

Locality Conditions in Spanish DPs

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1. Patterns of extraction

As Ormazabal (1991) showed for Spanish, and Cinque (1980) and Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), among many others, for other Romance languages, the possibility of wh-extraction out of Romance DPs depends on the type of argument present in the DP. The examples in (1) illustrate that possessors, agents and objects can be extracted out of DPs whenever they are the only argument in the DP.

- (1) a. ¿De quién has leído [varios libros [t_{poss}]]?
Of whom (you)have read several books
b. ¿De quién has leído [varios libros [t_{agent}]]?
Of whom (you)have read several books
c. ¿De qué has leído [varios libros [t_{obj}]]?
Of what (you)have read several books

Nevertheless, as Ormazabal (1991) notes, when two or more arguments are present in the DP, the extraction possibilities change. The presence of a possessor blocks the extraction of agents and objects, although the presence of an agent or an object has no effect on the extraction of a possessor from the DP.

- (2) a. He leído [varios libros [de Cervantes]_{ag} [de Juan]_{poss}]
(I)have read several books [of Cervantes]_{ag} [of Juan]_{poss}
b. *¿[De quién] has leído [varios libros t_{ag} [de Juan]_{poss}]]?
Of whom (you)have read several books t_{ag} [of Juan]_{poss}
c. He leído [varios libros [de física]_{obj} [de Juan]_{poss}]
(I) have read several books [of physics]_{obj} [of Juan]_{poss}
d. *¿[De qué] has leído [varios libros t_{obj} [de Juan]_{poss}]]?
Of what (you)have read several books t_{obj} [of Juan]_{poss}
- (3) a. ¿[De qué coleccionista] has comprado [varios ejemplares [de esa obra]_{obj} t_{poss}]]?
Of what collector (you)have bought several copies [of that work]_{obj} t_{poss}
b. ¿[De qué coleccionista] has comprado [varios retratos [de Rembrandt]_{ag} t_{poss}]]?
Of what collector (you)have bought several copies [of Rembrandt]_{ag} t_{poss}

Furthermore, the presence of an agent blocks the extraction of an object, (4a), but the presence of an object has no effect on the extraction of an agent, (4b).

- (4) a. *¿[De qué obra] conoces [varias traducciones t_{obj} [de escritores importantes]_{ag}]]?
Of what work (you)know [several translations t_{obj} of writers important]_{ag}
b. ¿[De quién] conoces [varias traducciones [de La Celestina]_{obj} t_{ag}]]?
Of whom (you)know several translations [of La Celestina]_{obj} t_{ag}

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The descriptive generalization, stated in Torrego (1987) and Ormazabal (1991), is that PP arguments within Spanish DPs display a hierarchical relation, with possessors higher than agents and agents higher than objects.¹

A very different picture emerges when DPs headed by the definite article are taken into consideration: only objects can be extracted out of Definite DPs (i.e., DPs headed by the definite article).

- (5) a. *¿De qué autor has leído [los libros t_{ag}]?
 Of which author (you)have read the books t_{ag}
 b. *¿De quién has visto [las fotos de ese monte t_{poss}]?
 Of whom (you)have seen the photos of that mountain t_{poss}
 c. ¿De qué cantante salieron publicadas [las fotos t_{obj}]?
 Of which singer were published the photos t_{obj}

Note that the grammaticality of (5c) argues against an explanation of (5a-b) based on the so-called Specificity Effect (Fiengo & Higginbotham 1981, among others), which describes that wh-movement out of Specific DPs is excluded. Furthermore, the behavior of Spanish Specific DPs and Spanish Definite DPs differs regarding extraction.

- (6) a. *¿De qué autor has leído [estos libros t_{ag}]?
 Of which autor (you)have read these books t_{ag}
 b. *¿De quién has visto [estas fotos de ese monte t_{poss}]?
 Of whom (you)have seen these photos of that mountain t_{poss}
 c. *¿De qué cantante salieron publicadas [estas fotos t_{obj}]?
 Of which singer were published these photos t_{obj}

The ungrammaticality of the examples in (6) with demonstratives shows that Specificity Effects in Spanish do not discriminate among agents, possessors and objects. The extraction of any of them causes ungrammaticality.²

The different readings available in (7) show another difference between Specific DPs and Definite DPs in Spanish.

- (7) a. Juan vio una foto de todo el mundo narrow/wide
 Juan saw a picture of everybody
 b. Juan vio la foto de todo el mundo narrow/wide
 Juan saw the picture of everybody
 c. Juan vio esta foto de todo el mundo narrow/*wide
 Juan saw this picture of everybody

The sentence in (7a) is ambiguous. It can mean ‘Juan saw one picture of a group’ (narrow scope reading) or ‘Juan saw several pictures’ (wide scope reading). Since May (1977), a syntactic movement

¹ Due to space constraints, I will not discuss adverbial PPs within DPs in this paper. The reader is referred to Ticio (2003) for an analysis of adverbial PPs within DPs.

² An anonymous reviewer noted that some dialectal varieties of Latin American Spanish allow for a possessive element to head an agent DP and, in this context, extraction is possible, as in (i):

(i) ¿De qué autor has leído sus_{ag} libros t_{ag}?
 Of which author (you)have read his/her_{ag} books t_{ag}?

Note that this is not possible in the Peninsular dialect, and the sentence in (i) is ungrammatical in this dialect. Although a careful study of this type of contrasts is needed and exceeds the limits of this paper, it seems to me that the possibility of having (i) in certain Latin American dialects could be related to the possibility of having clitic doubling and similar phenomena in those dialects. If the facts confirm this working hypothesis, the properties of the possessives in these particular constructions would be different from the expected ones.

(QR) in LF of the quantified element *todo el mundo* ('everybody') has been assumed to derive these two readings. Note that the sentence in (7b) shows the same ambiguity, while the sentence in (7c) is not ambiguous: it only has the narrow scope reading. Thus, we can conclude that Spanish Definite DPs allow for extraction of their argument, while Spanish Specific DPs do not.

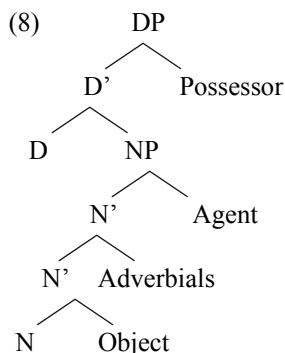
To summarize so far: data with extraction out of indefinite DPs show that arguments within Romance DPs (agents, possessors and objects) display a hierarchical relation, with possessors higher than agents and agents higher than objects. Furthermore, it has been shown that only objects can undergo extraction out of Spanish Definite DPs and that extraction out of Specific DPs is generally banned.

2. Previous approaches

This section briefly reviews previous analyses for DPs proposed in the literature and points out the problems that the above data raise for them. Two main ideas have guided previous analyses with respect to extraction out of DPs. First, earlier analyses have focused on the difference between Specifier and non-Specifier positions to account for the asymmetries presented between agents, possessors and objects. Second, previous analyses have adopted the idea of a very local movement in these constructions. More precisely, most analyses have assumed that movement of wh-elements out of DP requires intermediate landing sites within DP.

2.1 Torrego (1987)

Torrego (1987), following Abney's (1987) proposals, assumes a DP-structure like (8), which captures the hierarchical dependencies among the elements in the DP.



Torrego's (1987) analysis is based on the assumption that Nouns are not able to lexically govern their complements. Given this assumption, since the trace of the DP-object is not lexically governed, its antecedent must move to a position from which that trace can be governed. In other words, movement of objects inside DP needs to be very local to avoid a violation of the Empty Category Principle (ECP).³

As a conclusion, Torrego's (1987) analysis states that each step in the derivation must be to a position from where government of the trace left behind is possible. That is, the movement must take place through the two specifier positions in a DP: the Spec of NP and the Spec of DP. If any of these positions is occupied, the movement of a lower element would produce an ECP violation, as its trace cannot be antecedent governed.

Thus, on Torrego's analysis, the presence of an Agent or a Possessor blocks the antecedent government of the object trace, which results in an ECP violation. A similar situation is found in the

³ The classical formulation of the Empty Category Principle (ECP) is shown in (i):

(i) Empty Category Principle: A nonpronominal empty category must be properly governed. (Chomsky 1980)

extraction of agents: if a possessor is present, the trace of the agent is not properly governed, which results in an ECP violation.

Torrego (1987) accounts for the Definite DP extraction data by arguing that there are two versions of the definite article: a weak and a strong version of the definite article. She argues that the strong version of the definite article raises to the Spec of DP at LF. Then, the presence of the strong version of the definite article in the Spec of DP at LF causes this position not to be accessible as an intermediate landing site for the *wh*-element and the lower trace of the extracted element not to be properly governed. This assumption is too strong since it would block extraction of any element out of a Definite DP, which, as the data show, is undesirable.

- (9) a. *¿De qué autor has leído [los libros t_{ag}]?
 of which author (you)have read the books t_{ag}
 b. *¿De quién has visto [las fotos de ese monte t_{poss}]?
 of whom (you)have seen the photos of that mountain t_{poss}
 c. ¿De qué cantante salieron publicadas [las fotos t_{obj}]?
 of which singer were published [the photos t_{obj}]

To account for the possibility of extraction of objects out of definite DPs, as in (9c), Torrego (1987) assumes that traces of objects are gamma marked⁴ before LF. Therefore, the object can move to the Spec of NP and, from there, to the Spec of DP in overt syntax. The traces left behind are marked as [+ γ] and deleted before LF; hence, prior to the movement of the definite determiner to the Spec of DP.

As for the ungrammaticality of the data in (9a) and (9b), Torrego (1987) assumes that traces of subjects are not gamma-marked until LF. This renders impossible the co-occurrence of the definite article in the Spec of DP at LF and traces left behind by subject movement.

The analysis proposed in Torrego (1987) has some problems. Some of them are of a conceptual and theory-internal nature, while others affect the empirical adequacy of the proposal.

As for the conceptual problems, Ormazabal (1991) already noted that the assumption that Ns, unlike other lexical heads, are not able to lexically govern their complements is not compatible with the line of research that pursues parallelisms between Ns and Vs.

According to Ormazabal (1991), Torrego's (1987) analysis also faces some empirical problems. Let us consider the contrast in (10).

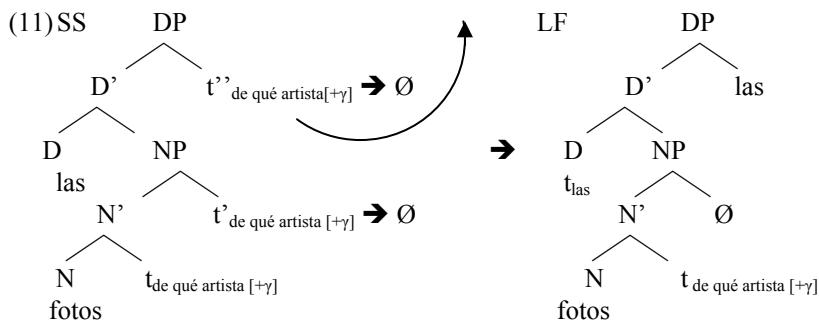
- (10)a. ?? ¿[De qué obra] has leído [varios ejemplares t_{obj} de Juan]?
 [of what work] (you)have read [several copies t_{obj} of Juan]
 b. ¿[De qué artista] salieron publicadas [las fotos t_{obj}]?
 of what artist were published [the photos t_{obj}]

According to Torrego's (1987) analysis, the grammaticality of (10b) is explained by assuming that the trace of the object is gamma-marked at SS by the intermediate trace in the Spec of NP, before the mapping to LF where the definite article creates a barrier. Moreover, all the intermediate traces left behind by the *wh*-movement of the object can be deleted, since they are not necessary at subsequent levels. The derivation of (10b) is given in (11).

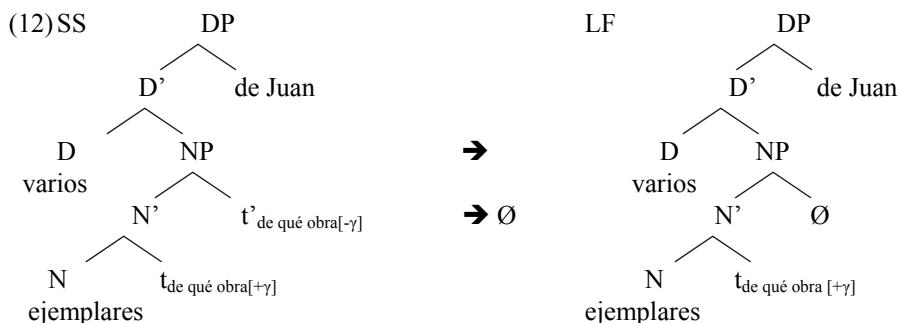
⁴ The notion of gamma-marking is originally proposed by Lasnik and Saito (1984) to account for the ungrammaticality of representations containing traces not properly governed as violations of the gamma-filter. The γ -marking assignment is given in (i) and the γ -Filter, in (ii):

(i) $t \rightarrow [+ \gamma]$ when lexically governed or antecedent-governed.
 $t \rightarrow [- \gamma]$ otherwise.

(ii) * ... $t_{[- \gamma]}$... (Lasnik and Saito 1992:52)



Ormazabal's (1991) criticism relies on the fact that the initial trace of the object in (10a) can also be marked as [+ γ] by the intermediate trace of the object in the Spec of NP. The derivation of (10a) is given in (12).



Note that the intermediate trace in (12), namely the trace in the Spec of NP, is not properly governed. However, Ormazabal (1991) argues that, although this intermediate object trace is [- γ], this is not relevant, since it can be deleted in the mapping from SS to LF (cf. Lasnik & Saito 1984), so that the sentence should be grammatical. In other words, the status of the initial traces of the objects in (10a) and (10b) is the same and both sentences are predicted to be grammatical under the above approach.

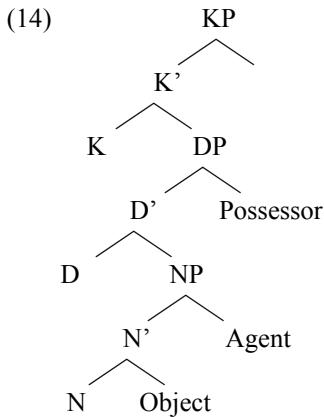
2.2 Ormazabal (1991)

Ormazabal (1991) assumes that Ns are able to lexically govern their complements and that the different grammaticality contrasts with respect to extraction out of Spanish DPs are due to a Subjacency violation. To derive the Subjacency violations, he proposes to adopt the basic intuition of Fukui and Speas (1986) concerning the division of categories, based on a non-uniform X bar system for functional and lexical categories. According to these authors, Functional Categories are the only categories that can project a Spec; hence, only Functional Categories can be considered Maximal Projections. Following the implications of this approach for the notion of barrier, Ormazabal (1991:41) proposes the following reformulation of the definition of barrier.

(13) α is a barrier only if α is a Maximal Projection (i.e., a Functional projection with its Spec).

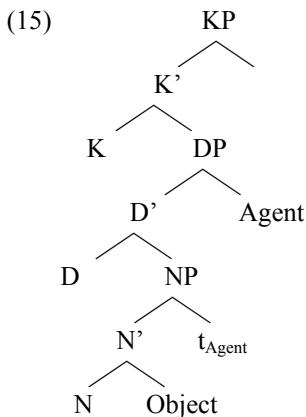
Ormazabal (1991) also assumes the existence of a functional projection over DP, which can be used as a position through which a wh-phrase moves on its way out of the traditional NP, in the same way specifiers of intermediate CPs are landing sites for wh-elements in Comp-to-Comp movement at the sentential level. This maximal projection dominating DP is called K(omp)P.

According to Ormazabal's (1991) assumptions, the structure of a Spanish DP in which all the arguments are present is the one in (14).



The base generation of possessors in the Spec of DP turns this functional projection into a barrier. This explains the impossibility of extraction of agents and objects when a possessor is present in the DP. In other words, if there is no possessor in the DP, there is no Spec of DP projected; therefore, there is no DP barrier for the *wh*-element to cross. When a possessor is present, the DP projects its Specifier to host the possessor and the DP becomes a barrier for extraction.

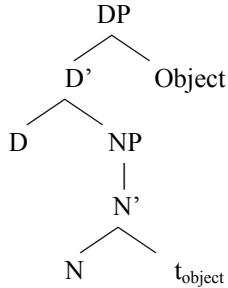
Note that agents are assumed to be base-generated within the projection of a lexical category, in the Spec of NP in (14). To explain the impossibility of extraction of an object over an agent and the impossibility of extraction of an agent over a possessor, Ormazabal (1991) assumes that agents must move to a higher position to get Case; more specifically, they move to the Spec of DP. The movement that agents undergo is illustrated in (15).



Consequently, the movement of agents to the Specifier of the functional category DP results in DP becoming a barrier for the extraction of lower elements. Furthermore, the Spec of DP position is only available to agents when possessors are not present in the structure, which explains the impossibility of extracting an agent over a possessor.

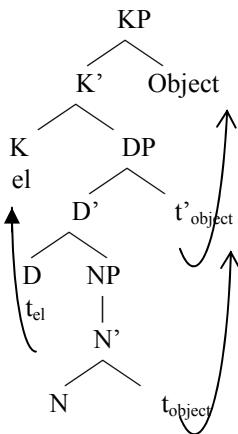
Therefore, the only possible configuration in which a *wh*-object can be extracted out of a DP is (16), where the *wh*-object moves from the initial position to the Specifier of DP without crossing any maximal projection. This is only achieved when no agent or possessor is present in the DP.

(16)



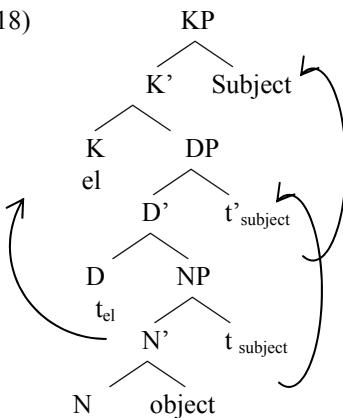
Finally, to explain the atypical behavior of Definite DPs in Spanish,⁵ Ormazabal (1991) makes use of his assumption that N can license the trace of its object. This way, the extraction of an object from a Definite DP proceeds as in (17).

(17)



The difference between extraction of subjects and extraction of objects from definite DPs is then due to the status of the initial trace that is created: object traces can be licensed by the N, via head government, since N governs its complement. However, the initial trace of a subject in (18) is not properly licensed:

(18)



⁵ Ormazabal (1991) does not consider that Specific DPs and Definite DPs behave differently. However, he assumes that only the definite article undergoes movement; hence, Ormazabal (1991) cannot capture the differences between Specific and Definite DPs illustrated previously.

Note that the intermediate trace in the Spec of DP cannot be licensed via antecedent government, as the DP, a barrier, blocks antecedent government. Moreover, assuming that N cannot govern its subject, the initial trace of the subject produces a violation of the ECP.

Although Ormazabal's (1991) analysis seems to account for most data and generalizations laid out in previous sections, there is an important problem for his analysis. Ormazabal's (1991) treatment of agents, more concretely, his proposal that agents must receive Case in the Spec of DP, appears to predict that Possessors and Agents should not co-occur in the same DP. This prediction is not borne out, as the data in (19) show it is perfectly possible to have a possessor and an agent in a Spanish DP:

- (19) Tengo [un libro [de sintaxis]_{obj} [de Chomsky]_{ag} [de Ana]_{poss}]
 (I)have a book of syntax of Chomsky of Ana

Putting aside this problem and the fact that Ormazabal's (1991) analysis is not completely consistent with the current theoretical framework, the overall empirical adequacy of the proposal makes it a very plausible line of reasoning to pursue. In the next section, Ormazabal's (1991) analysis will be one of the starting points for my analysis.

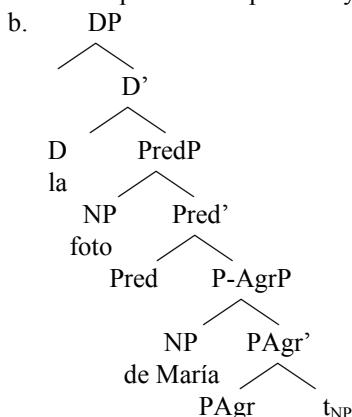
2.3 Sánchez (1996)

The analysis proposed in Sánchez (1996) pursues a parallelism between NPs and VPs in the functional categories they have. According to her, two Functional Categories are introduced in the structure of DPs: PredP and P-AgrP (Person Agreement Phrase):

PredP behaves as a two-place predicate that encodes a specific type of relation between the NP and a restrictive or argumental modifier of that NP. The presence of PredP in the structure forces the raising of the NP to the Spec position of PredP, since the NP is selected as the subject of PredP.

The second functional category that Sánchez (1996) includes in the DP structure is P-AgrP. This category assigns Case to the argumental modifier of NP and checks its Person features. The recursivity of P-AgrP gives us the possibility of hosting different arguments in the same DP. Therefore, the derivation of an example such as (20a) would be represented as in (20b).

- (20) a. La foto de María
 the picture of María
 'María's picture/The picture by María/ The picture of María'

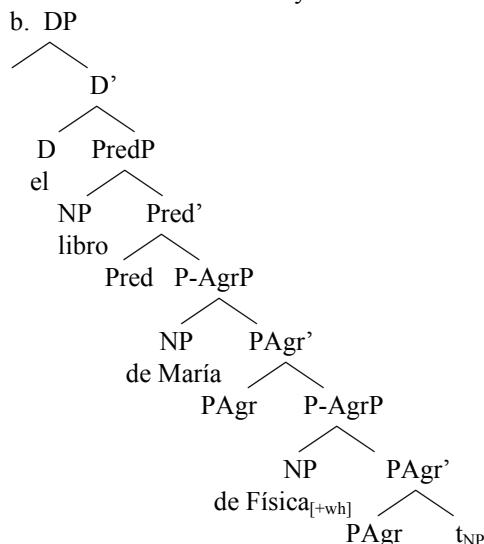


According to Sánchez (1996), to extract an argument, the argument must move from the Spec of PAgrP to the Specifier of DP. Her explanation of the extraction hierarchy comes from the claim that the Spec of DP is available only to the argument in the Spec of the higher PAgrP.

This analysis leaves some data without explanation. First, it is not clear why the Spec of DP is available only to the argument in the Spec of the higher PAgrP. Following standard approaches to movement in the current theoretical framework, it is the feature composition of a given element that determines whether that element can move over similar elements higher in the structure. In other

words, the fact that the argument *de María* ('of María') is placed in the Spec of the higher PredP in (21) should not block the movement of the object *de Física* ('of Physics'), placed in the Spec of the deeper PredP, since only the latter carries a wh-feature that must be checked off.

(21)a. El libro de María de Física
The book of Maria of Physics



Second, Sánchez's (1996) analysis does not take into consideration the different behavior of DPs headed by the definite article and DPs headed by demonstratives. Therefore, her analysis can only be applied to indefinite DPs, where extraction of arguments obeys the thematic hierarchy noted above.

2.4 Conclusions

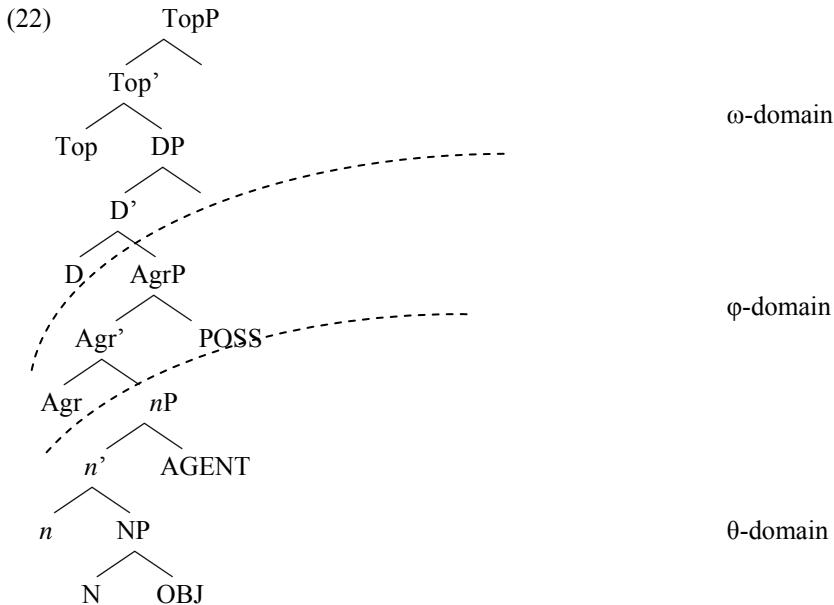
As shown in this section, there have been several attempts to account for the data and generalizations presented in the first section of this paper. Most of these analyses take into consideration the notion of local movement within DP and the difference between Specifier and non-Specifier positions to account for the asymmetries presented in the paper between agents, possessors and objects. In this subsection, I have pointed out a number of problems the previous analyses face. The following sections develop a new analysis of Spanish DPs, which takes into consideration the problems that Spanish DPs raise for previous analyses and accounts for the data and generalizations established so far.

3. Assumptions on the structure of DPs in Spanish

The analysis developed in this paper assumes standard notions in the Minimalist framework (cf. Chomsky 1995 and subsequent work). Furthermore, following Abney's (1987) DP-hypothesis, I assume that the internal structure of DPs resembles the internal structure of clauses in the richness of its functional configuration. Therefore, the analysis developed in this paper is based on certain developments regarding the CP structure. Mainly, I will be assuming Grohmann's (2000) division of clause structure into three domains, and its extension to the DP proposed in Grohmann and Haegeman (2002).

Grohmann (2000) discusses different cases of ill-formed movement in the clausal domain. His observations on the length and type of movements disallowed in the clausal domain lead him to split the clause into three Prolific domains: A Thematic domain, which contains the predicate and its arguments; an Agreement domain, where arguments can receive Case and Phi-features; and a Discourse domain, where discourse information is encoded.

Adapting Grohmann's (2000) and Grohmann and Haegeman's (2002) proposals, I assume (22) as the basic DP structure.



Note that the structure in (22) shows the three Prolific domains within the DP without massive proliferation of functional structure. The presence of *nP* reinforces the parallelism between clausal and nominal domains. *nP* is the locus of agentivity, that is, it hosts agents, and is only projected when an agent is present. Thus, *nP* in the nominal domain is the counterpart of *vP* in the clausal domain.

Similarly, the presence of TopP mimics the structure of clauses and follows recent proposals (Rizzi 1997, among others) concerning the possibility of 'splitting' the CP-layer. Grohmann and Haegeman (2002) argue for the presence of TopP in the nominal domain as the host of nominal left dislocation in languages such as West Flemish. In my analysis, TopP is the equivalent of Szabolsci's (1983) and Ormazabal's (1991) K(om)P and it serves as the escape-hatch for the elements extracted out of DPs. Moreover, TopP is projected just in case it is required to check off a feature in the structure.

As for AgrP, I group under this functional category any of the agreement-related functional categories proposed in earlier analyses. That is, I replace NumP, GenP, PossP, and others, by a more general AgrP, where all the agreement-based relations are established.

Finally, let me discuss the treatment of determiners I adopt here. I assume (following Abney 1987, Bernstein 1993, Zamparelli 2000, among many others) that not all determiners are generated in D. Thus, following Milsark's (1977) division of Ds, I assume that only the presence of a strong determiner⁶ triggers the projection of DP, and that weak determiners appear generated in a lower projection, which I identify here as AgrP.⁷

As for the locality relations operating in DPs, I follow Grohmann's (2000) implementation of the Anti-Locality Hypothesis, based on Bošković's (1997) and Saito and Murasugi's (1999) proposals on a lower-bound on locality. Hence, movements within Prolific domains can be grammatical only in case the duplicity of the element moved is avoided by a last resort procedure that yields a drastic effect on

⁶ Milsark (1977) showed that determiners can be divided into two classes, strong and weak, depending on their syntactic behavior. This division of determiners has been extensively used in subsequent literature on DPs (cf. Zamparelli 2000 for an extensive summary on this topic).

⁷ Note that the analysis developed in this paper is also consistent with proposals that claim that weak Ds move (cf. Herburger 2000, Roehrs 2002, among others, on D movement). Nothing in my analysis depends on this assumption.

the output. In short: elements within DPs can only move from a Prolific domain to a Prolific domain, unless there is compelling evidence to the contrary at the interface⁸.

Apart from Grohmann's (2000) Anti-Locality Hypothesis, I follow previous analyses' intuition regarding the extremely local character of movement in Romance DPs and I assume that phrasal movement within DPs crosses only one maximal projection in each step. This restriction on the maximal length of movement follows some general conditions on movement, such as the Minimize Chain Links Principle of Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) or the Locality Principle introduced in Manzini (1994). The two principles aim to restrict possible movement operations by stating that an element must move the shortest distance. The Minimize Chain Links Principle regulates the length of the links of a chain to derive the notion of government. Several authors have pursued this line of research (cf. Fox and Lasnik (2003), Manzini (1994), among others). Manzini (1994) takes as her departure point this line of research and proposes that movement must involve two adjacent minimal domains. According to Manzini (1994:482), "the minimal domain of a head X consists of all and only the elements that are immediately contained by, and do not immediately contain, a projection of X"; that is, the minimal domain of XP will contain its Spec, X itself, the complement of X, and the elements adjoined to XP. Moreover, Manzini (1994) considers two minimal domains (A and B) adjacent to one another if there is no member of a third domain (C) that contains A but not B, or vice versa. In short, Manzini's (1994) Locality principle requires movements from one maximal projection to the next maximal projection.⁹

To summarize: Movement within DP is highly restricted. It cannot take place further than one maximal projection and the movement must be from one Prolific domain to another Prolific domain.

4. Analysis

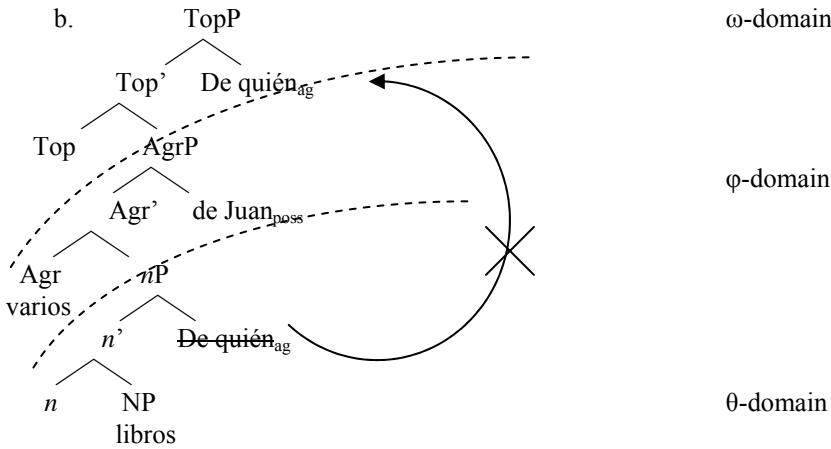
Under the assumptions discussed above, the explanation for the blocking effects in extraction out of Spanish non-specific DPs is straightforward: the presence of a possessor in the Specifier of AgrP blocks the extraction of any element, since the wh-element cannot cross more than one maximal projection in its movement¹⁰ to the Specifier of TopP. This is illustrated in (23).

- (23) a. *¿[De quién]_{ag} has leído [varios libros t_{ag} [de Juan]_{poss}]?
 Of whom (you)have read several books t_{ag} [of Juan]_{poss}

⁸ Since the latter scenario will not arise in the cases I am discussing, for my purposes all movement within a Prolific domain is disallowed.

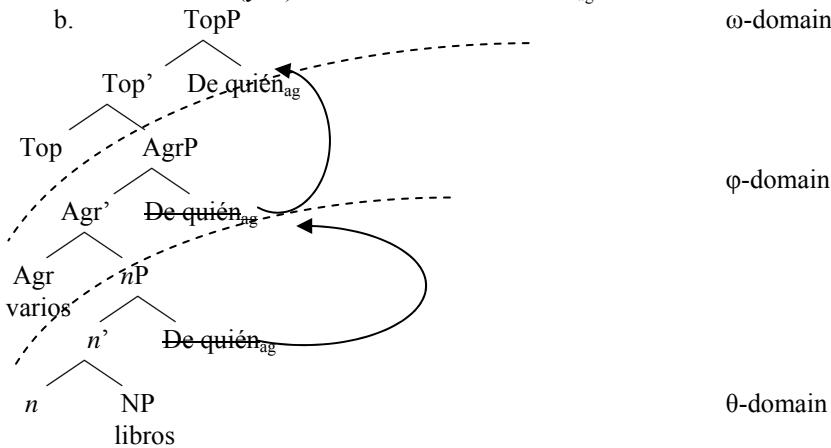
⁹ The adoption of Manzini's (1994) Locality condition for Grohmann's (2000) proposal in the clausal domain raises several problems, as movements in the clausal domain appear to be able to cross more than one maximal projection. A possible way to accommodate Manzini's (1994) Locality condition in Grohmann's (2000) tripartite structure is to assume the possibility of multiple Specifiers in the clausal domain (on this issue see Chomsky 2001, who allows this option rather freely for at least some projections in the clausal domain). This option would allow very short movements in the clausal domain, which would respect Manzini's (1994) Locality. I leave a more detailed explanation of movement within the clausal domain for future research.

¹⁰ Following Grohmann (2000), I assume here that the only possible phrasal movement in overt syntax is movement to a Specifier position. Adjunction can only be the result of base generation (see Grohmann 2000 for relevant discussion).



The derivation of the grammatical (24a), schematized in (24b), shows that the movement of the agent when a possessor is not present meets the requirements postulated for movements within DPs. Each of the movements in (24b) crosses only one maximal projection and respects the Anti-Locality Hypothesis.

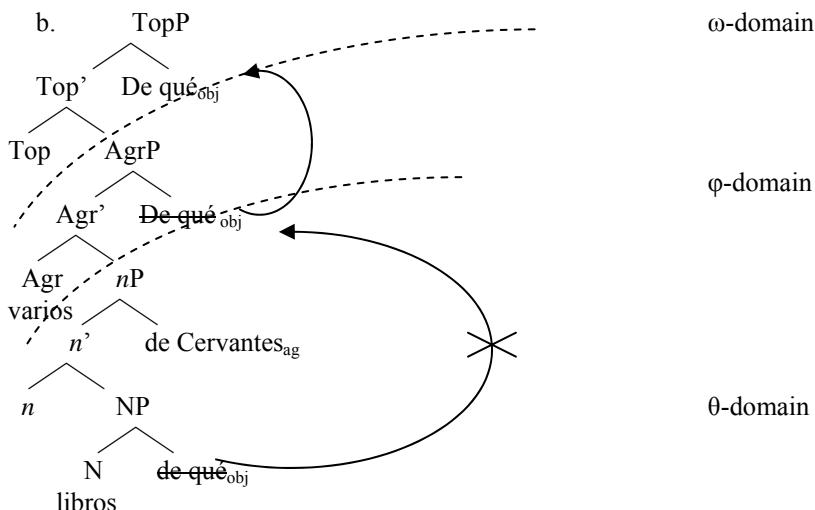
(24) a. ¿[De quién]_{ag} has leído [varios libros t_{ag}]
 Of whom (you)have read several books t_{ag}



Note that movement of objects follows the same restrictions. The descriptive generalization states that objects cannot be extracted from non-specific DPs whenever a possessor or agent is present. The explanation for the blocking effects of possessors on the movement of objects is completely parallel to the one described for the blocking effects of possessors on the movement of agents: the presence of a possessor in the Spec of AgrP forces the object to skip the Spec of AgrP as an intermediate landing site, and this produces a violation on the conditions of locality established for DPs.

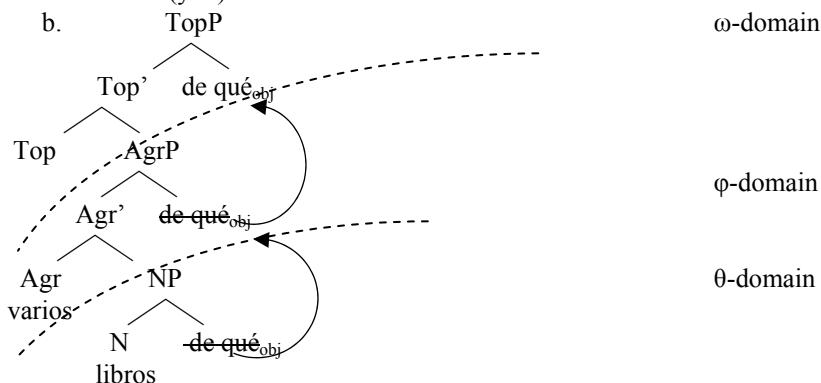
Let us pay attention now to the blocking effect of agents on the movement of objects. Under the analysis presented so far, the presence of nP would block the extraction of an object out of a non-specific DP due to a locality violation.

(25) a. *¿De qué has leído [varios libros [t_{obj}] de Cervantes]?
 Of what (you)have read several books of Cervantes



This is because the movement of the object from its initial position to the Spec of AgrP position would cross more than one maximal projection, namely, the object crosses *nP*. Therefore, in order for an object to be able to move, *nP* must not be present in the structure. The derivation of the grammatical (26a) is (26b):

- (26) a. ¿De qué has leído [varios libros [t_{obj}]]?
Of what (you)have read several books



The evidence for the lack of *nP* projection when a *de* ('of')-agent is absent comes from the different behavior of *por* ('by')-agents and *de* ('of')-agents with respect to extraction. *De* ('of')-agents block the extraction of objects out of non-specific DPs while *por* ('by')-agents do not affect extraction of objects:

- (27) a. ¿De qué tema has criticado la investigación t_{obj} por los americanos?
Of what topic (you)have criticized the investigation by the Americans
b. */?? ¿De qué tema has criticado la investigación t_{obj} de los americanos?
Of what topic (you)have criticized the investigation of the Americans

As commonly assumed, *por* ('by')-agents are not dependent on the theta-grid that predicates (Ns or Vs) project and it is the *P por* ('by') that introduces the relevant 'agentivity' relation. That is why they typically appear in passivizations, where the agentive projection is not present. The contrasts in (13) thus show that the introduction of agentivity with a *por* ('by')-agent does not trigger the presence of *nP* in non-specific DPs. Therefore, the extraction of objects is not blocked when a *por* ('by')-agent is present since there is no *nP* in the relevant structure and the movement of the object respects the locality conditions established.

Note that Bošković (1997) shows a similar pattern with ν Ps, the counterpart of n P in the clausal domain. Bošković (1997) discusses data such as:

- (28) a. *John wagered Peter to be smart
 b. John believes Peter to be smart
 c. Peter was wagered (by Mary) to be smart
 d. Peter was believed to be smart

Given the generalization that agentive verbs cannot Exceptionally Case Mark in general (cf. Pesetsky 1992), the crucial difference between (28a) and (28b) is that verbs such as ‘wager’ assign the agent theta-role to their subject, while verbs such as ‘believe’ do not assign an agent theta-role. Bošković (1997) captures the difference by the presence or absence of ν P: ν P is only projected in (28a). Assuming that the embedded subject must reach the Spec of AgrOP to get its Case, Bošković (1997) then argues that the ungrammaticality of (28a) is due to the presence of ν P, which blocks the required movement of the embedded subject to the Spec of AgrOP.

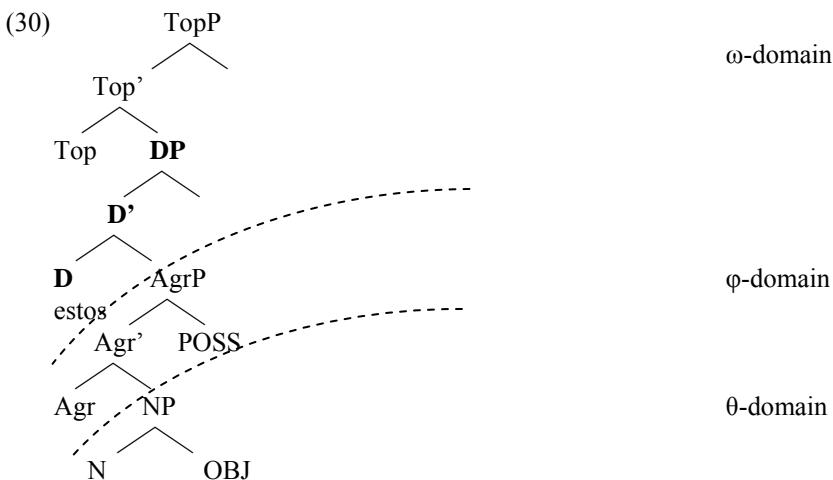
His analysis finds support in cases such as (28c), where, although we can have an agent introduced by the P ‘by,’ the sentence is grammatical since the V has been passivized. Given Bošković’s (1997) analysis, it follows then that an agentive by-phrase does not induce projection of ν P; the contrast between (28a) and (28c) thus parallels the contrast between (27a) and (27b), which can be interpreted as providing additional evidence for the current analysis.

Given the discussion above, the ungrammaticality of (29b) shows that agentive adjectives are introduced in the Spec of n P.

- (29) a. Criticaron la investigación Americana de este tema
 (they)criticized the investigation American of that topic
 b.* ¿De qué tema criticaron la investigación Americana?
 of what topic (they)criticized the investigation American

To sum up my analysis so far: the different possibilities of extraction observed in non-specific DPs are derived from the locality conditions on movement that elements within DPs must satisfy.

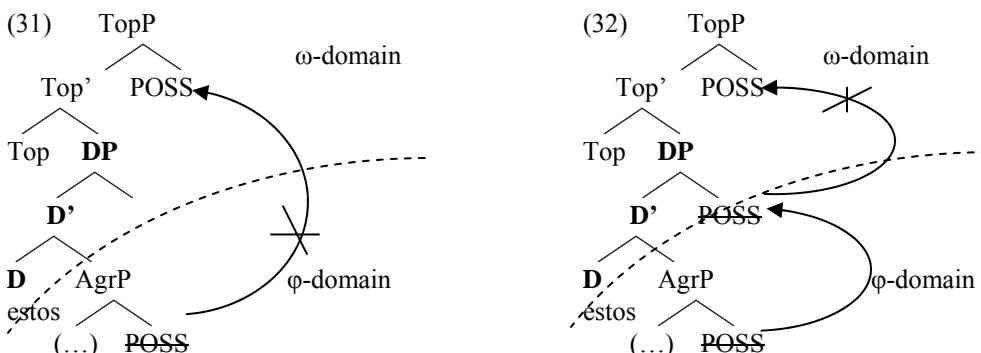
Let us focus now on the Specificity Effects observed in Spanish DPs. The descriptive generalization is that extraction out of Specific DPs is generally banned. The abstract structure of a Specific DP under my analysis is (30).



As (30) illustrates, the presence of a strong D, such as *estos* (‘these’) in (30), forces DP to be projected in the structure. Note that the presence of DP in the structure derives straightforwardly the impossibility of extraction out of Specific DPs: any movement from an element in the Spec of AgrP to the Spec of TopP (cf. (31)) will not meet the locality conditions on movement, since this movement

would cross more than one maximal projection; that is, the wh-element moves from the Spec of AgrP to the Spec of TopP.

Furthermore, due to Anti-Locality, the extracted element cannot land in the Spec of DP, since that would necessarily involve a second movement within the ω -domain to escape out of the TopP (cf. (32)).



In short, the presence of DP in Specific DPs causes the wh-movements of PP arguments to violate the locality conditions on movement that elements within DPs must satisfy.

The line of analysis developed in this paper leads to proposing that the definite article does not project DP in cases where extraction out of Definite DPs is possible (i.e., when an object is present in the Definite DP, see (5c) above).

This explanation is based on the assumption that there are two versions of the definite article in Spanish. The existence of two different definite articles in Romance has been proposed to account for the different properties of definite articles depending on the context (cf. Longobardi 1994, Ormazabal 1991, Torrego 1987, Vergnaud & Zubizarreta 1992, among others). According to these proposals, the presence of a weak version of the definite article is responsible for some atypical uses of the definite article such as (33).

- (33)a. El Pepe vino ayer.
 The Pepe came yesterday
 b. Las cervezas que te bebiste anoche!
 The beers that CL (you)drank last night

Further evidence for this syntactic account comes from the example in (34). (34) shows that in cases where we need to place the definite article as the head of the DP projection, since no other position is available to host this element in the structure (the numeral filling the Agr head position), no argument can be extracted.

- (34)a. *¿De qué cantante salieron publicadas las tres fotos t_{obj} ?
 Of which singer were published the three photos t_{obj}

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