

El abundante agua fría: Hermaphroditic Spanish Nouns

David Eddington & José Ignacio Hualde
Brigham Young University & University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Abstract

According to some Spanish grammarians, including the Royal Spanish Academy, nouns like *agua* 'water', *asa* 'handle', etc., are feminine and take a phonologically-conditioned allomorph of the definite article (*el*) that is identical to the masculine article. Our data, both from an experiment and from electronic searches, show that there is considerable fluctuation in the gender of prenominal, but not postnominal, modifiers, with nouns in this group even when no phonological conditioning is found. The facts are incompatible with models where nouns bear a specific gender feature of the lexicon, which they assign to all targets of agreement. Instead, these facts of hybrid agreement are best accounted for in an exemplar model. Regardless of the phonological origin of the phenomenon, speakers interpret sequences such as *el agua* as showing masculine agreement, which creates an analogical attractor for non-etymological agreement with prenominal modifiers, as in *poco agua*, *el abundante agua*, etc.

1. Introduction

A well-known complication in the gender-agreement system of Spanish is that most feminine singular nouns starting with stressed /a/ take the definite article *el* instead of *la*. Examples of words in this group are given in (1).

- (1) Some feminine nouns that take the definite article *el*
*acta, África, agua, águila, ala, alga, alma, alza, ama, ánima, ancla, anda, ansia, ara, arca, área, aria, arpa, arma, asa, ascua, Asia, aspa, asta, aula, aura, ave, aya, haba, hacha, hada, hambre, hampa, haya, haz*¹

Exceptions to this generalization are the names of letters of the alphabet, feminine acronyms beginning with stressed /a/ and other proper names. It should also be noted that the article *el* does not appear before feminine adjectives meeting the phonological condition. The article *la* is also used with nouns and adjectives of nationality when referring to females and in other nominalizations of adjectives with a female referent. Examples of these exceptions are given in (2).

- (2) Exceptions to the generalization of feminine singular nouns taking the definite article *el* when starting with a stressed /a/
- Names of letters: *la a*, *la hache*
 - Acronyms: *la ASA* (e.g. *la Asociación...*)
 - Proper names (excluding *Asia*, *África*): *la Ana*, *la Austria moderna*, 'modern Austria', *la Ávila antigua*, 'ancient Avila'
 - Feminine adjectives: *la alta torre* 'the tall tower', *la árida meseta* 'the barren plateau'
 - Feminine nouns with biologically feminine referents and nominalized adjectives: *la árabe* 'the Arabic woman', *la árbitro/a* 'the female referee', *la alta* 'the tall one', *la árida* 'the barren one'

As stated in the recent *Diccionario panhispánico de dudas* of the Spanish Academy (Real Academia Española 2005), the nouns in (1) are feminine and trigger agreement with feminine adjectives and other modifiers. Therefore, in the usage described by the Spanish Academy the only peculiarity of these nouns is found in the definite article that they take. In the Academy's analysis (2005, p.247), the article *el* that these nouns take is an allomorph of the feminine article, which just happens to be identical to the masculine article. This is, in fact, the historical origin of the phenomenon. In the development of the Spanish articles from the Latin demonstratives, *ILLA* generally evolved into *la* (e.g. *ILLA CASA* > (*e*)*la casa* > *la casa*). However, before a vowel it yielded *el* (e.g. *ILLA AQUA* > *el(a) agua* > *el agua*). The article *el*, which in medieval times had a wider distribution before vowel-initial feminine nouns, over time became restricted to occurring only before feminine nouns beginning with stressed /a/.

Frequently, the nouns in (1) also take other masculine modifiers. For example, the indefinite article *un* along with *algún* 'some' and *ningún* 'not any' often occur before nouns of this sort (e.g. *un/algún águila* ~ *una/alguna águila* 'an/some eagle'). We used Google to find cases of interest in Spanish language pages.² Such searches are problematic in that Google only returns one hit per page, does not take punctuation or typographical errors into account, and only gives estimates when large numbers of hits are found. For this reason, the numbers we report must be considered approximations. Nevertheless, the frequency data resulting from the Google search indicate that *un*, *algún*, and *ningún* are often more frequent than *una*, *alguna*, and *ninguna* for many of these nouns (see Appendix A). In the Academy's view (2005, pp.248, 657) these apparently masculine forms are actually apocopated allomorphs of the feminine forms *una*, *alguna*, *ninguna*, which are coincidentally identical to the corresponding masculine forms. The idea, again, is that there is something phonetically infelicitous about sequences of word-final /a/ followed by stressed word-initial /a/.

However, in the same section, the Academy vehemently rejects and condemns the not uncommon usage of other masculine modifiers before the nouns in (1), most

likely because this usage cannot be explained by phonological means. Consider the incorrect examples in (3).

- (3) Examples of incorrect and correct agreement according to the RAE's *Diccionario panhispánico de dudas*
- | Incorrect | Correct | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| <i>este agua</i> | <i>esta agua</i> | 'this water' |
| <i>ese hacha</i> | <i>esa hacha</i> | 'that axe' |
| <i>aquel águila</i> | <i>aquella águila</i> | 'that eagle' |
| <i>mucho hambre</i> | <i>mucha hambre</i> | 'much hunger' |
| <i>todo el área</i> | <i>toda el área</i> | 'the whole area' |
| <i>poco agua</i> | <i>poca agua</i> | 'little water' |
| <i>un único área</i> | <i>una única área</i> | 'a single area' |

The use of such supposedly incorrect masculine agreement with feminine nouns is in fact not uncommon as has been noted by several authors (e.g. Gómez Torrego 1991, Lázaro Carreter 1997, Martín 1922, Seco 1998). Our Google search also yields evidence that there is considerable variation in these phrases, although the variant recommended by the Academy consistently returned a greater number of hits. A number of examples are listed in (4) and the results of the entire search appear in Appendix A.

- (4) Examples from Google search
- | | | | |
|----------------------|---------|-----------------------|---------|
| <i>este agua</i> | 82,900 | <i>esta agua</i> | 210,000 |
| <i>ese hacha</i> | 1140 | <i>esa hacha</i> | 1170 |
| <i>aquel águila</i> | 240 | <i>aquella águila</i> | 421 |
| <i>mucho hambre</i> | 13,700 | <i>mucha hambre</i> | 138,000 |
| <i>todo el área</i> | 122,000 | <i>toda el área</i> | 383,000 |
| <i>poco agua</i> | 34,500 | <i>poca agua</i> | 136,000 |
| <i>un único área</i> | 129 | <i>una única área</i> | 14,100 |

The usage of expressions such as *este agua* rather than *esta agua* is not limited to uncultured speech. Ortega y Gasset (1983, p.428) provides the instance in (5).

- (5) ¿Con qué derecho se la toma por aquel asa y no por ésta?³

It is widespread enough that it is discussed on various Internet forums. For instance, the RAE's *Departamento de Consultas* posted a response to a question on this topic that essentially repeats the same view expressed in the *Diccionario de dudas*. Words such *agua* are prescribed as always triggering agreement with feminine modifiers.

The complications or confusion that arises is explained as due to the apparently masculine allomorph of the feminine articles in this context:

La forma aparentemente masculina del artículo definido femenino EL y del indefinido UN, cuando acompañan a nombres femeninos que comienzan por /a/ tónica, provoca, por contagio, que se cometa a menudo la incorrección de utilizar las formas masculinas de los demostrativos ESTE, ESE, AQUEL delante de este tipo de nombres: este agua, ese hacha, aquel águila. Debe decirse: esta agua, esa hacha, aquella águila. El contagio se extiende, en el habla descuidada, a otro tipo de determinantes, como TODO, MUCHO, POCO, OTRO, MISMO, etc. Son incorrectas, pues, frases como Echa todo el agua en el barreño (por Echa toda el agua en el barreño), Tengo mucho hambre (por Tengo mucha hambre), Queda poco agua en el pozo (por Queda poca agua en el pozo), Utilizaron un mismo arma para los dos crímenes (por Utilizaron una misma arma para los dos crímenes), etc. (Real Academia Española, Departamento de Consultas 2006)

Under standard assumptions, a given noun may have only one gender, which it assigns to all targets of agreement. From this official RAE viewpoint, the existence of examples such *el agua* together with *agua fría* leads one to conclude that *el* is a phonologically-conditioned allomorph of the feminine article, since its collocation with *fría* unambiguously shows that a noun like *agua* is feminine. As mentioned above, this analysis follows the historical origin of the phenomenon. Essentially the same view (i.e. *el* is an allomorph of the feminine article before nouns like *agua*) is expressed by Harris (1987) in an analysis using abstract underlying representations that are similar to historically earlier forms.

Other authors, however, conclude that in expressions such as *el agua* the form *el* should be taken to be the masculine article in Contemporary Spanish. Masculine *el* is used instead of the expected feminine immediately before nouns starting with stressed /a/ (Plank 1984). A similar analysis is proposed by Zwicky (1985), for whom "a rule of referral sets the exponents of the feminine singular article to that of the masculine, in certain specified contexts" (p.435). In our view, the frequent occurrence of incorrect masculine gender agreement cited above constitutes rather strong evidence that speakers assign masculine modifiers to *agua*-type nouns, and that *el* is not an allomorph of *la*.

One way to explain these facts is to assume that speakers differ in their gender assignment of the nouns in (1). If this were the case, we would expect to find differences among speakers on the gender that is assigned to these nouns. However, Janda & Varela-García (1991) demonstrate that something beyond mere allomorphic or inter-speaker variation in inherent gender assignment is at work. As

they show, there is a tendency for the nouns of this class to be treated as grammatical hermaphrodites, which results in masculine modifiers appearing on their left and feminine modifiers on their right.

The first thing to note is that variation in gender agreement with nouns of this class generally affects determiners and adjectives preceding, but usually not following, the noun. For example, a search of 20th century texts in *Corpus del español* (Davies n.d.) returns examples such as *mismo agua* 'same water', *propio agua* 'own water', *mucho agua* 'a lot of water', but no examples where a postposed adjective with *agua* is masculine. Counting both 19th and 20th century examples, there are three tokens of *buen alma* 'good soul' in the corpus versus two of *buena alma*, whereas no tokens are found of *alma bueno* in comparison to 17 for *alma buena*. That is, for some speakers some of these nouns variably condition one type of gender agreement with prenominal modifiers and the other type with postnominal modifiers.⁴

From the posted responses by participants on Internet forums, it is clear that many speakers' doubts concern gender agreement of prenominal modifiers rather than postnominal modifiers. However, the participants' justification of either *esta agua* 'this water, (f)' or *este agua* 'this water, (m)' as correct depends on whether their analysis is based on pre- or postnominal targets of agreement. Hence, many forum respondents state that the correct form is *esta agua* pointing out that one says *agua fría* 'cold water' (but not *la agua* which some justify as avoidance of the cacophony that would be created by a sequence /-a á-/).⁵ On the other hand, some opt for *este agua* based on *el agua*.

Clear evidence that these nouns are sometimes treated as hermaphroditic and may trigger different gender agreement with preposed and postposed modifiers is offered by examples in which a noun of this class is both preceded and followed by an agreeing modifier. Janda & Varela-García (1991) describe a study in which ten educated Spanish speakers who they consulted actually preferred phrases such as *el cristalino agua* 'the crystalline water' and *el buen hada madrina* 'the good fairy godmother' over their prescriptively correct alternatives. Examples that parallel the title of our paper can be found in newspaper articles, as in (6).

- (6) Hermaphroditic noun with pre- and postposed modifiers
los desperfectos que el abundante agua caída provocó en las vías
 the(m) abundant water fallen(f)
 'the damage that the considerable amount of water that had fallen caused on the tracks' ("Vuelve" 2007)

Even in presumably carefully-edited academic writing we find examples such as those in (7).

(7) Hermaphroditic noun with pre- and postposed modifiers

nuestro habla riojana actual

our(m) speech Riojan(f) present-day

'Our present-day Riojan speech'

(Martínez Sáenz de Jubera & González Perujo 1998, p.477)

A search for *nuestro habla* in Google returns other similar examples: *nuestro habla hispana*, *nuestro habla andaluza*, *nuestro habla cotidiana*.

We believe that it is not necessary for a speaker to settle on a single gender for each noun, from which the gender of its modifiers would be determined. This contradicts the idea that the inherent gender of a noun is passed to its modifiers. Instead, learning tokens such as *el agua* and *agua fría* results in the internalization of both masculine and feminine analogical attractors for a noun like *agua*. That is, speakers do not necessarily conclude that *el* is an allomorph of the feminine article, but rather, identify it with the masculine article. These findings suggest that noun-adjective agreement is based on analogy to stored exemplars of past experience.

A number of exemplar models have been proposed (Bybee 2001, 2006, Daelemans, Zavrel, van der Sloot & van den Bosch 2003, Johnson 1997, Medin & Shaffer 1978, Nosofsky 1988, Pierrehumbert 2001, Skousen 1989, 1992). In an exemplar-based model of language processing and production, the production of novel examples of sentences including nouns and agreeing modifiers does not entail consulting the lexicon in order to determine the lexical gender feature of the noun and then applying a gender-agreement rule; instead, it involves comparison with mentally stored phrasal tokens of the noun and its surrounding modifiers. The idea that stored phrases influence language processing has gained support in recent years (e.g. Bod 1998, Bybee 2006, Bybee & Eddington 2006, Goldberg 2003, Vogel Sosa & MacFarlane 2002).

For a noun like *casa* 'house' all preposed and postposed modifiers that have been previously experienced are arguably feminine and this will unambiguously condition feminine agreement in novel productions on either side of the word. For nouns such as *agua*, on the other hand, chances are that the mental lexicon of a given speaker would contain tokens with preposed modifiers that are both masculine (e.g. *el agua*) and feminine (e.g. *mucha agua*) as well as postposed feminine modifiers. These tokens compete and are weighted along a similarity scale to determine the novel output.⁶ From the phrase *el agua*, masculine agreement is most strongly conditioned with other determiners (e.g. *este agua*) appearing on the left, including when a prenominal adjective unmarked for gender intervenes between article and noun (e.g. *el abundante agua*).

We can conclude from the results of our searches in Google and *Corpus del español* that the power of attraction of *el agua* may be weaker with quantifiers (e.g. *mucho agua*, *poco agua*) and even weaker with regular preposed adjectives where the pull from the gender of the much more frequent postposed adjectives may be

stronger. On the other hand, instances such as *agua fría* may exert feminine-agreement analogical attraction most strongly with other postposed adjectives and most weakly with determiners. Singular tokens appear to exert a weaker influence on novel plural tokens than other plural instances of the same noun. For example, in our Google search there is some use of masculine agreement with the plural form of the nouns in (1), but with a much lower frequency than in the singular.⁷

2. On the nature of hermaphroditic nouns

Corbett (2006, p.12) uses the term *hybrid controller* to refer to nominal expressions that control different feature values on different targets. In our Spanish example in (8), for instance, the noun *señoría* 'lordship' behaves as a hybrid controller.

(8) *Su señoría ilustrísima (Ernesto Gómez) estaba cansado.*

'His most illustrious (f) lordship (Ernesto Gómez) was tired (m).'

In this constructed example the noun *señoría* controls feminine agreement on the adjective *ilustrísima*, but masculine agreement on the predicate *cansado*. What produces hybrid behavior is the fact that the referent is male but the noun is grammatically feminine. All the examples of hybrid gender behavior discussed by Corbett (2006) appear to be of this type, where the noun refers to an animate entity and there is a mismatch between meaning and form. A meaning/form mismatch in gender is produced when the grammatical gender of the noun conflicts with the biological sex of the referent. Under these circumstances we may have hybrid agreement in some languages. The same mismatches with possible hybrid resolution are found in number agreement as well. Corbett mentions the case of nouns such as *committee*, which in British English take plural verb agreement (e.g. *the committee are*), but singular agreement with demonstratives (e.g. *this committee*).

The case of Spanish nouns such as *agua* is crucially different from other types of hybrid controllers. Hermaphroditic behavior is not caused by a mismatch between meaning and form, since these nouns refer to inanimate objects and their gender is, therefore, purely grammatical. That is, the conflict is internal to the linguistic system. In some respects, nouns such as *agua* are more similar to the system of mass/count agreement that is found in the Romance language Asturian and its neighboring linguistic relatives (Hualde 1992, Neira 1955, 1982). We will consider these Asturian facts in some detail, since they provide an interesting parallel, with a difference to be noted below.

In conservative Asturian varieties, such as that spoken in Lena, adjectives may have up to three different non-plural forms: masculine (e.g. *buinu* 'good'), feminine (*buena*) and neuter (*bueno*). The neuter form of the adjective is used when the controller refers to a mass noun regardless of its gender, but only when it follows the noun (e.g. *xente bueno* 'good people' vs. *buena xente*). Articles, on the other

hand, only have masculine and feminine forms: *el pelo negro* 'the black hair, mass' vs. *el pelo negro* 'the black individual hair'; *el ganado blanco* 'the white cattle' vs. *el xetu blencu* 'the white calf', *la maera blanco* 'the white wood'; *la cebolla blanco* 'the white onion, mass' vs. *la cebolla blanca* 'the white onion, individual bulb'. In Lena, grammatical gender (masculine or feminine) determines the agreement features of pronominal modifiers, whereas with postposed modifiers and pronouns there is agreement in the mass feature, instead, with nouns of this type, regardless of gender.

In some areas like Cabranes, however, the masculine and neuter forms have become identical (Canellada 1944), as there is no opposition between final *-o* and final *-u*. The net result is that mass agreement is only observable with feminine nouns. These nouns trigger masculine agreement with following adjectives and feminine agreement with articles and other preceding modifiers: *la cebolla blencu* 'the white onion, mass', where *blencu* is also the masculine form of the adjective (cf., e.g., *el gatú blencu* 'the white cat'). Nouns like *cebolla* in Cabranes behave like our hermaphroditic nouns in that they assign one gender to preceding modifiers and a different gender to following modifiers. We cite these Cabranes Asturian data in order to demonstrate that different patterns of gender agreement are found among the Romance languages in which pronominal and postnominal noun modifiers differ in their gender. An important difference, however, is that in the Cabranes system, the agreement pattern is related to a contrast in meaning, since use of masculine adjectives agreeing with feminine nouns marks mass or matter. Hermaphroditism in standard Spanish, on the other hand, is a purely grammatical phenomenon.

To summarize, *agua*-type nouns (those in (1)) are inconsistent in the gender feature that they condition on agreeing modifiers, showing a tendency towards lateral hermaphroditism (Janda & Varela-García 1991). That is, they tend to condition either feminine or masculine agreement with preceding modifiers, and only feminine agreement with following ones. The cause of this was originally purely phonological: before word initial /a/ the feminine article (as well as *alguna* and *una*) developed an allomorph that was formally identical to their masculine counterparts. Although etymologically this is a case of chance resemblance, we suggest that speakers identify *el* in phrases like *el agua* as the masculine article rather than as an allomorph of *la*. The result is that, although a Spanish speaker's mental lexicon arguably contains many instances of words such as *agua* followed by feminine modifiers, at the same time, modifiers appearing before words such as *agua* are both feminine and masculine, *el*, *algún*, and *un* being the most frequent preposed masculine modifiers. This is the cause of the sporadic, although not uncommon, pronominal masculine agreement beyond the cases where the use of apparently masculine forms is officially sanctioned by prescriptive grammar.

3. Experiment

Although the data provided by our searches of Google are useful, they do have limitations. For this reason we wanted to expand on the work by Janda & Varela-García (1991) by obtaining data in a tightly controlled experimental environment. We are particularly interested in answering a number of questions. First, are more gender agreement errors made on the nouns in (1) than on other nouns? For our purposes errors occur when a modifier's gender does not correspond to that dictated by prescriptive grammar. Second, are more errors made on preposed rather than postposed modifiers? Third, does the frequency of the noun influence the occurrence of errors? Fourth, do any of these three factors interact with each other? In order to answer these questions we carried out the following experiment.

3.1 Subjects.

A total of 25 native Spanish speakers participated in the study. Seven were male and 18 female. Fifteen were from Spain, five from Mexico, three from Peru, one from Argentina, and one from Chile. Except for one subject in her 50s, the remaining were in their 20s and 30s. All had had at least some college education.

3.2 Test items

All test items were composed of sequences of three words, such as *el/la abundante agua*, that contain a noun and two modifiers. In each case, one of the modifiers can be inflected for gender (*el/la*) and the other cannot (*abundante*). The test items were arranged into a 3 X 2 X 2 design based on three variables: noun class, placement of inflected modifier, and noun frequency. Three classes of nouns were used: 1) regular nouns whose overt gender markers agree with their inherent gender (e.g. *dinero* 'money', *fiesta* 'party'), 2) transvestite nouns that end in *-a*, but are masculine (e.g. *problema* 'problem'), and 3) hermaphroditic nouns as in (1). Half of the test items had inflected modifiers that preceded the noun and in the other half they followed the noun. In like manner, half of the items were among the 5,000 most frequent words in Spanish according to Davies (2006) and were considered high frequency, while the other half were considered low frequency because they did not appear among the 5000 most frequent words. Each of the resulting 12 cells contained five test items with the exception of the cell containing the low frequency transvestite nouns preceded by an inflected modifier; we could only find three low frequency nouns of this type. This explains the total of 58 rather than the expected 60 test items expected in a 3 X 2 X 2 design. The prescriptively incorrect versions of the 58 test items are shown in Appendix B.

In addition to the test items, 60 distractors were included that had to do with agreement in number rather than gender (e.g. *inmensa blancuras invernal*,

'immense winter whitenesses,' *humildes curas católicos* 'humble Catholic priests'). Half of these were incorrectly inflected as well. Two different versions of the test were created. In the first, half of the test items contained a modifier that was incorrectly inflected according to prescriptive grammar. In the second version, the items that were correctly and incorrectly inflected were reversed from the first version.

3.3 Procedure

Subjects were randomly assigned one of the two versions of the test prior to the start of the test session. The experiments were carried out using the DMDX presentation software (Forster n.d.). After being seated at the computer the subjects read these instructions which were followed by six practice items:

En este estudio Ud. va a ver una serie de tres palabras como *elegantes iguanas cubanas*. Estas palabras podrían aparecer en una frase bien dicha como, *Las elegantes iguanas cubanas están muy cotizadas en el extranjero*. En este caso Ud. tiene que apretar la tecla marcada BIEN. Sin embargo, si aparecen estas palabras, *elegante iguanas cubano*, Ud. tiene que indicar que están mal apretando la tecla marcada MAL. Ahora, vamos a hacer algunos para practicar. Ponga el dedo izquierdo sobre la tecla marcada MAL, y el dedo derecho sobre la tecla marcada BIEN. Las palabras no quedan en la pantalla mucho tiempo o sea que hay que responder rápido.

The subjects had the opportunity to ask questions after finishing the practice items and before continuing to the experiment. In essence, the experiment involved pressing one key marked *good* if the sequence of words could plausibly appear together in a sentence and another key marked *bad* if they could not.

Each test item appeared on the screen for 1,800ms with an interval of 2,133ms separating each one. Responses made after 3,800ms timed out in preparation for the presentation of the next item and were not included in the statistical analysis. This comprised only 0.018% of the responses. The idea behind this experimental paradigm was to force the subjects to make judgments quickly in the hopes that they would not have time to second guess themselves or be influenced by prescriptive notions. Although it was possible to measure reaction times, we did not because it was impossible to equate the test items in terms of their lexical and collocational frequency, which are known to exert a strong influence on reaction times. For this reason, the only measurement made was whether the responses agreed with prescriptively correct usage or not. The order in which the items were presented was randomized differently for each test subject and the experimental session lasted about ten minutes.

3.4 Results and discussion

Logistic regression analysis was carried out using Goldvarb (Rand & Sankoff 1990, Robinson, Lawrence & Tagliamonte 2001) in order to determine what factors influenced the subjects to commit errors. In all, errors were made on 302 (or 21.2%) of the 1424 items included in the analysis. Factors were noun type (regular, transvestite, hermaphroditic), placement of inflected modifier (before or after noun), frequency of the noun (high or low), prescriptive grammatical correctness (correct or incorrect), and the interactions among these. Only the interaction factors that included noun type were found to be significant in the analysis. The factor weights for these interactions appear in Table 1. Remember, various factors are at work at the same time. Some may influence errors while others may promote prescriptively correct responses. The factor weights indicate the influence of one factor – in this case one combination of factors – above and beyond that of the other factors. This explains the lack of tight correlation between factor weights and the number of errors.

The factor weights indicate the extent to which each combination of variables favors or disfavors errors. Weights of +.100 and greater indicate factors that favor errors (i.e. deviation from prescriptive norms), while weights of -.100 and lower indicate factors that disfavor errors. Weights between +.100 and -.100 are generally thought to be negligible in that they indicate no strong influence in either direction. Factor weights farther from zero indicate stronger influences than those closer to zero.⁸

A number of conclusions may be drawn from these data. The first is that hermaphroditic nouns, regardless of their frequency, tended to induce more erroneous responses (from the point of view of the Spanish Academy's rules) than regular nouns or high frequency transvestite nouns. Since our measure of what is erroneous is based on prescriptive grammar, this means that the subjects were least likely to conform to prescriptive norms for the gender inflection of modifiers of hermaphroditic nouns. This confirms the tendency noted in the data found on the Internet (see Section 1). The fact that low frequency transvestite words such as *teorema* 'theorem' and *crucigrama* 'crossword puzzle' also favored errors may indicate that these words may have been unknown or unclear to some of the subjects, or at least that limited experience with these words has not given them a clear notion of which gender modifiers they take. In other words, limited exposure to these words may have not provided enough tokens and collocations for the speaker to make strong connections between these nouns and their modifiers.

Another tendency manifest in the data is for correct constructions such as *posible fusión completa* 'possible complete fusion' not to induce errors. On the other hand, incorrect constructions such as *posible fusión completo* were likely to be erroneously judged as correct. However, prescriptively incorrect constructions containing hermaphroditic nouns such as *el peor ancla* were most likely to be

marked as correct. Again, this suggests that gender agreement for hermaphroditic nouns is less likely to follow prescriptive rules than other types of nouns, although a significant number of incorrect constructions with transvestite and regular nouns were erroneously judged to be correct as well. Of course, some errors are due to subjects' meaning to press one key but pressing the other one by mistake, but we assume that such errors would be equally distributed among the test items.

Factor	Factor Weight	Number of Errors
Noun Frequency by Noun Type		
High Frequency, Hermaphroditic	+0.346	86
Low Frequency, Hermaphroditic	+0.260	78
Low Frequency, Transvestite	+0.162	47
Low Frequency, Regular	-0.100	37
High Frequency, Transvestite	-0.280	30
High Frequency, Regular	-0.340	24
Grammatical Correctness by Noun Type		
Incorrect, Hermaphroditic	+0.370	117
Incorrect, Transvestite	+0.214	52
Incorrect, Regular	+0.168	39
Correct, Regular	-0.162	22
Correct, Transvestite	-0.216	25
Correct, Hermaphroditic	-0.366	47
Inflected Modifier Placement by Noun Type		
Before Noun, Hermaphroditic	+0.368	114
Before Noun, Transvestite	+0.110	38
Before Noun, Regular	+0.048	35
After Noun, Transvestite	-0.076	39
After Noun, Regular	-0.120	26
After Noun, Hermaphroditic	-0.310	50
Log likelihood = -635.330, $p = 0.008$, Total Chi-square = 20.7905, Chi-square per cell = 0.8663, Input 0.180		

Table 1. Factor weights resulting from the logistic regression analysis of the experiment

As far as the position of the inflected modifier is concerned, inflected modifiers that preceded the noun, as in *otro/a diafragma eficaz* 'another efficient diaphragm,' were more likely to produce errors than constructions in which the inflected modifier followed, as in *tradicional idioma amazónico/a* 'traditional Amazonian language.' Constructions containing inflected modifiers that followed the nouns, on

the other hand, were least likely to induce errors. The tendency toward more errors on preposed modifiers versus postposed modifiers is most pronounced among the constructions with hermaphroditic nouns.

4. Conclusions

In traditional models of grammar, gender is considered to be an inherent property of nouns that is manifested in the shape of agreeing modifiers. If a given noun is entered in the mental lexicon with a consistent gender specification (either masculine or feminine in the case of Spanish⁹) the expectation is that it will consistently control the same type of gender agreement with all modifiers. We have shown that gender agreement in Spanish is more fluid than a rule-based model would predict. In particular, agreement with preposed and postposed modifiers may follow different patterns. Our experimental results are consistent with our findings from searches of electronic corpora and other sources. All the evidence shows that Spanish speakers display considerable variation or insecurity in the gender of modifiers preceding *agua*-type nouns, but usually not regarding the gender of following modifiers. These facts are compatible with the hypothesis that speakers store phrasal tokens and employ analogy with stored exemplars to interpret or produce novel utterances (Bybee 1988, 2006, Bybee & Eddington 2006, Eddington 2004, Skousen 1989, 1992).

Notes

- 1 The dictionary of the Spanish Academy lists three homonyms under *haz* with different etymologies. Only the third one, meaning 'face' is said to be feminine.
- 2 Bruce Hayes' QueryGoogle was of great help in carrying out these searches: www.linguistics.ucla.edu/people/hayes/QueryGoogle
- 3 Thanks to Justo Fernández López for pointing out this example.
- 4 With *hambre*, which has a more gender-ambiguous ending, there are a few examples of postposed masculine agreement: *un hambre bárbaro* 'a barbarious hunger', *un hambre leonino* 'a lion-like hunger', together with *tanto hambre* 'so much hunger', and *muchísimo hambre* 'a lot of hunger.'
- 5 Clearly, this is not a valid explanation; compare *el ama* 'the landlady' vs. *la ama* 's/he loves her' (Harris 1987) as well as *la alta* 'the tall one', *conocida área* 'known area', and *absurda ansia* 'absurd anxiety' where exactly the same sequence /-a á-/ obtains as in the supposedly cacophonous examples.

- 6 Exactly how the exemplars compete, are compared, and are weighted differs from one algorithm to the next and is beyond the scope of the present paper. See Chandler (2002) for a discussion.
- 7 A possible diachronic development is for an originally feminine noun of this class to settle on masculine agreement in the singular but not in the plural, as has happened with the noun *arte* (*el arte español* 'Spanish art' vs. *las bellas artes* 'fine arts').
- 8 GoldVarb actually gives factor weights that vary between one and zero. These have been converted into a +1 to -1 scale for ease of interpretation.
- 9 [+f] or [-f] in Roca (1989) or in Harris (1991) marked or unmarked for the unary feature [f].

Appendix A

Frequency data from the Google search (March 2007)

asta				astas			
el	68500	la	1390	los	131	las	97700
un	28800	una	560	unos	0	unas	526
ningún	6	ninguna	201	ningunos	0	ningunas	1
ese	381	esa	294	esos	0	esas	175
aquel	25	aquella	40	aquellos	3	aquellas	19
mucho	1340	mucha	56	muchos	1	muchas	109
tanto	763	tanta	5	tantos	0	tantas	29
nuestro	32	nuestra	40	nuestros	0	nuestras	23
poco	1190	poca	21	pocos	0	pocas	3
otro	1120	otra	583	otros	0	otras	43
mismo	1150	misma	247	mismos	4	mismas	15
				varios	0	varias	129

agua				aguas			
el	1770000	la	90500	los	737	las	1320000
un	293000	una	35500	unos	76	unas	42600
ningún	765	ninguna	1440	ningunos	3	ningunas	49
ese	60200	esa	145000	esos	16	esas	120000
aquel	602	aquella	15400	aquellos	30	aquellas	36900
mucho	54800	mucha	463000	muchos	50	muchas	40600
tanto	909	tanta	91800	tantos	14	tantas	906
nuestro	1380	nuestra	47500	nuestros	29	nuestras	94100
poco	35700	poca	141000	pocos	0	pocas	693

otro	1440	otra	14800	otros	282	otras	49400
mismo	16300	misma	46500	mismos	50	mismas	27800
				varios	109	varias	853

águila				águilas			
el	810000	la	13100	los	19100	las	784000
un	247000	una	20300	unos	286	unas	1480
ningún	187	ninguna	48	ningunos	2	ningunas	23
ese	1060	esa	1270	esos	89	esas	1130
aquel	242	aquella	426	aquellos	9	aquellas	146
mucho	73	mucha	25	muchos	59	muchas	319
tanto	265	tanta	27	tantos	9	tantas	30
nuestro	447	nuestra	1310	nuestros	37	nuestras	900
poco	34	poca	2	pocos	5	pocas	76
otro	352	otra	1110	otros	136	otras	558
mismo	277	misma	204	mismos	11	mismas	318
				varios	17	varias	183

ala				alas			
el	819000	la	51300	los	10700	las	1150000
un	232000	una	29000	unos	75	unas	74300
ningún	266	ninguna	299	ningunos	0	ningunas	205
ese	1310	esa	621	esos	30	esas	16000
aquel	240	aquella	318	aquellos	10	aquellas	1210
mucho	738	mucha	351	muchos	137	muchas	18200
tanto	1400	tanta	177	tantos	2	tantas	854
nuestro	438	nuestra	754	nuestros	73	nuestras	25200
poco	1180	poca	234	pocos	7	pocas	146
otro	617	otra	17700	otros	120	otras	535
mismo	1310	misma	1040	mismos	53	mismas	1170
				varios	29	varias	866

alma				almas			
el	1430000	la	39900	los	1370	las	1430
un	1070000	una	71500	unos	59	unas	20
ningún	12300	ninguna	675	ningunos	0	ningunas	0
ese	15900	esa	53200	esos	28	esas	41
aquel	1460	aquella	20200	aquellos	17	aquellas	12
mucho	620	mucha	558	muchos	74	muchas	56

tanto	859	tanta	1370	tantos	9	tantas	61
nuestro	976	nuestra	384000	nuestros	60	nuestras	493
poco	489	poca	1260	pocos	6	pocas	1
otro	1220	otra	30000	otros	141	otras	93
mismo	1390	misma	40600	mismos	91	mismas	9
				varios	139	varias	18

ansia

el	392000	la	9960	los	389	las	354000
un	75700	una	897	unos	528	unas	17300
ningún	228	ninguna	228	ningunos	2	ningunas	23
ese	10400	esa	12400	esos	13	esas	20700
aquel	199	aquella	340	aquellos	3	aquellas	620
mucho	300	mucha	544	muchos	427	muchas	24300
tanto	972	tanta	9590	tantos	12	tantas	12400
nuestro	300	nuestra	851	nuestros	28	nuestras	29100
poco	47	poca	51	pocos	0	pocas	250
otro	66	otra	116	otros	9	otras	320
mismo	631	misma	1310	mismos	7	mismas	732
				varios	1	varias	2

ansias

los	389	las	354000
unos	528	unas	17300
ningunos	2	ningunas	23
esos	13	esas	20700
aquellos	3	aquellas	620
muchos	427	muchas	24300
tantos	12	tantas	12400
nuestros	28	nuestras	29100
pocos	0	pocas	250
otros	9	otras	320
mismos	7	mismas	732
varios	1	varias	2

arca

el	563000	la	12400	los	235	las	911000
un	71700	una	9320	unos	8	unas	1380
ningún	654	ninguna	377	ningunos	0	ningunas	0
ese	536	esa	953	esos	3	esas	360
aquel	95	aquella	371	aquellos	2	aquellas	74
mucho	5	mucha	2	muchos	18	muchas	97
tanto	46	tanta	5	tantos	0	tantas	16
nuestro	33	nuestra	482	nuestros	4	nuestras	833
poco	4	poca	2	pocos	1	pocas	15
otro	542	otra	396	otros	3	otras	243
mismo	85	misma	256	mismos	0	mismas	241
				varios	4	varias	102

arcas

los	235	las	911000
unos	8	unas	1380
ningunos	0	ningunas	0
esos	3	esas	360
aquellos	2	aquellas	74
muchos	18	muchas	97
tantos	0	tantas	16
nuestros	4	nuestras	833
pocos	1	pocas	15
otros	3	otras	243
mismos	0	mismas	241
varios	4	varias	102

área

el	1620000	la	375000	los	24800	las	1390000
un	1230000	una	603000	unos	28	unas	49800
ningún	33200	ninguna	23000	ningunos	14	ningunas	148

áreas

los	24800	las	1390000
unos	28	unas	49800
ningunos	14	ningunas	148

ese	73300	esa	543000	esos	91	esas	325000
aquel	709	aquella	21600	aquellos	122	aquellas	469000
mucho	134	mucha	1290	muchos	239	muchas	304000
tanto	515	tanta	1020	tantos	3	tantas	16400
nuestro	30700	nuestra	300000	nuestros	127	nuestras	139000
poco	87	poca	1140	pocos	27	pocas	46400
otro	22200	otra	373000	otros	813	otras	1110000
mismo	61900	misma	376000	mismos	117	mismas	69200
				varios	604	varias	333000

arpa

el	177000	la	809	los	49	las	17400
un	42800	una	671	unos	0	unas	68
ningún	24	ninguna	5	ningunos	0	ningunas	2
ese	150	esa	481	esos	1	esas	70
aquel	16	aquella	44	aquellos	0	aquellas	4
mucho	6	mucha	8	muchos	0	muchas	60
tanto	21	tanta	5	tantos	0	tantas	9
nuestro	6	nuestra	58	nuestros	0	nuestras	672
poco	3	poca	0	pocos	0	pocas	2
otro	9	otra	85	otros	4	otras	21
mismo	24	misma	34	mismos	0	mismas	6
				varios	17800	varias	22

arpas

los	49	las	17400
unos	0	unas	68
ningunos	0	ningunas	2
esos	1	esas	70
aquellos	0	aquellas	4
muchos	0	muchas	60
tantos	0	tantas	9
nuestros	0	nuestras	672
pocos	0	pocas	2
otros	4	otras	21
mismos	0	mismas	6
varios	17800	varias	22

ancla

el	184000	la	1370	los	634	las	63900
un	90000	una	766	unos	8	unas	1070
ningún	100	ninguna	65	ningunos	0	ningunas	1
ese	421	esa	545	esos	10	esas	227
aquel	25	aquella	41	aquellos	0	aquellas	27
mucho	2	mucha	8	muchos	5	muchas	165
tanto	58	tanta	29	tantos	9	tantas	153
nuestro	46	nuestra	419	nuestros	9	nuestras	221
poco	5	poca	0	pocos	0	pocas	25
otro	102	otra	539	otros	20	otras	119
mismo	28	misma	29	mismos	1	mismas	8
				varios	23	varias	272

anclas

los	634	las	63900
unos	8	unas	1070
ningunos	0	ningunas	1
esos	10	esas	227
aquellos	0	aquellas	27
muchos	5	muchas	165
tantos	9	tantas	153
nuestros	9	nuestras	221
pocos	0	pocas	25
otros	20	otras	119
mismos	1	mismas	8
varios	23	varias	272

alga				algas			
el	48700	la	980	los	411	las	322000
un	43900	una	899	unos	6	unas	749
ningún	73	ninguna	139	ningunos	0	ningunas	9
ese	402	esa	1080	esos	0	esas	1510
aquel	2	aquella	32	aquellos	1	aquellas	145
mucho	12	mucha	1060	muchos	10	muchas	594
tanto	4	tanta	339	tantos	0	tantas	515
nuestro	1	nuestra	14	nuestros	0	nuestras	110
poco	18	poca	153	pocos	3	pocas	610
otro	64	otra	672	otros	51	otras	9720
mismo	34	misma	128	mismos	2	mismas	256
				varios	3	varias	345
arma				armas			
el	1150000	la	61400	los	34800	las	1340000
un	1240000	una	183000	unos	25	unas	39000
ningún	38600	ninguna	17300	ningunos	62	ningunas	332
ese	15600	esa	52600	esos	519	esas	129000
aquel	990	aquella	1440	aquellos	5	aquellas	13100
mucho	53	mucha	373	muchos	118	muchas	41600
tanto	437	tanta	960	tantos	19	tantas	14000
nuestro	1230	nuestra	33500	nuestros	103	nuestras	92600
poco	77	poca	73	pocos	32	pocas	19000
otro	611	otra	62600	otros	429	otras	153000
mismo	555	misma	27500	mismos	118	mismas	71100
				varios	204	varias	36600
asa				asas			
el	112000	la	20500	los	1160	las	79600
un	73000	una	16300	unos	42	unas	1400
ningún	52	ninguna	39	ningunos	0	ningunas	0
ese	433	esa	222	esos	7	esas	270
aquel	12	aquella	18	aquellos	0	aquellas	25
mucho	42	mucha	17	muchos	4	muchas	190
tanto	88	tanta	3	tantos	0	tantas	25
nuestro	2	nuestra	31	nuestros	3	nuestras	17
poco	88	poca	0	pocos	5	pocas	15

otro	350	otra	319	otros	19	otras	117
mismo	81	misma	147	mismos	2	mismas	50
				varios	8	varias	187
aspa				aspas			
el	29400	la	1440	los	59	las	86200
un	51000	una	554	unos	2	unas	677
ningún	16	ninguna	19	ningunos	0	ningunas	0
ese	127	esa	150	esos	0	esas	504
aquel	14	aquella	11	aquellos	0	aquellas	45
mucho	7	mucha	3	muchos	0	muchas	132
tanto	17	tanta	74	tantos	0	tantas	40
nuestro	0	nuestra	9	nuestros	0	nuestras	33
poco	2	poca	9	pocos	0	pocas	28
otro	51	otra	78	otros	1	otras	27
mismo	19	misma	109	mismos	0	mismas	52
				varios	0	varias	180
ascua				ascuas			
el	44200	la	407	los	12	las	25500
un	9670	una	965	unos	0	unas	464
ningún	26	ninguna	5	ningunos	0	ningunas	0
ese	33	esa	27	esos	0	esas	224
aquel	10	aquella	40	aquellos	0	aquellas	70
mucho	0	mucha	1	muchos	0	muchas	58
tanto	6	tanta	6	tantos	0	tantas	21
nuestro	0	nuestra	19	nuestros	0	nuestras	32
poco	0	poca	4	pocos	1	pocas	34
otro	1	otra	15	otros	0	otras	8
mismo	0	misma	10	mismos	0	mismas	22
				varios	1	varias	2
aula				aulas			
el	1190000	la	32400	los	538	las	1170000
un	705000	una	77000	unos	3	unas	12200
ningún	1130	ninguna	281	ningunos	0	ningunas	8
ese	1470	esa	759	esos	5	esas	13100
aquel	384	aquella	1030	aquellos	2	aquellas	623
mucho	10	mucha	8	muchos	51	muchas	9550

tanto	28	tanta	11	tantos	1	tantas	375
nuestro	1200	nuestra	24400	nuestros	44	nuestras	147000
poco	6	poca	19	pocos	3	pocas	613
otro	1150	otra	10200	otros	54	otras	20100
mismo	995	misma	29000	mismos	6	mismas	10400
				varios	16	varias	19600

haba

el	20100	la	104000	los	314	las	108000
un	631	una	528	unos	4	unas	1150
ningún	4	ninguna	9	ningunos	1	ningunas	16
ese	9	esa	33	esos	0	esas	387
aquel	1	aquella	3	aquellos	0	aquellas	20
mucho	8	mucha	12	muchos	0	muchas	251
tanto	63	tanta	3	tantos	0	tantas	65
nuestro	1	nuestra	16	nuestros	2	nuestras	90
poco	16	poca	14	pocos	0	pocas	43
otro	14	otra	109	otros	3	otras	113
mismo	60	misma	38	mismos	0	mismas	441
				varios	35	varias	10

hacha

el	299000	la	931	los	1160	las	53100
un	219000	una	21900	unos	2330	unas	1070
ningún	534	ninguna	147	ningunos	2	ningunas	0
ese	1150	esa	1170	esos	112	esas	514
aquel	397	aquella	294	aquellos	0	aquellas	33
mucho	17	mucha	13	muchos	7	muchas	272
tanto	16	tanta	37	tantos	15	tantas	112
nuestro	31	nuestra	124	nuestros	9	nuestras	396
poco	11	poca	1	pocos	11	pocas	44
otro	382	otra	532	otros	54	otras	70
mismo	240	misma	216	mismos	6	mismas	38
				varios	11	varias	362

hambre

el	1190000	la	29700	los	1380	las	14700
un	119000	una	691	unos	199	unas	235
ningún	109	ninguna	243	ningunos	0	ningunas	0

ese	802	esa	11400	esos	37	esas	202
aquel	238	aquella	201	aquellos	26	aquellas	24
mucho	13900	mucha	142000	muchos	68	muchas	639
tanto	635	tanta	41600	tantos	30	tantas	177
nuestro	1340	nuestra	13700	nuestros	2	nuestras	296
poco	414	poca	1310	pocos	7	pocas	8
otro	247	otra	587	otros	28	otras	209
mismo	1330	misma	1380	mismos	20	mismas	18
				varios	6	varias	12

álgebra

el	149000	la	695	los	19	las	9490
un	16700	una	704	unos	0	unas	2
ningún	1	ninguna	7	ningunos	0	ningunas	0
ese	53	esa	124	esos	0	esas	27
aquel	9	aquella	3	aquellos	0	aquellas	26
mucho	39	mucha	156	muchos	0	muchas	2
tanto	72	tanta	57	tantos	0	tantas	23
nuestro	20	nuestra	66	nuestros	0	nuestras	6
poco	86	poca	45	pocos	0	pocas	0
otro	18	otra	64	otros	0	otras	141
mismo	47	misma	110	mismos	0	mismas	0
				varios	0	varias	7

álgebras**alba**

el	825000	la	20900	los	20900	las	10700
un	21800	una	1100	unos	5	unas	88
ningún	74	ninguna	18	ningunos	0	ningunas	0
ese	300	esa	549	esos	8	esas	37
aquel	205	aquella	122	aquellos	0	aquellas	40
mucho	415	mucha	27	muchos	6	muchas	96
tanto	353	tanta	7	tantos	16	tantas	26
nuestro	231	nuestra	215	nuestros	2	nuestras	42
poco	41	poca	0	pocos	0	pocas	7
otro	90	otra	290	otros	202	otras	57
mismo	149	misma	72	mismos	3	mismas	0
				varios	0	varias	6

acta				actas			
el	1170000	la	89400	los	790	las	1160000
un	1180000	una	138000	unos	12	unas	13700
ningún	10700	ninguna	679	ningunos	0	ningunas	0
ese	944	esa	32400	esos	8	esas	21900
aquel	185	aquella	578	aquellos	4	aquellas	830
mucho	12	mucha	5	muchos	5	muchas	1380
tanto	104	tanta	11	tantos	1	tantas	684
nuestro	128	nuestra	1140	nuestros	3	nuestras	744
poco	9	poca	3	pocos	0	pocas	391
otro	318	otra	11600	otros	147	otras	9870
mismo	548	misma	46500	mismos	73	mismas	12000
				varios	152	varias	9340

anca				ancas			
el	15600	la	692	los	82	las	50300
un	400	una	270	unos	1	unas	1070
ningún	0	ninguna	0	ningunos	0	ningunas	0
ese	7	esa	3	esos	0	esas	157
aquel	0	aquella	0	aquellos	0	aquellas	30
mucho	0	mucha	0	muchos	0	muchas	2
tanto	6	tanta	3	tantos	0	tantas	2
nuestro	0	nuestra	4	nuestros	0	nuestras	20
poco	2	poca	5	pocos	0	pocas	15
otro	2	otra	6	otros	2	otras	11
mismo	5	misma	0	mismos	0	mismas	13
				varios	2	varias	2

aura				auras			
el	334000	la	771	los	336	las	30800
un	183000	una	17100	unos	2	unas	168
ningún	96	ninguna	148	ningunos	0	ningunas	0
ese	12400	esa	12000	esos	1	esas	677
aquel	232	aquella	650	aquellos	0	aquellas	20
mucho	118	mucha	163	muchos	2	muchas	212
tanto	106	tanta	61	tantos	0	tantas	44
nuestro	566	nuestra	669	nuestros	30	nuestras	863
poco	23	poca	30	pocos	0	pocas	7

otro	159	otra	345	otros	4	otras	289
mismo	349	misma	749	mismos	0	mismas	68
				varios	2	varias	89

Appendix B

Test items (prescriptively incorrect versions)

Hermaphroditic, inflected adjective before noun, high frequency

El mejor arma
 El dulce habla
 Nuestro hambre constante
 Mismo alma singular
 El abundante agua

Hermaphroditic, inflected adjective before noun, low frequency

Tanto álgebra escolar
 Otro hacha rural
 El caliente ascua
 Aquel arca doble
 El peor ancla

Hermaphroditic, inflected adjective after noun, high frequency

Suave ala delicado
 Fuerte ansia demoralizador
 Artificial ave blanco
 Principal área artístico
 Enorme aula universitario

Hermaphroditic, inflected adjective after noun, low frequency

Original arpa clásico
 Fascinante África negro
 Noble águila volador
 Tradicional haba delicioso
 Gigante asta agudo

Transvestite, inflected adjective before noun, high frequency

Ese programa mundial
 Misma problema moral
 Mucha drama mental

La tema local
Tanta aroma especial

Transvestite, inflected adjective before noun, low frequency
Otra diagrama eficaz
Nuestra crucigrama infantil
Mucha visible eccema

Transvestite, inflected adjective after noun, high frequency
Posible lema absurda
Cambiante clima mediterránea
Tradicional idioma amazónica
Mejor sistema educativa
Cruel día sangrienta

Transvestite, inflected adjective after noun, low frequency
Disfuncional diafragma dañada
Razonable teorema matemática
Inicial edema sistémica
Principal enigma religiosa
Urgente telegrama extranjera

Regular, inflected adjective before noun, high frequency
Buena elemento visual
El alegre canción
Mucho carne tropical
Mucha sentido común
Aquel hermana menor

Regular, inflected adjective before noun, low frequency
Mismo tuerca exterior
Nuestro madrastra intolerable
El inhospitable siberia
Barato jeringuilla comercial
Esa dinosaurio salvaje

Regular, inflected adjective after noun, high frequency
Insuficiente dinero limpia
Cruel desierto árida
Noble montaña suizo
Rural pueblo inglesa
Feliz fiesta campesino

Regular, inflected adjective after noun, low frequency
Transparente membrana humano
Posible fusión completo
Original suero médica
Liberal estatuto danesa
Leve avalancha aislado

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