On extraction from definite DPs

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As observed in English (Fiengo & Higginbotham, 1981; Diesing, 1992; Davies & Dubinsky, 2003, among others) extraction of wh-phrases is more widely acceptable out of indefinite DPs than out of definite ones, as can be observed in (1):

(1) a. *Who$_i$* did you read some/many books about t_i?
   b. **Who$_i$* did you read the/that book about t_i?

To account for this contrast, Fiengo and Higgibotham (1981) propose the "Specificity Condition" as a condition that blocks extraction from DPs that have some definite reference. Considering the pattern of genitive extraction from DPs headed by definite articles in Spanish, Torrego (1987), Ormazabal (1991) and Ticio (2003) showed that although agents and possessors cannot be extracted out of definite DPs, the extraction of a theme genitive (the internal argument of the noun) results in a grammatical sentence:

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

The grammaticality of (2c) suggests that the Specificity Condition, as the one operating in English, is not operating in the same way in Spanish. Contrary to what happens in English and Spanish, in Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth BP), the Specificity Condition does not seem to operate, not even in the case of agent and possessor extraction, as can be observed in (3):

(3) a. *De que escritor* o João leu os livros?
        Of which writer the João read-PAS the books t_{agent}
     b. *De quem* (que) o João arranhou o carro?
        Of whom (that) the João scratch-PAS the car $t_{possessor}$
     c. *De qual cantor* foram publicadas as fotos t_{theme} no jornal?
        Of which singer were published the photos in-the newspaper

Based on these contrasts, the main goal of this paper is to present an analysis on the extraction pattern of genitive constructions in BP, considering the different patterns found in English and Spanish, in order to offer a unified proposal to account for the data of these three languages. We will consider the analysis presented in Ticio (2003), and also Grohmann's (2000) notion of prolific domains, adopting the DP structure showed in (4):

(4)
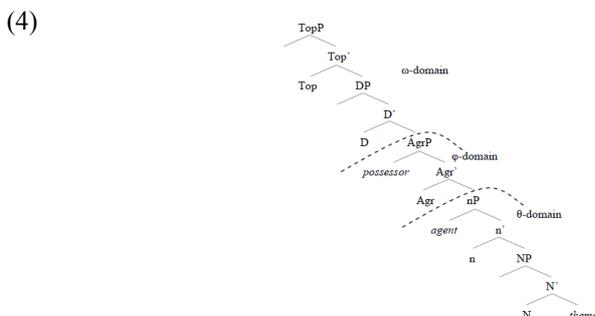
Our analysis takes into account the restrictions on movement observed by Ticio, suggesting, however, modifications regarding the author's proposal. We will assume the Anti-Locality

Hypothesis (Grohmann, 2000; Ticio, 2003) that prevents movement of an element within the same prolific domain. In addition, it would also be the case that movement must be local in the lines of Manzini (1994), i. e. that one element crosses only one maximal projection at each step of the derivation. Considering these constraints, the different patterns of extraction found in these three languages are due to two main differences: (i) the position in which the article holds (Spec, TopP, in English, or the most prominent category inside DP, following Abney, 1987; D in Spanish and BP) and (ii) the category that licenses genitives (for Case, for example) in each of them (D in BP; Agr in Spanish and English).

Since in English the definite determiner occupies the escape hatch position, no material can be extracted out of the DP domain; in BP and Spanish, since the definite article occupies D, the escape hatch position Spec, TopP is available for genitives to be extracted. As for the contrast between Spanish and BP, we are going to argue that these two languages differ regarding to how the Prolific Domains inside DP are constructed. In Spanish, like in English, DP integrates the ω-domain. In BP, DP integrates the φ-domain, which is supported by the fact that in this language D is the head that carries number features (Magalhães, 2004).

Given these assumptions, *agents* and *possessors* cannot be extracted out of definite DPs in Spanish because the movement they would realize to reach the escape hatch position (Spec, TopP) would violate locality constraints (they should leave Spec, AgrP, and, in order to avoid violating Locality, they should go first to Spec, DP, the next projection above, to go later to the escape hatch position Spec, TopP. The problem is that movement from Spec, DP to Spec, TopP would violate Anti-Locality, thus extraction of agents and possessors does not occur in Spanish in contexts of definite DPs). In BP, possessors and agents can be extracted because DP, the projection that licenses these genitives, is located inside the φ-domain. The movement that agents and possessors undergo in BP in order to be extracted is from Spec, DP to Spec, TopP, a movement that does not violate Locality, since DP and TopP are two adjacent minimal domains, and neither violates Anti-Locality, since in this language DP and TopP are located in different Prolific Domains.

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