

Inalienable Possession and DP Structure

1. A 'Long-Distance' Inalienable Construction in Spanish

Spanish along with other Romance languages has the inalienable possession construction illustrated in (1):

1. a. Juan es guapo de cara
 Juan is nice of face
 'Juan has a nice face'

The phrasal constituents in (1) show the following semantic dependencies:

- a) the genitive DP has to be inalienably possessed by the nominative DP, and
 b) the adjectives appearing after the copula must be such that they can be predicated of both the nominative possessor *Juan* and the inalienably possessed DP *cara* 'face'. Thus, (2) is ungrammatical because *Juan* does not inalienably possess the genitive DP *libros* 'books', and (3) is excluded because the adjective cannot be predicated of both nouns (cf. 3a):

2. *Juan es interesante de libros 3. ??Juan es plano de pies 3a. *Juan es plano
 Juan is interesting of books Juan is flat of feet John is flat
 'Juan has interesting books' 'Juan has flat feet'

Syntactically, the string *guapo de cara* '(lit.) nice of face' in (1) forms a constituent. For instance, it can be left dislocated, as shown in (4a):

4. a. Guapo de cara, Juan lo ha sido siempre b. *Guapo, Juan siempre lo ha sido de cara
 nice of face Juan it-has been always nice Juan always it-has been of face
 'A nice face Juan has always had'

The adjective *guapo* 'nice' cannot be dislocated without the genitive DP (cf. 4b). In addition, *guapo de cara* can appear as the rightmost constituent of a small clause, as in (5):

5. Manolo considera a Juan guapo de cara
 Manolo considers to Juan nice of face
 'Manolo considers Juan to have a nice face'

Another interesting property of inalienably possessed DP's in the structure under consideration is that they cannot contain any determiner. They contrast in this respect with other inalienable possession constructions where the definite determiner is obligatory, as shown in the examples in (6):

6. a. Juan es guapo de (*la) cara b. El doctor les examina *(la) garganta a los niños
 (cf. (1)) the doctor to-them-examines the throat to the children
 'The doctor examines the children's throat'

An alternative construction, with the same meaning, is also available in Spanish:

7. a. Juan tiene la cara guapa b. *Juan tiene el libro interesante
 John has the face nice Juan has the book interesting
 'John has a nice face' 'John has an interesting book'

(7a) differs from (1) in the following respects:

- a) *tener* 'have' must appear instead of *ser* 'be',
 b) there is no preposition *de* 'of' in (7a), and the definite determiner is obligatory,
 c) the adjective *guapo/a* agrees with the possessor in (1), but with the possessed noun in (7a), and
 d) the adjective in (7a) appears postnominally, whereas in (1) it occupies a prenominal position.
 The contrast between (7a) and (7b) shows that the inalienable possession relationship is preserved in both constructions. The ungrammaticality of (7b) is due to the fact that *libro* 'book' cannot be

interpreted as inalienably possessed by *Juan*, which makes the contrast between (7a) and (7b) parallel to that between (1) and (2).

2. A DP Internal Analysis of Inalienable Possessors

Following Kayne (1993a), we will propose an analysis of (1) and (7a) in which the subject *Juan* raises to the specifier of the projection headed by the copula from a DP internal projection. Thus, (7a) and (1) have the same underlying structure, given in (8) (with English glosses):

8. [AGRSP BE [DP1 D₀/P₀ [AGRP [AP nice [DP2 the/of [NP [DP Juan] face]]]]]]]

Juan in (1) or (7a) is generated in Spec, NP where it is assigned the external θ -role of *cara* 'face' (cf. Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992), henceforth V&Z (1992)). *Juan* raises through the Spec of DP1 to the Spec of AgrSP. In (7a), the incorporation of the D₀/P₀ head of the projection DP1 into BE enables the raising of *Juan* to Spec, AgrSP, and explains the surfacing of *tener* 'have'. In (1), in which no incorporation of the D₀/P₀ head takes place, as evidenced by the surfacing of *ser* 'be', we propose that it is the adjectival head *guapo* 'nice' that incorporates into D₀/P₀, licensing in this way the movement of *Juan* through Spec, DP1. Both processes, incorporation of D₀/P₀ into BE, and incorporation of A₀ into D₀/P₀ switch the nature of the specifier of DP1 from A' into A, allowing the movement of the possessor DP through A positions (cf. Kayne (1993a)).

The fact that only inalienably possessed nouns occur in sentences like (1) or (7a) is derived under the present analysis from the fact that only these nouns have an external θ -role, as proposed in V&Z (1992). The external θ -role of the noun *cara* 'face' in (1) is assigned under NP to its possessor in Spec, NP. Non-inalienable possessors do not receive this external θ -role, and they are generated in a higher position in the DP structure, AgrP in (8).

3. Two D₀ / P₀ Heads inside DP

A novel feature of the DP structure proposed here is that two types of determiners are generated in different structural positions: determiners having a denotational index, or full determiners, are generated as heads of DP1, whereas expletive determiners (cf. Stowell (1989, 1991) and V&Z (1992)), typical of inalienably possessed DP's, are heads of DP2.

The head of DP2 has the same formal properties as the one of DP1: it can surface either as a determiner (an expletive one), as in (7a), or as a preposition, *de* in (1). Thus, the ungrammaticality of expletive determiners in the inalienable DP in (6a), but not in (6b) or (7a), follows from the fact that they occupy the same position as *de*. In (7a), DP2, headed by the expletive determiner *la*, moves to Spec, AP and from this position the inalienable possessor *Juan* raises to Spec, DP1, and higher to Spec, AGRSP. The Spec-Head relationship between DP2 and A₀ under AP inhibits incorporation of the adjective into DP1, forcing the incorporation of D₀/P₀ into BE, and yielding *tener* 'have'. In (1), the head of DP2 surfaces as *de*, and *Juan* raises alone through all the specifiers, establishing under AP a Spec-Head relationship with the adjective. From these two derivations follows the overt agreement between the adjective and the possessor in (1), and the overt agreement between the adjective and the possessed DP in (7a). Furthermore, the differences in the word order of the post-verbal constituents are also derived.

Further evidence for the existence of two different D₀/P₀ heads comes from French which has different prepositions for DP1 and DP2. Consider the French examples in (9), involving an inalienable configuration in (9a) and a non-inalienable one in (9b):

9. a. Jean est joli de visage

John is nice of face

'John has a nice face'

b. Le livre est à Jean

the book is to John

'John has a book'

Under our analysis, the preposition *de* in (9a) is the head of DP2, whereas *à* heads DP1.