did not need a neuter form] (Leumann et al. 1977: 471).
6. For more details about Distributed Morphology cf. among others Noyer (1992, 1997), Marantz (1997), Harley and Noyer (1999), Embick and Noyer (2001, 2004).
7. Note that the pronoun *hic* (stem *ho-* + particle *-c(e)*; cf. Leumann et al. 1977 [1926–1928]: 468), which we will not consider here, as it had no outcome in Spanish, belongs to a different declension class (its stem ends in a vowel) from that of *ille* or *iste*. Yet, the underlying assumptions of our analysis are also valid for *hic*: (1) there is no distinction between nominative and accusative neuter forms (cf. *hoc* singular and *haec* plural), (2) the only explicit neuter form is *hoc* for the nominative/accusative singular, (3) the nominative/accusative plural of the neuter is identical to the nominative singular of the feminine, i.e., *haec*, (4) there is no gender distinction at all in the dative and genitive singular (cf. *huic*, *huius*) as well as in the ablative and dative plural, the latter one showing only one form for both cases (cf. *hīs*), and (5) masculine and neuter show the same form in the ablative singular and in the genitive plural (cf. *hōc*, *hōrum*). The particle *-ce* is also found in combination with *ille* and *iste*, e.g., the 'local

Table 2. *Latin endings (modified from Wiese 2003: 12; V = theme vowel, v = "declensional vowel", L = lengthening)*

	light		heavy						
	nonC-form	*m*-form	*nonC*-form			*s*-form			*m*-form
	0	2	3b	4		5b	6	6+	7+
marker	—	m	L	vL		Ls	vLs	-X-s	-X-m
scheme	-V	-Vm	-V:	-v:	-Vv	-V:s	-v:s	-v:vs	-V:rvm
Fem.	*ist-a*	*ist-am*	*ist-ā*	*ist-ī*	*ist-ae*	*ist-ās*	*ist-īs*	*ist-īus*	*ist-ārum*
Mas.	*ist-e*	*ist-um*	*ist-ō*			*ist-ōs*			*ist-ōrum*
Neut.	*ist-ud*				*ist-a*				
	nom. sg	acc. sg	abl. sg	dat. sg	nom. pl	acc. pl	dat.pl abl.pl	gen. sg	gen. pl

According to Wiese (2003), the form type 0 which can be associated with the nominative singular stands out for having no marker. The resulting scheme consists, thus, only of a theme vowel. In contrast to this, the marker of the form type 2 is *-m* and the resulting scheme is theme vowel followed by this marker. The marker for the ablative singular (type 3b) is "lengthening" and the corresponding scheme is one where the theme vowel is lengthened. The other form types can be read in a similar way.

Let us now turn to the neuter which, as we have shown in Section 3.2, is not specified for being [discrete]: The only two forms which are not identical with those of the masculine are *istud* and *ista*. As shown in Table 2, exactly these two forms do not conform to the schemes proposed by Wiese (2003). *Istud* may be related with the form type 2, yet, the marker is /d/ and not as expected /m/. Furthermore, this form does not correspond to the scheme of the nominative singular. Something similar holds for *ista*: the form should be related to the form type 0, whereas concerning case and number information it belongs to form type 4 or 5b. This form is also the realization of the feminine singular in the nominative case. Let us recall the above quotation of Hofmann and Szantyr (1997 [1972]: 9), where they state that the neuter plural was originally the form of a singular collective. According to Schön (1971: 123; cf. also Tichy 1993), in early Indo-European, the ending *-a* was not yet embedded in the categories of gender, number and case. In her view, because of its original meaning, *-a* could become the ending for the (collective) feminine singular in opposition to the originally non-collective masculine, and at the same time, it

adverbials' *illīc* and *istīc*. Leumann et al. (1977: 469) assume that these forms, which have not survived in Standard Spanish, are not directly extended with the deitic particle; rather they are built following the *hic*.

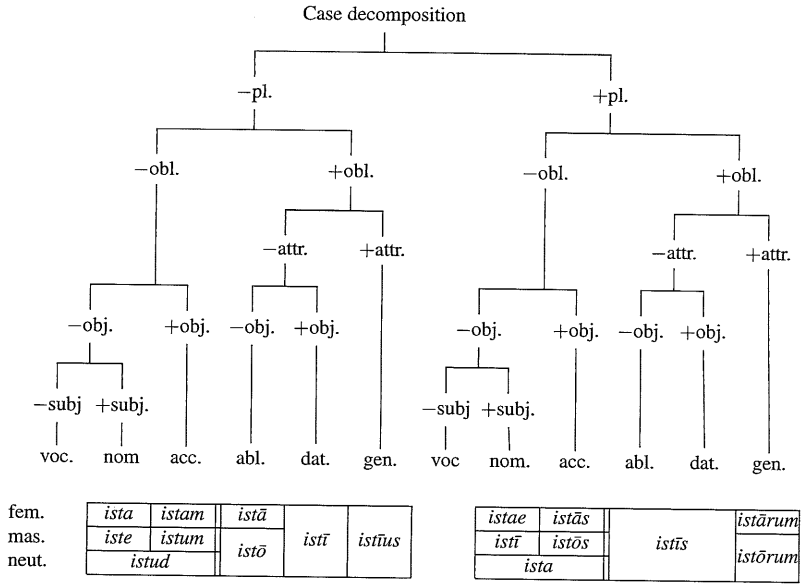


Figure 5. *Case decomposition (cf. Wiese 2003: 5)*

could become the exponent of the collective neuter plural in opposition to the additive masculine/feminine plural.[8]

Before discussing these two forms more in detail, let us first consider Wiese's (2003) proposal for the decomposition of the case features, given in Figure 5. On the first level (seen from top to bottom), plural (or [group]) is distinguished from non-plural. Thereupon, a division between oblique (semantic) vs. non-oblique (structural) cases is made; the latter one depends on structural factors rather than on (pure) lexical elements. The oblique cases are further subdivided into attributive case (= genitive) and non-attributive case. On the next level, "objecthood" is defined for the oblique and non-oblique cases. The latter ones show furthermore a subdivision into subject and non-subject.

These features allow us to explain several cases of syncretism. Let us assume for example the following three elements which encode different feature sets and which are to be realized phonologically: X-[+pl, +obl, +attr] (genitive plural), Y-[+pl, +obl, −attr, −obj] (ablative plural) and Z-[+pl, +obl, −attr,

8. See also Brugmann (1970 [1904]: 355): "Die Formen auf *-a* waren also von Haus aus weder singularische noch pluralische Kollektiva, sondern Kollektiva schlechthin" [The forms in *-a* were thus originally neither singular nor plural collectives, but just collectives].

+obj] (dative plural). The element X has to be realized, e.g., by /o:rum/, i.e., we can specify /o:rum/ as being associated with the features [+pl, +obl, +attr]. In contrast to this, the elements Y and Z are both realized by /i:s/. In this case we can assume that /i:s/ is associated only with a subset of the features encoded by the elements Y and Z, namely with [+pl, +obl]. The phonological material /i:s/ cannot be inserted in X, because there is another element (/o:rum/) which fulfills more features of the element to be realized than /i:s/ does.[9] The syncretic form for the ablative and dative plural can thus be explained via an underspecified phonological element (called *Vocabulary Item* in *Distributed Morphology*).

Yet, instead of associating directly the complete phonological material with the corresponding grammatical features, we will formulate the necessary correspondence rules using the schemes proposed by Wiese (2003), cf. the provisional proposal in (4).

(4) Correspondence Rules (*Vocabulary Items*) (provisional)

a.	V	↔ [+subj]	
b.	Vm	↔ [+obj]	
c.	V:	↔ [+obl]	
d.	v:	↔ [+obl, +obj]	
e.	Vv	↔ [+pl, +subj]	(i.e., [group, +subj])
f.	V:s	↔ [+pl, +obj]	(i.e., [group, +obj])
g.	v:s	↔ [+pl, +obl]	(i.e., [group, +obl])
h.	v:vs	↔ [+obl, +attr]	(i.e., [group, +attr])
i.	V:rvm	↔ [+pl, +obl, +attr]	(i.e., [group, +obl, +attr])

Take for example rule (4g), which can be read as follows: Respecting the *Subset Principle*, if the feature specification of the pronoun contains the features [+pl, +obl], it is associated with the scheme "long declensional-vowel" followed by /s/.

Apart from these correspondence rules, we need realization rules for the theme vowels (V) and for the "declensional vowels" (v). With respect to this, we can deduce from the paradigm in Table 1 that all gender-indifferent forms (*istī*, *istīus* and *istīs*) contain the "declensional vowel" /i/, whereas all explicit feminine forms (*ista*, *istam*, *istā*, *istae*, *istās* and *istārum*) show the theme vowel /a/. With the exception of the nominative plural (*istī*), the masculine forms are

9. Cf. the *Subset Principle* of Halle (1997: 128): "The phonological exponent of a Vocabulary item is inserted into a morpheme in the terminal string if the item matches all or a subset of the grammatical features specified in the terminal morpheme. Insertion does not take place if the Vocabulary item contains features not present in the morpheme. Where several Vocabulary items meet the conditions for insertion, the item matching the greatest number of features specified in the terminal morpheme must be chosen."

Table 3. *Application of (4) and (5)*

Correspondence Rules	Realization Rules					
	(5a) V	(5b) V		(5c) v	(5d) v	(5e) v
	Fem.	Mas.	Neutr.			
(4a)	*ist-a*	***ist-o***	***ist-o***	–	–	–
(4b)	*ist-am*	*ist-om* (> *ist-um*)	***ist-om*** (> ***ist-um***)	–	–	–
(4c)	*ist-ā*	*ist-ō*	*ist-ō*	–	–	–
(4d)	–	–	–	–	–	*ist-ī*
(4e)	*ist-ae*			+	–	–
		ist-ou	***ist-ou***	–	+	–
(4f)	*ist-ās*	*ist-ōs*	***ist-ōs***	–	–	–
(4g)	–	–	–	–	–	*ist-īs*
(4h)	–	–	–	–	+	*ist-īus*
(4i)	***ist-ārim***	***ist-ōrim***	***ist-ōrim***	–	+	–

marked by the theme vowel /o/ (*istum* < *istom*, *istō*, *istōs* and *istōrum*). Thus, it seems as if gender information played a role at least for the realization of the theme vowels. We propose the realization rules in (5).

(5) Realization Rules for V (provisional)

a. V ↔ /a/ , if [+fem]
b. V ↔ /o/ (*elsewhere*)

Realization Rules for v (provisional)

c. v ↔ /e/ / /a/ ___ (after theme vowel /a/) (e.g., *istae* vs. **istai*)
d. v ↔ /u/ / v ___ (if preceded by another v) (e.g., *istīus* vs. **istīis*)
e. v ↔ /i/ (*elsewhere*)

In the environment of the feature [feminine], the theme vowel is always realized as /a/, cf. (5a), while in all other cases, the theme vowel gets the default realization /o/, cf. (5b). The default for "declensional vowels" is /i/, cf. (5e). If the declensional vowel is precede by the theme vowel /a/, it is realized as /e/, cf. (5c); and if it follows another theme vowel, it is realized as /u/, cf. (5e). The results that we get when applying this are given in Table 3.

Take for example the ablative singular (third line of the Correspondence Rules in Table 3). According to the correspondence rule (4c), the ablative singular is associated with the scheme -V: (long theme vowel). In the case of the feminine, the theme vowel is realized as /a/, cf. (5a), and in all other cases as /o/, cf. (5b). Some schemes, for example the one for the genitive singular (v:vs),

cf. (4h), ask for more than one realization rule, as they contain more than one vowel. So the first v of the scheme for the genitive singular is realized by /i/ according to rule (5d) (marked with + in the above table), whereas, applying rule (5e), the second v is realized by /u/.

Yet, as the highlighted forms in Table 3 show, with the assumptions introduced so far we also predict "ungrammatical" forms for *iste*. The forms affected are: the nominative forms of the masculine, the nominative and accusative forms of the neuter and the genitive plural forms. For reasons of space, we will only consider the ungrammatical neuter forms more in detail.[10] According to Wiese (2003: 15), the contrast between *istōrum/istārum* and predicted **istōrim* receives a (morpho)phonological explanation: before a labial "declensional"-consonant /i/ is rounded and surfaces as [u]. We doubt that this analysis can be maintained for these forms. Leumann et al. (1977 [1926–1928]: 421) state that Lat. *-ārum* goes back to prehistorical Italic *-āsōm*. As it is very unlikely that /o:/ became /i/ which by a (morpho)phonological rule surfaces as /u/, we prefer to explain these forms with a specific realization rule for v which says that v is realized as /u/ before /m/, cf. (7e) below.

Thus, the forms which still need an explanation are the nominative and accusative ones of the neuter. In order to analyze these forms correctly, we need to take into account the semantic contrast between feminine/masculine and neuter. As shown in Section 3.2, we assume that feminine and masculine are specified as being [+discrete], whereas the corresponding value for the neuter is not specified and depends on the linguistic context, i.e., it is instantiated at LF. From a morphological point of view, we can assume that those schemes which only hold for the feminine and masculine (i.e., V for the nominative singular, Vm for the accusative singular, v: for the nominative plural masculine, Vv for the nominative plural feminine and V:s for accusative plural) require the feature [+discrete]; all the other schemes are not specified for this feature, i.e., they also hold for the neuter, cf. the correspondence rules in (6). Moreover, we have to add two more correspondence rules, cf. (6k) and (6l): One where the scheme V (theme vowel) is associated with a feature "collective" (remember that there are no real neuter plural forms, but only forms ending in a "collective" *-a*; cf. Fn. 8) and another one where the scheme Vd is the elsewhere realization.[11]

10. Wiese (2003: 15, Fn. 16) assumes an apophonic variation /o/ > [e] for the masculine forms of the nominative singular: without any modification of the rules assumed so far, final /o/ gets [e] (cf. as well Morani (2000: 240). We do need a modification of the assumptions for the masculine plural forms in the nominative: rule (4e) must not be applied to masculine pronouns. This can be avoided by taking into account the feature [+feminine] (e.g., Vv ↔ [+Pl, +Subj, +fem]). Furthermore, rule (4d) has to concern also the masculine nominative plural (e.g., v: ↔ [+obl, +Obj] and [+Pl, +Subj]). Finally, as dative singular and nominative plural do not share any features, we assume for this formal parallelism a case of homophony.

(6) Correspondence Rules

a.	V	↔ [+subj, +discrete]
b.	Vm	↔ [+obj, +discrete]
c.	V:	↔ [+obl]
d.	v:	↔ [+obl, +obj]
e.	v:	↔ [+pl, +subj, +discrete] (cf. Fn. 10)
f.	Vv	↔ [+pl, +subj, +discrete, +fem] (cf. Fn. 10)
g.	V:s	↔ [+pl, +obj, +discrete]
h.	v:s	↔ [+pl, +obl]
i.	v:vs	↔ [+obl, +attr]
j.	V:rvm	↔ [+pl, +obl, +attr]
k.	V	↔ [+collective]
l.	Vd	↔ *elsewhere*[12]

In addition to this, we have to modify the realization rule for theme vowels as given in (7a). /a/ is the realization of V not only in the context of the feature [feminine], but also if the feature [collective] is present.

(7) Realization Rules for V (provisional)

a. V ↔ /a/ , if [+fem] or [+collective]
b. V ↔ /o/ (*elsewhere*)

Realization Rules for v (provisional)

c. v ↔ /e/ / /a/ ___ (after theme vowel /a/) (e.g., *istae* vs. **istai*)
d. v ↔ /u/ / v ___ (if preceded by another v) (e.g., *istūus* vs. **istūis*)
e. v ↔ /u/ / ___ /m/ (before /m/) (e.g., *istōrum* vs. **istōrim*)
f. v ↔ /i/ (*elsewhere*)

With these modifications, especially by introducing the feature [+discrete] in the correspondence rules, we now correctly predict the forms of Latin *iste*, cf. Table 4 below.

11. This assumption is motivated by the fact that the scheme Vd is associated with a less complex feature geometry than the corresponding feminine and masculine schemes, i.e., it is less marked. Vd cannot be associated positively with specific features, because [singular] is expressed by the absence of [plural] (or [group]) and "neuter", i.e., [non-discrete], by the absence of the feature [discrete].
12. We leave the question whether there is a relation between the final *-d* of *istud* and the *-d* of Old Latin personal pronouns *mēd*, *tēd* and *sēd* (> Lat. *mē*, *tē* and *sē*) for further research (cf. Leumann et al. 1977 [1926–1928]: 461–462 for a brief discussion).

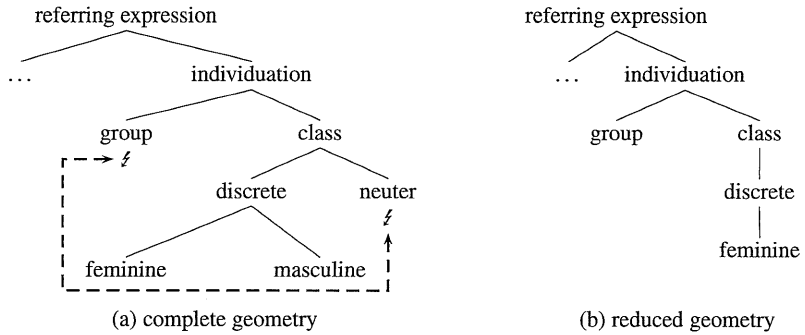
Table 4. *Application of (6) and (7)*

Correspondence Rules	Realization Rules						
	(7a) V	(7b) V		(7c) v	(7d) v	(7e) v	(7f) v
	fem. [+discr]	mas. [+discr]	neutr. [Ødiscr]				
(6a)	ist-a	*ist-o* (> *ist-e*)	–	–	–	–	–
(6b)	*ist-am*	*ist-om* (> *ist-um*)	–	–	–	–	–
(6c)	*ist-ā*	*ist-ō*	*ist-ō*	–	–	–	–
(6d)	–	–	–	–	–	–	*ist-ī*
(6e)	–	–	–	–	–	–	*ist-ī*
(6f)	*ist-ae*	–	–	+	–	–	
(6g)	*ist-ās*	*ist-ōs*	–	–	–	–	
(6h)	–	–	–	–	–	–	*ist-īs*
(6i)	–	–	–	–	+	–	*ist-īus*
(6j)	*ist-ārum*	*ist-ōrum*	*ist-ōrum*	–	–	+	–
(6k)	–	–	*ist-a*	–	–	–	–
(6l)	–	–	*ist-od* (> *ist-ud*)	–	–	–	–

3.4. *Preliminary summary and discussion*

The correspondence rules in (6) clearly show that there are no specific schemes for the neuter in the Latin demonstratives (Vd being the default); nor are there any realization rules which are explicitly specified for neuter pronouns. In other words: In most cases, there is a complete gender syncretism (cf. *istī*$_{\text{DAT.SG}}$, *istīus*$_{\text{GEN.SG}}$ and *istīs*$_{\text{ABL/DAT.PL}}$). In two cases, we have a masculine/neuter syncretism (cf. *istō*$_{\text{ABL.SG}}$ and *istōrum*$_{\text{GEN.PL}}$), and in one case (cf. *ista*$_{\text{NOM/ACC.PL}}$), the ending is associated only with number (or "collective") (not with gender). The only element which could be associated with the "neuter" gender is *-ud* (cf. *illud*$_{\text{NOM/ACC.SG}}$), which in our analysis is a mere default realization.

The most intriguing fact for us is the absence of genuine neuter endings in the plural (cf. Table 1 for an overview). We think that this is not a mere coincidence, but that it has something to do with the feature geometry. In other words, we think that the cases of morphological syncretism are a hint at a fundamental semantic change. In order to make this clear, we repeat the Latin geometry assumed in Figure 4 in Figure 6.



(a) complete geometry (b) reduced geometry

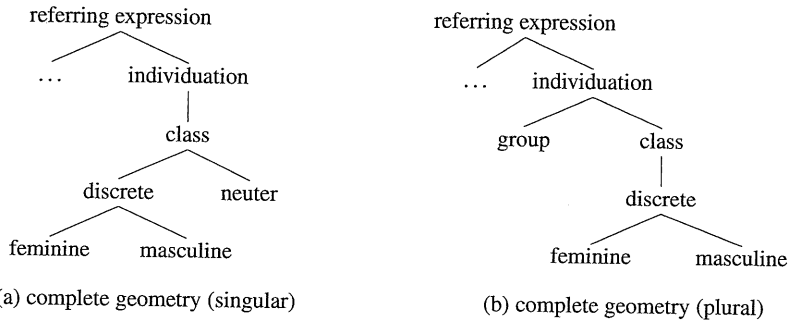
Figure 6. *Latin (cf. Figure 4)*

As symbolized by the lightning, this geometry has a weak point: the feature [group] is logically incompatible with the absence of the feature [discrete]. That is, if neuter is not specified for the feature [discrete], as we have assumed, plural forms should not be possible in many cases, [non-discreteness] being incompatible with countability and thus plural. However, if neuter is situated below the [class]-node, the feature geometry in Figure 6 predicts (specific) plural forms also for the neuter. All of this leads to a strange situation for a real neuter gender, like the one still attested in Latin. In order to retrace the resulting actual changes in the geometry and the forms from Latin to Spanish, we therefore assume in a first step a pure hypothetical splitting of the feature geometry in Figure 6, so that we get two coexisting geometries without the number problem: one for the singular (cf. Figure 7a) and another one for the plural (cf. Figure 7b). The possible combinations of these hypothetical geometries are given Figure 8 below.

In Figure 8a–c the difference between neuter and feminine/masculine lies in the presence or absence of the feature [discrete]. But in the case of Figure 8f, this difference is documented by the presence or absence of the [class]-node. The only thing which is explicitly expressed in this last case is the feature [group], more precisely "collective". This reflects quite well the original meaning, 'collective', of (Proto)Indo-European *-a* (cf. Schön 1971: 123).

4. From Latin to Modern Spanish

The first point we want to clarify in what follows is the status of the feature [discrete]: In Section 3.2 we have stated that in Latin pronominals, the neuter had no specification for the feature [discrete]. For Spanish, we have assumed in Section 2 that the so-called pronominal neuters prototypically refer to



(a) complete geometry (singular) (b) complete geometry (plural)

Figure 7

non-individuated entities. In what follows, we will discuss this slight semantic change.

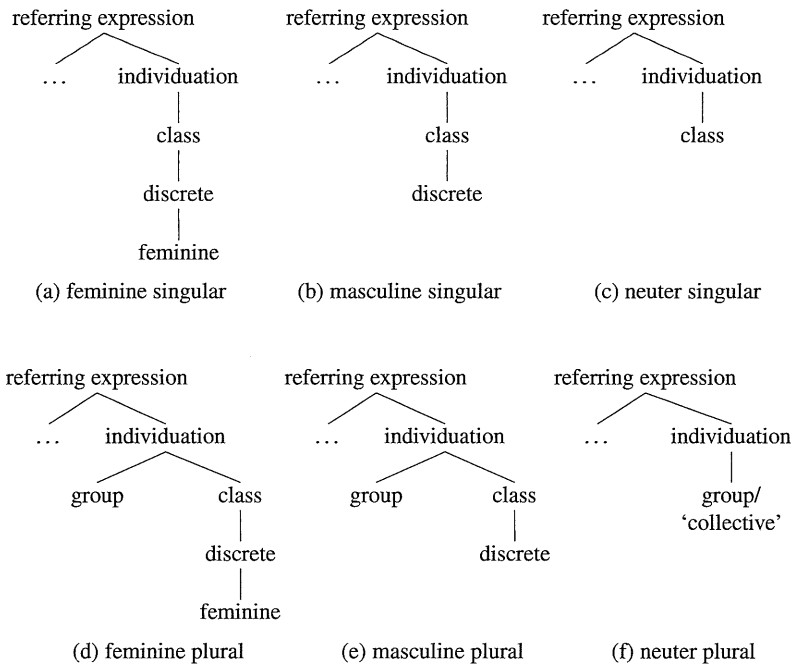
4.1. The development of the feature geometry

Let us return now to the geometry illustrated in Figure 7a, in order to better understand the changes which have taken place from Late Latin to Modern Spanish. If we reconsider the opposition between [discrete] and [non-discrete], we have to state that this opposition is strictly speaking not a matter of classification, i.e., one of gender, but a specification of the operation of individuation. *Individuation* means denotation of countable and discrete entities (or sets of them).

Assuming that the organization of the geometry is "constrained by basic conceptual categories" (Harley and Ritter 2002a: 518; cf. Section 3.1), the geometry must reflect this fact, that is the feature [discrete] can actually not depend from the [class]-node, as we have been assuming so far. As individuation is concerned, the distinction between neuter and masculine/feminine must be located higher in the hierarchy, with the effect that the [class]-node is only relevant for the distinction between feminine and masculine, cf. Figure 9.

The resulting geometries, given in Figure 10, clearly show that from this moment on the so-called "neuter" is no longer a matter of gender or classification, but one of non-individuation.[13]

13. Notice that in the geometries in Figure 10 the feature [neuter] is no longer embedded in the geometry. It is reanalyzed as a case of non-individuation, an interpretation which is achieved contrastively via the absence of the feature [individuation/discrete].



(a) feminine singular (b) masculine singular (c) neuter singular

(d) feminine plural (e) masculine plural (f) neuter plural

Figure 8. *Specific combinations of geometry in Figure 7*

In these geometries, the interpretation of the so-called "neuter" results automatically from the absence of the [individuation]-node. Note that the geometry in Figure 10b implicitly entails the one in Figure 10a. That is, in this perspective, the assumed coexistence of the two geometries, one for the singular and another for the plural, is no longer necessary. The resulting geometry (cf. Figure 11) is the one that structurally holds also for Modern Spanish.

If the feature [feminine] in Figure 11b is absent (cf. Figure 12b and d), the resulting interpretation will be 'masculine', and the absence of [individuation] (cf. Figure 12e) results in what mistakenly is called "neuter", i.e., in something where the referent is not individuated (cf. Hall 1965, 1968; Manoliu Manea 1970; Mariner 1973; Velleman 1979; Klein-Andreu 1981; Lapesa 1984; Álvarez Menéndez 1999; Fernández Ordóñez 2007).

Please note that the feature [group] depends from [individuation] and as such it can only be present if [individuation] is present, or, as Ojeda (1984: 172) puts it, "plurality presupposes individuation". Therefore, this feature geometry also

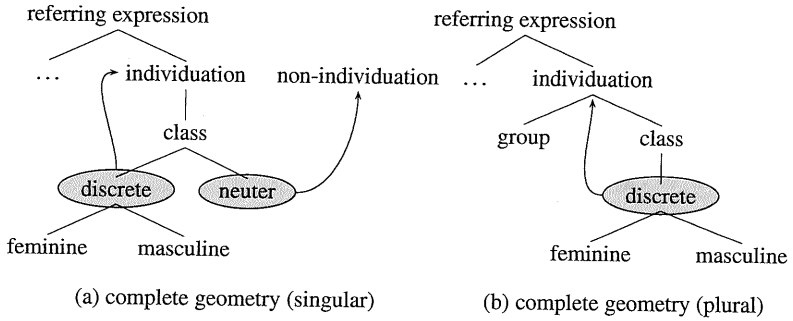


Figure 9. *Individuation = discrete*

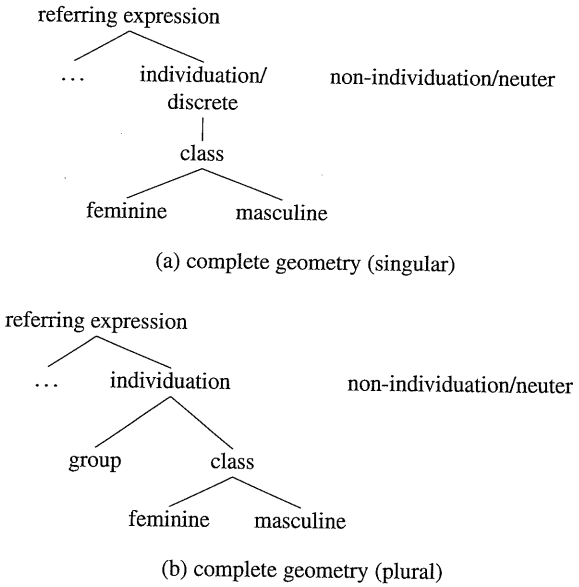


Figure 10

explains why the so called Spanish "neuters" do not allow plural forms just like the absence of specific neuter plural endings in Latin.

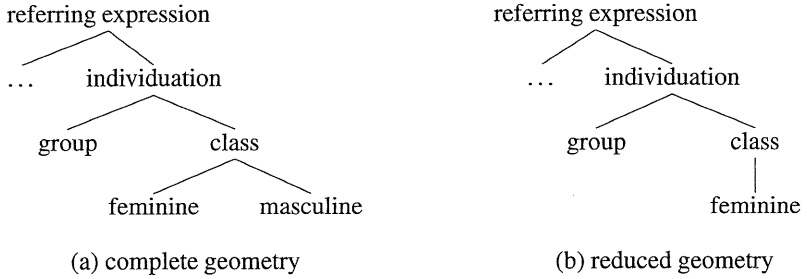


Figure 11. *Modern Spanish*

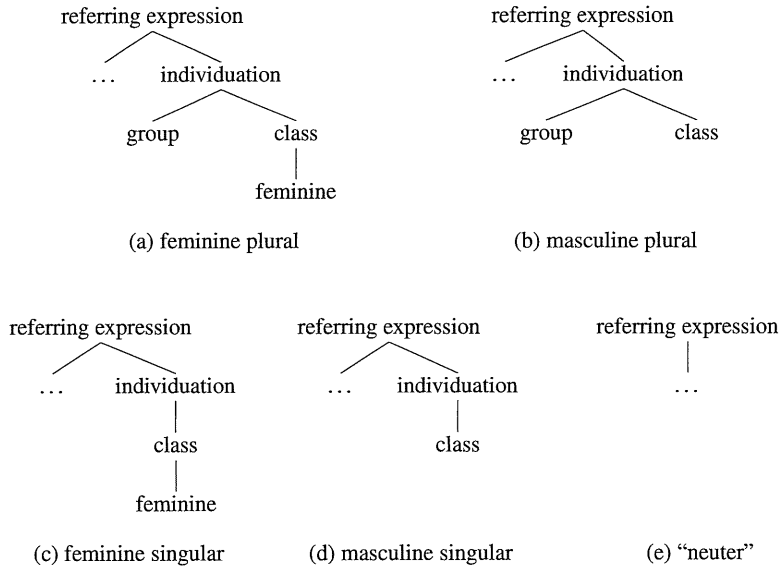


Figure 12. *Possible combinations*

4.2. Morphophonological changes

From a morphological point of view, the most relevant change in the pronominal system from Latin to Spanish was the reduction from a five-case-system to a two case-system, because some of the Latin schemes (cf. Table 2) simply got lost. But also phonological changes had an impact on some schemes

(e.g., loss of the final consonants /m/ and /d/, loss of vowel length, lowering of the final unstressed vowels /u/ and /i/ to /o/ and /e/ respectively, etc.). Furthermore, as shown in the semantic analysis in Section 4.1, we assume that the feature [discrete] for masculine and feminine was replaced by the feature [+individuated] as soon as the classification node of the feature geometry got lost. With this matter of fact, also the correspondence rule (8k) disappeared, as non-individuation and plural (or group) are incompatible. The results of these changes are shown in (8), where the left part shows the Latin correspondence rules (cf. (6)) and the right one the situation after the reduction of the case system.

(8)

Latin vs. After the reduction of the case system

a.	V	↔ [+subj, +discr]	a′.	V	↔ [+subj, +indiv]
b.	Vm	↔ [+obj, +discr]	b′.	V	↔ [+obj, +indiv]
c.	V:	↔ [+obl]			
d.	v:	↔ [+obl, +obj]			
e.	v:	↔ [+pl, +subj, +discr]	c′.	v	↔ [+pl, +subj, +indiv]
f.	Vv	↔ [+pl, +subj, +discr, +fem]	d′.	V	↔ [+pl, +subj, +indiv, +fem][14]
g.	V:s	↔ [+pl, +obj, +discr]	e′.	Vs	↔ [+pl, +obj, +indiv]
h.	v:s	↔ [+pl, +obl]			
i.	v:vs	↔ [+obl, +attr]			
j.	V:rvm	↔ [+pl, +obl, +attr]			
k.	V	↔ [+collective]			
l.	Vd	↔ *elsewhere*	f′.	V	↔ *elsewhere*

As the right part of (8) shows, the morphological schemes of Latin got almost completely lost. In four cases, i.e., in (8a′), (8b′), (8c′) and (8e′), different grammatical features are associated with one and the same scheme. Thus, from the originally 11 (or 12) schemes of Latin actually only three (V, v and Vs) remained after the reduction of the Latin case system: Vs, which is associated with the features [+pl, +obj, +indiv], v, which is associated with the features [+pl, +subj, +discr], and V, which is now reinterpreted as the elsewhere scheme, the default. Furthermore, as it is well known, /s/ came to be reanalyzed "as a marker exclusively for number and no longer for case" (Penny ^{2}2002: 118). That is, the scheme Vs splits up into V and /s/, where /s/ is associated with [+pl] (which presupposes the presence of the feature [+individuated]), and V merges with the only remaining default scheme V. v is finally associated

14. We assume that not simply the vowel length got lost, but the whole morphological marker L (= lengthening). Therefore, the scheme associated with the nominative plural forms of the feminine is now V (and no longer Vv).

only with the feature [+indiv], as [+pl] is marked by /s/ and the subject-object-distinction got completely lost. The reduction of the Latin five-case-system to a two-case-system and the reanalysis of /s/ as a marker for [+plural] lead to a situation where only two schemes (V and v) are left. The realization of the theme vowel depends, as in Latin, on gender or class information: V is realized as /a/ if the feature [feminine] is present and as /o/ in all other cases, cf. (7) for Latin and (9) for Spanish. The former "declensional vowel" v is instead realized as /e/ (< Lat. /i:/).[15] We have thus three realization rules: /s/ for plural, /e/ for the former "declensional vowel" v, /a/ for feminine and /o/ as default realization for the theme vowel. Note that the distinction between theme vowel and "declensional vowel" is no longer relevant for Spanish. With these rules, we can thus derive the Spanish forms *esta*, *estas*, *esto* and *estos*, but for the masculine plural, we would predict **estes* and not *estos*. Therefore we assume that /e/ is the realization of the feature [+individuated] only if the vowel stands word-finally (= singular) (and the stem is monosyllabic, cf. *est-e*, *es-e* vs. **aquel-e*); in the plural, where it is not in word-final position, default /o/ is inserted.

(9) Realization Rules for V and v (Spanish)

a. /a/ ↔ [+indiv, +fem][16]

b. /e/ ↔ [+indiv]/___# (if monosyllabic and word-final)[17]

c. /o/ ↔ *elsewhere*

Realization Rule for plural (Spanish)

d. /s/ ↔ [+plural]

With these rules we correctly predict all the possible forms of Spanish *este*. For some other Spanish demonstratives and pronouns (especially for *aquel*), only a few additional assumptions are necessary. These are mainly morphophono-

15. According to Penny (^{2}2002: 145) "[t]he emergence of *este* [...] must be due to the need to distinguish the masculine singular forms from neuter *esto* [...]." That is, Penny assumes the introduction of the marker /e/ in order to distinguish between the individuated masculine and the neuter. In contrast to this, we assume that Spanish /e/ goes back to the Latin "declensional vowel" /i:/ (nominative plural), which due to the mentioned changes was reinterpreted as the marker of nominative singular masculine.

16. We leave the question whether there is still a 'collective' /a/ in Modern Spanish (like, e.g., in *pasarse**la** bien*, ***la** que se va a liar* etc.) for future research.

17. Harris (1991) assumes that the masculine singular "bears a lexical diacritic" (cf. Harris 1991: 54, Fn. 26), i.e., that it is somehow marked, only the plural forms being unmarked. Thus, his analysis does not differ from ours in this respect, we also assume that the masculine plural as well as the "neuter" forms get /o/ by default and are thereby unmarked. Yet, instead of assuming that e.g., *es-* (for *ese*) is marked, first, with the lexical diacritic]ø which exempts it from Marker Realization *o/a* (= no word marker in case of masculine singular), and, second, as being syllabically exceptional in order to trigger *e*-insertion, we simply assume that the "theme vowel" for the masculine singular forms is /e/.

logical in nature and do not question the morphological and semantic analysis presented in this paper.

5. Conclusion

We have shown that neither the Latin nor the Spanish gender-system is based on the opposition *animate* vs. *inanimate*. For Latin (at least for demonstrative pronouns), we have proposed that the features *animate/inanimate* associated with gender in Harley and Ritters' feature geometry for pronouns are to be replaced by the features *discrete* vs. *non-discrete*. This leads us to the geometry in Figure 4, where the features [discrete] and [non-discrete] simply took over the original place of [animate] and [inanimate]. Now, under a morphological point of view, we have discovered that already in Latin demonstratives, there are no proper endings for neuter plural forms. We have related this fact to the logical incompatibility of the feature [group] with the absence of the feature [discrete], and have therefore assumed, as a theoretical intermediate step, two coexisting feature geometries for Latin: one for the singular and another one for the plural (cf. Figure 10). But the resulting assumed geometries still have a fundamental problem: the opposition between [discrete] and [non-discrete] is strictly speaking not a matter of classification, i.e., one of gender, but a specification of the operation of individuation. This leads to the reduction of the [class]-node in the geometry and to the Modern Spanish feature geometry illustrated in Figure 11. If the feature [feminine] is absent in this geometry, the resulting interpretation will be 'masculine', and the absence of [individuation] results in what mistakenly is called "neuter", i.e., in something where the referent does not have to be individuated. The impossibility of neuter plural forms in Modern Spanish demonstratives and personal pronouns is reflected in the geometry by the fact that the feature [group] depends on [individuation] and as such it can only be present if [individuation] is present. Thus, the distinction between feminine/masculine and the so-called "neuter" is a matter of individuation vs. not specification for individuation, and the corresponding morphophonological distinction is one between specific Vocabulary Items for individuated referents (/-a/ and /-e/) and the mere default /-o/.

In sum, there is thus no strict morphological change from Latin to Modern Spanish (except cliticization of formerly free pronouns, not specific to the "neuter" forms). Based on the notions of underspecification and default, we have argued that Spanish /o/ just preserves the default status of Latin /ud/. And, as shown in Section 4.1, the feature geometry got modified in that the opposition between masculine/feminine on the one hand and neuter on the other hand was replaced by the distinction of individuation vs. non-specification for individuation – which is located higher in the geometry, above the [class]-node. The [classification]-feature remains only relevant for the distinction between masculine and feminine: these are still genders, opposed to the so-called "neuter".

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