The Subject Condition: Escaping it the French way.

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This paper aims at showing that a unique strategy is exploited in French to allow long subject movement and sub-extraction from within the subject constituent.

1. Under the Criterial approach to chains [3], a head encoding a scope-discourse property (Top, Foc, Rel, Q) probes for an element bearing like features. The moved element is frozen in the specifier of the Criterial Head (Criterial Freezing (CF)). Cardinaletti (2004) proposes a rich subject field where Subj encodes the "subject-of-predication" feature of preverbal subjects. This leads Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) to account for well known subject-object asymmetries, illustrated in *(1-2),* by means of CF in SubjP:

(1)*Qui$_i$ crois-tu   que t$_i$ va gagner?   vs. (2) Qui crois-tu   que Paul va aider t$_i$?
     Who believe-you that – will win?   Who believe-you that Paul will help -?

2. In Criterial configurations, only the element bearing the probed feature gets frozen: Sub-extraction from the Spec of an embedded interrogative CP is allowed, as first observed by [6]. This is illustrated for French in *(3),* within a raising approach to relatives [1]:

(3)Le [$_{CP}$ [$_{PP}$*professeur$_k$* [*de qui* t$_k$]]$_j$ C *j'ignore*   [$_{CP}$ [*quel assistant* t$_j$]$_i$ C *tu détestes* t$_i$].
     The professor   of which I don't know   which assistant   you hate.

In *(3), quel assistant*, is, indeed, criterially frozen, but its possessor, *de quel professeur,* does not enter the criterial relationship with the *wh*-head and is, correctly predicted to be moveable. Why, then, is sub-extraction from the Criterial Subj position in *(4)* ungrammatical?

(4)*Le professeur$_k$ [$_{CP}$ [*de qui* t$_k$]$_j$ C [$_{SubjP}$ [*l'assistant* t$_j$] Subj *t'a appelé*]].
     The professor   of whom   the assistant   called you.

<u>Proposal</u>**:** Considering that TopP, on a par with SubjP, disallows sub-extraction, see *(5),*

(5)*Le [$_{CP}$ [$_{PP}$ *professeur$_k$* [*de qui* t$_k$]]$_j$ C *je crois que* [$_{TopP}$ [*l'assistant* t$_j$]$_i$ Top *tu   le$_i$ détestes.*]
      The   professor   of whom   I believe that   the assistant   you him hate

I suggest that only when the criterial feature is overtly realized in the goal DP (*qu/wh*) is the freezing effect limited, allowing subparts of the frozen constituent to be probed for further movement. Other Criteria (Subj, Top) are stricter, blocking movement of the constituent containing the criterial feature *(1)* as well as that of its subparts *(4)*. A unique strategy is therefore expected to rescue both *(1)* and *(4)*.

3. Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) claim that *que$\rightarrow$qui* alternation in *(1)* rescues the derivation because *qui,* a C head, endowed with nominal features, can satisfy the requirement of the criterial head Subj in a strictly local head-head configuration. Subject movement, launched from a low position, can therefore skip the criterial position.

4. Sub-extraction from DP$_{subj.}$ in long relatives displays the following contrast:

(6)Voici l'homme {dont/de qui}   vous avez admiré le travail -.
     This-is the man   [of whom]$_i$ you have admired the work t$_i$.

*(7)Voici l'homme {**dont**/*de qui}   le travail - est utile à tous.*
     This-is the man   [*dont*/of whom]$_i$ the work t$_i$ is profitable to everyone.   (from [5])

As observed in [5], *dont's* sensitivity to clause type *(8)* and finiteness *(9)* supports the claim that it is a head. I propose that it instantiates the Top/Fin syncretic head involved in the derivation of which-relative clauses (see [1]).

(8)De qui/*dont parlez-vous?   (9)Des personnalités de qui/*dont se moquer à loisir.
     Of whom   speak-you ?   People   of whom   to make fun at will

This head bears a nominal uF, namely uCase$_{genitive.}$ On a par with *qui*, it can fulfil the criterial requirement of Subj°. DP$_{subj.}$ can stay in a low position from which sub-extraction is not banned, hence the grammaticality of the *dont* variant of *(7)*.

5. A potential counter-argument has been raised against such an analysis [5]. In long dependencies, the *qui* variant appears in the C head of the clause containing the subject gap. *Dont*, however, occurs exclusively in the higher CP in *(10):*

(10)Voici l'homme {**de qui/**dont***} *on croit* {*que/*dont} *le travail - est utile.*

 This-is the man{*of whom/dont*} one believes {that/*dont*} the work - is profitable.

The *of-whom* phrase in *(10)* cannot be extracted from the embedded clause: the Subject Condition would impose a *dont* form, which is only available in relatives. Local movement from within the matrix is also impossible: *(11)* shows that the matrix verb does not allow for an extra argument:

(11)*On croit de cet homme que le travail est utile à tous.

 One believes of this man that the work is profitable to everyone.

6. I propose an account of the derivation of *(10)* showing that the counter-argument can be answered.

 i-The alleged gap in *(10)* is the silent genitive resumptive attested in CLLD. It freely alternates with a realized variant *(12),* which cannot instantiate the relativized element, as can be seen in local movement in *(13):*

*(12)L'homme dont on croit que **son** travail est utile. (13)*L'homme dont son travail est utile.*

 The man *dont* one believes that **his** work is… **The man *dont* his work is profitable.*

ii-The genuine gap in *(10)* is in the intermediate clause, notwithstanding *(11):* Light verb constructions reveal its position, see *(14):*

*(14) $^?$On **a** de cet homme **l'impression** qu'il est compétent.*

 One has of this man the impression that he is competent.

iii-The lexical variant of the light verb matters :^{ok}*avoir*(have)/*donner*(give);**faire*(make). I take this to indicate that the quirky case of the extra-argument is valued by the light verb. In *(11),* V-to-v* movement obscures case valuation. If $DP_{gen.}$ moves however to the edge of v*P as in *(10),* the derivation can converges if its uGenF matches uGenF on the C head, hence the obligatoriness of *dont* in the highest CP in *(10).*

iv-*(10,12,14)* are not double-object constructions: The extra argument is not independently licensed, it enters in a proleptic relation with an overt *(12,14)* or silent *(10)* resumptive. Operator movement in the embedded clause turns it into an open structure that the proleptic DP saturates. I claim that *(10)* has the structure represented in fig.1.

Fig.1 : Long *dont* relatives.
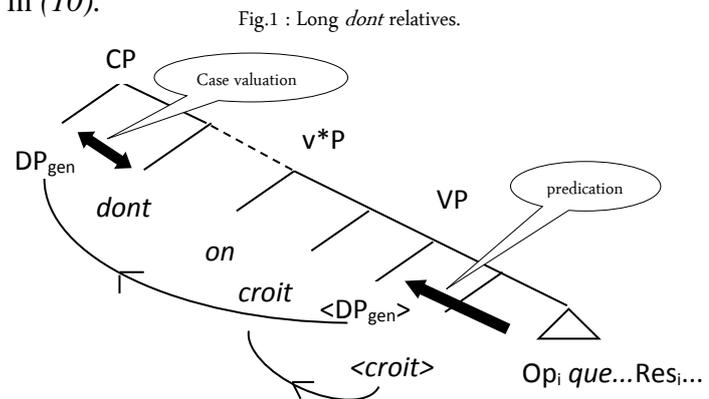
v- The ungrammaticality of *en*-pronominalization of DP_{Gen} in *(15)* further supports the claim that DP_{gen} is not an internal argument of the matrix verb.

(15) *On en a l'impression qu'il est compétent.

Even in the limited cases when DP_{gen} is legitimated in situ (with *dire* 'say'and *penser* 'think'), *en*-pronominalization is barred:

(16) *On en dit qu'il est compétent vs. *On en dit beaucoup de bien.*

Conclusion: Long *dont* relatives of type *(10)* are NOT long extractions from within the embedded subject constituent, hence they do not undermine the claim: C heads with nominal features (*dont,qui*), satisfy the requirements of the adjacent $Subj^0$. The same skipping strategy of the criterial Subj position is at play in movement *of* and *from within* the subject DP in French.

References: [1] Bianchi(1999)*Consequences of antisymmetry.*[2] Cardinaletti (2004) Towards a cartography of subject positions.[3] Rizzi (2010) On some properties of Criterial Freezing. [4] Rizzi and Shlonsky(2007) Strategies of subject extraction.[5] Tellier(1990)Subjacency and Subject condition violation in French.*LI-21*[6] Chomsky (1986: 260 citing Torrego) *Barriers.*