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A New Look at Subject Islands: The Phasehood of Definiteness¹

Abstract: In this work I discuss the phasal status of Determiner Phrases (DPs) and propose that certain subject-island effects such as subextraction are best understood when interface-related features such as Definiteness/Specificity are taken into consideration.

Utilizing Chomsky's (2008) notion of phases, I claim that subextraction out of subjects is licensed if the relevant DP is not a phase. A DP subject is not a phase if it is indefinite. Building on Jiménez-Fernández (2009), I maintain that subextraction is possible not only in interrogative clauses, but also in other types of A'-movement such as focus fronting. I show that independently of the (post- or pre-verbal) position that DP subjects occupy, subextraction in A'-movement contexts is permitted if the DP subject does not contain the interface-related grammatical feature [+ def]. The phasal characterisation of subject islands is held to be a consequence of an interface effect relating to the Definiteness feature. In other words, island circumvention is crucially connected to interface conditions, not only to syntactic constraints (contrary to Gallego and Uriagereka 2007; Gallego 2011; Müller 2010). Subextraction out of a subject is illustrated with Spanish, Italian, Turkish, Polish, Greek and English data. A three-fold typological division is proposed, in which languages are classified according to the subextraction possibilities and the influence of Definiteness on this type of movement. In addition, a parallelism is established between DP phases and NP phases, which accounts for the strong influence of the [+ def] feature on the phasal characterisation of nominal constructions in languages with and without articles.

1. Introduction

In this work I discuss the phasal status of Determiner Phrases (DPs) and propose that certain subject-island effects — attributed in earlier work to Huang's (1982)

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Condition on Extraction Domains (CED) — are best understood when interface-related features such as Definiteness/Specificity are taken into consideration. My aim is to explain the reasons why in some languages material can be extracted out of subject islands. As I show, in languages such as Spanish, Greek, Turkish, Polish or Italian, and even English, subject islands may be circumvented. In Spanish and Italian subextraction is tolerated provided that the Definiteness/Specificity constraint is met. The proposal that Definiteness/Specificity plays a role in the island character of subjects can be traced back to Diesing (1992), Fiengo and Higginbotham (1981), Manzini (1992; 1998), Radford (2004) and Adger (2003). I claim that this constraint can be formalised in terms of the phasal properties of DPs.² Variation allows that in some languages the phasal status of DPs (or NPs) is determined by their definite or indefinite nature; thus languages can vary freely and hence have a range of constructions (I thank Andrew Radford for pointing this out to me).

There has been a long-standing line of research within Generative Grammar since Ross's (1967) and Chomsky's (1973) first efforts to identify the different conditions which delimit the power of transformations. These constraints were subsumed by Ross (1967/1986) under the notion of *island*, which may be defined as a syntactic domain which bars extraction of a constituent out of it (Huang's 1982 Condition on Extraction Domains; henceforth CED), as illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. of which car_i did they find the (driver, picture) t_i ?
 b. *of which car_i did the (driver, picture) t_i cause a scandal? (Chomsky 2008: 146)

Basically, two different types of approach to islandhood have been defended in the relevant research literature: 1) those which claim that islandhood is a syntactic effect, and 2) those which consider islands as constraints imposed by interfaces.

Islands have been described as being an issue of narrow syntax (Chomsky 2008). From this viewpoint, they are part of the computational system and their impact on grammaticality is seen as derivational. As suggested by Chomsky (2008),

² Radford (2004: 411 ff.) has argued that definite DPs are phases, but indefinite DPs are not. He gives supporting data mainly from English. The author concentrates mainly on object DPs, but the same distinction can be attested in subject DPs, as I show throughout this paper. Adger (2003: 326–327) also deals with definite DPs as phases, thereby explaining the grammaticality distinction in (i–ii):

- (i) a. *Which poem did you hear Homer's recital of last night?
 b. *Which poem did you hear those recitals of last night?
 (ii) a. Which poem did you go to hear a recital of last night?
 b. Who did you get an accurate description of?
 c. Who did you hear an oration about?

Adger considers two possibilities, namely 1) indefinite DPs are not phases and 2) indefinite DPs have a specifier position which is compatible with [wh]-features, and thus subextraction avoids a violation of PIC.

subject DPs in transitive constructions show CED effects because they sit on the edge of a phase, hence nothing can be extracted out of them in conformity with the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) alongside some version of Radford's (2009) Specifier Condition. According to Chomsky (2001: 14), "[t]he domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations." In other words, the complement of a phase cannot be accessed by an external probe; only the edge of a phase can be reached from outside the phase. Nevertheless, the DP subject sits on the edge of vP , hence the whole phrase or any constituent contained in it can be targeted by an external probe. This possibility will be blocked by the Specifier Condition, according to which "No subextraction is possible out of a constituent which is a specifier of a phase head" (Radford 2009: 41). Therefore, being on the edge of a phase implies that the whole constituent is frozen in place, thereby allowing extraction of the entire DP subject, but not of the PP complement, which explains the island nature of DP subjects in English.

On this view, subextraction possibilities are just a consequence of the Transfer process, by which a phase domain is sent to the phonological and semantic components to be assigned a phonological representation and a semantic representation, respectively. By the time C attracts the *wh*-operator in a sentence like (1b), the *wh*-phrase is invisible in the narrow syntax and so it cannot be probed by C. To illustrate, the derivation of (1a) is partially shown in (2a):

(2a) [v^*P [of which car] Subj v^* [vP V the driver/picture of which car ...]]

At the starting point of the derivation of (1a) the PP *of which car* undergoes movement to the outer Spec, v^*P , the edge of v^*P . In compliance with the PIC, this PP can be subsequently probed by the higher probe C, triggering movement of the constituent to Spec,CP.

However, in Chomsky's view sentence (1b) involves the derivational step in (2b):

(2b) *_{[CP [of which car did [the driver/picture of which car] T [v^*P the driver/picture of which car ...]]}

The ungrammaticality of (1b) in English can be accommodated by assuming that C has to search too deeply into a v^*P phase (Chomsky 2008: 148). This deep-search analysis discriminates between the two cases since in (1b) the DP subject is at the edge of the v^*P phase. Accordingly, the analysis predicts that subextraction in (1b) is ruled out because too deep a search into the DP is required (see also discussion of these data in Radford 2009). For Chomsky, the two movement operations involved in (1b) run in parallel, which implies that the whole DP and the PP containing the *wh*-phrase undergo movement at the same time. The PP is attracted to Spec,CP, whereas the entire DP (containing a null copy of the moved PP) moves to Spec,TP. Chomsky's analysis makes the right predictions for languages such as English (albeit no general consensus exists; for Bob Borsley there is no distinction

between (1a) and (1b)). As discussed in detail below, though, cross-linguistic data do not support this analysis.

In a similar vein, Gallego and Uriagereka (2007) claim that subextraction is allowed if the subject stays in Spec, ν *P, but blocked from a derived subject DP in Spec,TP, since TP is a phase in certain languages. Based on Spanish data, they hold that subextraction is banned in (3b) because the subject sits in Spec,TP, a (derived) pre-verbal position (originally from Uriagereka 1988):

- (3) a. *¿De qué conferenciantes_i te parece que me_z
of what speakers CL-2SG seem-PRES3SG that CL-1SG
van a impresionar_v [ν *P [$_{DP}$ las propuestas t_i] t_z t_v]?*
go-PRES3PL to to-impress the proposals
- b. **¿De qué conferenciantes_i te parece que
of what speakers CL-2SG seem-PRES3SG that
[$_{DP}$ las propuestas t_i] t_j me_z van
the proposals CL-1SG go-PRES3PL
a impresionar_v [ν *P t_j t_z t_v]?*
to to-impress
'Which speakers does it seem to you that the proposals by will impress me?'

In Jiménez-Fernández (2009), I argued at length against this type of analysis. The main line of reasoning is that if TP is a phase in Spanish, it is expected that under no circumstances will subextraction be allowed from pre-verbal position, contrary to fact:³

- (4) a. *¿De qué cantante te parece que varias fotos
of which singer CL-2SG seem-PRES.3SG that several pictures
me van a escandalizar?
CL-1SG go-PRES.3PL to to-shock*
- b. *¿De qué cantante te parece que me van a escandalizar varias fotos?
'Of which singer does it seem to you that several pictures will shock me?'*

In Spanish, it is clear that subextraction is permitted from both pre- and post-verbal position. More precisely, the subject may either occupy Spec,TP or remain in Spec, ν P, and yet subextraction is permitted.

Gallego (2011) makes a distinction between freezing and non-freezing positions to account for the paradigm in (3). He claims that subextraction from

³ As Andrew Radford (p.c.) points out to me, there is no need to assume that TPs are phases: it is enough to assume (e.g. following Rizzi and Shlonsky 2005) that a constituent moving into spec-TP is in a criterial position so frozen in place, or (following Bošković 2008a) that a constituent checking (case/agreement) features in spec-TP is frozen in place. Advocating for the phasal character of TP would be rather redundant.

a post-verbal subject in (3a) is licit in Spanish since it remains in Spec,v*P, a non-freezing position. By contrast, if the subject moves to Spec,TP subextraction is banned, as in (3b). The reason is that Spec,TP is a freezing position. This proposal, however appealing it may be, wrongly predicts that (4a) is ungrammatical.

Müller (2010) proposes to derive island effects from PIC by claiming that all phrases are phases and that lexical items contain both structure-building features (essentially, subcategorization features) and probe features (triggering movement). To this featural list an edge feature can be added which ensures that a head may attract a constituent to its specifier. The edge feature is the last feature to be included and the first one to be discharged (in Müller's terminology). Specifiers are last-merged within their phrase, which makes the head inactive for any possible insertion of an edge feature, thereby stopping any category from moving out of a specifier. In conjunction with PIC, this explains the CED effects detected in subjects as long as they are in Spec,vP. This purely syntactic proposal seems to be too strong, since it predicts that subextraction will never be allowed from a specifier position, which is not accurate in light of examples (3)–(4).

A second view takes islands to be conditions on the output of the narrow syntax, hence being applied to the product of derivations at the interfaces (Kayne 1984; Hornstein et al. 2007; Merchant 2001; Radford and Iwasaki 2011). Accordingly, islands are described as representational constraints, either at PF or LF (see Boeckx 2008 for a full review of the concept of island throughout the history of generative grammar). Hornstein et al. (2007) make a distinction between LF-driven and PF-driven islands depending on whether the repairing phenomenon that circumvents the island is related to Logical Form or Phonological Form. Sluicing and resumption are two such repairing operations. Merchant (2001) also claimed that some islands are PF-driven, while others are conditions holding at LF. An alternative view is found in Lasnik (2001) and Fox and Lasnik (2003), who suggest that there is no real reason to make such a distinction. Hornstein and Uriagereka (2002a; 2002b) have detected LF properties on islands. Finally, Sheehan (to appear) and Radford and Iwasaki (2011) propose that islands are strongly influenced by PF properties.

For the purposes of this paper, I take it that syntactic computations are driven by certain interface properties (Bianchi and Frascarelli 2010; Grohmann 2008; Sheehan to appear). In this connection, Jiménez-Fernández (2009) has shown that subextraction out of a subject island in interrogative clauses is allowed in languages such as Spanish and Italian, provided that the subject DP is marked as indefinite, as illustrated in (4) and (5).⁴

⁴ Since Abney's (1987) work, the hypothesis that NPs are reanalysed as DPs has been widely debated. I assume that all nominal constructions are DPs, and leave aside the distinction between DP, QP and NP. For discussion of this issue, see Pereltsvaig (2007), Bošković (2008a), Cinque (2002), Lyons (1999) and Longobardi (2001). I will use the term DP for both indefinites and definites. Further elaboration of my proposal is needed to show that the internal structure of DPs may also be one

- (5) ¿De qué autores_i crees que [varios libros t_i] son
 of which author believe-PRES.2SG that several books be-PRES.3PL
interesantísimos?
 very interesting
 ‘Of which author do you believe that several books are very interesting?’

I will come back to this proposal below.

The paper is organised as follows: in section 2 I review some of the proposals which have appeared within the Minimalist Program and conclude that none of them handles the full range of cross-linguistic variation; in section 3 I present the proposal by Jiménez-Fernández (2009) that DPs which are marked as [+ def] are treated as phases in languages such as Spanish and Italian and subextraction is banned from any subject position in *wh*-interrogatives; I also show that in article-less languages such as Polish NP can be a phase if marked as definite; in section 4 I implement this proposal to cover other types of A'-movement such as focus fronting in different languages; and finally section 5 offers some concluding remarks.

2. Background on the treatment of subextraction within Minimalism

Islandhood was proposed by Huang (1982) to explain blocking effects on certain types of movement. Within current minimalist theory, these effects have mainly received a parallel treatment in terms of freezing. The basis of the notion of freezing is that some syntactic positions display freezing properties which ban subextraction. One such category is Spec,TP (Boeckx 2003; Ormazábal et al. 1994; Rizzi 2006; Stepanov 2007; Takahashi 1994; Chomsky 2008; Gallego 2011). If this were right, the two sentences in (6), from Chomsky (2008: 147) would be predicted to be ill-formed, contrary to fact:

- (6) a. *_{CP} Of which car did _{TP} [the (driver, picture) ~~of which car~~] T [_{v*P} the (driver, picture) of which car v* cause a scandal]]?
 b. _{CP} Of which car was _{TP} [the (driver, picture) ~~of which car~~] T [_{v*P} v awarded the (driver, picture) of which car a prize]]?

This leads Chomsky to propose that it is the base position of subjects that determines whether or not subextraction is allowed. In English this seems to work out right since passive, unaccusative and raising verbs do not qualify as phase heads, and as such they do not bar subextraction. More precisely, there is a distinction between *v*P and *v**P. The latter is a phase and typically contains a transitive

of the factors influencing subextraction across languages. See discussion of Polish data below in the main text (section 3 and 4), in which nominals are argued to be NPs, though subject to the Definiteness/Specificity condition as well.

verb. If we assume Gallego and Uriagereka's (2007: 55) Edge Condition, according to which phase edges are freezing positions, we can explain the minimal pair in (6).⁵

Sentence (6a) is ungrammatical because the whole subject DP is rendered opaque to subextraction due to the fact that it is generated in Spec,*v**P, the edge of phasal *v* and thus a freezing slot. On the other hand, (6b) is well-formed because the base position of the DP subject is not a phasal edge, since *v*P is not a phase at all. Hence no freezing effect is expected to be displayed in this environment.

However, while the Edge Condition makes the right prediction for English, it fails to explain the licensing of subextraction in other languages. For instance, in Spanish islandhood is mitigated if the subject remains in post-verbal position, as we have seen in (3), reproduced here as (7):

- (7) a. *¿De qué conferenciantes_i te parece que me_z*
of what speakers CL-2SG seem-PRES.3SG that CL-1SG
*van a impresionar_v [_v*P [_{DP} las propuestas *t_i*] *t_z* *t_v*]*?
go-PRES.3PL to to-impress the proposals
- b. **¿De qué conferenciantes_i te parece que*
of what speakers CL-2SG seem-PRES.3SG that
*[_{DP} las propuestas *t_i*]_j me_z van*
the proposals CL-1SG go-PRES3.PL
*a impresionar_v [_v*P *t_j* *t_z* *t_v*]*?
to to-impress
‘Which speakers does it seem to you that the proposals by will impress me?’

Gallego and Uriagereka (2007) and Gallego (2011) conclude that it is the nature of T that crucially eliminates the possibilities of subextraction in (7b). Gallego and Uriagereka (2007) propose that TP is a phase in Spanish and its specifier is a freezing position. This predicts that subextraction from Spec,TP is impossible. Nevertheless, the minimal pair in (8) shows that this is not tenable:

⁵ The prediction in Gallego and Uriagereka (2007) and Gallego (2011) is different since their analysis relies on the phasal nature of TP in Spanish. Hence, Gallego (2011) suggests that simultaneous movement is not an option, which is actually the analysis argued for by Chomsky (2008). Under Chomsky's view, movement of the whole DP and movement of the PP occur at the same time. On the contrary, Gallego (2011) proposes successive movement to account for the island effects in Spanish, predicting that movement out of a moved DP is blocked. The main problem for this approach to CED effects is that movement from object position yields the same degradation as from subject position, and objects need not move:

- (i) *????¿De qué autor has vendido los libros?*
of which author have-PERF.2SG sold the books
‘Of which author have you sold the books?’

It seems that the reason for the unacceptability of sentences such as (i) is crucially connected with the nature of the extraction site, rather than its syntactic position.

- (8) a. *¿De qué conferenciantes_i te parece que me_z*
 of what speakers CL-2SG seem-PRES.3SG that CL-1sg
van a impresionar_v [DP varias propuestas t_i] t_z t_v]?
 go-PRES.3PL to to-impress several proposals
- b. *¿De qué conferenciantes_i te parece que*
 of what speakers CL-2SG seem-PRES.3SG that
[DP varias propuestas t_i] j me_z
 several proposals CL-1SG
*van a impresionar_v [v*P t_j t_z t_v]?*
 go-PRES.3PL to to-impress
 ‘Which speakers does it seem to you that several proposals by will impress me?’

As discussed at length by Jiménez-Fernández (2009), both (8a) with subextraction from post-verbal position and (8b) with subextraction from pre-verbal positions are expected to be grammatical if a different kind of constraint based on Definiteness/Specificity effects is proposed.⁶ As illustrated earlier, once the D in the subextraction site is replaced by non-definite D, the ungrammaticality vanishes. In other words, when DP is marked as indefinite subextraction is licit from post- and pre-verbal positions.⁷

Gallego (2011) claims that a DP subject in Spec,TP is deprived of its activity since by the time it arrives at this position it does not contain any more active features. Again, this is not tenable in light of the examples in (8). Otherwise, (8b) would be expected to be ill-formed, since at the stage of the derivation in which the DP subject occupies Spec,TP it has already valued its Case feature, render-

⁶ Following Lyons (1999), I assume that definiteness is the syntactic correlate of the semantic property of identifiability. The definite referent must be familiar or previously established in the context. For Lyons, most frequently definiteness is syntactically encoded, whereas indefiniteness is not. From here, it is deduced that definiteness will just have one grammatical feature, that of [+ def]. The absence of this feature (i.e. indefiniteness) means that the relevant nominal does not contain any value related to definiteness, though this does not imply that indefinites do not contain a D projection.

⁷ Another problem for the Edge Condition is posed by the following example (originally from Esther Torrego) in Chomsky (1986: 260):

- (i)
De qué autora_i no sabes [[qué traducciones t_i] j C [t_j han
 of which author not know-PRES.2SG which translations have-PRES.3PL
ganado premios internacionales]]?
 won awards international
 ‘Which author don’t you know what translated books by have won international awards?’

Here, one WH constituent is extracted from another WH constituent on the edge of a CP phase, and the result is acceptable (thanks to Andrew Radford (p.c.) for bringing this point to my attention).

ing the whole DP inactive. Thus subextraction would be predicted to be blocked, contrary to facts.⁸

This problem could be resolved by taking subextraction to apply at the base position and assuming (following Chomsky 2008 and Radford 2009) that different operations can apply simultaneously. Chomsky (2008) holds that all operations run in parallel within a phase. Derivations are evaluated at the CP phase, not earlier. By that time, C has probed the whole DP subject via two different operations: 1) T probes the whole goal triggering movement to Spec,TP; 2) the Edge Feature attracts the *wh*-operator to Spec,CP. Hence, we are back to the situation described earlier: the PIC would save the derivation from crashing since the DP subject sits at the edge of *v**P and this can be targeted by a higher probe. My proposal follows Chomsky's idea of simultaneous movement in that it involves displacement of the PP complement in DP subjects from their original position, Spec,*v**P. However, I maintain that it is the phasal nature of the DP subject that blocks subextraction.

3. Jiménez-Fernández's (2009) proposal for subject islands in interrogatives

Dealing with subextraction from subjects in *wh*-questions, Jiménez-Fernández (2009) claims that at least in some languages the PP complement in DPs can subextract as long as the whole DP is marked as indefinite. One of the main tenets of Jiménez-Fernández's analysis is that definite DPs are phases to account for CED effects in Spanish and Italian (Radford 2004) has made a similar claim on the basis of English data). This is reminiscent of Chomsky's (2008) distinction between non-phasal *v*P and phasal *v**Ps and can be extended to all phases.

In this vein, DPs are phases (hence D*Ps) when certain LF-related properties intersect.⁹ If a DP is a phase it blocks subextraction. What is crucial in this

⁸ For Gallego (2011) feature-valuation inactivates a constituent. But in a complex subject like *the author of which books*, the only constituents of the subject which are nominative and enter into (singular) agreement are *the author*; hence *of which books* (being outside the nominative domain) arguably can remain active for further operations like *wh*-movement. Assuming Adger's (2003) analysis, in terms of Case features, the PP *of which books* is assigned genitive and presumably by the time the *wh*-phrase is probed, the case feature will have been already valued, hence it is not active any more. We need some other feature to make it active, and this is the [wh]-feature.

⁹ In Frascarelli and Jiménez-Fernández (in preparation), specificity and topicality are two information-based grammatical properties which determine the possibilities of subextraction. More precisely, topic DPs are strong phases, thereby blocking subextraction:

(i) **SOBRE LA ESTRUCTURA INFORMATIVA* *creo* *que los/esos artículos*
 about the structure informational believe-PRES.1SG that the/those articles
te los deberías leer.

CL-2SG CL-3PL should read

'About information structure I think that the/these books you should read.'

approach is that LF-connected features are relevant to determining whether a given category is a phase or not.¹⁰ Accordingly, it seems that LF-related properties such as Definiteness (I leave D-linking aside, see Jiménez-Fernández 2009, though)¹¹ are responsible for turning DPs into D*Ps.

The relevance of LF-related features for the phasehood of DPs is given a full account in Heck et al. (2008). They show that DPs are phases in Scandinavian (Swedish and Danish) in the presence of a Definiteness feature. For these linguists the [+ def] feature is located under N, not under D. In order for the [+ def] feature to be visible for computation, they propose feature movement to the edge of the DP. What is important for my analysis is the increasingly interface-driven character of syntactic operations (Grohmann 2008), since Definiteness and D-linking, two LF properties, play a crucial role in the syntactic computation of subextraction.

In addition, the importance of interface properties for syntactic computation is also addressed by Fanselow and Ćavar (2002). More precisely, subextraction is taken by these authors to involve copying the whole constituent in Spec,CP and deleting one part of this element in the original copy and the other part in the higher copy. This mechanism yields split-DPs (a similar proposal is made by Radford 2009 for discontinuous DPs, which are caused by a phonological operation that he terms split spell-out). Fanselow and Ćavar's (2002) account is an alternative pragmatic approach to subextraction that I will not follow in my analysis, but it lends support to the idea that interface conditions are essential for narrow syntax.

Let me now illustrate how the notion of D*P relates to extractability possibilities. In Chomsky's (2008) system, non-phases do not count for the purpose of Spell-Out or the Phase Impenetrability Condition in that a probe/goal AGREE relation may be established between an external probe and any material in the complement of the non-phase. If this is on the right track, we have enough theoretical apparatus to explain why all cases of subextraction from a definite DP containing a non-D-linked PP are barred (see Jiménez-Fernández (2009) for the D-linking

In (i) the contrastive focus *sobre la estructura informativa* has been moved from inside the CLLD DP object. Since topics are definite/specific by nature, subextraction is expected to be blocked. This lends further credit to my proposal that definite/specific DPs are phases.

¹⁰ Not all types of island show an identical behaviour in respect of the extraction of their members. This has led linguists to draw a distinction between strong and weak islands (Cinque 1990; Postal 1998; Szabolcsi and den Dikken 2002; Bianchi and Chesi 2008). DPs have been claimed to be islands, especially if they are definite/specific (Fiengo and Higginbotham 1981; Manzini 1992; 1998; Radford 2004) and if they are placed in subject position. In this work I implement the idea that the notion of island should be relativised as cross-linguistic data show that in some languages subextraction from a subject may be possible. This selective nature depicts DPs as weak islands.

¹¹ As Sheehan (to appear) acknowledges herself, the availability of subextraction is affected not just by the CED, but also by other factors such as factivity, bridge vs. non-bridge verbs, specificity, etc. Jiménez-Fernández (2009) accounts for the distribution of subextraction in terms of the composite nature of islands. Therefore, alongside Definiteness, other factors licensing sub-extraction are the object/subject position of the subextraction site, D-Linking, preposition stranding, etc. This work focuses on just one of the factors, namely Definiteness.

constraint on subextraction): such DPs are phases and as such the complement has already been transferred to the interfaces so that a *wh*-operator in the complement of a D*P cannot be targeted by C. On the other hand, non-phasal categories are not Spell-Out domains (Frascarelli 2006; Matushansky 2005). Therefore, non-definite DPs are non-phasal DPs and subextraction of the *wh*-operator is permitted, given that by the time the interrogative constituent undergoes movement to Spec,CP it has not been transferred yet to the semantic and phonological components. If the distinction between DP/D*P is on the right track, the grammaticality of English and Spanish sentences in (9) can be easily accommodated.

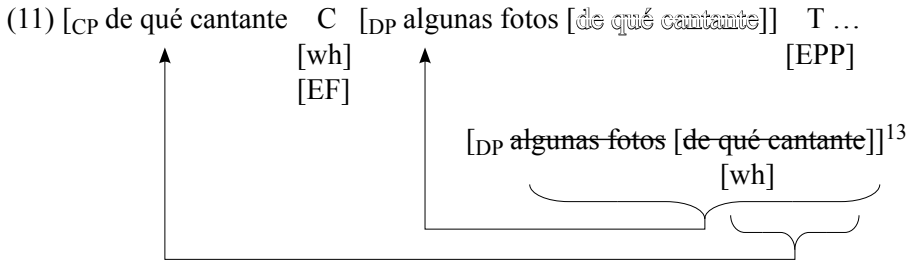
- (9) a. Which singer do you think that some pictures of have shocked the audience?
 b. *¿De qué cantante te parece que algunas fotos of which singer CL-2SG seem-PRES3SG that some photos han escandalizado a la audiencia? have-PERF3PL shocked to the audience*
 ‘Of which singer does it seem to you that some photos have shocked the audience?’

The extraction domains in these two sentences are the DPs *some pictures of which singer* and *algunas fotos de qué cantante*, respectively. These DPs do not contain any [+ def] feature. Consequently, these DPs are not phases so that the [wh]-feature in their complement domain is visible. This allows the Edge Feature under C to attract the *wh*-operator, yielding a grammatical outcome (Pesetsky and Torrego 2001). To see more clearly how the derivation of cases of subextraction is drawn, let me make my proposal more explicit. The DP *algunas fotos de qué cantante* ‘some pictures of which singer’ has the featural structure informally drawn in (10), which is the starting point for the derivation of (9b):

- (10) [_{DP} algunas fotos [de [qué cantante]]]
 [wh]

Once the matrix C is merged to TP, the whole DP is moved into Spec,TP to satisfy the [EPP] feature of T. Simultaneously, C probes and searches for a suitable goal in order to establish the AGREE relation. The [wh]-feature in the *wh*-phrase is visible at the CP cycle since the whole DP is just indefinite and thus does not qualify as a D*P. Accordingly, C can probe into this DP and agrees with the [wh]-feature.¹² The Edge Feature (EF) in C triggers movement of the PP *de qué cantante* ‘of which singer’ to its specifier.

¹² An anonymous reviewer points out that, at least according to Chomsky (2001), there is no agreement in [wh]-features between C and the *wh*-phrase, given that C does not have a [wh]-feature. Rather they agree in terms of [Q]-features. However, the uninterpretable [wh]-feature is what makes a *wh*-phrase active. I will assume that C in interrogatives contains a [wh]-feature, following much recent work by Müller (2010), Adger (2003) and Heck and Müller (2003), among others. On this view, the [wh]-feature (in conjunction with an EF) triggers movement of a *wh*-phrase to Spec,CP.



When transferred to the semantic component, all the non-interpretable features have already been deleted and the derivation is assigned the right semantic interpretation.

By contrast, in (12a) the DP *las fotos de qué cantante* ‘the pictures of which singer,’ despite the *wh*-phrase’s being marked as D-linked, contains a [+ def] feature¹⁴ which renders the whole DP impenetrable due to the fact that it qualifies as a phase. However, in case the *wh*-operator lacks the [D-linked] feature, the outcome is even more degraded.¹⁵ This is illustrated in (12c–d). The reason is again found in the phasehood of the corresponding DP.

- (12) a. *??¿De qué cantante te parece que las fotos*
of which singer CL-2SG seem-PRES3SG that the photos
han escandalizado a la audiencia?
have-PERF3PL shocked to the audience
- b. *??¿De qué cantante te parece que han*
of which singer CL-2SG seem-PRES3SG that have-PERF3PL
escandalizado las fotos a la audiencia?
shocked the photos to the audience
‘Of which singer does it seem to you that the photos have shocked
the audience?’

¹³ In Jiménez-Fernández (2009), I follow the standard idea that DP subjects move first to Spec,TP, and then PP undergoes movement to Spec,CP. However, Spec,TP cannot be a freezing position since Spanish displays cases of subextraction where subjects sit in Spec,TP, thereby occupying a pre-verbal position.

¹⁴ I take the [+ def] feature as a morpho-syntactic feature with some LF import. It is present in the relevant D from the very beginning of the Numeration, at least in those languages which codify Definiteness in their determiner system. For languages with no articles, there have been many studies which suggest that Definiteness is interpreted by means of intonation, word order, etc. See Szwedek (1974a,b; 1976a,b,c), Grzegorek (1984), and Topolińska (1981) for different factors determining the (in)definiteness of nominal constructions in this type of language.

¹⁵ The role of D-linking in mitigating islandhood is explicitly mentioned in Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010), Starke (2001) and Bianchi and Chesi (2012). The reader is referred to Jiménez-Fernández (2009), who claims that islandhood has a complex nature where several factors (among them, Definiteness and D-linking) combine, thereby turning a DP into an island.

- c. *¿De quién te parece que las fotos han
of whom CL-2SG seem-PRES3SG that the photos have-PERF3PL
escandalizado a la audiencia?
shocked to the audience
- d. *¿De quién te parece que han escandalizado
of whom CL-2SG seem-PRES3SG that have-PERF3PL shocked
las fotos a la audiencia?
the photos to the audience
‘Of whom does it seem to you that the photos have shocked the audi-
ence?’

Concentrating on (12c–d), the DP subject *las fotos de quién* qualifies as a DP phase (hence D*P), since it contains a [+ def] feature. In a D*P the PP complement is invisible for further computation. Thus, we make the right prediction that subextraction is banned, regardless of the pre- or post-verbal position of the DP subject.¹⁶

The whole derivational process precludes any DP-internal feature from being visible to an outside probe. Consequently, the uninterpretable [wh]-feature in the matrix C remains unvalued and the derivation crashes because not all features may be interpreted in the semantic component.

Adger’s (2003) approach to subject islands draws the conclusion that “the specifier of a phase is only visible to feature matching if the phase is in a position where it is selected by a θ -assigning head” (Adger 2003: 337). This poses a problem for my analysis, since it implies that the thematic position occupied by subjects is essential to licit subextraction. This θ -based constraint blocks subextraction in English because subjects move to Spec,TP, a non-thematic position. Nevertheless, in languages such as Spanish subjects may either be pre- or post-verbal. In stricter terms, subjects may occupy Spec,vP (a thematic position) or Spec,TP (a non-thematic position). Whatever the position, subextraction is allowed in Spanish, contrary to Adger’s prediction.¹⁷

As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, the phasehood of definite DPs shows an apparent problem for the PIC, since phasal vP and CP have a specifier position which can be used as an escape hatch for the purpose of movement from inside the phase. By analogy, phasal DPs should also contain this escape hatch and hence no

¹⁶ The reason why (12c–d) are worse than (12a–b) is that in the latter the *wh*-operator has at least two features, namely [D-Linking] and [wh]. This combination seems to be stronger than the [+ def] feature of D (Andrew Radford, p.c.). The competition of features is a current issue in generative grammar (Haegeman and Ürögdi 2010). I leave this line of research open for future work.

¹⁷ This situation can be sorted out if a simultaneous movement analysis is adopted (Chomsky 2008). In that case, subextraction will always involve movement from the thematic position of the subject. Chomsky, however, maintains that the specifier of vP is a frozen position, whereby nothing can be extracted from subjects. There is no easy way to come up with a solution regarding the different positions that a subject may occupy, which suggests that the involved constraint seems to be related to the internal configuration of DPs rather than to their syntactic position.

violation of the PIC would be in order. In this connection, Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010) have independently claimed that referential DPs (my definite DPs) contain an operator in their specifier position, which relates the whole DP to discourse. If definiteness/specificity is subsumed under referentiality, it can be argued that in definite DPs the specifier position is already filled by this operator, hence blocking its use as an escape hatch. Therefore, as far as definite DPs and probing inside them are concerned, PIC will always be violated.

Evidence for the proposal that the definite character of a DP makes it qualify as a phase comes from the fact that in Spanish the definite article may have a non-referential use, in which case subextraction is allowed, as pointed out to me by Antonio Fábregas (p.c.). Following Russell (1905), Leonetti (1999: 791 ff.) claims that the use of the definite article is conditioned by two factors: the notion of already known information and the concept of uniqueness. Concentrating on Spanish, however, none of these factors are present in examples such as (13):

- (13) *El tango de Buenos Aires causa sensación entre los turistas.*
 the tango of Buenos Aires cause-PRES.3SG sensation among the tourists
 ‘Tango from Buenos Aires causes a sensation among tourists.’

As is clear, the definite article *el* (‘the’) does not display any specificity meaning here. Actually, we are talking about tango in a general way. In other words, this definite article is formally definite, but functionally non-referential, and hence non-specific (Leonetti 1999: 860). From this viewpoint, we expect this kind of DP to permit subextraction. This is borne out in (14):

- (14) *¿De qué ciudad parece que [el tango t] causa sensación entre los turistas?*
 of which city seem-PRES.3SG that the tango causes sensation among
 the tourists
 ‘Of which city does the tango seem to cause a sensation among tourists?’

Subextraction in (14) does not lead to degradation, which strongly supports the distinction I am making between those DPs which are phases and those which are not.

My analysis of DPs in terms of phasal vs. non-phasal correlates with Zamparelli’s (2000) multi-layered approach to nominal constructions. As an anonymous reviewer pointed out to me, Zamparelli (2000) assumes that the internal structure of nominal phrases is complex: it consists of several layers, with each layer corresponding to a different meaning. Strong quantifiers always occupy the topmost layer in the DP projection; by contrast, weak quantifiers can appear in the DP-layer or in the NP-layer. If the uttermost layer is lexically not filled, we have a kind of escape hatch for extractions out of the inner part of a given DP; by contrast, if the uttermost layer is lexically filled, subextraction out of such a nominal phrase is predicted not to be possible since the escape hatch is already occupied and PIC

prevents any deeper search into the domain of the noun. In other words and in keeping with current minimalist theory, whereas the DP external projection can be seen as a phase, the internal DP projection is not. Definite Ds are generated high in the nominal construction so that they block subextraction; by contrast, indefinite Ds are low in the structure and do not ban subextraction.

Other alternative approaches are Bošković's (2008b) and Longobardi's (1994) distinction between DP and NP. Basically, Longobardi defends the idea that argument nominal constructions project a DP, and D can be lexically realised or given a null spell-out. Bošković (2008b) argues against the uniform DP analysis by claiming that in article-less languages such as Serbo-Croatian nominal constructions do not contain a D category, and hence project up to NP only. Demonstratives, possessives and quantifiers are dealt with in Bošković's system as adjectives. As regards extraction in Serbo-Croatian, he explicitly mentions that the islandhood in English definite DPs is accounted for in terms of the phasal nature of this type of DP. However, in Serbo-Croatian extraction is licit because there is no DP projection, and thus no island effect:

- (15) *O kojem piscu je pročitao [svaku knjigu/sve knjige/(tu) tvoju knjigu t_i]*
 about which writer is read every book/all books/that your book
 ‘*About which writer did he read every book/all books/this book of yours?’
 (Bošković 2008b: 7)

A similar truncated structure for nominals is proposed by Willim (2000) for Polish. She claims that no DP is projected in this language. Corver (1992) and Zlatic (1997) submit that DP is absent in nominal constructions when the relevant language does not contain articles (though see Rappaport 2001 for a different view). The question arises whether article-less languages exhibit some type of island effect in nominals. As shown in (15), even definite NPs in Serbo-Croatian are transparent to subextraction. The prediction is that NPs are no phases since D is not present. This leads to the conclusion that a D containing a [+ def] feature renders DPs opaque in languages with articles, and hence no subextraction is permitted; by contrast, in languages without articles there are no nominal phases and therefore subextraction is not subject to a definite feature.

This conclusion posits at least one further question: is subextraction unconstrained in languages without articles? As far as Polish is concerned, the answer must be ‘no’ in light of the contrast in (16) and (17):

- (16) a. *O kim czytałeś [książkę t_i]*
 About whom did you read [a book t_i?]
 b. **O kim czytałeś [książkę Piotra t_i]*
 About whom did you read [Peter's book t_i?] (Witkoś 1993:107)
 c. **O kim czytałeś [tę książkę t_i]*
 About whom did you read [this book t_i?] (Witkoś 1993:142)

- (17) a. *O kim usłyszałeś [opowiadanie t]?*
 About whom did you hear [a story t]?
- b. **O kim usłyszałeś [opowiadanie Jana t]?*
 About whom did you hear [John's story t]? (Willim 1986: 383)

As suggested by Witkoś (1993) and Willim (1986), subextraction is licensed in Polish from unspecified (indefinite) NPs. In other words, similar to Spanish, Polish shows definiteness effects when it comes to extraction out of NPs. This raises the question of what renders an NP definite/specific in an article-less language. Recall that I proposed that definite DPs are phases in languages with articles due to the presence of the grammatical feature [+ def] under D. So what is it that makes an NP definite/specific and hence opaque for subextraction in Polish?

Assuming that in Polish genitive nouns occur to the right of the nominal head, whereas possessive pronouns are generated to the left of the nominal head (Witkoś 1993: 122–123), extractions of the genitive noun are true cases of the type of subextraction that I am concerned with in this paper. This has been illustrated in (16–17), where extraction out of a non-definite NP yields an acceptable result — (16a) and (17a) — and extraction out of a possessive construction (interpreted as definite/specific) is blocked — (16b) and (17b).

In Witkoś's system, where nominals project a DP (a Ghost Phrase, in his terminology), the type of subextraction blocking illustrated in (17) can be captured if demonstratives (prototypical definites) occupy the specifier position of a DP. Assuming that DPs can only contain a single specifier, demonstratives will ban any extraction since there is no escape hatch. In other words, Witkoś implicitly assumes that definite DPs are phases and because their specifier is occupied there is no way to avoid a PIC violation. However, in the standard view that in article-less languages nominals project only up to NP, we cannot accommodate the distinction between definite and indefinite nominals in terms of DP phases.

At this point, I would like to propose that Definiteness may vary cross-linguistically. In some languages Definiteness is reflected in narrow syntax by projecting a DP containing a [+ def], whereas in other languages Definiteness is just a matter of interpretation, which stems from different factors such as intonation and word order. From this it follows that in Polish Definiteness effects are not connected with the presence of a feature. Rather, it might be related to the position where definites/specifics are generated. Following work by Rozwadowska (1991) and Giorgi and Longobardi (1990), it can be argued that nominals in Polish are NPs (in line with Bošković 2008b; 2009; 2010a; 2010b) and that the specifier of NP is the locus where possessives and demonstratives are generated. If there is no escape hatch available for these types of definite NP, and if we assume that NPs in article-less languages can be phases if their specifier is filled, a principled account for the distinction in (16)–(17) is that subextraction is not available because there is a violation of PIC.

Similarly, in Serbo-Croatian, we find that subextraction from nominals is possible, albeit with some sensitivity to the subject/object asymmetry (Jurka 2010: 190 ff.):

- (18) a. **/?O kome je prošle godine knjiga izazvala burne polemike?*
 about whom AUX last summer books caused turbulent controversy
 ‘About whom did books cause a controversy last summer?’
 b. *O kome je prošle godine taj političar pročitao knjigu?*
 about whom AUX last summer that politician read books
 ‘About whom did the politician read books last summer?’

The grammatical judgements vary among speakers (compare (15) and (18a)), but what is crucial is that subextraction from indefinite nominals is possible in Serbo-Croatian. A more full-fledged discussion of Slavic languages and subextraction is in order, but, unfortunately, space and time preclude my undertaking this task here. However, concluding this inspection of subextraction in article-less languages, to explain why in Polish and Serbo-Croatian Definiteness counts in blocking subextraction, it may be tentatively proposed that in languages with no DP, NPs can be phases (Bošković 2010b) if Spec,NP is already occupied by a demonstrative or possessive. It follows, thus, that any extraction will be banned since it violates PIC. The conclusion which is drawn from the preceding remarks is that languages make a parametric use of what counts as a phase. As far as nominal constructions are concerned, languages may have either DP phases or NP phases (maybe some languages have both), and Definiteness plays a fundamental role in making a nominal construction a phase.

The role of Definiteness in the phasehood of NPs can also be tested in contexts where subextraction applies to subjects in Polish (examples provided by Bożena Rozwadowska, p.c.):

- (19) a. *Których książek_i [autorzy t_i] wywołali skandal?*
 which-GEN books-GEN authors cause-PAST.3PL scandal
 ‘Which books did (some) authors of cause a scandal?’
 b. **Których książek_i [ci autorzy t_i] wywołali skandal?*
 which-GEN books-GEN these authors cause-PAST.3PL scandal
 ‘Which books did these authors of cause a scandal?’
 (20) a. *O których uczonych_i [wykłady Angela t_i] wywołały skandal*
 about which scholars lectures Angel-GEN cause-PAST.3PL scandal
w środowisku językoznawczym?
 in community linguistic
 ‘Angel’s lectures about which scholars caused a scandal in the linguistic community?’

- b.**O ktorych uczonych_i [te wykłady Angela t_i] wywolaly*
 about which scholars these lectures Angel-GEN cause-PAST.3PL
skandal w srodowisku jezykoznawczym?
 scandal in community linguistic
 ‘These lectures of Angel’s about which scholars caused a scandal in the
 linguistic community?’

As is clear, the examples (19a) and (20a) involve subextraction of interrogative operators from indefinite NP subjects and this yields a grammatical outcome.¹⁸ Note that subjects occur in preverbal position, presumably in Spec,TP. However, in (19b) and (20b) the subextraction site is a definite/specific NP. If the distinction between phasal NP and non-phasal NP is on the right track, the relevant examples will be expected to be unacceptable. This is justified by the ungrammaticality of (19b) and (20b), which supports the solid basis of the parallelism between the DP/D*P and the NP/N*P distinctions.

4. Subextraction, DP phases and focus movement

In this section I show that subextraction out of a subject in other types of A²-movement is available if this DP (or the corresponding N*P in article-less languages) is not a phase. As already demonstrated by Svenonius (2004) and Hiraiwa (2005), DPs can be phases — a possibility which is admitted by Chomsky (2008: 143). In my analysis, a DP subject is not a phase if it is indefinite, whereas it is not a phase if marked as [+ def].¹⁹ Building on Jiménez-Fernández (2009), I argue that subextraction is possible not only in interrogative clauses, but also in other types of A²-movement such as focus fronting. I contend that regardless of the (pre- or post-verbal) syntactic position that DP subjects occupy, subextraction in

¹⁸ For Willim (1986: 372) Polish seems to obey the Subject Condition, and hence is reluctant to allow subextraction from subjects:

- (i) */?*Od kogo [list t] uległ zniszczeniu?*
 Lit. ‘From whom letter underwent destruction?’
 (ii) ??*O kim [opowieść t] tak cię rozśmieszyła?*
 Lit. ‘About whom story made you laugh so much?’

Willim claims that the Subject Condition is part of Subadjacency so that extraction out of subject NPs involves crossing two bounding nodes, NP and IP. Willim’s framework is Government and Binding Theory. In current minimalist terms, the Subject Condition may be subsumed under the notion of phases, hence the subextraction site in the above examples are NP phases. As far as I can see the subject NPs in (i–ii) are interpreted as definite/specific, and as such the ban on subextraction is predicted since definite NPs are phases.

¹⁹ I depart from my previous approach to phases and islands in that I leave aside the distinction between strong and weak phases. DPs can only be phasal or non-phasal (D*P or DP), much along the lines pursued by Chomsky (2008) regarding the opposition v*P/vP.

A²-movement contexts is permitted if the DP subject does not contain the feature [+ def]. The phasal characterisation of subject islands is held to be a consequence of the presence of a unary syntactic feature such as the Definiteness feature. In other words, island circumvention is crucially related to featural composition of the subextraction site, and not only to the syntactic position of the relevant DP (contrary to Gallego and Uriagereka 2007; Gallego 2011 ; Stepanov 2007) or the lexical-conceptual class of the noun head (contra Ticio 2005; Davies and Dubinsky 2003). The subject/object asymmetry, though pertinent, is secondary to the [+ def] marking of the DP, as shown in (21) from Torrego (1985) via Chomsky (1986: 45), partially adapted.

- (21) ζ [*De qué pintor*]_i *me has dicho que van*
 of which painter CL.1SG have-PERF.2SG told that go-PRES.3PL
*a exponer varios/*los dibujos* *t_i?*
 to exhibit several/the drawings
 ‘By which painter did you tell me that they are going to exhibit several/
 the drawings?’

Torrego does not elaborate on the [+ def] feature of the subextraction site. In my view, Definiteness/Specificity effects are vital to account for the extraction of the PP complement out of a DP subject. Note that in (21) the extraction site occupies an object position, but this does not imply that the outcome is always grammatical.

In this section I propose that subextraction in the form of focus movement is licensed out of a DP subject if the subject is indefinite and thereby not qualifying as a phase; otherwise, this type of subextraction is blocked due to the phasal status of the DP subject. The analysis of DPs in terms of phases and their connection to the grammatical feature [+ def] and subextraction is strongly supported by focus fronting. As the contrast in (22–23) shows, the constraint on subextraction does not correlate with the pre- or post-verbal position of the subject in Spanish, as Gallego and Uriagereka (2007) maintain (cf. Diesing 1992 for German), but rather with the [+ def] feature of the subextraction site:

- (22) a. ??*De AENA_i han interrumpido el trabajo [los empleados t_i],*
 of AENA have-PERF.3PL interrupted the work the employees,
no de Iberia.
 not of Iberia
 b. ??*De AENA_i han interrumpido [los empleados t_i] el trabajo, no de Iberia.*
 c. **De AENA_i [los empleados t_i] han interrumpido el trabajo, no de Iberia.*
 ‘AENA employees have interrupted their work, not Iberia employees.’
- (23) a. *De AENA_i han interrumpido el trabajo [varios empleados t_i],*
 of AENA have-PERF.3PL interrupted the work several employees,
no de Iberia.
 not of Iberia

- b. *De AENA_i han interrumpido [varios empleados t_i] el trabajo, no de Iberia.*
 c. *De AENA_i [varios empleados t_i] han interrumpido el trabajo, no de Iberia.*
 ‘Several AENA employees have interrupted their work, not Iberia employees.’

The (non-)phasal status of the [\pm def] DP subject *los/varios empleados de AENA* explains the extractability possibilities in focus fronting constructions. In (22) subextraction out of a subject DP is banned regardless of the pre- or post-verbal position of this constituent. In the three sentences the subextraction site is a DP marked as [+ def]. If my claim that subextraction is permitted only if the DP does not contain the feature [+ def] is on the right track, we can predict the degradation in (22). On the other hand, in (23) the subextraction site is indefinite, and hence not a phase. Consequently, C can probe into the DP and the PP *de AENA* undergoes movement to Spec,CP.²⁰

Additional data in Spanish are provided in (24–25), which give further credit to my claim that DPs are phases when marked as [+ def] (thanks to Violeta Demonte for her grammaticality judgements):

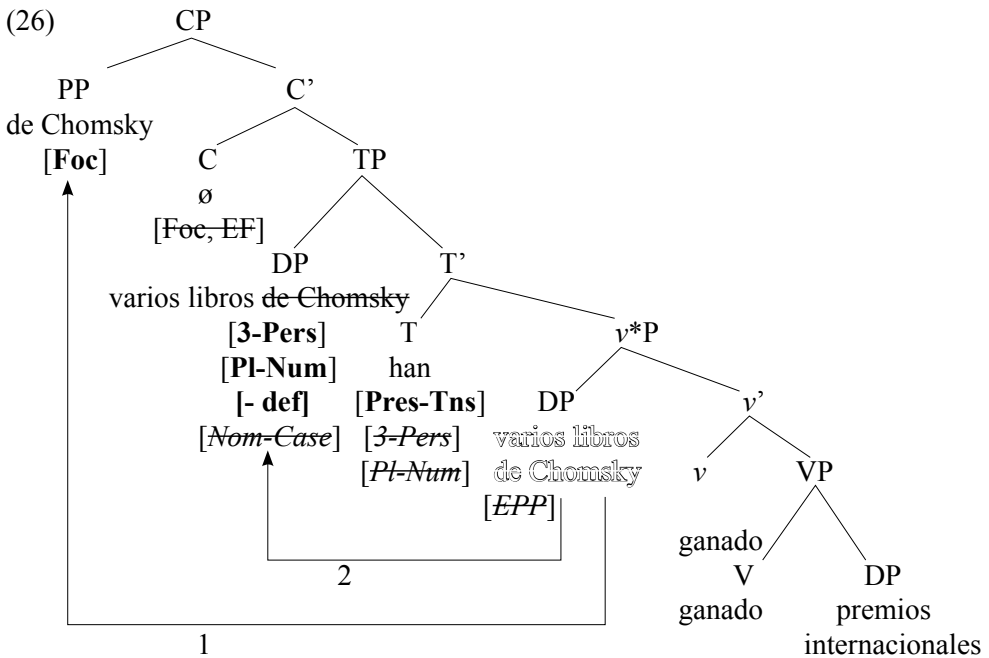
- (24) a. *De CHOMSKY_i [varios libros t_i] han ganado premios internacionales, no de Trotsky.*
 of Chomsky several books have-PERF.3PL won awards international-PL, not of Trotsky
 b. *De CHOMSKY_i han ganado premios internacionales [varios libros t_i], no de Trotsky.*²¹
 ‘Several books by Chomsky have won international awards, not by Trotsky.’

²⁰ Contrary to general assumptions (Zubizarreta 1998; Rizzi 1997), preposed focus need not be adjacent to the verb, at least in Southern varieties of European Spanish, as clearly shown by (23c).

²¹ An anonymous reviewer raises the question of whether post-verbal subjects in Spanish are left in situ and whether there is any difference between pre- and post-verbal subjects. As regards the syntactic position of post-verbal subjects, there is a general consensus that they occupy the specifier of vP (Suñer 2003; Gallego and Uriagereka 2007; Ordóñez 2000, etc.). Concerning the differences between pre- and post-verbal subjects in Spanish, an information-structure-based distinction stands out. Pre-verbal subjects are felt to be topics, whereas post-verbal subjects are interpreted as information focus. Although the topic properties of pre-verbal subjects are far from uncontroversial, it is undeniable that post-verbal subjects exhibit focus properties in Romance languages (Zubizarreta 1998; Belletti 2004; Ortega-Santos 2006; Jiménez-Fernández and İşsever 2012). These IS-properties of subjects also influence the transparency of DPs for subextraction. However, we have no space here to deal with this crucial factor, since it merits in-depth research too long to be pursued here. See Frascarelli and Jiménez-Fernández (in preparation) for an analysis of subextraction based on the informational properties of DPs. See also Slioussar (2011) for a parallel behaviour in Slavic languages, specifically Russian.

- (25) a. **De CHOMSKY_i [los/estos libros t_i] han ganado premios internacionales, no de Trotsky.*
 of Chomsky the/these books have-PERF.3PL won awards international-PL, not of Trotsky
- b. **De CHOMSKY_i han ganado premios internacionales [los/estos libros t_i], no de Trotsky.*
 ‘The/these books by Chomsky have won international awards, not by Trotsky.’

Subextraction out of indefinite DP subjects produce acceptable sentences. The reason is that they are not phases. Concentrating on Spanish, the derivation for a sentence such as (24a) is as follows:



On the CP phase different mechanisms apply: 1) The [Foc]-feature alongside the EF under C attracts the PP *de Chomsky* from its original Merge position in Spec- v^*P to Spec,CP; 2) ϕ -features are inherited by T and, in conjunction with an edge feature (Chomsky 2008; Miyagawa 2010), triggers movement of a copy of the whole DP *varios libros de Chomsky* to Spec,TP. At the stage of the v^*P cycle the DP subject can be penetrated because it is not a phase given that it is an indefinite DP. Therefore, the PP *de Chomsky* is probed by C, thereby moving into Spec,CP.

Sentence (24b) has its subject in situ, i.e. in Spec, v^*P . This is where the split of the constituent takes place. One copy of the PP focus constituent *de*

Chomsky moves to Spec,CP. In both cases, the contrastively focused PP moves from its base-position, regardless of the displacement of the entire non-definite DP subject.

On the other hand, if the DP is marked as [+ def], the subject cannot occur either pre- or post-verbally. This fact is crucial to understanding that Spec,_v*P is not a freezing position by nature. If it were, subextraction from the DP in Spec,_v*P would be expected to yield an unacceptable result. As seen in (18b), the prediction is not borne out. However, if Definiteness is taken into account, a principled explanation can readily be found: the [+ def] DP is a phase (D*P), and search into this phase would be barred for locality reasons. The specifier of DP could be used as an escape hatch, thereby avoiding a PIC violation. If an operator is placed in this Spec,DP to mark its referentiality, as proposed by Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010), this operator voids Spec,DP of its status as an escape hatch. Consequently, any extraction will be banned in compliance with PIC.

Empirical evidence supporting my proposal that [+def] DPs are phases and then islands comes from the fact that islandhood can be mitigated if movement of the focus constituent pied-pipes its complement along with it. All the Spanish examples in (22–25) have a grammatical counterpart in which the island is saved because it is the whole island that moves to Spec,CP:

- (27) a. *Han interrumpido el trabajo [LOS EMPLEADOS DE AENA], no los de Iberia.*
 have-PERF.3PL interrupted the work the employees of AENA, not those of Iberia
- b. *Han interrumpido [LOS EMPLEADOS DE AENA] el trabajo, no de Iberia.*
- c. *[LOS EMPLEADOS DE AENA] han interrumpido el trabajo, no de Iberia.*
 ‘AENA employees have interrupted their work, not Iberia employees.’
- (28) a. *Han ganado [LOS/ESTOS LIBROS DE CHOMSKY] premios internacionales, no de Trotsky.*
 have-PERF.3PL won the/these books of Chomsky awards international-PL, not of Trotsky
- b. *Han ganado premios internacionales [LOS/ESTOS LIBROS DE CHOMSKY], no de Trotsky.*
- c. *[LOS/ESTOS LIBROS DE CHOMSKY] han ganado premios internacionales, no de Trotsky.*
 ‘The/these books by Chomsky have won international awards, not by Trotsky.’

As seen in (27–28), if the entire D*P subject is moved, there is no island effect. This, taken together with Rizzi’s (2006) independently motivated claim that frozen constituents can move only as a whole, predicts the grammaticality in (27–28).

It is worth noting that the spurious definite article can be used in the subextraction site in focus constructions (thanks to Antonio Fábregas for this insightful observation):

- (29) a. *[DE BUENOS AIRES]_i causa sensación entre los turistas*
of Buenos Aires cause-PRES.3SG sensation among the tourists
el tango t_i, no de Córdoba.
the tango not of Cordoba
- b. *[DE BUENOS AIRES]_i el tango t_i causa sensación entre los turistas,*
no de Córdoba.
‘The tango from Buenos Aires causes sensation among tourists, not from Cordoba.’

This is fully expected, given that the definite article here does not express definiteness, since it is a non-referential determiner. Consequently, this DP is not marked as [+ def], and hence it is not a phase. Now, consider the examples in (30):

- (30) a. **DE BURGOS la catedral cautiva a los turistas,*
of Burgos the cathedral captivate-PRES.3SG to the tourists
no de Cádiz.
not of Cadiz
- b. **DE BURGOS cautiva a los turistas la catedral, no de Cádiz.*
‘The cathedral of Burgos captivates tourists, not of Cadiz.’

Due to the unique nature of the noun *catedral* in Spanish culture, the referent introduced by the definite article can readily be identified. This time the article is a referential D, and the whole DP is definite. Thus it qualifies as a phasal D*P, blocking subextraction.

A final piece of evidence in favour of the analysis of definite DPs as phases comes from the distinction between DP and NP (Emonds 2004; Bowers 1993; Fábregas 2011).²² In Spanish, extraction of NP out of a DP is licensed only if the whole DP is indefinite:

- (31) a. *[DP Muchos pasteles]_i comeré t_i en la fiesta.*
many cakes eat-FUT.1SG at the party
‘I will eat many cakes at the party.’
- b. *[NP Pasteles]_i comeré [DP muchos t_i] en la fiesta.²³*
cakes eat-FUT.1SG many at the party
‘I will eat many cakes at the party.’ Jiménez-Fernández (2009: 99)

²² The distinction between DP and NP that I am concerned with at this point is not the one Bošković establishes when making a difference between languages with and without subjects.

²³ Evidence that in (31b) the NP *pasteles* has moved to the left periphery is provided by the fact that this constituent has a contrastive focus reading. Implicitly, we are making a contrast between *pasteles* and any other kind of food/drink that we might have at the party. If we assume with Rizzi (1997) that high contrastive focus is always the result of movement, the NP is sure to have been moved to Spec,CP to value some sort of focus feature.

As shown in (31), the NP *pasteles* ‘cakes’ undergoes movement to the left periphery and the D *muchos* remains in its original position (see Zamparelli 2000 for a similar analysis of Italian indefinite DPs, based on the unavailability of a higher projection in the DP). However, this splitting is not possible with definite DPs:

- (32) a. [_{DP} *Esos pasteles*]_i *comeré* *t_i en la fiesta.*
 those cakes eat-FUT.1SG at the party
 ‘I will eat those cakes at the party.’
 b. *_{[NP} *Pasteles*]_i *comeré* [_{DP} *esos t_i*] *en la fiesta.*
 cakes eat-FUT.1SG those at the party
 ‘I will eat those cakes at the party.’

Extraction out of the definite DP in (32) is blocked given that the Definiteness constraint is not observed. The theoretical implication behind this prohibition is that in this case the DP is a phase and the probe cannot search too deep into this constituent.²⁴

The role of the feature [+ def] in the phasal status of DPs and subextraction out of subjects is attested cross-linguistically, as illustrated by examples in (33) from Italian, as opposed to (34) (Valentina Bianchi, p.c.) and (35) in opposition to (36) (Paola Crisma, p.c.).

- (33) a. *Della AENA_i hanno interrotto il lavoro [molti impiegati t_i],*
 of.the AENA have-PERF.3PL interrupted the work many employees,
 non della Iberia.
 not of.the Iberia
 b. *?Della AENA_i [molti impiegati t_i] hanno interrotto il lavoro, non della*
 Iberia.
 ‘Many AENA employees have interrupted their work, not Iberia employees.’
 (34) a. **?Della AENA_i hanno interrotto il lavoro [gli impiegati t_i],*
 of.the AENA have-PERF.3PL interrupted the work the employees,
 non della Iberia.
 not of.the Iberia

²⁴ Similar effects are displayed in English, as shown by Radford (2004: 412). He argues that a definite DP can be fronted to be highlighted, but the NP complement of this DP cannot (Radford calls it *nP*):

- (i) [_{DP} The king of Ruritania], nobody had expected that the FBA would assassinate.
 (ii) *_{[n_P} King of Ruritania], nobody had expected that the FBA would assassinate the.

The explanation that Radford adduces is that the DP out of which the NP complement is extracted is definite, and hence a phase. In compliance with PIC, nothing can be taken out of a DP phase. This supports my view that definite DPs are phases and focus fronting is permitted only if the whole DP is preposed.

An anonymous reviewer points out that the distinction between (32a) and (32b) may be explained by the nature of the stranded element, either a quantifier or a demonstrative. This is exactly what I am trying to demonstrate: demonstratives are definite and hence their DP qualifies as a phase, thereby predicting subextraction to be barred. On the other hand, quantifiers are indefinite so that their DP is not a phase and thus subextraction is legitimate.

- b. *Della AENA_i [gli impiegati t_i] hanno interrotto il lavoro, non della Iberia.*
 ‘AENA employees have interrupted their work, not Iberia employees.’
- (35) a. *Di CHOMSKY *i/**questi libri hanno ottenuto riconoscimenti internazionali, non di Trotsky.*
 of Chomsky the/these books have-PERF.3PL won awards international-PL, not of Trotsky
- b. *Di CHOMSKY hanno ottenuto riconoscimenti internazionali *i/**questi libri, non di T.*
 ‘The/these books by Chomsky have won international awards, not by Trotsky.’
- (36) a. *?Di CHOMSKY vari libri hanno ottenuto riconoscimenti internazionali, non di Trotsky.*
 of Chomsky several books have-PERF.3PL won awards international-PL, not of Trotsky
- b. *Di CHOMSKY hanno ottenuto riconoscimenti internazionali vari libri, non di Trotsky.*
 ‘Several books by Chomsky have won international awards, not by Trotsky.’

In contrast with Spanish/Italian, Greek shows that the Definiteness/Specificity constraint is not relevant in focus fronting constructions. Hence a parametric distinction shows up:

- (37) a. *tis AENA diekopsan tin eryasia i eryazomeni,*
 the AENA.GEN interrupt-PAST.3PL the work-ACC the employees-NOM,
oxi tis Iberia.
 not the Iberia.GEN
- b. *tis AENA diekopsan i eryazomeni tin eryasia, oxi tis Iberia.*
- c. *tis AENA i eryazomeni diekopsan tin eryasia, oxi tis Iberia.*
 ‘AENA employees have interrupted their work, not Iberia employees.’
- (38) a. *tis AENA diekopsan tin eryasia kapji eryazomeni,*
 the AENA.GEN interrupt-PAST.3PL the work-ACC some employees-NOM,
oxi tis Iberia.
 not the Iberia.GEN
- b. *tis AENA diekopsan kapji eryazomeni tin eryasia, oxi tis Iberia.*
- c. *tis AENA kapji eryazomeni diekopsan tin eryasia, oxi tis Iberia.*
 ‘Some AENA employees have interrupted their work, not Iberia employees.’

Examples like those in (37–38) suggest that the Definiteness constraint is not productive in Greek (Vassilios Spyropoulos, p.c.), and this implies that subextraction is freely permitted out of both definite and indefinite DPs regardless of the pre- or post-verbal position occupied by the subject. However, Greek data support

my claim that subextraction from Spec,v*P is possible and that this slot is not a freezing position.

The situation in English is far from clear with regard to focus fronting. There is no general consensus among English speakers as to the acceptability of examples such as (39), although certain preference is given to subextraction from an indefinite DP subject:

- (39) a. ?By CHOMSKY, several books have won international awards, not by Trotsky.
 b. *By CHOMSKY, the/these books have won international awards, not by Trotsky.

The role of the feature [+ def] in the phasal characterisation of DP raises the question of whether the same Definiteness effects are detected when it comes to subextraction from subjects in article-less languages. In this connection, consider the following examples from Polish (Bożena Rozwadowska, p.c.):

- (40) a. *O CHOMSKIM_i [rozne ksiazki/kilka ksiazek t_i] zdobyly*
 about Chomsky various books some books win-PAST.3PL
miedzynarodowe nagrody, nie o Trockim.
 international awards, not about Trotsky
 ‘About Chomsky several/some books have won international awards, not about Trotsky.’
 b. *Chomskiego_i [rozne ksiazki/wiele ksiazek t_i] zdobyly*
 by.Chomsky-GEN various books many books win-PAST.3PL
miedzynarodowe nagrody, nie Trockiego
 international awards, not by.Trotsky-GEN
 ‘Various/many books by Chomsky have won international awards, not by Trotsky.’
- (41) a. **O CHOMSKIM_i [te ksiazki t_i] zdobyly*
 about Chomsky the/these books win-PAST.3PL
miedzynarodowe nagrody, nie o Trockim
 international awards, not about Trotsky.
 ‘The/these books by Chomsky have won international awards, not by Trotsky.’
 b. **CHOMSKIEGO_i [te ksiazki t_i] zdobyly miedzynarodowe*
 by.Chomsky-GEN the/these books win-PAST.3PL international
nagrody, nie Trockiego.
 awards, not by.Trotsky-GEN
 ‘The/these books by Chomsky have won international awards, not by Trotsky.’

The grammatical judgement of these examples makes it clear that in Polish focus fronting constructions subextraction is fully degraded when the NP is either interpreted as definite, hence meaning ‘the books ...’, or when it carries an overt

definite adjective such as *te* ‘these.’ This is illustrated in (41a–b). By contrast, the examples in (40) are grammatical. In the latter case, the subextraction site includes an indefinite adjective which enables extracting the complement of the NP as the contrastive focus of the sentence. If the distinction between N*Ps and NPs (phasal/non-phasal) in Polish is correct, a principled explanation of these Polish data is that in the examples in (40) the subextraction site is an N*P, thereby blocking any extraction; whereas in the examples in (41) the nominal construction is simply an NP and thus this domain is transparent for movement.

Finally, regarding Turkish (another article-less language), subextraction is licensed from indefinite DPs, whereas it is banned from definite DPs (Selçuk İşsever, p.c.):

- (42) a. [*CHOMSKY ile ilgili*] *Ali* [*t_i pek çok kitap*] *okumuş*,
 Chomsky with about Ali.NOM various book read-PAST-3SG
Trotsky ile değil.
 Trotsky with not
 ‘Ali read various books about Chomsky, not Trotsky.’
- b. **[CHOMSKY ile ilgili] Ali* [*t_i o kitabı*] *okumuş*,
 Chomsky with about Ali.NOM that book-ACC read-PAST-3SG
Trotsky ile değil.
 Trotsky with not
 ‘Ali read that book about Chomsky, not Trotsky.’

However, subextraction from verbal nouns seems to tolerate subextraction even if the interpretation of the DP is definite (*mA* in the gloss is a nominalizer morpheme):

- (43) [*AHMET’le*] *Ali* [*Ayşenin konuş-ma-sını*] *dinlemiş*,
 Ahmet-with Ali.NOM Ayşe-GEN speak-mA-POSS-ACC listen-PAST.3SG,
Mehmet’le değil.
 Mehmet-with not
 ‘Ali listened to Ayşe’s discussion with Ahmet, not with Mehmet.’

Here *konusma* ‘discussion’ can be interpreted as definite. But the sentence is degraded if the DP is overtly marked as definite, for example by using the demonstrative *o* ‘that.’ In this case subextraction is not allowed:

- (44) **[AHMET’le] Ali* [*Ayşenin o konuş-ma-sı*]
 Ahmet-with Ali.NOM Ayşe-GEN that speak-mA-POSS-ACC
dinlemiş, Mehmet’le değil.
 listen-PAST.3SG, Mehmet-with not
 ‘Ali listened to that discussion of Ayşe’s with Ahmet, not with Mehmet.’

The picture that emerges from the cross-linguistic data analysed in this section requires a three-fold typological classification of the languages under discussion: 1) Spanish, Turkish, Polish and Italian show Definiteness effects so that those

DPs/NPs containing a [+ def] feature are phases and subextraction of a contrastive focus is not allowed; 2) Greek displays no Definiteness effects and subextraction is possible whether or not a DP subject has a [+ def] feature; finally, English shows some preference for indefinite DPs as far as subextraction is concerned, although not all speakers will accept subextraction out of indefinite DPS.

5. Concluding remarks

In this paper I have put forth the proposal that definite/specific DPs are phases and hence show island effects, an idea explored in Chomsky (2008). Building on previous work (Jiménez-Fernández 2009), I have drawn a distinction between phasal and non-phasal DPs/NPs depending on whether they are marked as definite or indefinite:

DP vs. D*P

DP/NP allows subextraction provided it is not a phase.

Subextraction out of phasal D*Ps/N*P is blocked.

In my proposal it is the indefinite nature of the DP/NP that crucially may circumvent the island (CED) effects in subextraction. Alongside vP/v^*P (Chomsky 2008), DPs/NPs are classified as phases or non-phases depending on the absence or presence of a [+ def] feature. Accordingly, a [+ def] DP/NP is a phase, and as such it does not license subextraction. The reason is that this DP/NP has been transferred to the other components of grammar and the phasal C cannot see inside a bypassed phase. By contrast, an indefinite DP/NP is not a phase, thereby allowing subextraction because it can be penetrated from outside. In this context phasal C can probe the PP inside the non-phasal DP/NP since it has not been transferred to the interfaces at the point where C searches for a suitable goal.

Empirically, this proposal is strongly supported by the syntax of interrogatives (along the lines of Jiménez-Fernández 2009), and also by focus-fronting constructions. Extraction in the form of focus preposing favours the analysis of subextraction in terms of D*P vs. DP (or N*P vs. NP in Polish and Turkish) depending on the presence of a [+ def] feature of the relevant nominal construction.

The freezing effect of phase edges is just a consequence of the kind of material which occupies this syntactic position. If it hosts a DP/NP phase, Spec, v^*P will be a freezing slot, thereby blocking subextraction. In a nutshell, the syntax of *wh*-movement and focus fronting across languages supports the theoretical implication that some discourse-related features such as Definiteness determine the phasal status of DPs/NPs.

From a cross-linguistic perspective, my proposal makes a clear distinction between languages in which the phasal status of subject DPs/NPs is dependent on

their definite/nondefinite marking (Spanish, Italian, Polish and Turkish) and those in which the Definiteness/Specificity constraint does not hold (Greek). English constitutes a third type in that some sort of Definiteness constraint can mitigate the island effects caused in DPs.

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