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):

\[(1)\text{ a. M. X } [\text{PP dont}] [\text{DP la maison [PP de Le Corbusier] } t_i] \]
\[\text{Mr. X of which the house of Le C.} \]
\[\text{NEG is hardly comfortable} \] (Milner 1978)
\[\text{‘Mr. X, whose house of (=by) Le Corbusier is hardly comfortable’} \]

\[(1)\text{ b. *Le Corbusier [PP dont] [DP la maison } t_i [\text{PP de M. X}] \ldots \]
\[\text{Le C. of which the house of Mr. X} \]
\[\text{‘Le Corbusier, of (=by) whom the house _ of Mr. X ...’} \]

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.