Asymmetries in long distance dependencies in French

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This talk focusses on assymetries in *wh-* and relative extractions from embedded domains in French and the types of rules that have been used to explain them. One type of assymetries is shown in (1):

(1) a. M. X [PP dont] [DP la maison [PP de Le Corbusier] t_i]
      Mr. X   of.which the house   of Le C.
      n' est guère confortable] (Milner 1978)
      NEG is hardly comfortable
      'Mr. X, whose house of (=by) Le Corbusier is hardly comfortable'
   b. *Le Corbusier [PP dont]$_i$ [DP la maison t_i [PP de M. X]] ...
      Le C.   of.which the house   of Mr. X
      'Le Corbusier, of (=by) whom the house _ of Mr. X. ...'

During the 1990s, both in GB and in HPSG frameworks, this contrast was explained by a relational rule: only one argument of N can be extracted from a DP, the choice depending on a thematic hierarchy. However, Kolliakou (1999) showed that non-extractable phrases in examples such as (1b) are property denoting expressions; thus, a referential rule would suffice (only arguments can be extracted). In contrast, Cinque (2014), in a phase based approach for similar data, uses a combination of a referential rule (only subjects can be extracted) and a relational rule (relativized minimality). In our talk, we will show how a purely referential minimalist account can be formulated and compare such an account to a modern HPSG implementation.

References: • Cinque, G. (2014). Extraction from DP in Italian revisited. In: Aboh et al. (eds.), *Locality*, OUP, 86–103. • Kolliakou, D. (1999). *De*-phrase extractability and individual/property denotation. NLLT 17, 713–781. • Mensching, G. (in press). Extraction from DP in French: A minimalist approach. In: L. Franco et al. (eds.), Local vs. non-local dependencies in the nominal and verbal domains, Language Science Press. • Milner, J.-C. (1978). *De la syntaxe à l'interprétation.* Éd. Du Seuil. • Sag, I. & D. Godard (1994). Extraction of *de*-Phrases from the NP. In: Proceedings of NELS 24, 519–541.