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VERB MOVEMENT AND OBJECT EXTRACTION IN FRENCH *

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1. An asymmetry of extraction in French. French shows a surprising asymmetry in extraction from finite indirect questions: direct objects cannot be extracted, whereas PP's are extractable.¹ Interestingly, indirect objects can also be extracted. The generalization that emerges thus with respect to extraction from finite wh-complements is that direct objects pattern with subjects, in that they cannot be extracted, whereas indirect objects pattern with PP's. This paradigm is illustrated in (1)-(5):

(1) * Jean, qui_i j'ignore où_j t_i se trouve maintenant t_j, nous avait promis de nous rendre visite ce soir.

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¹ When the paper was presented, Paul Hirschbühler brought to my attention that these data were noted in earlier work by Danièle Godard (Godard (1980), (1988)), who suggests a binding-theoretic analysis. Hirschbühler and Valois (1989) offer the following sentence as a counterexample to the generalization that direct objects cannot be extracted from finite indirect questions: *Voilà une demande que_i l'institut ne sait pas quand_j il examinera t_i t_j.* ('This is a request which the institute does not know when it will examine.'). The sentence was judged as very marginal by my informants.

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John who_i I do not know where_j t_i is now t_j had promised us to pay us a visit tonight

- (2) a. * Cette circulaire, que_i j'ai oublié à qui_j ils ont déjà envoyée t_i t_j, n'est pas bien rédigée.
this circular which_i I forgot to whom_j they have already sent t_i t_j is not well worded.
- b. * Il fredonnait des mélodies que_i je ne savais pas qui_j t_j avait composées t_i.
he was humming melodies which_i I did not know who_j t_j had composed t_i
- c. * Laquelle_i savez-vous quand_j ils ont achetée t_i t_j ?
which one_i do you know when_j t_i they have bought t_j
- (3) a. Jean, à qui_i je ne sais pas quel colis_j ils ont envoyé t_j t_i, s'attend à un cadeau imposant.
'John, to whom_i I do not know which parcel_j they have sent t_j t_i, expects a large gift.'
- b. Voilà quelqu'un à qui_i je crois que je sais lequel_j j'offrirais t_j t_i.
'Here is someone to whom_i I think that I know which one_j I would offer t_j t_i.' (Sportiche (1981))
- c. (?) Auquel (de vos fils)_i vous rappelez-vous combien d'argent_j vous avez donné t_j t_i ?
'To which one (of your sons)_i do you remember how much money_j you gave t_j t_i ?'
- (4) a. Cet appartement, dans lequel_i j'ignore combien d' étudiants_j t_j ont habité t_i, me semble tout à fait délabré.
'This apartment, in which_i I do not know how many students_j t_j have lived t_i, seems to me to be very run down.'
- (5) a. Le jardin botanique, dans lequel_i je me demande quelles sortes d'arbustes exotiques_j ils ont plantées t_j t_i ce printemps, est la fierté de notre ville.
'The botanical garden, in which_i I wonder what kind of exotic shrubs_j they have planted this spring t_j t_i, is the pride of our city.'
- b. Le maintien du niveau bas des salaires - voilà une raison pour laquelle_i je sais qui_j t_j demissionnerait t_i.
'The continued low salaries - this is a reason for which_i I know who_j t_j would resign t_i.'

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(1) illustrates the familiar complementizer-trace effect that arises with subject extraction. (2) shows that direct object NPs are just as recalcitrant to extraction from *wh*-complements as subjects are. (3) contrasts with (2) - it shows that extraction of an indirect object from a *wh*-complement results in a grammatical sentence. (4) shows *wh*-PPs to be extractable from indirect questions. Notice that it makes no difference whether the PP is or not a complement of the verb. Thus, in (4), the fronted *wh*-PP is subcategorized by the verb, whereas the *wh*-PPs in (5) are not. Nevertheless, both (4) and (5) are grammatical.

The asymmetry illustrated above breaks down if the *wh*-complement is infinitival. Any *wh*-phrase, and in particular direct object *wh*-NPs, can be extracted from infinitival indirect questions. This fact is illustrated in (6):

- (6) a. C'est la seule tâche qu_i 'ils ne savent pas à qui_j attribuer t_i t_j.
 'It is the only task which_i they do not know to whom_j to give t_i t_j.'
 b. Voilà la lettre que_i je ne sais pas où_j cacher t_i t_j.
 'Here is the letter which_i I don't know where_j to hide t_i t_j.'

Thus, infinitival *wh*-complements behave like declarative complements in allowing extraction of direct objects. Direct object extraction from a declarative complement is illustrated in (7):

- (7) Qui_i penses-tu qu'ils ont rencontré t_i?
 'Who_i do you think that they met t_i?'

The goal of this paper is to explain the French extraction pattern illustrated in (1)-(7).

2. The framework. At this point, a few things must be said about the theoretical assumptions of this paper.

I adopt from Chomsky (1986) the extension of X'-theory to functional categories. In keeping with the Structure Preserving Constraint (Emonds (1976), (1985)), movement will be allowed only by substitution, not also by adjunction (except for adjunction to a root node). I assume the bounding theory of Chomsky (1981) rather than that of Chomsky (1986), since it does not seem possible to identify one set of nodes that act as barriers to both government and movement. To put it very briefly, the bounding theory of *Barriers* cannot achieve a genuine

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parametrization of the cross-linguistic variation with respect to wh-islands - a drawback which is almost explicitly recognized in the monograph. Moreover, the *Barriers* approach to island phenomena incorrectly predicts that extraction from complex noun phrases of the N-complement type is just as acceptable as extraction from declaratives. Thus, the framework of Chomsky (1986) cannot handle adequately either one of the two major island constraints.

Government will be defined in terms of the notion of a barrier, as in Chomsky (1986), with the provision that a head governs the head and specifier of its complement:

(8) α governs β iff (i) or (ii):

(i) α m-commands β and there is no γ , γ a barrier for β , such that γ excludes α . (Chomsky (1986: 9))

(ii) α governs δ and β is the head or specifier of δ . (Chomsky (1986: 11))

Proper government obtains iff two conditions are satisfied simultaneously: head-government *and* antecedent-government. This paper follows thus the spirit of proposals by Aoun et al. (1987), Bowers (1987), Rizzi (1987), who argue on various grounds against the disjunctive ECP of Chomsky (1981).

Rizzi (1987) suggests that the antecedent-government requirement can be satisfied by government from an actual antecedent or by government from a θ -marking head. Rizzi advances the following formulation of the ECP:

(9) *Empty Category Principle* (Rizzi (1987))

A non-pronominal empty category must be:

(i) canonically head-governed, and

(ii) antecedent-governed or θ -governed.

θ -government is government by a θ -marking head. Following Kayne (1983), Rizzi takes head-government to obtain only in the canonical government direction for the language under consideration. In the case of French, the canonical government direction is to the right.

Notice now that the trace of the complement of a θ -marking head is both head-governed and θ -governed by the head; so a trace of this sort satisfies both (9i) and (9ii) solely by virtue of the relation it stands in with the head. Thus, antecedent-government comes into play only when the head-governor is not also a θ -governor.

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Rizzi's ECP is thus equivalent to the requirement that an empty category be either θ -governed or both head-governed and antecedent-governed. The intuition is that the relationship between a θ -governor and the trace of its complement is strong enough to make an additional identifier of the trace unnecessary. In contrast, neither an antecedent-governor nor a head-governor that is not also a θ -role assigner can identify a trace by itself.

I would like to strengthen the proper government requirement so that an empty θ -governor may not ensure by itself proper government of a trace. I consider an empty head not to be a sufficiently strong identifier of a trace, even if it does θ -govern the trace.² Thus, when the θ -governor is empty, an additional identifier must be present; a lexical head or an antecedent-governor. I therefore suggest to supplement Rizzi's conjunctive ECP with the following condition:

- (10) A head α properly governs an empty category β iff α θ -governs β and α is *lexical* (i.e. non-empty).

3. Two rules of French. The pattern described in section 1 will be linked to two rules of French syntax: Finite Verb Raising and past participle agreement.

In French, the finite verb raises obligatorily, as shown by Emonds (1978) and Pollock (1989). The rule of Finite Verb Raising is motivated principally by the relative order of the verb, the negative particle *pas*, and various adverbial phrases occurring in finite and infinitival clauses. I adopt Pollock's analysis of Finite Verb Raising as movement to Tense. I also adopt his analysis of the structure of the clause - in particular, his dissociation of the AGR element from the Tense element in the verbal inflection (see phrase marker in (12) below).

The other fact which I regard as relevant to direct object extraction concerns clauses with the verb in a compound tense that is formed of the auxiliary *avoir* ('have') and the past participle of the verb. If the direct object of such a clause precedes the verb, as is the case with clitic pronouns and fronted wh-NPs, the direct object will agree with the past participle, as illustrated in (11):

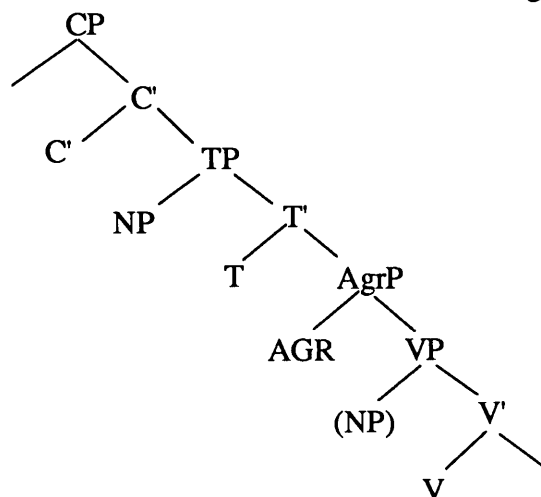
- (11) Je ne sais pas *combien de poésies* il a écrites.
'I do not know how many poems (fem. pl.) he has written (fem. pl.)'

² See also Torrego (1984), who, working in the framework of Chomsky (1981), suggests that only non-empty heads can be proper governors.

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I will roughly follow Kayne's (1985, 1989) analysis of these agreement facts. Kayne proposes that the direct object passes through the Spec of V before being extracted out of the VP.³ As Kayne points out, agreement is generally a local phenomenon; his proposal has the advantage of making the agreement relation between a fronted direct object and a past participle a local relation. Moreover, it is a relation that takes place under government, exactly as in the case of the relation between the subject of a clause and the agreeing verb (raised to T). As Kayne notes, past participle agreement is not obligatory in spoken French; however, even speakers who do not do it are able to have acceptability judgments that distinguish between a sentence where agreement can be made, like the sentence in (11), and a sentence where agreement cannot be made, as in the case of sentences where the direct object remains in postverbal position. I will therefore take past participle agreement to be a rule of contemporary French.

The structure of the clause which I assume for French is given under (12):



³ Kayne (1989), as different from Kayne (1985), suggests that the position through which the direct object wh-NP passes before being extracted is an AgrP-adjoined position. The relevant AgrP is projected by an object agreement node, distinct from the subject agreement node. This second AGR selects as a complement a VP headed by a past participle. Kayne suggests that, unlike direct object wh-NPs, direct object clitics pass through the Spec of the AgrP. Kayne's evidence for two distinct positions in which NPs can trigger past participle agreement is based on data from Italian that cannot be reproduced on French. Since this paper assumes the Structure Preserving Constraint, it disallows positions created transformationally by adjunction, as is the 'transit' position postulated for wh-NPs. However, taking the relevant position to be the Spec of a second AgrP (i.e. the 'transit' position that Kayne reserves for clitics) is an available option in our framework. This option would not change the essentials of the analysis proposed here.

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The structure in (12) incorporates both Pollock's proposal regarding the dissociation of the inflection node into two separate heads (Tense and AGR), and Kayne's proposal regarding the Spec of V position necessary to account for the past participle agreement facts.

4. Object Extraction and the ECP

4.1. Proper government of object traces. Let us now return to our extraction facts. As Sportiche (1981) shows, French allows extraction from *wh*-complements due to the choice of S' as a bounding node.⁴ Thus, an extracted constituent that moves to the matrix Spec of C skips the intermediate Spec of C, without violating Subjacency. The representations in (13) correspond to sentences resulting from *wh*-extraction of an object from an indirect question. In (13a), the verb of the indirect question is in a simple tense; in (13b), the verb is in a compound tense formed with the past participle:

- (13) a. $[_{CP} wh_i [_{TP} \dots [_{CP} wh [_{TP} \dots [_T \textit{finite verb} [_{AgrP} t_v [_{VP} t_v t_i \dots$
 b. $[_{CP} wh_i [_{TP} \dots [_{CP} wh [_{TP} \dots [_T \textit{finite aux} [_{AgrP} t_v [_{VP} t'_i [_V \textit{past part.} t_i \dots$

In (13a), extraction of the direct object proceeds in one step from the D-structure position of the direct object to the matrix Spec of C. The direct object trace t_i is both head-governed and θ -governed by a non-lexical head, namely the verbal trace; thus, t_i does not satisfy the condition in (10) and therefore it violates the conjunctive ECP. In (13b), the direct object has passed through the Spec of the lower V, where it triggered agreement with the past participle. The foot trace t_i is head-governed and θ -governed by the past participle; it thus satisfies the ECP. t'_i , the trace in the Spec of V, is head-governed by an empty head - the auxiliary trace in AGR; however, t'_i is neither θ -governed nor antecedent-governed. It is not θ -governed by the raised finite auxiliary, since the auxiliary does not m-command it. It is not θ -governed by the past participle either, since it is not θ -marked by it (the past participle θ -marks

⁴ Hirschbühler and Valois (1989) present data showing that there are fewer limitations on extraction from indirect questions in French than Sportiche (1981) originally thought; in particular, extraction can proceed from a declarative embedded in an indirect question. Sentences formed in this way are predicted to be ungrammatical by a theory that assumes French to have S' as a bounding node.

Hirschbühler and Valois amply illustrate the possibility of extracting a direct objects from a declarative embedded in an indirect question. Our account correctly predicts such sentences to be grammatical, as will become evident shortly.

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only the foot of the *wh*-chain). Neither is t_i' antecedent-governed. Thus t_i' , the trace in the Spec of V in (13b), is not properly governed, in violation of the ECP.

Compare now the representations in (13) with those in (14), which correspond to grammatical sentences (e.g. (7)), resulting from *wh*-fronting of a direct object out of a declarative clause:

- (14) a. $[_{CP} wh_i [_{TP} \dots [_{CP} t_i'' [_{C'} que [_{TP} \dots [_{T'} finite\ verb [_{AgrP} t_v [_{VP} t_v t_i \dots$
 b. $[_{CP} wh_i [_{TP} \dots [_{CP} t_i'' [_{C'} que [_{TP} \dots [_{T'} finite\ aux [_{AgrP} t_v [_{VP} t_i' [_{V'} past\ p.t_i$

The position of the foot of the *wh*-chain with respect to the verbal trace(s) and the raised finite verb is identical in (13a) and (14a). Likewise, the position of the trace in the Spec of V with respect to the auxiliary trace in AGR and the raised finite auxiliary is the same in (13b) and (14b). The representations in (13) and (14) differ, however, with respect to the element occupying the Spec of the lower C. This position is filled by a *wh*-phrase in (13), whereas in (14) it is occupied by a trace of the extracted *wh*-phrase, namely t_i'' . (13) gives the representations of ungrammatical sentences (like those in (2)), whereas (14) corresponds to grammatical sentences (such as (7)). The grammaticality of sentences with the representation in (14) suggest that t_i'' in (14 a,b) is close enough to t_i / t_i' to antecedent-govern it.

To get this result, we cannot define both head-government and antecedent-government in terms of government. Notice that in (14a) the raised finite verb is closer to t_i than t_i'' (i.e. the trace in the Spec of C) is. If both head-government and antecedent-government were defined in terms of government, it would be impossible for the raised finite verb not to govern t_i , when t_i'' does govern t_i . Yet if the raised finite verb head-governed t_i , sentences with the representation in (13a) would be incorrectly predicted to be grammatical: t_i would be θ -governed by the verbal trace and head-governed by a lexical governor, namely the raised verb. To avoid this result, head-government must be defined as a relation of a more local type than antecedent-government. That there should be a difference in locality between head-government and antecedent-government has been repeatedly suggested in the literature - to mention just two works - Aoun et al. (1987) and Chomsky (1986). The definitions I adopt here likewise treat head-government and antecedent-government as two notions that specify different degrees of locality. For head-government, I have adopted Chomsky's (1986) definition of government given in

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(8) above. As for antecedent-government, I will treat it in the spirit of Aoun et al. (1987), namely as a binding relation subject to Generalized Binding Theory (cf. Aoun (1985)). The relation between a *wh*-trace, which is an A'-anaphor, and its antecedent is constrained by Principle A of Generalized Binding. Thus, antecedent-government obtains iff the trace is bound in a certain domain, roughly - the minimal CP that dominates it. Given this definition, the trace in the lower Spec of C antecedent-governs t_i / t_i' in (14).

Note that our explanation of the impossibility to extract a direct object from a *wh*-complement attributes this impossibility to the absence of either a head-governor that is lexical or of an antecedent-governor. In the case of extraction from a declarative clause, the trace in the the Spec of the declarative C is precisely the needed antecedent-governor. Thus the object trace t_i in (14a) is head-governed by the verbal trace and antecedent-governed by the trace in the lower Spec of C. The object trace t_i' in (14b) is head-governed by the auxiliary trace in AGR and antecedent-governed by the trace in the lower Spec of C. Thus, the ECP as formulated in (9)-(10) is satisfied in both (14a) and (14b) and object extraction from declarative clauses is correctly predicted to be grammatical.

Since object-traces are antecedent-governed from the Spec of the declarative C, subject-traces should be antecedent-governed too. But then, *que*-trace effects in French cannot be attributed to a failure of antecedent-government. It is of interest here that recent accounts of the *that*-t effect have attributed it not to a failure of antecedent-government, but to a failure of head-government (Bowers (1987), Rizzi (1987)). Rizzi (1987) uses this hypothesis to explain a widely discussed phenomenon in French, namely the *que/qui* alternation: French allows subject extraction just in case the element that fills the COMP position adjacent to the subject trace is not the complementizer *que*, but *qui*, as seen below:

(15) Qui_i penses-tu qui_i / *que t_i va venir
'Who_i do you think t_i will come?'

The categorial status of *qui* has been subject to controversy: it has been analyzed sometimes as a relative pronoun, sometimes as a subordinating conjunction. More recently, Godard (1988) treats it as a complementizer marked for Nominative case and Rizzi (1987) regards the occurrence of *qui* as a reflex of the Spec-head agreement that occurs between the Spec of C and C. Let us say that this agreement is one in case: if the element in the Spec of C bears Nominative case, then the head

of C must agree with it in the case feature. Rizzi notes that the Spec-head agreement rule is more restricted in French than in other languages (he discusses Kinande, a Bantu language): it only occurs when the subject adjacent to C is extracted. Rizzi's suggestion is that this otherwise curiously restricted form of agreement can be explained as a means that French uses to provide a head governor for the subject-trace: the agreeing complementizer *qui*, unlike its non-agreeing counterpart *que*, is not inert for government and therefore can serve as the head-governor of the subject trace.

4.2. The NP/PP asymmetry. It is generally the case in Romance that PPs are not subject to the ECP. This can be seen from the fact that adjunct PPs can be relativized (and even questioned) out of indirect questions, as shown in (16) and (17) for Italian and Spanish respectively, and in (5) for French.

(16) *Italian:*

Questo appartamento, nel quale_j ignoro quale tipo di cucina_j essi
istallerano t_j t_i, mi sembra del tuto rovinato.

'This apartment, in which_j I do not know what kind of range_j they are going
to install t_j t_i, seems to me to be very run down.'

(17) *Spanish:*

Esta ciudad, en la cual_j no sé cuántos rascacielos_j mas van a construir t_j t_i,
ya está sobrepoblada.

'This city, in which_j I don't know how many more sky-scrapers_j they are
going to build t_j t_i, is already overpopulated.'

What I would like to show next is that French indirect objects are PPs. I will therefore argue against Vergnaud (1974) and Jaeggli (1982), who claim that the sequence formed of dative *à* and an NP behaves as a noun phrase. Vergnaud (1974) argues that dative *à* is not a preposition, but a case marker. He proposes two tests for PP status in French and claims that the sequence *à NP* fails them both. The ungrammaticality of (18a) is meant by Vergnaud to show that a relative clause construction in which the relative pronoun has a split antecedent cannot modify two NPs that are contained in two conjoined PPs. The grammaticality of (18b) leads Vergnaud to conclude that the sequence formed of dative *à* and an NP does not behave as a PP:

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- (18) a. ?* Il parle avec l'homme et avec la femme qui se sont rencontrés hier.
 He is speaking with the man and with the woman who met yesterday.
 b. Il parle à l'homme et à la femme qui se sont rencontrés hier.
 'He is speaking to the man and to the woman who met yesterday.'

The judgments indicated in (18) are Vergnaud's. The native speakers that I have consulted judged (18a) as being at the worst slightly marginal, so I do not take this test to be a reliable one. Vergnaud's second test is based on his generalization that a preposition can take a conjunction of NPs as an argument, as shown in (19). In contrast, dative *à* cannot take such an argument, as shown in (20):

- (19) a. Ils se sont assis sur la table et (sur) les chaises.
 'They sat on the table and (on) the chairs.'
 b. Ils se sont cachés derrière les arbres et (derrière) les buissons.
 'They hid behind the trees and (behind) the bushes.'
- (20) * Ils ont parlé à Marie et la directrice.
 they talked to Mary and the director.

However, the sentence in (21) is a counterexample to Vergnaud's claim that dative *à* cannot take a conjunction of NPs as a complement:

- (21) J'ai parlé à Marie et sa fille il y a un instant.
 'I talked to Mary and her daughter a minute ago.'

The condition that appears to operate here is pragmatic rather than syntactic: the individuals denoted by the NPs in the coordinate structure must form a 'natural' group, where what counts as 'natural' is determined at least in part by the context of utterance. In the examples above, a mother and a daughter can be thought of more naturally as being talked to as a group than an employee and a director can.

Another test for the categorial status of the sequence *à NP* is based on extraction of a genitive PP. Genitive PPs can be extracted from NPs, as shown in (22a), but not from PPs. (22b) shows that dative *à* behaves like an ordinary preposition in this respect too:

- (22) a. le livre dont je connais [_{NP} l'auteur t]
 the book of which I know the author
 'the book whose author I know'

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- b. * Je viens de recevoir le livre dont_i j'ai parlé avec / à
 [_{NP} l'auteur t_i] de toi.
 I have just received the book of which_i I have talked with / to
 [_{NP} the author t_i] about you

I therefore conclude that French indirect objects are PPs. Given that the ECP does not hold of PP traces in Romance, we correctly predict the grammaticality of the sentences in (3).

4.3. Extraction from infinitival wh-complements. Pollock (1989) shows that verb raising in infinitives is optional. Infinitive verbs may or not raise to AGR. An analysis like ours, which correlates direct object extractability with verb raising makes the prediction that direct object extractability from infinitival wh-complements depends on the relative order of the verb, the negative particle *pas*, and the adverbs in the complement; as Pollock (1989) demonstrates, the order of these elements is indicative of whether or not the verb has raised.

The representations in (23) correspond to sentences like (6) above and (27) below, in which a direct object has been extracted from an infinitival wh-complement that has the verb in a simple form:

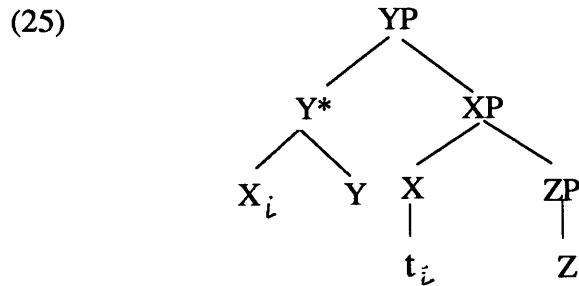
- (23) a. [_{CP} wh_i [_{TP} ... [_{VP} ... [_{CP} wh [_{TP} [_{AGR}P [_{VP} *inf. verb* t_i ...
 b. [_{CP} wh_i [_{TP} ... [_{VP} ... [_{CP} wh [_{TP} [_{AGR}P *inf. verb* [_{VP} t_v t_i ...

In (23a), the infinitive verb has not raised and it governs the direct object trace. In (23b), the infinitive has raised. The raised infinitive will govern the direct object trace if we assume Baker's (1988) Government Transparency Corollary, given in (24) below. The Head Movement Constraint (ultimately derived from the ECP) limits the class of structures to which Baker's corollary applies to those that instantiate the phrase marker in (25):

(24) *The Government Transparency Corollary* (Baker (1988: 64))

A lexical category that has an item incorporated into it governs everything which the incorporated item governed in its original structural position.

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In our case, which is verb raising, YP is instantiated as AgrP, Y* as V amalgamated with Agr, X as V, Y as Agr, XP as VP, and ZP as the direct object NP. Given Baker's corollary, the representation in (23b) satisfies the ECP, since t_i , the direct object trace, is head-governed and θ -governed by a head with lexical content, namely the raised verb.

Note that French (just like English) does not have perfective infinitival wh-complements:

- (26) Je ne sais où les mettre / * avoir mises.
 I not know where them to-put / have put
 'I don't know where to put / * have put them.'

Thus, the question of proper government of a direct object trace in an infinitival wh-complement with a compound infinitive verbal form does not arise.

Whether or not an infinitive verb has raised to AGR is indicated by its position relative to VP initial adverbs such as *souvent* ('often'), *complètement* ('completely'), *à peine* ('hardly'), *presque* ('almost'). Below are two sentences which differ only with respect to the position of the verb relative to the VP-initial adverb *complètement*. Given that both the representation (23a), where the verb has not raised, and (23b), where the verb has raised to AGR, are well-formed, we predict that sentences corresponding to both these representations are grammatical. As (27a) and (27b) show, our prediction is borne out:

- (27) Cet événement, que_i je ne sais comment_j
 a. complètement oublier $t_i t_j$ } m'a changé la vie.
 b. oublier complètement $t_v t_i t_j$ }
- 'This event, which I don't know how to forget completely, has changed my life.'

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Pollock (1989) shows that, unlike other infinitives, *avoir* ('have') and *être* ('be') can raise to Tense. This possibility becomes evident in sentences in which the negative particle *pas* follows the infinitive:

- (28) N'avoir pas/ne pas avoir de voiture en banlieue rend la vie difficile.
(Pollock (1989))
'Not having a car in the suburbs makes life difficult.'

Our analysis predicts that, if in a *wh*-complement *avoir* has raised to Tense, direct object extraction is impossible. Unfortunately, it is very hard to test this prediction. First of all, as Pollock remarks, the preverbal placement of *pas* in infinitival clauses is stylistically marked (it has a literary ring). Then, the verb *avoir* takes only one complement - the direct object NP - therefore the *wh*-phrase fronted to the COMP of the infinitival clause must be an adjunct. Of these, *pourquoi* ('why') is excluded: French, just like English, does not allow infinitive complements introduced by 'why': **Je me demande pourquoi ne pas y aller*/ *I wonder why not to go there'.⁵ The few options that remain allow the formation of examples such as (29), where the contrast in grammaticality is rather weak, but certainly does not disconfirm our account of the French extraction facts:

- (29) C'est le courage de répondre que_i je ne vois pas comment_j
 a. ? ne pas avoir t_i } dans cette situation t_j.
 b. * n'avoir pas t_v t_i }
 'It is the courage to answer that I do not see how not to have in this situation.'

5. Conclusions. We have presented here an NP/PP asymmetry that arises in extraction from indirect questions in French. The impossibility of fronting direct objects from French finite *wh*-complements was related to the operation in this language of the rule of Finite Verb Raising.

We have suggested a strengthening of Rizzi's (1987) conjunctive ECP to the requirement that the head-governor be lexical in case it serves both as a head-governor and as a θ -governor. Given this condition, sentences resulting from extraction of a direct object out of a finite *wh*-complement are correctly predicted to be ungrammatical, since the direct object trace will not be properly governed. PP-traces are not subject to the ECP (at least in Romance); therefore *wh*-PPs can be moved out of finite *wh*-complements. Direct objects are extractable from infinitival

⁵ This fact was pointed out to me by Lee Baker.

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wh-complements, where the verb raises not further than AGR, and thus it properly governs the direct object trace.

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