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PARTITIVES AND THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE
OF NP SPECIFIERS IN SPANISH*

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0. INTRODUCTION

Studies on the development and refinement of the λ -notation proposed by Chomsky(1970) have mainly emphasized its power to express cross-categorial generalizations. Most of the research in this area focuses on transformational rules which make reference to a set of phrase-structures and not to a single category (see Selkirk, 1974 and Hornstein, 1975). Another line of research in this sub-field of core grammar has been the examination of the notion of "head" as well as the analysis of its properties.

Another important and intrinsic power of the λ -notation is, nevertheless, its capacity to draw distinctions that are impossible to make in a theory which only distinguishes between the lexical node and the phrasal node dominating it. Regarding this point, very important questions still remain without comprehensive answers. One of them is whether specifiers could represent a syntactic category; the other is whether they differ from other categories with respect to the maximum value of n in a scheme like:

$$\begin{array}{c} x^n \\ | \\ x^{n-1} \end{array}$$

Regarding the first point Jackendoff(1977) says: "there is to my knowledge no evidence that either complements or specifiers function as constituents -they do not move or delete as units, and unlike normal constituents, no part can be designated as a head" (*op.cit.p.23*). As to the second problem, it must be noticed that only the minor lexical categories *Q* and *Adv* have received thorough studies in the literature.

All the above topics will be considered in this article through the analysis of some basic aspects of the specifier system of NP in Spanish, although the last one will receive more detailed attention.

In the study of so-called "determiners" in Spanish the researcher is faced with a very peculiar and only apparently simple system. Certainly, Spanish specifiers (provided adjectives are left out) form a closed set involving, as is usual, a small number of lexical items. From the semantic point of view, this small set of elements expresses a rich and complex set of notions: "introducing," "deixis," "quantification," "measure," "grading," etc. Syntactically speaking, the processes involved are also diverse. Like in English you can find "recursion":

- (1) Muchos de los otros muchos amigos.
Many of the many other friends

A surface $\{ Q + of + N \}$ structure to which a partitive interpretation is associated is also found:

- (2) Varios de los invitados
A number of the guests

However, departing in this way from other European languages, some of the determiners can appear either to the right or to the left of N in well specified environments:

- (3)a. Estos mis libros. These my books
b. Estos libros míos. These books of mine
c. Mis libros estos. Lit: My books these
d. Los libros míos. The books of mine
e. Los libros estos. Lit: The books these

Non-numeral quantifiers, on the other hand, can be limited (see Contreras,1978) by a unique lexical item: 'otros'

which can both precede and follow them:

- (4) Otros varios libros - Varios otros libros
Other various books Various other books

How can the theory of phrase structure explain and relate all those facts? Are these syntactic facts related to the semantics of these constructions?

In trying to answer these questions, the argument in this paper will proceed as follows. In the first place, the two basic hypotheses concerning the phrase structure of "partitive" constructions will be critically examined and it will be shown that both are untenable in Spanish. Secondly, a new analysis of the NP phrase structure, which explains the peculiarities of partitive constructions covering other problems left unsolved by the previous solutions, will be exposed and discussed. Finally the theoretical implications of the proposed analysis will be briefly examined.

1. THE COMPETING HYPOTHESES

The two basic hypotheses concerning the phrase structure of partitive constructions are Jackendoff's (1968) and Bresnan's (1973) "hidden partitive hypothesis" and Selkirk's (1977) and Jackendoff's (1977) proposal, which I will name "the partitives like N analysis." Within the first proposal structures like 'Varios libros' (*Several books*) and 'Varios de los libros' (*Several of the books*) have underlying isomorphic representations, their surface differences being traceable to a transformational rule which inserts of (Bresnan,1973).³ Selkirk (1977), Jackendoff (1977) and Milner (1978), conversely, support a hypothesis which treats both as different constructions. The first one is a single noun phrase, the partitive is an N (within an N) which is a sister of N.

Let us examine briefly and schematically what I consider to be the main reasons why those analyses should be rejected.

1.1. The hidden partitive hypothesis

Selkirk (1977) and Jackendoff (1977) made a set of incisive arguments against the hidden partitive hypothesis which, summing them up, show that (i) the specifier element does not behave in some cases as an N specifier, i.e. it does not agree with its head, and (ii) that there are certain combinations of quantifiers plus a conjunction which cannot be reduced to a single noun phrase without

producing ungrammaticality. Examples from Spanish, likewise, allow us to provide new evidence in line with Selkirk's and Jackendoff's critics. In fact, the major syntactic asymmetry between both constructions is rooted in the fact that there are simple noun phrases in which the quantifier can be preceded by an article or a determiner while the corresponding partitive construction is ungrammatical with this determiner, as is shown by (5b):

In the same way, in structures without de the quantifiers admit degree adverbs. Partitive constructions are very resistant to a specification in that way:

- (6)a. Llegaron a muy pocas conclusiones.
They arrived at very few conclusions
b.*Llegaron a muy pocas de las conclusiones.
They arrived at very few of the conclusions

Finally, non-numeral quantifiers seem to integrate into two subsets whose differences are difficult to establish. All of them can initiate a partitive construction but only a few of them ('*pocos*' *few*, '*muchos*' *many* and '*varios*' *various*) will appear in the specifier of the lower N. Regarding our point, it should be noticed that if the hidden partitive hypothesis were adopted we would neither have any syntactic means to differentiate between the grammatical (7) and the ungrammatical (8), structurally equivalent,

- (7) Varios de los muchos amigos.
Various of the many friends.
 (8)*Varios de los algunos amigos.
Various of the some friends.

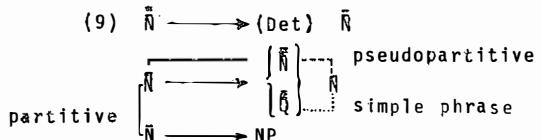
nor the possibility of explaining the ungrammatical (7'), derived from (7) according to this hypothesis:

- (7.) *Varios muchos amigos. Various many friends

Summing up, in this subsection I have introduced syntactic and semantic evidence against a solution which transformationally relates simple noun phrases with quantifiers and partitive constructions. The alternative analysis proposed by Selkirk (1977) will now be examined.

1.2. Particives, Pseudopartitives and PP-extrapolation

1.2.1. Selkirk(1977) makes a distinction among English partitive, pseudo partitive and head-complement constructions. The first two constructions share the property that the quantifier or measure noun are not heads as previous analyses(cfr.Jackendoff,1968) had assumed. Both constructions differ, nevertheless, because the N (sister of \bar{N} , both under \bar{N}) of the partitive dominates a NP while the corresponding one in the pseudo partitive does not.⁴ Schematically, the following rules (from Selkirk,1977) generate the three above mentioned constructions:



It is important to notice that Selkirk's analysis -which follows in this sense Akmajian and Lehrer's research- depends crucially on the behavior of such constructions under PP-extrapolation. As is well known, this transformation displaces a NP which is preceded by a preposition. It is an upward-bounded rule and it is submitted to the subjacency constraint. Moreover, Akmajian(1975) and Akmajian and Lehrer(1976) prove that extrapolation transformation corroborates the hypothesis that NP is a cyclical node.

Now, partitive and pseudopartitive constructions offer different results when extraposition is applied. Let us examine the following examples (from Selkirk, 1977):

- (10)a. A lot had been eaten of $\{\text{the}, \emptyset\}$ leftover turkey
b. A lot of $\{\text{the}, \emptyset\}$ leftover turkey has been eaten

The reason that extraposition produces ungrammaticality in pseudopartitives is -according to the above mentioned authors- that *of* is followed by a *N* while in partitives the equivalent sequence is really an */of + NP/*. Consequently, the second sequence can be postponed. Moreover, the set of sentences of (11) would confirm the preceding analysis. (11c) is grammatical because PP has moved just one cycle up. Extraposition, nevertheless, would not apply to the surface PP following 'a number' -(11b)- because it is not a *N*.

- (11) a. $S \{ N \{ [A] \} N \{ [\text{number}] \} \text{ of } N \{ [\text{stories about}]$
Watergate]]] soon appeared]
b.*A number soon appeared of stories about
Watergate.

- c. A number of stories soon appeared about Watergate.

What I want to argue in this subsection is that Spanish data does not support such an analysis nor does it seem equivalent to the English counterpart. The following points make obvious, on the other hand, that quantifiers and measure phrases in partitives are not their heads.

Let us consider the following sentences.

- (12)a. Se comió un cajón de {los} quesos manchegos
 en una semana. *He/she ate a box of {the} Manchego cheese in a week.*
 b.*Se comió un cajón en una semana de {los} quesos manchegos.
- (13)a. El grupo de {los} asesores del ministro
 llegó a un acuerdo el sábado. *The group of the advisers to the Minister reached an agreement on Saturday.*
 b.*El grupo llegó a un acuerdo el sábado de {los} asesores del ministro.
 c.*El grupo de {los} asesores llegó a un acuerdo el sábado de {el} ministro.

These examples show (i) that extraposition produces ungrammaticality both in partitive and pseudopartitive constructions, and (ii) that the sentence is ungrammatical disregarding the original position of PP: both extraposition of partitive PP -(13a)-, as well as movement of complement PP -(13c)- causes ungrammaticality. Does this perhaps imply that the rule of extraposition does not exist in Spanish grammar? This seems not to be the case, however limited research in this matter remains today. Sentences whose surface form can be traced to a semantic or syntactic extraposition are quite common. For example, as Guéron (1978) observed for English, extraposition does not fail to apply when the NP following of takes a modifier. In this case, again, the rule does not differentiate between partitives and pseudopartitives:

- (14) Se comió un cajón en una semana de {los quesos
 He/she ate a box in a week of {the Manchego
 quesos man-
 Manchego
 manchegos que trajo su padre.
 cheese that his/her father brought.
 chesgos totalmente resecos.
 cheese totally dried-up.

Other constraints on the applicability of PP-extraposition in Spanish could be found. The length, or the character, of the element which PP is crossed over seem also to influence the application of the rule:

- (15)a. Recuerdo muchas de las palabras de mi padre constantemente. *I remember many of my father's words constantly.*
 b. Recuerdo muchas, constantemente, de las palabras de mi padre.
- (16)a. Recuerdo muchas de las palabras de mi padre en mis conversaciones contigo. *I remember many of my father's words in my conversations with you.*
 b.*Recuerdo muchas, en mis conversaciones contigo, de las palabras de mi padre.

This is hardly the place to account for the constraints on the applicability of PP-extraposition. It seems, nevertheless, that many of them are of a semantic nature, though it is not obvious whether they must be formulated as constraints on logical form or on discourse grammar. What is indeed important to our concern is that PP-extraposition does not constitute a ultimate test for the constituency of partitives and pseudopartitives in Spanish.

1.2.2. Let us consider at this point whether the deep representation of partitives and pseudopartitives demands a / N - N / sequence. Why N? What are the crucial distinctions in Spanish?

The reasons to select this sequence are mainly two. a) Quantifiers and group nouns in these constructions behave as true nouns. Jackendoff(1977) says, for example, "... if quantifiers can take relative clauses on their own, 'prearticle' must really be some sort of NP" (op.cit.p.109). b) This noun cannot be a N because, in the case of English, head sensitive phenomena like number agreement, pronominalization and selectional restrictions provide evidence that it is not a head.

The following are the facts and reasons which show that those two assumptions do not hold for the case of Spanish.

1.2.2.1. Regarding assumption (a) it appears to be a well drawn distinction between partitives (and pseudopartitives) introduced by group nouns and partitives with Q, as is obvious. The following sentences suggest that the group or measure noun both in partitive and pseudo partitive constructions must be considered

a N. This status, on the contrary, cannot be assigned to the Q of a partitive. Because it is a N the measure noun can take a relative clause -(17 a and c)-, in a similar way as the other noun in its complement and can also pronominalize -(18a and c). The quantifier neither antecedes a relative nor pronominalizes -(17b and 18b).

Relativization

- (17)a. Partitive. El grupo de los alpinistas que ^{de-} [intervenir no llegará a la meta. *The group of mountain-climbers that {decides} to participate will not reach the goal.*
- b. Q-partitive. Cada uno de los soldados que ^{fue} [recibidos por el senador expuso ^{was} sus quejas. *Each one of the soldiers who {were} received by the senator set forth the complaints*
- c. Pseudopartitive. El kilo de tomates que ^{llega} [llegan] con retraso está malo. *The kilo of tomatoes that {arrives} late was bad.*

Pronominalization

- (18)a. Invitó a un grupo de los alpinistas pero luego no ^{lo} [recibió. *He invited a group of mountain-climbers but then didn't receive {them}*
- b. Cada uno de los libros fue revisado por el corrector pero el editor no ^{*lo} [revisó. *Each book was revised by the proof-reader but the publisher didn't revise {them}*
- c. Compró una docena de huevos pero no ^{la} [uti-
lizó. *He bought a dozen eggs but didn't use {it}*

The nominal nature of group nouns, as compared with items like 'muchos' and 'cada', on the other hand, is confirmed by their possibility of association with the whole set of specifiers of N, including adjectives and a partitive with a quantifier. Compare (19a) with (19b),

- (19)a. Varios de los muy bien pagados kilos de los tomates. *Various of the very well paid kilos of the tomatoes.*
- b.*Varios de los muy bien pagados muchos de los tomates.

Selkirk's solution does not allow for the generation of recursive structures like (19b) and must be supplemented also with a possibly semantic constraint which should prohibit adjectives and other specifiers when the N of the N specifier is a quantifier.

1.2.2.2. The second question that I want to pose at this point is whether there are differences between the heads of the constructions that I have distinguished. In other words, are they structurally ambiguous like in English, what is their regular paradigm?

To start with, I would like to state some general conditions. In the first place, it should be born in mind that judgements of grammaticality are rather unclear in this type of construction. The testing for structural ambiguity as evidence for the head of a given construction, on the other hand, does not seem to be a sufficient procedure if Q de Det J constructions are being considered. In fact, with the exception of 'cada uno,' the remaining quantifiers and numerals are plural (syntactic or semantic) forms, morphologically equivalent, then, to the N following de. However, we can provide evidence which indicates that in a partitive measure phrase the head is in fact the group noun.

First, the main verb agrees mainly with such a group noun:

- (20) La docena de estos claveles ^{cuesta} [150 pe-
setas. *A dozen of these carnations{costs} 150 pesetas.*

Second, in phrases in which there are two embedded PP's extraposition of the minimal leads to ungrammatical results

- (21)a. El grupo de los bancos importantes de España no es superior a siete.
b.*El grupo de los ^{bancos} importantes no es su-
perior a siete, de España. *The group of important banks is not greater than seven, of Spain.*

Third, in accordance with the nature of N as binding or cyclic node it is not possible to extract a NP from a more dominating PP to be placed in COMP,

- (22)a.*Mi vecino, ^{del} que el grupo de propiedades im-
portantes es cuantioso está hoy de mal humor.
My neighbor, whose group of important properties is large is in a bad mood today.
- b.*Gödel, ^{cuyo} conjunto de los teoremas es fi-
nito, murió hace dos años. *Gödel, whose collection of theorems is finite, died two years ago.*

The explanation of all the above facts will follow from an analysis in which the measure noun is the head of the construction. Because it is a head it governs agreement; on the other hand, if the measure noun were considered a specifier we would not have an explanation for the ungrammaticality of (21b) where the PP would have moved just one cycle up. A similar consideration applies to (22a and b). Being the head grupo, however, the PP most deeply embedded will be displaced two cycles up.

The paradigm is less clear in pseudopartitive and Q-partitive constructions. While it appears that phrases with definite measure nouns are ambiguous, non definite measure nouns admit both types of agreement. Compare (23) to (24).

- (23) El grupo de los visitantes del castillo {reco-rrío} la ciudad. *The group of visitors to the castle{tours} the city.*

- (24) Un conjunto de patronos de taxis {inició} ayer la huelga. *A group of taxi-owners {begin} the strike this afternoon.*

In Q-partitives agreement would suggest that the quantifier is the head of such constructions. Movement of deeply embedded PP's, on the contrary, indicates that there are two cyclic NP's:

- (25)a. Cada uno de los alumnos del curso {pidió} revisión del examen. *Each of the students in the class {asks} for a review of the exam.*
 b* Cada uno de los alumnos pidió revisión del examen, del curso. *Each of the students asks for a review of the exam, in the class.*

(26), an instance of the second possibility that has just been mentioned, seems to be a more conclusive evidence when it is compared to (22b),

- (26) Gödel, cuyo conjunto de teoremas es finito, murió hace dos años.

Another fact which has to be considered, finally, is that there are measure nouns like 'barbaridad' (lit. 'barbarity' i.e. 'a truck-load'), 'montón' (lit. 'mountain' i.e. 'a ton') which could never appear in Selkirk's partitives with measure nouns:

- (27)a. Una barbaridad de { \emptyset } niños. *A truck-load of { \emptyset } children.*

- b. Una multitud de { \emptyset } niños.

Summing up, the analysis and the data I have presented suggest, then, that in the grammar of Spanish we must distinguish between partitives, on the one hand, a structure with a $\{Q+Det+N\}$, and pseudopartitives, on the other, which can admit both a head-complement and a ' $\#$ ' specifier of N' analyses. Syntactic reasons which justify a partitive with measure nouns are, however, not easy to find. A very specific constraint which accounts for the agreement between a non-N, non-head quantifier and the verb -in constructions like (25)- will also have to be added.

In other words, although there is a semantic correlation among group-noun partitives and pseudo-partitives, this correlation does not hold in the syntactic component. This conclusion appears to be in line with the autonomy thesis.

2. THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF 'DET' IN SPANISH.

In this section I shall argue for a new analysis of the specifier Det in Spanish. The rules for which syntactic evidence will be provided are the following:

$$(28) \bar{N} \longrightarrow (\bar{Det}) \bar{N}$$

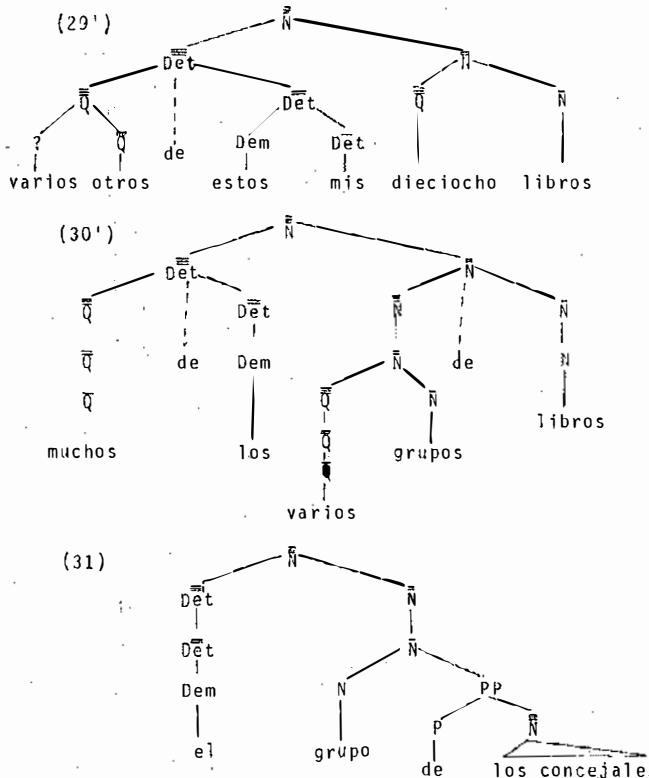
$$\bar{N} \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} \bar{Q} \\ \bar{\#} \end{array} \right) \bar{N}$$

$$\bar{Det} \longrightarrow (\bar{Q}) \bar{Det}$$

$$\bar{Det} \longrightarrow Dem \bar{Det}$$

Given these rules, phrases (29), (30) and (31) below will be assigned, respectively, structures (29'), (30') and (31').

- (29) Varios otros de estos mis dieciocho libros.
Various other of these my eighteen books.
 (30) Muchos de los varios grupos de libros.
Many of the various groups of books.
 (31) El grupo de los concejales.
The group of councilmen.



In brief, the hypotheses expressed by the above rules and configurations are:

(1) There exists in Spanish, and probably in other Romance languages, a complex determiner formed by a quantifier *de/* followed by a sequence of definite determiners. A sort of "prearticle".

(2) "Det", consequently, belongs with nouns, adjectives and adverbs to the group of three-level categories.

In the following pages I will present seven cases in favor of such hypotheses.

2.1. The elimination of partitive restrictions

Selkirk's and Jackendoff's analyses (let us recall what we have discussed in the preceding section) generate many ill-formed strings. Structures like (32), for example, cannot be avoided,

- (32)a.*Los varios de los amigos. *The various of the friends*
- b.*Los varios de amigos. *The various of friends*
- c.*Varios de amigos. *various of friends*

This overgeneration requires that many restrictions which filter out the ungrammatical constructions be added to the grammar. One of them, semantic in nature, is the "partitive recursion constraint" which, in Jackendoff's words, establishes:

"In a *of-N* construction interpreted as a partitive the *N* must have a demonstrative or a genitive specifier".

This restriction filters out only (32b) and (32c), but not (32a). Likewise, this partitive constraint does not rule out other constructions with measure nouns interpreted as partitives in Selkirk's grammar. These constructions -see (33)-, having an indefinite specifier in the lower *N* are, nevertheless, grammatical in Spanish:

- (33) Un grupo de algunos amigos. *A group of some friends*

Empirical and simplicity reasons -besides the syntactic ones argued in the preceding section- amount, then, to the necessity of our analysis.

2.2. Permutation of 'otro'

The set of rules (28) allows us to establish in a clearer way the T-rule which moves the Spanish indefinite 'otro'.

There is in Spanish a peculiar indefinite: the lexical item 'otro', which traditional grammar has considered together with other indefinites to the extent of obscuring the real nature of this word. In fact, it combines with indefinites:

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| (34) otros varios | *muchos varios |
| other various | many various |

It must be pointed out that this element has internal mobility within constructions. It is able to permute around non-numeral quantifiers, though it can only precede numerals.

- (35) otros tres discos *tres otros discos
Lit: other three records three other records
- (36) otros muchos discos muchos otros discos
Lit: other many records many other records

It cannot, nevertheless, be permuted around group nouns:

- (37) otros grupos de amigos *grupos otros de amigos
other groups of friends groups other of friends

Now, this permutation is only possible in [Q+N]
 constructions like (38) but not in partitives like (39):

- (38)a. Visité otros muchos museos.
I visited other many museums
- b. Visité muchos otros museos.
- (39)a. Muchos otros de los filólogos se sorprendieron ante la palabra lingüística. *Many other of the philologists were surprised by the word linguistics.*
- b.*Otros muchos de los filólogos se sorprendieron ante la palabra lingüística.

This fact indicates that the \tilde{Q} in $\tilde{D}et$ and the \tilde{Q} sister of \tilde{N} are not the same element. The local rule (in the sense of Emonds, 1976) (40) permuting 'otro' around Q would apply, then, only to the \tilde{Q} under \tilde{N} .

(4) Permutation of 'otro'

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{otro(s)} - \tilde{Q} \\ | \qquad \qquad \qquad \{ \text{-num} \\ 1 \qquad \qquad \qquad 2 \end{array} \longrightarrow 2 - 1$$

This difference -predicted by our analysis- is better explained when it is connected with the theory of government and command recently developed by Chomsky. In effect, the \tilde{Q} which is open to permutation is the one that is C-commanded (Reinhart, 1976) by the lexical N while the \tilde{Q} of the partitive is not C-commanded by N. Let us observe (29') as an example. The leftmost \tilde{Q} in the tree does not command nor it is commanded by the lexical N 'libros' because the first branching nodes dominating both items are different.

2.3. The detachment of the $\langle de+NP \rangle$

There is in Spanish a general restriction against moving $\langle de+NP \rangle$ complement to the left out of bare or modified NP's. This restriction is independent of the case marker of the NP where the PP is located. (The

movement is not forbidden, of course when the above mentioned sequence is placed in COMP).

- (41)a. Esto justifica las sucesivas crisis del marxismo. *This justifies the successive crises of Marxism.*
- *Del marxismo, esto justifica las sucesivas crisis.
- b. Las crisis del marxismo responden a diversos factores. *The crisis of Marxism respond to diverse factors.*
- *Del marxismo, las crisis responden a diversos factores.

This restriction, nevertheless, does not hold when the $\langle de+NP \rangle$ construction is in a Q-partitive.

- (42)a. Varios de mis amigos participaron en esa mesa redonda. *Several of my friends participated in that round-table discussion.*
- b. De mis amigos, varios participaron en esa mesa redonda.

The derivation of those quantifiers under Det as well as the postulation of a complex determiner will cover the preceding differences. A reasonable hypothesis, similar to a proposal of Kayne (1974), is that $\langle de+NP \rangle$ in partitives is not a regular PP but a kind of NP. In other words, there is a specifier of other specifier.

2.4. The analysis of $\tilde{D}et$. Four arguments

Let us now examine the evidence which supports the analysis proposed for $\tilde{D}et$. Starting with general questions, I want to recall that the class of determiners in Spanish includes a diverse set of elements: the articles ('el', 'la', 'los', 'las'), possessives ('mi', 'tu', 'su', etc) and demonstratives ('este', 'ese', 'aquel', etc) of traditional grammar. Among them, possessives and demonstratives can be placed in different positions with respect to N. They can both precede and follow N.

- (43)a. mi casa my house
 b. la casa mia the house of mine
- (44)a. esta casa this house
 b. la casa esta Lit: the house this
- (45)a. esta mi casa this my house
 b.*mi esta casa Lit: my this house
- (46)a. esta casa mia this house of mine
 b. mi casa esta lit: my house this

Summarizing the distributional facts that have been illustrated, any determiner can precede the noun but possessives and demonstratives can also follow it. When both -possessives and demonstratives- precede, the demonstrative must be initial.

As the following examples show, moreover, a combination of an article followed either by a possessive or a demonstrative is impossible:

- (47) a. *la mi casa
- b. *la esta casa

The first combination -(47a)- was quite common in Medieval Castilian Spanish (cfr. Lapesa, 1971). It is also a normal construction in modern Italian, Catalan and Portuguese.⁶

Within the notations and notions now available I am able to account for such combinations in a straightforward way. The rule which generates Det in Spanish must assign some kind of internal structure to this element. My claim, let us recapitulate, is that such a rule has the following form:

$$(48) \overline{\text{Det}} \longrightarrow \text{Dem} \quad \overline{\text{Det}}$$

In (48) Dem is an abbreviation for the set of features that expands articles and demonstratives, while Det dominates possessives.

The crucial question arising at this point is why we have chosen this sequence. A remaining problem is how to proceed to avoid structures like *la mi.

Let us start with the confirming evidence for the collapsing of articles and demonstratives in a single node.

(i) The first is the empirical reason which justifies the order of the elements in Det. When two non-articles are found to the left of the noun the only possible string is /Dem+Poss/ as we illustrated in (45). Recall, again, that articles cannot precede demonstratives: (47b). Given this sequence, then, the rule postponing demonstratives and possessives can be stated very simply. Assuming Jackendoff(1977) feature system or any other similar system, it can be said that possessives and demonstratives are opposed to articles in that the former but not the latter are both adjectives and can used in isolation while the article cannot be used in that way. This rule, then, will formalize the fact that those members of Det which can be used in isolation can be postponed.

(ii) Morphologically, articles and demonstratives

share many properties and, most important to our analysis, they both differ drastically from possessives in that they do not have an equivalent stressed form which can be used in a prepositional phrase. Compare (49) with (50).

- (49) tu libro - el libro de ti
your book the book of you
- (50) este libro - *el libro de este
this book

(iii) Historically, as is well known, Spanish articles come from Latin demonstratives: ille, illa, illud. This diachronic fact, of course, does not prove a synchronic analysis but explains the semantics of the category, i.e. the fact that both have a deictic function within the text.

(iv) There is in Spanish a subset of free relatives such as

- (51) Lo que sostiene Pedro es un disparate.
What P. sustains is nonsense
- (52) El que venga te lo contará
He who comes will tell it to you

According to standard analyses (and disregarding whether the Wh element is moved to COMP and then raised (Hirschbuhler, 1976; Rivero, 1978) or base generated (Bresnan, 1973, 1978)), free relatives are headed and the Wh element takes the position of the head of the clause. The head, the antecedent of a free relative, is a definite determiner and there is a category \bar{N} which can be filled by a dummy node. Within the lines of Rivero's (1979) analysis, the definite determiner acquires the number and gender of the head category by a well specified agreement process. The determiner, then, plays an important role in the derivation of structures like (51) and (52), it is the target of the agreement transformation. It is for this reason that when the head is Adj and the agreement between the determiner and the head does not occur that the determiner is always the neuter lo. What I would like to emphasize here is that when the category head is \bar{N} demonstratives participate also in such a process:

- (53) Esto que sostiene Pedro es un disparate
- (54) Aquel que venga te lo contará

Possessives, on the contrary, are forbidden.

The above facts and analyses indicate that demonstratives require a parallel treatment to the article. My representation would satisfy such a requirement. It should allow, for instance, to make distinctions between

determiner forms which can appear in the antecedent of a relative and those which cannot.

2.5. A filter for *la mi

The grammar of determiners we have postulated in the preceding sections will have to be supplemented with filter (55) prohibiting a sequence of article plus possessive:

$$(55) * \{ \text{Article} - \{+\text{poss.}\} \}$$

This filter indicates that (similar to some cases studied by Chomsky and Lasnik(1977)) sequence (55) is a reasonable base structure which can be generated by the grammar. Nevertheless, it will be filtered out by a dialect-specific prohibition. This property of reasonability, its local character, and the nature of its members qualifies the above sequence as a candidate for a filter in the grammar of Spanish determiners.

3. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have studied the syntax of the Spanish determiner system from a double perspective: negative and positive. In the first place, I discarded a set of hypotheses concerning their deep structure. Later, I have proposed a set of phrase structure rules which generate partitives and structures with determiners in Spanish. I have also developed supplementary transformational rules and a surface local filter against a sequence of article plus possessive which, all-together, guarantee the well-formedness of structures belonging to the specifier system of NP in Spanish.

Theoretically speaking, the analyses proposed and the data I have considered argue for a "structured" character of one of the specifiers of Spanish. They show, on the other hand, that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between syntactic and semantic facts.

FOOTNOTES

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1 See Jackendoff(1977, ch.6) for the study of cross-categorial specifier systems with measure, quantifier and degree phrases. And Rivero(1978) for an analysis of the equivalent system of left-branch modifiers in Spanish.

2 This term translates the insightful notions of "presentación" and "actualización" used by Spanish grammarians like A.Bello, A.Alonso and Lázaro-Carretero to characterize the semantics of the article.

3 Jackendoff(1968), on the contrary, proposes a rule of 'of deletion'.

4 In fact, Selkirk(1977) shows that pseudopartitive constructions like 'a bunch of flowers' are ambiguous between the pseudopartitive and the noun-complement analyses. This property was noticed previously by Akmaijan and Lehrer (1976).

5 It must be noticed that our distinction does not pose any problem to the only rule, as far as I know, that refers specifically to QP constituents: 'Comparative sub-deletion' a rule first studied by Bresnan(1973) which deletes an X-more element in sentences like 'Juan tiene tantas máquinas de escribir como su padre (tiene) —periódicos'. (See also Rivero (1979) and Piera(1979)).

6 This type of process may well pose problems for a grammar where Det is a node which dominates single units. In fact, the only comprehensive analysis, to my knowledge, of the determiner structure in Spanish -Contreras (1968)- uses segmental transformational rules to generate structures like (43b) and (44b).

7 As Alarcos(1976) has observed the sequence with postposed demonstrative has an additional semantic or stylistic intention. The order sometimes adds an emotional value and at others a pejorative meaning. The way to characterize those facts merits a thorough investigation.

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