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Abstract

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Chapter 1 introduces the main problem and summarizes a number of recent studies on Romance and French clitics. Chapter 2 presents the facts in QCF and applies morphophonological and morphosyntactic criteria in order to determine the grammatical status of these argument markers. Chapter 3 develops a morphological approach that allows fully inflected verbs to be inserted in the syntax. Finally, chapter 4 discusses one element which has traditionally been excluded from the paradigm of subject markers: *ça*. The chapter is divided into two parts; the first one discusses the semantic aspects concerning the generic use of *ça*, while the second one develops an approach to grammatical agreement which allows agreement targets to introduce their own features, as well as certain types of feature conflicts.

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**Pronominal Clitics in Québec Colloquial
French: A Morphological Analysis**
(Ph.D. Dissertation)

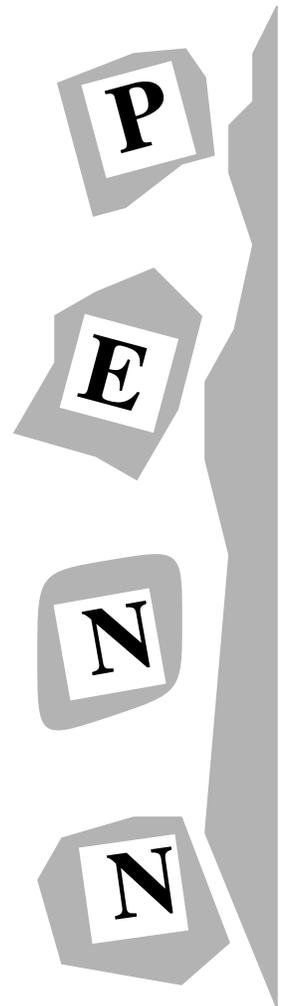
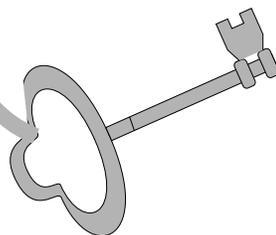
by

Julie Auger

**University of Pennsylvania
3401 Walnut Street, Suite 400C
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6228**

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PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN QUÉBEC COLLOQUIAL FRENCH:
A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Julie Auger

A DISSERTATION
in
Linguistics

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

1994

Sabine Iatridou, Supervisor of Dissertation

Gillian Sankoff, Supervisor of Dissertation

Donald A. Ringe, Graduate Group Chairperson

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Julie Auger
1994

En reconnaissance de leur soutien constant
et infallible dans toutes mes entreprises,
cette thèse est dédiée à mes parents,

Monique Guay Auger

et

Jean-Paul Auger

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"la langue parlée est souvent beaucoup plus riche de données que la langue épurée qu'on a dans la tête, mais, quand on la prend au sérieux, on peut découvrir des faits de grammaire qui, autrement, seraient restés cachés." (Jeanjean 1986:244)

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ABSTRACT

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Julie Auger

**Supervisors: Sabine Iatridou
Gillian Sankoff**

The grammatical status of Romance pronominal clitics has long been the object of intense debate. Are they syntactically-independent arguments or are they affixal agreement markers? This dissertation addresses this question with respect to Québec Colloquial French (QCF). It treats the morphophonological and morphosyntactic dimensions as two independent dimensions, thus allowing either for affixes to have argument status and prohibiting them from cooccurring with an overt, lexical argument, or for non-affixal elements to behave like agreement markers and not count as syntactic arguments. The analysis reveals that all the clitics of QCF are affixes at the morphological level, since they demonstrate numerous patterns which are too idiosyncratic to be handled by syntactic rules. Only subject clitics, however, function as agreement markers, since they occur in all the environments where we would expect agreement markers; object markers, conversely, are excluded from those environments.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Definition of the problem and its scope

The primary goal of this dissertation is to contribute to the long-standing debate on the grammatical status of the so-called "pronominal clitics" in one variety of French, Québec Colloquial French (QCF). I will seek to answer two basic questions: (i) are the pronominal clitics in this variety best analyzed as syntactic clitics, phonological clitics, incorporated elements, or affixal elements bound to the verb? and (ii) do they function like agreement markers, or do they retain argument status? Since the morphological status of elements such as *je* '1.sg.nom' and *la* '3.sg.fem.acc' is at the center of the investigation in this work, I will refer to them using the more theoretically neutral term *argument marker*.

Vendryes (1920/1950:202) contends that sequences like *je le vois* 'I him see' and *il m'en parle* 'he to-me of-it speaks' show striking similarities to the complex verbs found in many Amerindian languages. We may consequently want to question whether the French verb complexes really involve multiple words. Indeed, Vendryes draws a parallel between the sentence structure of Chinook (in which all the grammatical morphemes cluster at the beginning of the sentence and the lexical arguments follow the grammatical morphemes) and the sentences in (1) below, which are typical of Colloquial French. In these sentences, Vendryes claims that the elements preceding the "||" contain only

grammatical information and that the lexical elements in the second part of the sentence add lexical content to those grammatical markers.

- (1) a. *Elle n'y a encore pas//voyagé, ta cousine, en Afrique*
 'she NEG there has still not traveled, your cousin.fem, in Africa'
 = 'She still hasn't been to Africa, your cousin'
- b. *Il l'a-ti jamais//attrapé, le gendarme, son voleur¹*
 'he him-has-INT ever caught, the policeman, his thief'
 = 'Has he ever caught his thief, the policeman?'

Amerindian languages are not the only ones to encode complex clusters of information on their verbs, as shown in (2) below. As we can deduce from the range of language families represented in these examples, verbs commonly contain morphemes bearing features corresponding to both subjects and objects.

- (2) a. Choctaw (Davies 1986:147)
Ko:wi ã- chi- pila -li -tok kiyo
 lion 3DAT 2ACC throw1NOM PST not
 = 'I did not throw you to the lions'
- b. Selayarese (Mithun 1991:163)
la- pállu-i berasá-ñjo i-hásan
 '3.erg-cook- 3.abs rice-the Mr-Hasan'
 = 'Hasan cooked the rice'
- c. Abkhaz (Kathman 1993:126)
sará a-xác'a de- z- bé- yt'
 'I the man 3.sg.hum-1.sg-see-finite'
 = 'I saw the man'

¹ *Encore* 'still' and *jamais* 'ever' are not grammatical elements in French, but I suppose that Vendryes includes them in the grammatical part because similar meanings can be expressed with grammatical morphemes in Chinook.

- d. Basque (Laka 1993:23)
zuk niri etxea eman d- i- da- zu
 'you-erg me-dat house-the-abs given 3sg.acc-have-1sg.dat-2pl.nom'
 = 'You gave me the house'
- e. Zulu (Wald 1979:510)
ngi-ya- m- bona umuntu
 'I- tense-him/her-see person'
 = 'I see the person'

Now, if we consider the two attested examples of QCF in (3) below, I will try to answer the following specific questions. First, concerning the morphological status of argument markers: can we analyze *elles la demandent* in (3)a and *les voir* in (3)b as words containing a verbal root, tense and mood suffixes, and prefixal argument markers, or should we analyze each element separated by a space as one word? Second, at the syntactic level, what is the function of elements like *elles*, *la*, and *les*; are they arguments of the verb, that is, are they the real subjects and objects, or are they verbal agreement markers which encode features of the verb's real arguments?

- (3) a. *mes filles elles la demandent* (118-71:509)²
 'my daughters they.fem her ask'
 = 'My daughters (they) ask for it'
- b. *je serais malheureuse de les voir malheureux mes enfants* (108-71:221)
 'I would-be unhappy of them to-see unhappy my children'
 = 'I would be unhappy to see them unhappy, my children'

² Parenthesized numbers following examples indicate their origin. Most of the examples here are drawn from the Sankoff/Cedergren and Montréal 1984 corpora. The first number indicates the speaker; the second number, the corpus (71 for Sankoff/Cedergren and 84 for Montréal 1984), and the third number, either the counter number or the line number. Examples which are not followed by any such indications or which do not refer to other attested sources represent examples created by the present writer and judged according to my native-speaker intuitions.

carries is that it is not second person plural, as shown in the following paradigm for the present of the verb *chanter* 'to sing' in QCF:

(5)	je [ʃāt]	on [ʃāt]
	tu [ʃāt]	vous [ʃâte]
	il/elle [ʃāt]	ils [ʃāt]

We do not, however, explain much about the actual grammatical status of subject markers by simply pointing out, as Ewert (1943:124), Tesnière (1959:139), Guiraud (1966:46), and Bailard (1987:50) do, that verbal endings in French do not suffice to clearly mark person and number on the verb and that the subject markers have taken over this function. The same reasoning can, as a matter of fact, be made about English. Since verbal endings only distinguish third person singular from all other persons in the present tense, we could say that the subject pronouns of English have taken over the function of verbal endings in older stages of English. This does not make the subject pronouns of English affixal agreement markers.

Meyer-Lübke was fully aware that it is not sufficient for two types of elements to carry the same type of information to receive the same type of structural analysis. Therefore, he investigated in more detail the parallel between the subject pronouns of French and the suffixal agreement markers of Latin, and he noticed that the parallel breaks down as soon as we consider sentences containing lexical subjects. Only Latin agreement markers are allowed to cooccur with lexical subjects, as shown in (6) below.

In Standard French, a bare form of the verb (i.e., with no subject marker) must be used when a lexical subject is used.

- (6) a. *homo cantat*
 'man sing-3sg'
 b. **l'homme il chante* (Standard French)
 'the man 3sg sing'
 c. *l'homme chante*
 'the man sing'

I have chosen to focus on QCF in this dissertation precisely because of sentences like (3)a and (6)b above. We will see that (6)b is a grammatical, non-dislocated sentence in QCF. We will also see that it will play a crucial role in helping me propose an appropriate analysis for subject markers in QCF.

1.2.2 The syntactic approach to Romance argument markers

It is not surprising that scholars have come to hold such contradictory views about precisely these elements, the so-called "pronominal clitics" of French, since they pertain to a set of linguistic entities whose grammatical status is inherently unclear. After all, clitics are, by definition, "neither clearly independent words nor clearly affixes" (Zwicky 1977:1). In the present case, the issue is further complicated by the fact that the modern Romance clitics are different from those found in such languages as Anatolian (Garrett 1990), Finnish (Nevis 1988), Homeric Greek (Taylor 1990), Luiseño, a Uto-Aztecan language, (Steele 1989), Lummi, a Straits Salish language (Jelinek 1993), Old English (Pintzuk 1992), Old Spanish (Fontana 1993), Serbo-Croatian (Halpern 1992), and Warlpiri

(Hale 1973). In these cases (and many others), clitics typically occur in a specific position within sentences (most often second position, either after the first word or the first constituent, hence the denomination "second-position clitic"), and they cliticize onto an adjacent word, quite independently of its grammatical category. A clitic, moreover, need not have any semantic or syntactic relation with its "host". This widespread and well-known principle concerning the placement of clitics is called Wackernagel's Law.

Klavans (1982) has proposed a uniform treatment of all such clitics by suggesting that they are phrasal affixes, i.e., elements whose domain of adjunction is phrasal. As she notes, however, Romance clitics constitute a problem for an account which relies crucially on the relevant domain of cliticization being phrasal, since their domain of affixation is lexical rather than phrasal:

I now hold that the non-phrasal domain for just these clitics reflects that they are in fact truly verbal features [...] This change in the label of the subcategorizing bracket from \bar{V} to V might be an indication that these clitics are becoming affixes, reflected in the fact that they have insertion requirements resembling those for other verbal affixes. (Klavans 1982: xvii)

A phrasal-adjunction account of clitic-placement would therefore be inappropriate for QCF argument markers. Indeed, as is well-known, the argument markers of Italian, Spanish, and French can only attach to verbs. In all these languages, object clitics can occur on tensed verbs and infinitives, while French subject markers occur only on tensed verbs. Within the field of Romance generative syntax, the unusual status of Romance pronominal clitics compared to phrasal clitics was, for a while, not viewed as a problem.

In fact, the enormous impact of Kayne's (1975) analysis of French pronominal clitics has greatly contributed to creating the impression that Romance clitics are typical of clitics in all languages. In his book, Kayne suggests that all pronominal clitics in French are generated in argument position at D-structure. Object clitics, however, are moved and attached to the verb at S-structure, while subject clitics wait until Phonological Form (PF) to undergo such a transformation. This analysis accounts for the fact that clitics and lexical phrases play the same syntactic role and cannot, therefore, both occur in the same sentence in French. The insights of this proposal have been challenged but never completely discarded, since recent studies such as Kayne (1991), Bonet (1991), and Dufresne (1993) assume an analysis along much the same lines.

The movement analysis proposed by Kayne (1975) was called into question by Rivas (1977) on the basis of clitic-doubling in Spanish. Since both a clitic and a lexical indirect object can cooccur within the same sentence in this language, the argument position is not available for generating the object clitic. Therefore, a number of proposals have been made that directly generate the clitics in their surface position. Most such proposals concern Spanish: Jaeggli (1982), Borer (1984), Suñer (1988), but a few deal directly with French: Safir (1985), Roberge (1990), and Sportiche (1992, 1994).

As we have just seen the main question in generative analyses concerns the choice between a movement and a base-generated analysis. A corollary consideration, though somewhat secondary, has been the morphological status of the argument markers in question: how do we account for their close connection with their verbal host? While one might expect that an affixal analysis of the argument markers would correlate with

base-generation, as in the analyses of Jaeggli (1982), Borer (1984), Safir (1985), and Suñer (1988), the two dimensions actually turn out to be independent from each other. Indeed, we should recall that Kayne (1975) transformationally attaches clitics to verbs and that the [clitic(s) + verb] complex is dominated by the V node. And, in current Government and Binding theory, many linguists (e.g., Laka 1991, Ouhalla 1991, and Roberts 1993) generate inflectional affixes as heads of their own functional projections, which are attached to their verbal root as a result of head-movement.

1.2.3 The morphological approach to French argument markers

In transformational grammar of the 70's and 80's, research on the argument markers of Romance was approached mostly from a syntactic angle. At the same time, a different group of researchers decided to follow up on Zwicky's (1977) seminal paper on clitics and apply the criteria which he had proposed in order to determine whether Romance argument markers in general, and French ones in particular, should be analyzed as clitics or as affixes. This very important paper, along with another paper published with Pullum in 1983 (Zwicky & Pullum 1983), have caused the morphological study of argument markers in French to take a much more systematic turn. That is, we can no longer merely demonstrate a functional similarity between the agreement markers of a language and these elements or simply show that they cannot be separated from the verb in order to argue whether they should be described as independent words, clitics, or affixes. Zwicky (1977) distinguishes three types of clitics: simple clitics, special clitics, and bound words, which he further distinguishes from inflectional affixes. He sees the

latter type of element as the natural next step in historical development: "After the development from independent word to clitic, the next step is, of course, the incorporation of clitics into morphology proper: what is a clitic at one stage is reinterpreted as a derivational or inflectional affix at the next" (p. 6).

The criteria proposed by Zwicky and Pullum in order to distinguish between clitics and affixes reflect their lexicalist position: while affixes are generated in a morphological component and are not accessible to syntactic rules, clitics are combined with their hosts in the syntactic component. Since, in their approach, morphology is in the lexicon and precedes syntax, a clitic cannot be inserted in the middle of an already existing word. The lexicon to them is the natural repository for idiosyncratic facts which cannot be handled by the general rules of the phonological and syntactic components. Based on these assumptions, Stump (1980) concludes that the object markers of French have gone the extra step from special clitic to affixes and that they are true inflectional affixes. Ossipov (1990) and Miller (1991) reach the same conclusion concerning the subject markers. The only dissenting voice among researchers adopting this approach is that of Labelle (1985). However, Miller (1991) argues convincingly that Labelle's conclusion cannot be correct, because much of it is based on archaic data which are not part of the grammar of modern French and because other relevant data are not taken into consideration. We will return to these criteria in Chapter 2, when I discuss the facts concerning argument markers in QCF, and we will see that the evidence supporting an affixal analysis over a clitic analysis amounts to a very strong case.

1.2.4 The pragmatic approach to the sentence structure of spoken French

The conclusions reached by different scholars concerning the structure of sentences of the type *Pierre il parle tout le temps* 'Peter (he) speaks all the time' are very much linked to their focus of study. That is, if a study focuses on the morphological properties of argument markers, it tends to conclude that these argument markers are verbal affixes, but if it focuses on the pragmatic aspects of the doubled phrases, it tends to conclude that those constructions are not basic sentence-types, since we can attribute some special pragmatic value to most doubled phrases, and must, therefore, involve dislocation or detachment. This conclusion has been reached by virtually every linguist who has approached the study of the syntax of spoken French from the angle of pragmatics; cf. Ashby (1977, 1982, 1988), Körner (1983), Campion (1984), and Barnes (1985, 1986). The one notable exception to this generalization is Lambrecht (1980 and subsequent work). Like Ashby, Barnes, Campion, and Körner, Lambrecht posits that the doubled phrases are not subjects and objects, but rather topics and antitopics, depending on whether they are preverbal or postverbal. But Lambrecht makes it clear that topic sentences are not derived from more basic sentences and that they are simply selected when the pragmatic conditions are right for their use. His analysis differs most from those of Ashby, Barnes, and Campion with respect to the status of the argument markers: the argument markers of Colloquial French are a type of agreement marker, namely topic-agreement markers. This approach is in fact very similar to that of Bossong (1981:242), who suggests that two verbal paradigms exist, one with prefixal argument markers and one without. Speakers simply choose verb

forms from either paradigm, thus producing some doubled sentences and some non-doubled ones.

1.2.5 Recent accounts of argument markers in spoken and/or Colloquial French

I have only touched on a few of all the relevant references in this field, yet we can already get a glimpse of the extent of the literature on this topic. To complete this summary of the basic positions found in the literature on dislocation/affixation in Colloquial French, I will focus primarily on recent studies which are most relevant to the present research. I have made this choice here purely for practical reasons of space and time; it should not be taken to imply that the work done by the first proponents of the affixal verb-agreement hypothesis and by their opponents does not deserve attention.

The first detailed study of dislocation in 20th-century French, Müller-Hauser's (1943), was based mostly on written materials. It was not until the 1970's, with the rise and spread of quantitative sociolinguistic studies, that there appeared systematic corpus studies of spoken French. The first such analysis was carried out by Ashby (1977). Drawing on data of Colloquial Parisian French, he concluded that spoken French is involved in a change that will some day lead to "predetermination" and "polysynthesis"; this change, however, is not yet complete. In subsequent study, Ashby (1982) presents further support for his conclusion that spoken French does not yet exhibit predetermination and polysynthesis, and, in his most recent study (1988), he concludes that in fact no linguistic change seems to be in progress. Ashby's approach and results are highly compatible with those of Barnes (1985, 1986), who also bases her study on recordings

of French speakers from France. She too argues that dislocation structures in Colloquial French cannot already be grammaticalized, pointing out that the use of doubled argument markers is not obligatory and that most occurrences are attributable to some sort of pragmatic conditioning, even though both she and Ashby admit that this pragmatic conditioning is "minimal" in certain cases.

As mentioned above, the studies by Ashby and Barnes approach the data from a primarily pragmatic angle. They base their conclusion on the observation that many doubled constructions carry with them some special pragmatic value and are not, consequently, basic sentence structures. These studies do not, however, address a number of problems. First, they do not consider the possibility that their data might contain both speakers with a conservative grammatical system and others with an innovative grammar. Second, because they are interested in pragmatic issues, they ignore the difficulties that their analyses raise for morphological and syntactic analyses concerning, for example, the need to posit a very tight connection between the verb and its agreement marker, as well as the need to generate indefinite dislocated phrases. Third, they do not take into account the fact that linguistic change is gradual and systematic. It is perfectly normal for speakers to use innovative variants (i.e. the doubled variants) more often in the more favorable environments (i.e., when some special pragmatic value may still be involved).

Studies of Montréal French conducted since the beginning of the 80's reveal that this geographical variety of French is very similar to comparable European varieties. Sankoff (1982) conducts a preliminary study of four speakers of the Sankoff/Cedergren corpus and finds that, even though linguistic and social factors definitely influence the

choice between doubled and non-doubled sentences, grammaticalization seems to be involved. It is indeed striking that she never uses terms like "dislocation" or "detachment" to refer to the doubled sentences and, instead, refers to the insertion or non-insertion of a subject marker.

In another study based on the Sankoff/Cedergren corpus of Montréal French, Campion (1984) adopts an approach similar to that of Ashby and Barnes and reaches similar conclusions. She explicitly rejects the possibility that grammaticalization of the dislocation construction might be in progress, but her arguments against this hypothesis indicate that she did not understand the issues at stake in this hypothesis (Campion 1984:52). A second pragmatic study, Blyth (1989), does not ask how to best analyze sentences containing both a lexical argument and a coreferential argument marker. Indeed, Blyth is simply interested in the pragmatic values attached to left- and right-dislocation and to the factors favoring the use of these constructions.

Carroll (1982a) is the first syntactic study of argument doubling in QCF, a study which specifically sets out to answer the same questions at the heart of my present investigation. On the basis of her syntactic criteria, Carroll concludes that (i) the argument markers of QCF are independent words attached to the verb under V', (ii) clitic doubling is not a type of agreement marking, (iii) QCF does not have subject doubling, but it has object doubling, and (iv) Standard French has subject doubling in complex inversion constructions.

Carroll's paper contains a number of very interesting and valuable remarks. It also puts forward a number of criteria for distinguishing between doubling and dislocation still

used almost a decade later (cf., e.g., Roberge 1990), but her conclusions have been challenged by subsequent studies. Indeed, most studies of QCF agree that it clearly has subject doubling and that all the argument markers are affixal, inflectional elements on the verb (cf. Ossipov 1990, Roberge 1990, and Auger 1993). While Ossipov (1990) also proposes object doubling in QCF, Roberge (1990) and Auger (in press) disagree with Carroll and Ossipov on this point.

Two different analyses have recently been proposed for clitic-doubling in QCF: the Government-Binding (GB) account by Roberge (1990) and the Generalized Phrase-Structure Grammar (GPSG) analysis by Ossipov (1990). Not only do these two authors use distinct syntactic mechanisms, they also disagree on the presence of object doubling in QCF. They differ moreover in two other fundamental ways:

- i) Even though both analyses view the subject markers as verbal affixes, their approach to inflectional morphology differs crucially: for Ossipov, inflectional affixes are generated on the verb in a morphological component, while for Roberge, inflectional affixes are generated on their own syntactic node, INFL, and merge with the verb at some point in the syntactic derivation;³
- ii) for Ossipov, the subject markers are primarily agreement markers, while Roberge explicitly distinguishes them from true agreement markers and views their role as licensing empty elements in argument positions.

³ We will see, however, that Roberge has abandoned this syntactic treatment of inflection in his current work. As a matter of fact, the analysis which I will be proposing here owes much to Roberge's recent proposal for a real morphological approach to inflection.

A 1991 dissertation by Miller deals with what seems to be the author's own informal variety of French. The variety described does not have any kind of argument doubling, but it cannot separate argument markers from their verb, thus ruling out archaic and legalistic structures like (7)a. It usually repeats argument markers on each conjoined verb, as shown in (7)b:

- (7) a. *Je, soussigné, déclare...*
 'I, the signer, declare'
 b. *Je frappe et j'entre* (Miller 1991:158-159)
 'I knock and I enter'

For Miller, this sentence, in which *je* occurs before each conjoined verb, is the only natural possibility in spoken French. He opposes it to the "stilted" version where *je* occurs only on the first verb, as in (8)a, and to literary examples like that in (8)b:

- (8) a. *Je frappe et entre* (Miller 1991:158)
 'I knock and enter'
 b. *Je lis, écris et calcule* (Bally 1932:300; in Miller 1991:158)
 'I read, write and calculate'

Based on a number of morphophonological and morphosyntactic criteria, Miller argues that French argument markers are all affixes that must be generated and attached to their verbal root in a morphological component. He gives a detailed analysis of these and other affixal elements within the framework of G/HPSG, and I will frequently present the details of this analysis throughout the dissertation.

With a few exceptions (Di Sciullo 1990, Cadiot 1992, and Dufresne 1993), most analyses recognize argument markers in French as inflectional elements, based on increasing evidence for the affixal status of these elements in many varieties of French as well as for the agreement-marker status of subject markers in Colloquial French. In the next section, I will briefly describe my theoretical assumptions, summarize my position concerning the independence of the morphological and morphosyntactic dimensions, and sketch the argumentation that I will develop in detail in the rest of the dissertation.

1.3 Theoretical assumptions

The present study raises two major theoretical questions: (i) is it possible to distinguish clearly between affixes and clitics and (ii) does this morphological distinction correlate with a syntactic difference between agreement markers and arguments? As we have seen in the brief review of the literature in the preceding section, a number of authors assume that we can distinguish between affixes and clitics, but they disagree about the exact relationship between morphological status and syntactic function. Some researchers assume that an affix must necessarily be an agreement marker (cf., e.g., Kaiser 1994:5), while other researchers explicitly keep the two dimensions independent (cf. Stump 1980:3). In what follows, I will briefly discuss the types of arguments used to determine whether the argument markers of QCF are affixes and whether they function as agreement markers. I will then summarize the details of my hypothesis, arguing that the morphological and morphosyntactic dimensions are completely independent.

1.3.1 Affix vs. clitic

In current linguistic research, it seems fair to say that, no matter what theoretical orientation one adopts, the main trend of analysis seeks to obscure the structural distinction between morphological affixes and syntactically-independent elements such as words and clitics. This position is taken, for example, in the functional approach espoused by Givón (1976:151): "I will suggest that [agreement and pronominalization] are fundamentally one and the same phenomenon, and that neither diachronically nor, most often, synchronically could one draw a demarcating line on any principled grounds." We obtain similar results when we propose new categories such as the "phrasal affix" in order to analyze clitics (cf., e.g., Klavans 1982 and Miller 1991). And, finally, the same situation holds in Government-Binding theory, since syntactically relevant affixes are now most often generated, just like independent words, on separate nodes of a syntactic tree and then adjoined to words in order to avoid stray affixes (cf., e.g., Pollock 1989) or to satisfy a subcategorization requirement (cf. Roberts 1991b).

Recent GB accounts of inflectional morphology in some highly-inflected languages such as Basque and Arabic completely obliterate the distinction between word-internal morphology and syntactic relations. Indeed, Laka (1991) and Ouhalla (1991) explicitly set out to eliminate the whole morphological component, in view of their conviction that morphology and syntax obey the same principles and that "there are no strong grounds on which one can maintain the existence of morphology theory as a separate module" (Ouhalla 1991:51).

There have been numerous attempts to handle inflectional morphology in a variety of languages (cf., e.g., in addition to Laka's analysis of Basque and Ouhalla's analysis of Berber, Rivero's (1990) account of Modern Greek and Albanian and Speas' (1991a) study of Navajo). But the difficulties in those studies have rapidly led researchers to realize that eliminating morphology, so that syntax could handle all morphosyntactic aspects of the grammar, burdened the syntax with a number of idiosyncratic rules which were easier to handle in the lexicon and/or in a morphological component (cf. Simpson 1991, Speas 1991b, Janda & Kathman 1992, Joseph & Smirniotopoulos 1993, and Bresnan & Mchombo 1993).

Three types of alternatives have been proposed in the literature in order to free the syntax from having to handle problematic morphological facts. All three approaches recognize the necessity of a morphological component, but they each differ about what and how much the morphological component actually handles.

The first approach, known as "Distributed Morphology" (Halle & Marantz 1993) conserves a crucial role for syntax with respect to morphology, since this component of the grammar is still responsible for combining lexical stems and their inflectional features. These authors do not, however, require the syntax to handle the spellout of these features, which can be delayed until a postsyntactic morphological component. They do not, therefore, posit a direct correspondence between features and their realization. Following this approach, Bonet (1991) proposes in her analysis of Catalan pronouns that such clitics are generated as independent elements in a syntactic tree but arranged linearly (with

respect to each other and to the verb) by a Morphology Component which intervenes between S-structure and PF.

Rohrbacher (1994) and Sportiche (1994) suggest a second approach, in which some inflectional morphology is handled in the syntax and some in the morphology. Both authors suggest that syntactic head-movement can take care of some, but not all, inflectional morphology. They differ, however, in their criteria for deciding what takes place where. For Rohrbacher, referentiality is the crucial element; some inflectional elements retain referential status and must therefore be subject to syntactic rules. Even though subject markers and verbal agreement-suffixes in French are all inflectional features on the verb, Rohrbacher contends that the former are attached to the verb as a result of head-movement, while the latter are generated on the verb in a morphological component. For Sportiche, only concatenative morphology can be handled by syntactic rules, because no special, idiosyncratic rules must be invoked to generate such elements, thus maintaining the non-idiosyncratic character of the syntactic component. For him, therefore, non-concatenative morphology must be taken care of in a component in which idiosyncratic behavior is commonplace—that is, morphology. Sportiche also generates preverbal subject markers as syntactic heads, but he accounts for the idiosyncratic form of postverbal third person subject markers in interrogative sentences by having the morphology generate forms such as *mange-t-elle* 'eat-she', for the [t] which shows up between *mange* and *elle* cannot be handled by any general syntactic rules.

For Rohrbacher and Sportiche, some inflectional morphology is generated completely independently of syntax. In the last type of approach, all of inflectional morphology

is generated within a morphological component. This type of system is proposed by Anderson (1992), Janda & Kathman (1992), Janda (in press), and Cummins & Roberge (1994a,b). In the work of Cummins & Roberge, for instance, a pre-syntactic morphological component is responsible for generating fully-inflected verb-forms, which are inserted into the syntactic tree at S-structure and then spelled out at Phonological Form. Chomsky's (1993) Checking mechanism ensures that only compatible elements are combined, so that all the relevant morphological features are checked and the derivation does not "crash".

The idea that morphology handles all inflectional morphology—a relatively new approach within generative grammar—is adopted in the present work. I will argue against the dual approaches to inflectional morphology proposed by Rohrbacher and Sportiche on the grounds that such analyses, in spite of some attractive features, cannot handle all the relevant morphological facts. For instance, Rohrbacher's analysis cannot handle a number of idiosyncrasies which arise in subject-marker + verb combinations, even though it takes a reasonable approach to such problems as double-marking in forms in which person and number are marked with both a subject marker and an agreement suffix (e.g., *vous parl-ez* '2pl speak-2pl). I suggest that a true morphological account is preferable even in these cases (cf. Auger & Janda 1994), which I will discuss in detail in Chapter 3.

1.3.2 Grammatical agreement

In their introduction to a recent collection of articles on grammatical agreement in natural languages, Ferguson & Barlow (1988:1) define agreement as a mechanism in which "a grammatical element X matches a grammatical element Y in property Z within some grammatical configuration". The conception of grammatical agreement which is adopted in this dissertation is based on this idea of feature-matching. More precisely, I will consider agreement as feature-sharing between elements in some syntactic configuration, as we will see in Chapter 4 concerning generic *ça*. I thus follow Bresnan & Mchombo (1987) and Doron (1988) in reserving the term "agreement marker" for those elements licensed within such a configuration. Consequently, grammatical elements which can only occur in complementary distribution with overt lexical arguments, like the verbal suffixes of synthetic verb forms in the Celtic languages (McCloskey & Hale 1984 and Stump 1984) and the object markers of Chicheŵa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987) are not agreement markers in my view.

Given this approach, argument markers may function quite differently at the syntactic level in Standard and Colloquial French. Indeed, Standard French does not allow argument markers and lexical arguments to cooccur within the same sentence, unless the lexical argument is dislocated. In Colloquial French, however, argument markers and lexical arguments cooccur so frequently, as in (9) below, especially with subjects, that subject doubling is now widely accepted for this variety, as we have seen. As a result, we have grounds for thinking that the argument markers may have been reinterpreted as affixal agreement-markers.

- (9) *Les autobus ils viennent tous là* (15-84:048)
 ‘the buses they come all there’
 = ‘The buses all come there’

Even though frequency is the most obvious indication that superficially-similar sentences might involve different structures in Standard and Colloquial French (cf., e.g., Rohrbacher 1994:220), evidence must be sought that warrants this conclusion. And we do find such evidence. While dislocation, for instance, generally expresses some special pragmatic information, such as contrast, emphasis, or change of topic (Prince 1984:221, 223, Ashby 1988:227, and Everett 1989:349), many subject-doubled sentences in Colloquial French do not carry any such special meaning (Kaiser 1994). Consequently, Lambrecht (1981:52) and Maillard (1987:185) have suggested that subject-doubling represents the basic sentence pattern of spoken French. If we accept the standard assumption that dislocation is a pragmatically-marked construction which alternates with some other more basic construction (Fontana 1993:277), then (9) is not a dislocated construction.

This conclusion raises questions with respect to the grammatical nature of the argument markers involved in such structures and the syntactic function of *les autobus* ‘the buses’ in (9): does this phrase appear in subject position or in a non-argumental, dislocated position? The most reliable criterion for distinguishing between phrases in argument position and phrases in dislocated positions has to do with the prohibition against dislocating true, non-referential quantifiers (Rizzi 1986). That is, if a quantifier can be doubled by an argument marker, then this quantifier must be in argument position. Since, however, such reliable criteria are few, we must seek additional support for our

analysis by examining the behavior of the argument markers themselves. For example, if the argument markers of QCF truly behave like agreement markers, then we should expect them to have a different distribution from argument markers in Standard French.

In addition to basic contexts involving agreement between a verb and an argument, agreement markers typically appear in a number of environments involving extraction: relative clauses, *wh*-questions, and long-distance extraction. In European languages, for instance, the verb in a subject relative clause usually agrees with its antecedent. Moreover, in languages like Basque, which have overt object agreement, the object-agreement markers show up in object relative clauses (cf. Oyharçabal 1989). We also often observe that a verb usually bears default agreement (i.e., third person (masculine) singular) in questions where the subject has been extracted. I will, therefore, consider such constructions in trying to decide whether the argument markers of QCF should be analyzed as agreement markers or not. We will see that the patterns of QCF seem to confirm that subject markers do indeed behave like agreement markers, but not the other argument markers. QCF relative clauses exhibit relativization strategies not found in Standard French (Lefebvre & Fournier 1978 and Bouchard 1982). These structures, therefore, constitute a test for analyzing the argument markers, since we might expect an adequate account of main clause phenomena to account for the so-called "resumptive pronouns" appearing in subject relative clauses (see (10)a below), as well as for the absence of resumptive pronouns in other relatives (see (10)b):

- (10) a. *je suis une personne que j'avais pas beaucoup d'amis* (15-84:134)
 'I am a person that I had not a-lot of friends'
 = 'I'm someone who didn't have many friends'

- b. *les anciennes places que je restais, c'est encore là* (118-71:b106)
 'the former places that I lived, that's still there'
 = 'the former houses where I lived are still there'

The same contrast between subject and object markers can be observed in long-distance extraction, as shown in (11). While the use of subject markers is quite natural in (11)a for certain speakers (though not all) of QCF, the use of object markers in the corresponding environment in (11)b is much less acceptable.

- (11) a. *C'est qui la femme que tu as dit qu'elle chantait si bien?*
 'it-is who the woman that you have said that she sang so well?'
 = 'Who's the woman who you said sings so well?'
 b. **?C'est qui la femme que tu as dit que tu la connais?*
 'it-is who the woman that you have said that you her know'
 = 'Who's the woman who you said you know?'

But one might ask whether we can really expect object markers to behave like agreement markers, since object agreement may not be a common feature of European languages (cf. Bubenik 1993:168). As we mentioned earlier, however, Spanish exhibits object doubling, and many researchers have argued that this construction constitutes a real case of object agreement (cf. Jaeggli 1982, Suñer 1988, Fontana 1993, and Franco 1993). If we find object doubling in QCF, we might be able to analyze such constructions in terms of agreement marking. As we can see in (12)-(17) below, all object markers can cooccur with a lexical phrase in QCF, thus forcing us to wonder whether the doubled lexical phrases occur in argument position or whether the argument markers are the real arguments.

- (12) Direct object
Moi qu'est-ce qui les intéresse les garçons, c'est les... le sport là (15-71:119)
 'me what is-it who them interests the boys, it's the... the sport there'
 = 'What interests my boys is sports'
- (13) Indirect object (with *à*)
le climat y faisait pas à son père (subject's wife, 118-71:231)
 'the climate to-him did not to his father'
 = 'The climate didn't suit his father'
- (14) Indirect object (with *de*)
... venu à boutte de s'en débarrasser de son journal (15-71:601)
 '... (had) come to end of himself of-it to-rid of his newspaper'
 = '... managed to get rid of his newspaper'
- (15) Partitive
Pis en avoir eu des enfants, madame, j'aurais pas arrêté la famille comme maintenant (108-84:549)
 'and of-them to-have had of-the children, M'am, I would-have not stopped the family like now'
 = 'And, if I had had children, M'am, I would not have stopped like they do now'
- (16) Complement of direction
j'y vas plus à Santa-Cabrini (118-84:254)
 'I there go no-more to Santa-Cabrini'
 = 'I don't go to Santa Cabrini anymore'
- (17) Complement of origin
Elle a été obligée de s'en aller ma soeur de sur la terre elle (118-71:257)
 'she has been obliged of herself from-there to-go my sister from on the land her'
 = 'She was forced to leave her land, my sister'

We will see in Chapter 2 that an analysis of these examples in terms of basic sentence structure simply involving agreement marking is much less compelling than it is for subjects. Consequently, a dislocation analysis remains the best solution for such sentences in QCF. I have already mentioned briefly that object markers do not show up in environments in which agreement markers typically occur. Furthermore, we will see

that constructions permitting an argument marker and an overt lexical phrase to cooccur can be analyzed as dislocation constructions based on their limited frequency and specific syntactic restrictions.

1.3.3 Independence of morphological status and syntactic function

Elements described as agreement markers are usually morphologically-bound elements: that is, affixes. Syntactically-independent elements are not usually described as agreement markers, i.e, as elements which lack a syntactic function of their own and share a number of grammatical features with some other element present in a certain syntactic configuration. This does not mean, however, that morphological boundedness and agreement-marker status can be equated. The previously mentioned verbal suffixes of synthetic verb forms in the Celtic languages are a case in point. Indeed, these elements, whose affixal status is basically never called into question and which encode the person and number features of the subject, occur only when no overt lexical subject is present. We thus have a case of an affixal element which functions like a syntactic argument. And cases like this are not exceptional. Many more such examples have been discussed in the literature, and we will return to them in more detail in Chapter 3.

The literature, however, recognizes less often the possibility of elements not morphologically-bound but still functioning like agreement markers. In his critical review of Sportiche (1992), Fontana (1993:293) argues that Sportiche's analysis wrongly predicts the existence of clitic-doubling with non-verbal clitics. Indeed, Fontana claims that this construction is not possible in any natural language:

"Clitic doubling phenomena appear to be an exclusive trait of those languages where clitics exhibit the relevant subset of properties associated with languages such as Modern Spanish: i.e. languages where clitics occur invariably attached to the verbal head in fixed orders."

Unfortunately for Fontana, such cases of non-affixal agreement markers in clitic-doubling constructions are found in at least four different languages: some regional dialects of Polish, Pirahã, Yagua, and Ngunhcara. In addition, doubling of possessive determiners in Colloquial French represent another such case (Tremblay 1989 and Nadasdi 1993):

- (18) a. *sa mère à Marie*
 'her mother to Mary'
 = 'Mary's mother'
- b. *ma mère à moi*
 'my mother to me'
 = 'my mother'

We, therefore, assume that morphological boundedness and agreement-marker status are independent, correctly predicting the existence of all four possible combinations. The following table lists a few examples of each type of element. A selection of cases, including the four cases of doubling with non-affixal elements, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

	Lexical affixes	Non-affixal
Agreement marker (i.e., allows cooccurrence of a lexical argument)	QCF subject clitics Bantu subject markers Spanish IO clitics	Subject agreement in Polish Clitic doubling in Pirahã Set II clitics in Yagua Clitics in Nghanhcara
Argument status (i.e., precludes cooccurrence of a lexical argument)	QCF non-subject clitics Chicheŵa object markers Spanish DO clitics	English pronouns German pronouns

The separation between these two properties of affixes arises, implicitly or explicitly, in three studies analyzing Standard French pronominal clitics as affixes: Lapointe (1979/80), Stump (1980), and Miller (1991). The only way to justify an affixal analysis of Standard French pronominal clitics requires that affixes be allowed not to function as agreement markers, since this variety does not allow the cooccurrence of clitics and lexical arguments, except in dislocation constructions, as noted by Kayne (1975), Jaeggli (1986), and Rizzi (1986).

In addition to correctly predicting all four types of elements, as exemplified in the preceding table, the independence of the morphological and morphosyntactic dimensions has, in my opinion, interesting implications with respect to variation and linguistic change. Indeed, since the two dimensions are independent, changes in the morphological status of some element need not necessarily alter the morphosyntactic status of that same element. It also allows for the two changes to take place at different times and/or at different rates. This possibility correctly allows for argument marking systems which do not behave according to the most widespread patterns. Now, it is possible that two optimal, balanced types of systems exist where morphologically-bound elements are

agreement markers and where syntactically-independent words are arguments in their own right. If this hypothesis is correct, then systems where affixal elements do not behave like agreement markers would be transitional and unstable. But it is also likely that a variety of considerations may interfere with the tendency toward such optimal systems to slow down the change and/or prevent affixes from ever functioning like agreement markers. This is, I think, what may explain why object markers in French still do not function like agreement markers, in spite of the fact that they have been morphologically-bound to the verb for a longer period than subject markers. I thus hypothesize that we may have to appeal to the marked character of object agreement, compared to subject agreement, in order to account for the course and speed of linguistic change. It is also possible that the even more marked character of locative agreement contributes to explaining why locative clitics in QCF seem to be disappearing, being replaced by the adverb *là* 'there', except in a small number of verbs where they seem to be on their way to becoming lexicalized: *y aller* 'to go there' (cf. Berretta 1985:202 for the same hypothesis concerning spoken Italian).⁴ At the end of Chapter 3, I will thus investigate in more detail these issues of linguistic change, intrasystemic variation, and crosslinguistic variation, and see how well this hypothesis actually handles the facts concerning argument markers in the Romance and Bantu families.

⁴ Nadasdi (1994) similarly observes that locative *y* is more often replaced by *là* than *le/la/les* are replaced by *ça* in Ontario French, thus supporting the hypothesis that *y* might be slowly disappearing from spoken French.

1.4 Definition of Colloquial French

Before ending this introductory chapter, I must define what is intended here by "Colloquial French" and "Québec Colloquial French". By these terms, I mean "informal registers of contemporary French", such as those used when speaking with family-members and friends, as opposed to the formal varieties used in situations such as political discourse, news broadcasting, teaching, etc. By choosing the above-mentioned descriptor, I wish to insist both on the socially unmarked status of the variety of French studied here and on the general existence of an "unmarked" norm appropriate for colloquial speech. In informal situations, for example, the use of the Formal French negative element *ne* is perceived as bizarre, to say the least, and would be considered by most community members as simply "out of place". The same can be said of the use of *nous* (instead of *on*) as a first-person-plural subject form. That is, these marked elements belong to Formal French, but are absent from the grammar of Colloquial French. It is this latter variety of Québec French which I will be describing in the present work.⁵

While Québec Colloquial French differs relatively little from other varieties of colloquial French at the morphological and syntactic levels, I would like at this point to mention a number of linguistic facts and transcription conventions which will help readers familiar with Standard French to better understand the Québec Colloquial French examples used in this dissertation. Transcribing spoken examples of colloquial varieties poses serious problems, since we must try to find a balance between ensuring comprehension on the part of readers not familiar with written transcriptions of spoken language

⁵ Comparable examples in English would be the use of *thus* instead of *so* and for many Americans, the use of *shall* in the sense of 'will' in informal situations.

while trying to capture the essence, the flavor of the spoken variety at issue. One concrete example of that tension is the third person feminine singular subject marker in QCF. Although this element is usually pronounced [a] when the following verb starts with a consonant, transcribing it as *a* is likely to confuse a number of readers who typically interpret this spelling as a form of the verb *avoir*: 'has'. In this specific case, then, most researchers decide to make use of the standard spelling *elle*, thus making the reader responsible for applying the rule of pronunciation corresponding to the subject marker, [a] rather than [ɛl].

So, in order to facilitate the reading of the examples in the present work, here are a number of characteristics of Québec Colloquial French, focusing specifically on those features directly related to this dissertation. In general, I do not transcribe (morpho)phonological features of QCF which are not likely to affect the structure of the sentence.⁶

elle 'she': As discussed above, the pronunciation of this word depends on whether it is used as a subject marker or as an independent pronoun. The subject marker is usually pronounced [a] before consonant; its pronunciation before vowel varies between [al] and [a]. The independent pronoun, used either in dislocated positions or as the object of a preposition, is always pronounced [ɛl].

elle a 'she has': This sequence is often realized as [a], but in order to avoid confusion, even cases realized by [a] will be transcribed as *elle a*—except where I focus specifically on the sequence *elle a*.

⁶ Other features, less directly relevant for our purpose but which could nevertheless cause problems in the interpretation of the examples, will be briefly described in Appendix A.

- (19) [a] *été opérée pour le foie voilà cinq ans* (15-71:B308)
 'she-has been operated for the liver ago five years'
 = 'She was operated on for the liver five years ago'

We know that it is not the bare 3sg present indicative form of the verb *avoir* 'to have' which is realized in this example, since in this case, I am using the anterior low vowel [a]. In the bare form of the verb, we find the back low vowel [ɑ]. The distinction between the two low vowels is very well maintained in QCF.

elle est 'she is': This sequence is often realized [ɛ]. As in the preceding case, however, I will always write *elle est*, except where I am specifically dealing with this particular verb form.

- (20) *ε née à St-Jérôme* (73-71:013)
 'she's born at St-Jérôme'
 = 'She was born in St-Jérôme'

The half-open quality of the vowel in the preceding example tells us that we are dealing with the amalgamated verb form corresponding to *elle est*, rather than the bare verb form, which would be pronounced with the half-closed vowel [e] in QCF.

en 'partitive': The partitive marker is quite often realized as a geminate *n* or as *n'en* in a number of varieties of colloquial French, including QCF. In all cases, however, we will transcribe it as *en*.

il 'he': This subject marker is usually pronounced [i] before consonants and [j] before vowels, but it will always be denoted as *il*.

ils 'they': Like its singular counterpart, this marker is usually pronounced [i] before consonants and [j] before vowels, so that, in many cases, verb forms are completely ambiguous between singular and plural; e.g., [iʃāt] = *il(s) chante(nt)* 'he/they sing' and [jetɛ] = *il(s) étai(en)t*.

ils 'they' There is usually no gender distinction in the plural, so that *ils* is used for both masculine and feminine referents. Since the use of *ils* with 3pl feminine antecedents will not likely cause any confusion and since a change in the morphological system of the language is actually involved, I will transcribe *ils* where *ils* was used and reserve the use of *elles* to the few cases where *elles* might actually be used.

(21) *mes filles ils ont eu plus d'instruction que j'en ai eu moi aussi* (118-71:B434)
'my daughters they have had more of-instruction that I-of-it have had me too'
= 'My daughters have had more instructions than I have, me too'

y: This transcription corresponds to the following four clitics or sequences of clitics:

a. locative y 'there', as in Standard French:

(22) *ah on y a ben été au parc Dominion* (35-71)
'ah we there have well been to-the park Dominion'
= 'Ah, we went to Dominion Park quite often'

b. *il y* 'it there' in the sequence *il y a* 'there is':

(23) *y avait des examens d'entrée* (73-71:145)
 'it-there had of-the exams of entrance'
 = 'There were admission exams'

c. dative clitic *lui* 'to him/her':

(24) *on y donnait nos payes à notre mère* (35-71)
 'we to-her gave our paychecks to our mom'
 = 'We gave our paychecks to our mother'

d. conflation of the sequence *le/la/les lui* 'him/her/it/them to him/her' in many varieties of Colloquial French, including QCF:

(25) *j'vas y dire* (15-71:546)
 'I go to-him-it say'
 = 'I'm going to say it to him'

1.5 Organization of the dissertation

The search for an appropriate analysis of the core sentences in (9) above will be organized as follows.

Chapter 2: The facts of QCF pronominal clitics will be described and discussed. Two main types of arguments will be taken into account in trying to determine whether pronominal clitics should be analyzed as clitics or as affixes: morphophonological and

syntactic ones. Subject, direct object, indirect object, genitive, and locative markers will be treated separately, especially with respect to the syntactic criteria, since the different types of markers seem to behave quite differently with respect to whether they can cooccur with a lexical argument. In the sections on morphophonology, I will try to determine whether clitic-verb sequences must be generated at a presyntactic level such as the lexicon or the morphological component or whether we can account for their characteristics using general rules of syntax.

Two types of syntactic criteria will be invoked. The first one deals more directly with the doubled phrase than with the clitics themselves, since the main goal is to determine whether such phrases occur in argument position or, instead, in some type of dislocated, non-argumental position. I will determine the syntactic status of the pronominal clitics based on whether or not lexical phrases constitute verbal arguments. If it turns out that a certain clitic does not allow doubling, then the clitic may have argument status. If we can demonstrate, however, that doubled phrases occur in argument position, then the Theta Criterion forces us to deny argument status to the pronominal clitics involved, thus opening the possibility that these elements function as simple agreement markers.

The second type of syntactic criterion deals with the environments in which the argument markers are used. I will try to determine whether they occur in environments in which agreement markers typically show up or whether they are restricted to contexts typical of argumental pronouns and phrases.

Chapter 3: Current syntactic and morphological analyses of pronominal clitics, clitic doubling, and agreement marking in both the Romance languages and a number of less

related languages will be reviewed and evaluated. I will then propose my own analysis for the QCF facts at issue here, departing from many current GB analyses of verbal inflection and pronominal clitics in terms of exploded INFL and head movement. Instead, I shall take a more morphological approach to QCF argument markers. I will also consider whether the avenue opened by Chomsky (1993) and developed in Cummins & Roberge (1994a,b), in which fully inflected words are inserted in syntactic structures and then licensed via a Checking mechanism, is compatible with the type of analysis advocated here.

Chapter 4: In chapter 4, I complete the discussion of the relation between the argument marker and the doubled lexical argument by looking at one particular argument marker, *ça*, which poses particular problems for an agreement analysis (cf. e.g., Thibault 1983). I will here concentrate on one particular use of *ça*, its generic use, as it is illustrated in (26):

- (26) *Les hommes ça parle tout le temps*
 'the men that talks all the time'
 = 'Men are always talking'

Unlike the preceding chapters, the analysis in this one involves an important semantic component, due to the interest presented by the existence of an overt marker for genericity. This semantic discussion will lead to a discussion of the mechanisms involved in agreement and in the respective roles of both the agreement marker and the element with which it agrees.

CHAPTER 2

ARGUMENT MARKERS IN QUÉBEC COLLOQUIAL FRENCH

In this chapter, I will present a description of the argument markers¹ in QCF. First, I will briefly describe the system in terms of which grammatical functions can be encoded by "pronominal clitics". Second, I will discuss the question of whether we should consider those argument markers clitics or affixes. Finally, I will determine whether the argument markers in doubled constructions, such as the ones illustrated in (1) below, should be analyzed as a subject and a partitive object respectively or, instead, as some type of agreement marker.

- (1) a. *toute la famille elle se rassemblait aux mêmes places* (118-71:461)
'all the family she herself gathered to the same places'
= 'The whole family gathered at the same places'
- b. *heureusement, on en a de l'air* (118-84:106)
'fortunately, we of-it have of the air'
= 'Fortunately, we have air'

As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, QCF argument markers are particularly interesting for two reasons. First, the fact that they behave like most modern Romance pronominal weak pronouns and attach to elements of a specific lexical category rather than to a specific position within a sentence. This makes their inclusion in the class of

¹ As I said in Chapter 1, *argument marker* is the theoretically-neutral term which I am adopting in referring to pronominal clitics.

"clitics" problematic, if one adopts a unitary definition of clitics in terms of phrasal categories problematic such as that of Klavans (1982). This is a clue that Romance-type argument markers may be best analyzed as something other than clitics. Second, QCF includes a large number of sentences containing both an argument marker and a lexical argument of the type illustrated in (1) above. We should, consequently, question the assumption that QCF argument markers are pro-nouns (and pro-PPs): that is, elements that appear in the place of nouns or noun phrases (and prepositional phrases), thereby making the cooccurrence of both pronominal clitics and lexical arguments within a single sentence impossible.

An important characteristic of Colloquial French, one which has been the object of much attention in the literature, is precisely the very high frequency of such doubling of argument markers and lexical arguments (Bossong 1981:240). It is quite striking that certain varieties of spoken French, such as the speech of teenagers in Villejuif (a suburb of Paris), show as much as 96% apparent dislocation, or doubling of NP subjects (cf. Campion 1984:219). In such varieties, this type of sentence does not likely have any special pragmatic force typically associated with a dislocated construction. This frequency of doubling with subjects is much higher than what we observe with non-subject arguments. Dubuisson, Emirkanian, & Lemay (1983:28) report that, contrary to subject doubling, object doubling is very rare in the writings of school children, and Kaiser (1994:5) reports less than 10% object doubling in European French. The goal of this chapter is to investigate whether the structural facts confirm what the frequencies seem to reveal. That is, I will try to determine whether there is grammatical support for the

claim that the subject markers of QCF are sufficiently different from the clitics in other languages to justify analyzing them in terms of affixation and agreement-marking rather than (phonological or syntactic) cliticization. I will also try to determine whether we should analyze subject and non-subject markers differently.

This word "frequency" is quite crucial here. Even when it is not explicitly indicated, I will assume that the corresponding sentence with no argument marker is also grammatical. In QCF, we still hear sentences like those in (2) and (3), where subject, direct object, and indirect object NPs occur alone.

- (2) a. *ma mère voulait pas qu'on se tienne là* (15-71:142)
'my mother wanted not that we self hold.subj there'
= 'My mother didn't want us to hang around there'
- b. *ils veulent des beaux gants* (15-71:112)
'they want of-the nice gloves'
= 'They want nice gloves'
- c. *j'ai dit à la petite* (15-71:191)
'I have said to the little (one)'
= 'I said to the little one'
- (3) a. *Lui non plus me tutoie pas* (105-667; Thibault 1983:31)
'him not either me use-informal-you not'
= 'He didn't use *tu* with me either'
- b. *Si moi je me force pour parler anglais, qu'eux-autres se forcent pour parler français* (9-1051; Thibault 1983:31)
'if me I self force for to-speak English, that them self force for to-speak French'
= 'If I make an effort to speak English, let them make an effort to speak French'

In this respect, third person markers differ from non-third-person markers, the latter being omitted only exceptionally before tensed verbs. Example (3)b is particularly interesting in this respect, since it contains a 1sg strong pronoun subject in the *si*-clause,

and that subject is doubled by the subject marker *je*; whereas the 3pl strong pronoun *eux-autres* in the matrix clause can cooccur without *ils* '3pl.nom'. Further examples of cooccurrence of strong pronouns and subject markers are given in (4):

- (4) a. *nous-autres on pouvait faire tout' qu'est-ce qu'on voulait* (15-71:146)
 'we-others we could do all that is-it that we wanted'
 = 'As for us, we could do whatever we pleased'
- b. *toi tu restes pas à la maison* (15-71:382)
 'you you stay not at the home'
 = 'You, you don't stay home'

Constructions without subject markers are comparatively rare in corpora of spoken French. Indeed, according to Ashby (1977:58), examples with no subject marker represent less than 1% of the data. The rarity of those examples might be attributable to their literary character (Roberts 1993:115). Morin (1982:21) and Huot (1987:174) report a few cases in which first and second person subject markers are not realized, but they both clearly state that such cases are much rarer than corresponding cases in the third person.

- (5) a. *Nous, tes braves, avons été déplumés* (Morin 1982:22)
 'we, your braves, have been robbed'
- b. *Mon frère et moi passerons demain* (Huot 1987:174)
 'my brother and I will-pass tomorrow'
 = 'My brother and I will come by tomorrow'
- c. *...que vous, l'auditeur, reconnaissez* (Laurent Santerre, 5/3/94)
 '...that you, the hearer, recognize'

The relation between doubled and non-doubled constructions is far from clear. Neither is the one between verbal paradigms with and without argument markers. A

number of studies, mostly the pragmatic ones described briefly in the introductory chapter, have identified a number of factors which favor the use of each type of construction. Other studies have suggested that the grammar of Colloquial French currently contains two verbal paradigms: the complementary conjugation, which does not allow cooccurrence of an argument marker and a lexical argument, and the supplementary conjugation, which does (Bossong 1981:240). Since the central focus of this dissertation is the analysis of the argument markers themselves and their role in the doubling constructions in which they occur, most of the discussion will be concerned with precisely this type of construction. Unless specified otherwise, the argument markers in the structures in question are not obligatory. In cases where only the doubled or the non-doubled construction is possible, I will explicitly stress the non-optional character of the construction.

2.1 The system of "pronominal clitics" in QCF

Like the other Romance languages, QCF contains argument markers for most types of verbal arguments as well as for several non-argumental phrases. As a result, we find clitics corresponding to all the following Cases: accusative, dative, genitive/partitive, and locative. Contrary, however, to Standard Italian, Spanish, and Catalan, QCF (like many Northern Italian dialects) possesses nominative clitics. This system is illustrated in Table 1 below. The left part of the table contains the elements usually referred to as clitics, i.e., those which are called argument markers in the present dissertation; the right part of the table, which contains the syntactically-independent counterparts of the argument markers,

is given only for the sake of completeness, since those strong pronouns are assumed to function like lexical NPs and will not be further investigated in this dissertation.

Table 1: The argument marking system of QCF

Verbal prefixes								
Num	Per	Gend	Case					Refl
			Nom	Acc	Dat	Gen	Loc	
Sg	1	f/m	je	me		—		me
	2	f/m	tu	te		—		te
	3	f	elle	la	y	en	y	se
		m	il	le				
		ind	on/tu	te	te	—		
		neut	ça	— ³	—		—	
Pl	1	f/m	on	nous		—		se
	2	f/m	vous		—		vous	
	3	f/m	ils ⁵	les	leur	en	y	se

Independent pronouns
moi
toi
elle ²
lui
—
ça
nous-autres
vous-autres ⁴
eux-autres

² Even though the argument marker and the independent pronoun are represented with the same orthography in this table, these two elements are completely different in QCF: the argument marker contains a low vowel, [a(l)], while the pronoun is always realized with a mid-low vowel, [ɛl]. Note that QCF differs from Ontario Colloquial French in this respect, since Nadasdi (personal communication) reports the use of $\epsilon(l)$ as a subject marker in the latter variety.

³ In the case of direct and indirect objects, the strong form of *ça* must appear in postverbal position, as in the following examples:

- (i) a. *non, on connaissait pas ça le cowboy, non* (118-71:157)
 'no, we knew not that the cowboy, no' = 'No, we didn't know how to play cowboy'
 b. *on jouait à ça à la cachette* (118-71:364)
 'we played at that at the hide-and-peek' = 'We played hide-and-peek'

⁴ *Vous-autres* is unambiguously plural. The strong form corresponding to the polite, singular use of the 2pl pronoun is *vous*, as in Standard French.

(Num = number; Sg = singular; Pl = plural; Per = person; Gend = gender; f = feminine; m = masculine; ind = indefinite; neut = neuter; nom = nominative; acc = accusative; dat = dative; gen = genitive/partitive; loc = locative; refl = reflexive)

The selection of labels for such a table unavoidably misrepresents the complex distribution of some of the elements. For instance, *ça*, a 3sg subject marker, clearly patterns with the other argument markers in terms of morphology, since it undoubtedly belongs to the same paradigm as the other subject markers (cf., e.g., Morin 1979a:22f, Lambrecht 1981:20, and Thibault 1983:32-33)⁶, but it is difficult to choose a label that accurately represents the characteristics of all the members in this class, especially since *ça* is used in a particularly wide variety of ways, as we will see in Chapter 6. The label used here, "neuter", was picked as a provisional descriptor to cover all uses of *ça*. The motivation for this choice concerns a characteristic that all these uses have in common: namely, they block transmission of number and gender agreement features of the subject

⁵ Most of the time, the 3pl marker is homophonous with the singular subject marker, since no /z/ of liaison appears in intervocalic position in QCF. This characteristic goes back to Old French (cf. Anglade 1965:88 and Zink 1989:85) and is still found nowadays in Picard (cf. Chaurand 1968:211) and Norman French (cf. Fleury 1886:62 and Beauoudrey n.d.:12). The decision to use, here again, the standard spelling should be interpreted as a desire to avoid distracting readers by making them think that there is a spelling mistake, but it should be clear that, as is the case with many word-final *s*'s, the *s* of *ils* is (almost) always silent in QCF.

⁶ Phonological evidence that *ça* behaves in a manner exactly parallel to the other subject markers includes (i) the fronting of the vowel it contains ([sa] instead of [sɑ]), which is parallel to what happens to *là* 'there' when it is lexically combined with other adverbs like *là-dedans* 'therein' and *là-haut* 'up there' and (ii) the fact that it cannot be stressed and that it can be separated from the verb only by other "clitics".

onto verbs and predicate adjectives.⁷ Note that representing it as a third value for gender is not a satisfactory solution either, since, semantically speaking, genericity seems to be more concerned with definiteness than with gender, even though, there again, the exact relation between generic and definite/indefinite is far from clear. In any case, the reason for presenting such a table at this point is purely for expository purposes: to give a list of all the argument markers of QCF in one place. One final remark concerns the transcription of the pronouns. As stated in the introductory chapter, I have decided to make the orthography of QCF as close to that of Standard French as possible, so that the entries in Table 1 do not reflect phonological processes such as /l/-deletion in the third person forms, schwa-deletion, realization of /i/ as a semi-vowel [j] before vowel-initial verbs, etc.

As in Standard French, all the pronouns in Table 1 can occur without a lexical argument, thus apparently corresponding to an argument of the verb. A sample is given in (6):

⁷ Blanche-Benveniste and other researchers of the Groupe aixois de recherche sur la syntaxe suggest that [-individualized] is the feature which distinguishes *ça* from *il(s)/elle(s)* (cf., e.g., Blanche-Benveniste, Deulofeu, Stéfani, & Van den Eynde 1984:50). I will not adopt this suggestion, however, for the following reasons: first, it is difficult to see why (i)a below is less individualized than its counterpart with *il* in (i)b:

- (i) a. *Pierre c'est un professeur*
 'Peter that is a professor' = 'Peter is a professor'
 b. *Pierre il est professeur*
 'Peter he is professor' = 'Peter is a professor'

and second, in a generic sentence like (ii) below, it is obvious that the predicate must apply to individual instantiations of the subject rather than to their totality:

- (ii) *Les chats ça a quatre pattes*
 'the cats that has four legs' = 'Cats have four legs'

- (6) a. Subject
il a cinq ans de plus que moi (15-71:041)
 'he has five years of more than me'
 = 'He's five years older than me'
- b. Direct object
mais là on les voit plus (15-71:021)
 'but now we them see anymore'
 = 'But we don't see them anymore'
- c. Indirect object (with *à* 'to')
elle est pas bien grande pour me tenir compagnie (15-71:192)
 'she is not very big for to-me keep company'
 = 'She's quite small to keep me company'
- d. Indirect object (with *de* 'of')
je m'en occupe même pas (15-71:374)
 'I self of-it take-care even not'
 = 'I don't even take care of it'
- e. Locative
j'vas y aller (15-71:181)
 'I will there to-go'
 = 'I will go there'

As we saw in the Introduction chapter, argument markers can also be doubled by a coreferential lexical phrase coreferential that whares the same grammatical function. A sample of such doubling constructions is given in the following series of examples.

- (7) a. Subject
mon frère le plus vieux il jouait du violon (118-71:270)
 'my brother the most old he played of-the violin'
 = 'My oldest brother played the violin'
- b. Direct object
personne la lisent la revue (15-71:547)
 'nobody her read the magazine'
 = 'Nobody reads the magazine'
- c. Indirect object (with *à*)
on y donnait nos payes à notre mère (35-71)
 'we to-her gave our paychecks to our mother'
 = 'We gave our paychecks to our mother'

- d. Indirect object (with *de*)
fait que on en entend parler des grèves (19-84:114)
 'makes that we of-them hear talk of-the strikes'
 = 'So, we hear about the strikes'
- e. Partitive
ma femme en fait des ragoûts de pattes (118-71:465)
 'my wife of-them makes of-the stews of legs'
 = 'My wife makes pig-feet stew'
- f. Complement of direction
on y a ben été au parc Dominion (35-71)
 'we there has well been to-the park Dominion'
 = 'We went to Dominion park a lot'
- g. Complement of origin
j'en arrive de l'hôpital
 'I of-there arrive of the hospital'
 = 'I've come from the hospital'

In all the preceding examples, the pronominal clitic corresponds to an argument subcategorized by the verb. However, a number of cases also exist in which non-arguments are cliticized. The most productive such cases in QCF concern possessive, ethical, and affected datives, as well as many cases of reflexives, as exemplified in (8):

- (8) a. *c'est ça qui leur sauve la vie* (15-71:B137)
 'that's that that to-them saves the life'
 = 'That's what saves their lives'
- b. *il te les arrêtaït [les rondelles]* (15-71:B227)
 'he to-you them stopped'
 = 'You should have seen him stop them! [the pucks]'
- c. *il lui a tout sali la cuisine!*
 'he to-him has all dirtied the kitchen'
 = 'He has all messed up the kitchen on him!'

The number of issues which we could raise with respect to argument markers in French is probably endless. For example, the various possible combinations of argument

markers, their ordering and their cooccurrence restrictions have been the object of much research (cf. Emonds 1975, Fiengo et Gitterman 1978, Herschensohn 1980, Morin 1975, 1979b, 1981, and Roegiest 1987, to name only a few). The dative and its different uses constitute another fascinating topic (cf., e.g., Leclère 1976, Fourment-Berni 1989, Pijnenburg 1990, Authier & Reed 1992, Herschensohn 1992, and Sachs 1992). For reasons of time and space, the present dissertation will not attempt to describe and analyze all possible uses of specific clitics or classes of markers. Instead, it will focus on the morphological and morphosyntactic status of these elements.

2.2 On the morphological status of the argument markers

Current syntactic theories differ in the way they deal with various types of bound elements, and even with respect to whether there should be a distinction between bound and free elements. Proponents of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) such as Bresnan & Mchombo (1987, 1993) and Simpson (1991) and those of Generalized/Head Phrase Structure Grammar (G/HPSG) such as Miller (1991) and Halpern (1992) forcefully argue for a strict distinction between morphology and syntax. Within GB, two different approaches must be distinguished. Laka (1991) and Ouhalla (1991) try to eliminate the morphological component and have syntax handle all of morphology, clitics and affixes alike. Such attempts have not, however, proved completely successful. Even proponents of this syntactic approach to morphology have ended up integrating morphological information into their syntactic structures in order to handle, for example, the difference between affixes and clitics (Kayne 1989 and Roberts 1991b). Baker (1985) and Laka

(1991) also admit that syntactic operations cannot handle all types of affixal elements. As a result of such limitations as well as the many difficulties encountered in attempts to describe complex inflectional systems, Speas (1991b) and Cummins & Roberge (1994a,b) have taken advantage of the proposal in the new Minimalist Program of Chomsky (1993) which claims that fully-inflected lexical items are inserted into syntactic structure, thus positing a presyntactic morphological component that frees the syntax from having to handle highly idiosyncratic morphological facts.

Since the approach adopted in the present dissertation essentially follows the proposals of Speas and Cummins & Roberge, thus recognizing the existence of fully-inflected words as entities, we must determine whether the argument markers of QCF behave like affixes or like clitics. The notions of affix and clitic assumed in this work are the traditional ones: affixes are morphological elements, while clitics are syntactic units. This position is summarized by Zwicky & Pullum (1983:503):

word-clitic combinability is largely governed by SYNTACTIC considerations. The conditions governing the combinability of stems with affixes are of quite a different sort: they are MORPHOLOGICAL and/or LEXICAL in character [...] This basic difference between simple clitics and affixes predicts that clitic groups and affixed words will tend to display a number of further differences

Consequently, if QCF argument markers are affixes, they will be attached to their verbal stem before lexical insertion and will not be available to be deleted or moved, given the Lexicalist Hypothesis, which prevents the syntax from handling sublexical elements. On

the other hand, if they are clitics, they will be generated on their own nodes and be subject to the same type of syntactic rules as other lexical elements.

There is ample motivation for distinguishing between affixes and clitics, or more generally between a morphological and a syntactic component, since different principles are involved in building words than in combining them into syntactic structures (cf. Zwicky 1992 and Bresnan & Mchombo 1993). Indeed, while syntax contains "no rules for particular languages and no construction-specific principles" (Chomsky 1991:417), Anderson (1977:41) describes morphology as precisely the component where "most of what is idiosyncratic and unsystematic about languages is concentrated". More specifically, we can distinguish between word formation and syntax in the following ways (Zwicky 1992:355):

- i) affix order is nearly always fixed; word order is frequently quite free
- ii) constituents of words cannot be separated by interposed syntactic units, while constituents of phrases often can be
- iii) phonology operating within words differs from that operating within phrases
- iv) non-concatenative morphology is frequent, but it is rarely the case that independent words become difficult to identify

Based on these basic notions of morphology and syntax, a number of criteria have been proposed in the literature for distinguishing between clitics and affixes. In the following sections, I will apply such criteria to QCF argument markers. Four types of data will be discussed in support of the affixal analysis:

- i) a number of morphological idiosyncratic combinations involving argument markers cannot be generated by general phonological rules but must be handled by specific morphological processes
- ii) certain accidental gaps in the combination of argument markers or in the combination of argument markers and specific verbal stems cannot be attributed to syntactic rules
- iii) in some cases, different forms of the argument markers must be generated, depending on whether the marker occurs in a preverbal or in a postverbal position; no general phonological rule can derive one form from the other
- iv) since argument markers must be repeated on each verb in VP-conjunction structures, syntactic rules do not seem to have access to these elements (i.e., they cannot delete them)

Indeed, if French were not a language with a long written tradition in which the argument markers are separated by spaces, it is highly likely that linguists would not hesitate to transcribe strings such as *Jeteledonne* 'I-to.you-it-give' with no spaces at all between inflected verbs and argument markers, just as is the case in the Bantu and Amerindian languages.

2.2.1 Morphophonological idiosyncrasies

It is a well-known fact that it is the most frequently used verbs which maintain the most irregular paradigms. In QCF, the verb *être* constitutes no exception to this

generalization, since the present tense paradigm contains three suppletive forms, *chus*, ϵ , and *sont*, which cannot be derived by any general phonological rules, as shown in (9):

(9)	<i>chus</i>	'I am'	<i>on est</i>	'we are'
	<i>t'es</i> ⁸	'you.sg are'	<i>vous êtes</i>	'you.pl are'
	<i>y'est</i>	'he is'	<i>(i) sont</i>	'they are'
	ϵ / <i>al est</i>	'she is'		

- i. In QCF, *chus* is very frequently used as the 1sg form of the verb 'to be' in the present (Deshaies 1987:176). It is clear, however, that this form cannot be the result of a purely phonological rule deriving *chus* from *je suis*, since the homophonous sequence *je suis* meaning 'I follow' cannot be realized as *chus*.

- (10) a. *moi chus né au mois d'août* (118-71:209)
 'me I-am born at-the month of August'
 = 'As for me, I was born in August'
- b. **moi chus la mode*
 'me I-follow the fashion'

- ii. In the 3sg.fem, *elle est* is often realized as a single vowel, [ɛ] (Deshaies 1987:195). Similarly, in the imperfect, we often hear *était* instead of *elle était*.

Both forms are illustrated in (11):

⁸ Actually, elision of [y] in *tu* cannot be attributed to a general phonological rule, as Miller (1991:178) points out. This constitutes additional support for the affixal analysis, since the [ü]-deletion rule must be phrased so it applies only in the environment of the preverbal 2sg subject marker followed by a vowel-initial verb: *t'imagines* 'you.sg imagine', *t'oserais* 'you.sg would dare', *t'avais* 'you.sg had', etc.

- (11) a. ϵ *née à St-Jérôme* (73-71:013)
 'she-is born at St.Jerome' = 'She was born in St.Jerome'
 b. *oui, était plus grosse* (73-71:271)
 'yes, she-was more big' = 'Yes, she was bigger'

Once again, these forms cannot be derived by a general phonological rule and must, therefore, be generated by specific morphological rules. Indeed, *l*-deletion, for example, is a general morphophonological rule of QCF which affects determiners and argument markers. While it is possible to imagine that the two adjacent vowels might coalesce into one, such rules do not generally apply: *elle aime* → **eme* 'she likes/loves' or *elle émet* → **emet* 'she emits'.

The auxiliary *avoir* 'to have' is, in fact, the only other verb which exhibits coalescence of the 3sg.fem subject marker and the verb. As the following examples show, *elle* also "disappears" in both the main and auxiliary uses of this verb:

- (12) a. [a] *été opérée pour le foie voilà cinq ans* (15-71:B308)
 'she-has been operated for the liver ago five years'
 = 'She was operated on for the liver five years ago'
 b. [a] *30 ans*
 'she-has thirty years' = 'She's 30'

- iii. The overt subject marker [i] for 3pl can be absent before two verbal forms: *sont* 'are' and *sontaient* 'were', for those speakers who use this non-standard imperfect verb form (Drapeau 1982).

- (13) a. *sont plus smattes* (15-71:294)
 'they-are more nice'
 = 'They are nicer'
- b. *sontaient pareils comme des pachas* (15-71:506)
 'they-were similar like of-the pashas'
 = 'They were like pashas'

Here again, the absence of [i] cannot be attributed to a phonological or a morphophonological rule, since these two forms of the verb *être* are the only environments in which 3pl [i] is allowed to be missing. There is, indeed, no general rule that systematically or variably deletes this vowel before [s] followed by [õ] or a nasal vowel, as shown by the non-existence of the following verb forms: *il(s) songe(nt) → *songe(nt)* 'he thinks/they think' and *il(s) semble(nt) → *semble(nt)* 'it/he seems/they seem'.

The most spectacular case of idiosyncratic morphophonology in QCF is probably the 1sg form of the auxiliary *aller* 'to-go', realized as *m'as* < *je vais* (Deshaies 1987:176-177 and Mougeon, Beniak, & Valli 1988:250 for Ontario French). Although this form may be derived from the same source as *je m'ons* + infinitive in Picard dialects of Northern France (cf. Mougeon & Beniak 1991:149), as shown in (14) below, we once cannot attribute the correspondence between *je vais* and *m'as* to a general phonological rule, since only the auxiliary form of *aller* can be realized as *m'as*, not the main verb, as shown in (15) further below.

- (14) *éje m'ons reboacher che treu que t'os débouchè* (Lediou 1905:26)
 'I self ONS close-back the whole that you have opened'
 = 'I am going to close back the whole that you have opened'

- (15) a. *m'as lire mon bréviaire* (15-71:635)
 'I'm-going to-read my breviary'
 b. *je vas plus à la messe* (15-71:462)
 'I go anymore to the mass'
 = 'I don't go to mass anymore'
 c. **m'as plus à la messe*⁹

Another interesting irregular verbal paradigm is that of the verb *aller* 'to go'. This time, however, the idiosyncratic behavior is found with the locative marker *y* 'there' and its interaction with tense. Indeed, as Labelle (1985:95) reports, certain forms of this verb cannot cooccur with the locative marker. Based on the one case that she reports, namely the ungrammaticality of **j'y irais*¹⁰ 'I would go there', she contends that *y* and *irais* cannot combine because of a phonological constraint. Examination of the complete paradigm for this verb reveals that this hypothesis cannot be right, since *y* also cannot occur before some consonant-initial forms, as shown in (16). Instead, for some mysterious reason, tense seems to be the relevant factor interacting with the realization of *y*,

⁹ Ossipov (1990) was looking for the right kind of evidence when she notes that /l/-deletion in clitics (see (i) below) does not correspond to a general phonological rule of French.

- (i) *je les ai vus* [žezevy] 'I them have seen' = 'I saw them'
 (ii) a. *ballet* *[baε] 'ballet'
 b. *j'ai lavé...* *[žeave] 'I washed'

The fact that /l/-deletion also occurs in definite articles (cf. (iii) and (iv) below), which are analyzed as inflectional prefixes by Miller (1991), can be taken to provide further support for an affixal analysis of Colloquial French pronominal clitics.

- (iii) *sur la table* [satab] 'on the table'
 (iv) *as-tu vu les livres?* [atyvyeliv] 'have you seen the books?'

Cf. Sankoff & Cedergren 1971 and Poplack & Walker 1986 for extensive discussions of /l/-deletion in Canadian French.

¹⁰ Sequences of two /i/'s can be heard in other combinations such as (i) and (ii) below, and they are clearly distinct from cases like *j'irai*, where only one /i/ is heard.

- (i) *Si il vient pas...*
 'if he comes not' = 'If he doesn't come...'
 (ii) *Il y va jamais*
 'he there goes never' = 'He never goes there'

since the presence of this element is consistent within each tense, no matter what the phonological form of the verb root is.

(16)	Ind.:	Present:	<i>j'y vas, tu y vas, il y va, on y va, vous y allez, ils y vont</i>
		Imperfect:	<i>j'y allais, tu y allais, on y allait, vous y alliez, ils y allaient</i>
		Passé comp.:	<i>ch't'allé, t'es-t'allé, il est allé, ...</i>
		Future:	<i>j'irai, tu iras, il ira, on ira, vous irez, ils iront</i>
		Per. future:	<i>j'vas y aller, tu vas y aller, ...</i>
	Subjunctive:		<i>que j'y aille, que tu y ailles, qu'il y aille</i>
	Imperative:		<i>vas-y, allons-y, allez-y</i>

The data described in this section reveal a very close connection between the argument markers and the verb forms to which they are attached, thus constituting a problem for Simpson & Withgott's (1986) analysis of French pronominal clitics. Simpson & Withgott discuss a number of facts about clitic clusters in French and two Australian languages, Warlpiri and Waramungu, that cannot be generated by general rules of grammar. They attribute such unpredictable forms to the fact that clitic clusters are formed in the lexicon. They impute the absence of any such idiosyncrasies involving hosts and clitic clusters to the fact that clitic clusters are attached to their hosts in the syntax rather than in the lexicon. Although they may be correct with respect to Standard French, where no idiosyncrasies seem to affect the combination of verbs and argument markers, the argument markers in QCF seem to function as affixal elements combined with verb stems in the morphological component of the grammar.

2.2.2 Arbitrary gaps

In the preceding section, we discussed a number of idiosyncratic forms which cannot be attributed to general phonological rules. In this section, I will examine arbitrary gaps in actual combinations of argument markers and show that we cannot attribute them to either phonological nor syntactic rules.

According to Zwicky & Pullum (1983:504), arbitrary gaps in the distribution of bound elements are more characteristic of prefixes than clitics. They base this generalization on the fact that syntactic rules tend to be very general and apply whenever their structural description is met. Three types of arbitrary gaps will be discussed here: (i) the optional use of the expletive marker with certain impersonal expressions, (ii) the existence of an arbitrarily delimited class of verbs whose arguments cannot be realized as bound argument markers, and (iii) the ungrammaticality of certain combinations of clitics, which we cannot attribute to either phonology or syntax.

2.2.2.1 Impersonal expressions

There are a few impersonal verbs in Colloquial French that can be used without a person-marker, even though this language generally does not allow empty expletives. For example, *falloir* 'require', *me semble* 'seems to me', and *faire froid/chaud* 'to be cold/hot' are frequently used without *il*, even though this possibility does not extend to other impersonal expressions such as *il est question* 'there's some question' or *il pleut*

'it's raining' (cf. Auger 1990).¹¹ The contrast between (17)c and (18)b shows variation even among "weather" verbs.¹²

- (17) a. *(Il-)faut y-aller*
 '(it) requires there to-go'
 = 'We must go there'
- b. *(Il-)me-semble que c'est une bonne idée*
 '(it) me seems that it's a good idea'
 = 'It seems to me that it's a good idea'
- c. *(Il-)fait froid*
 '(it) makes cold'
 = 'It's cold'
- (18) a. **(Il-) semblerait qu'on s'est trompés*
 '(it) would-seem that one oneself is mistaken'
 = 'It would seem that we're mistaken'
- b. **(Il-)pleut*
 'it rains'
 = 'It's raining'

Roberge & Vinet (1989) distinguish some cases of null-expletive subject markers which cannot be attributed to a general phonological rule from other cases which can be attributed to an apheresis rule. For example, Morin (1985) deletes unstressed segments in sentence-initial position, most often before consonants, but also before clitics and vowel-initial auxiliaries. This phenomenon is not restricted, as a matter of fact, to QCF,

¹¹ It also seems to be the case that only 'expletive' *il* can be absent, since the *ça/c'* of impersonal expressions such as *ça arrive que* 'it happens that', *ça se peut que* 'it is possible that', and *ça veut dire que* 'it means that' is never absent.

¹² One of the characteristics according to which Renzi & Vanelli 1983 classify a number of Northern Italian dialects is whether or not subject pronouns are used with impersonal and weather verbs. According to their work, there is no dialect in which some weather verbs appear with a subject pronoun, while others do not. I thus interpret the fact that the variation is truly lexical in QCF as an argument in favor of a morphological analysis of the subject marker.

since we also observe a tendency to drop subject pronouns at the beginning of sentences in English:

- (19) a. *(It) Seems to be a good idea*
 b. *(I) Dunno*

As (20) below shows, the absence of the subject marker is not limited with such verbs as *falloir* to sentence-initial positions, thus forcing us to look for an alternative, non-phonological account for the absence of *il* in such contexts.

- (20) a. *Je pense que \emptyset va falloir y aller asteure* (Roberge & Vinet 1989:110)
 'I think that is-going to-be-required to-there to-go now'
 = 'I think we'll have to leave now'
 b. *moi \emptyset faut j'me couche de bonne heure* (118-71:B250)
 'me is-required I self go-to-bed of good hour'
 = 'As for me, I have to go to bed early'

Roberge & Vinet (1989:111) tentatively conclude that some speakers have a syntactic rule which deletes expletive subject markers, when an object marker, for instance, is present, thus accounting for the possibility of null expletives with *me semble* 'seems to me' but not with **semble* 'seems'. I would like to suggest a more general analysis that can account for why some weather expressions allow null expletives and others prohibit them. That is, I propose that morphological rules are responsible for the variable realization of *il* on some lexically-listed impersonal expressions.

2.2.2.2 Argument marker vs. strong pronoun

Evidence that syntax cannot account for argument-marking patterns comes from the distribution of the indirect-object marker *y* in QCF and *lui* in Standard French. It is a well-known fact of French that not all verbs which take dative complements allow IO markers. IO markers are, in fact, the only real possibility with the verbs in (21) and (22) below, while most speakers require the verb in (23) to have a prepositional phrase containing a strong pronoun (i.e., the use of standard *lui* is completely ruled out, while the use of colloquial *y* is ruled out for many, and probably most, speakers). In order to account for such data, individual verbs should probably be lexically specified as to whether they take IO markers or not, since a general subcategorization approach cannot account for the difference between IO markers and syntactic indirect objects.

- (21) a. *j'y/je lui téléphonerai demain*
 'I to-her/him will-telephone tomorrow'
 = 'I'll call her/him tomorrow'
 b. **je téléphonerai à elle/lui demain*
 'I will-telephone to her/him tomorrow'
- (22) a. *j'y/je lui envoie toujours mes articles*
 'I to-her/him send always my articles'
 = 'I always send her/him my articles'
 b. **j'envoie toujours mes articles à elle/lui*
 'I send always my articles to her/him'
- (23) a. *je *lui/??y pense*
 'I to-her/him think'
 b. *je pense à elle/lui*
 'I think to her/him'
 = 'I'm thinking/I think of her'

2.2.2.3 Cooccurrence restrictions

The next type of arbitrary gap that I will discuss here concerns which non-subject clitics can be combined. It has been noted by Morin (1979a:7) and many others that a dative first person can combine with an accusative third person, as in (24)a; yet, a dative third person cannot combine with an accusative first person, as shown in (24)b. Instead, a non-clitic form of the pronoun must be used, yielding (24)c.

- (24) a. *Elle me l'a présentée*
 'she to-me her-has presented'
 = 'She introduced her to me'
- b. **Elle lui m'a présentée*¹³
 'she to-him me-has presented'
 = 'She introduced me to him'
- c. *Elle m'a présentée à lui*
 'she me-has presented to him'
 = 'She introduced me to him'

This impossibility cannot be attributed to a general prohibition against using more than one preverbal object marker, as shown by (24)a, and it cannot be attributed to a syntactic prohibition against combining these two arguments, as shown by (24)c. Instead, a morphological restriction would appear appropriate. Additional support for this morphological approach comes from Basque, a language where the agreement markers are standardly analyzed as affixes (cf., e.g., Ortiz de Urbina 1989:158 and Laka 1991:176)

¹³ Note, however, that Ashby (1974:90) reports that *Il me lui a présenté* 'He presented me to her' is attested in European non-standard usage. Roegiest (1987:152-153) also reports that such combinations are possible when more than one verb is involved, as in (i):

- (i) Pierre me lui a fait promettre de revenir
 'Peter to-me to-him has made to-promise of to-come-back'
 = 'Peter made me promise to him that I would return'

and where exactly the same constraint requires that "inflected forms with three agreement clitics can only have third person agreement in the absolutive" (cf. Laka 1991:183). Indeed, the existence of similar restrictions in most Romance languages has been considered an argument in favor of an affixal analysis of these elements (Simpson & Withgott 1986).

Combinations of dative and accusative markers turn out to be highly restricted in QCF, since sequences involving two third person markers do not exist. That is, we never find *le/la/les + lui/leur* '3sg.acc m.sg/f.sg/pl + 3sg.dat sg/pl' in this variety. Instead, we find that only the dative marker is realized as *y* in the singular and *leur* in the plural, as illustrated in the following examples (Deshaies 1987:197):¹⁴

- | | | | | |
|------|----|--|----|---|
| (25) | a. | <i>J'y donne</i>
'I to-him/her (it) give'
= 'I give it to him/her' | b. | <i>Je leur donne</i>
'I to-them (it) give'
= 'I give it to them' |
| | c. | <i>Elle me le donne</i>
'she to-me it gives'
= 'She gives it to me' | d. | * <i>Elle me donne</i>
'she to-me gives'
= 'She gives it/them to me' |
| | e. | * <i>Elle me lui donne</i>
'she me to-him/her gives'
= 'She gives me to him/her' | f. | <i>Elle me donne à elle</i>
'she me gives to her'
= 'She gives me to her' |

¹⁴ This construction, even though it is quite widespread in many varieties of French, is now considered substandard. Note, however, that it was once considered preferable to the expression of both third person markers:

"Pour l'arrangement des relatifs, *le, la & les* avec les pronoms personnels, on doit remarquer, que les construisant avec les datifs *luy & leur*, les phrases en sont fort vicieuses, comme de dire, *je les luy donneray : je les leur envoie*; il est bien mieux de n'y mettre que lesdis datifs: *je luy donneray : je leur envoie*." (Oudin 1640:83)

As revealed by the ungrammaticality of (25)d, it is not the case that the verb *donner* 'to-give' optionally subcategorizes for only one object: when the indirect object is not third person, it must be overt. And, just as was the case with *présenter* 'to introduce' above, if both arguments are non-third persons, then one of them, the indirect object, must be realized as a strong pronoun in argument position, as shown in (25)f. There is therefore no syntactic basis for the impossibility of having two third person non-subject markers cooccurring on the same verb. Once again, I attribute this restriction to the morphological processes of QCF.¹⁵

The facts described here and the conclusion reached are compatible with Miller's (1991:141) own conclusion that, while the "absence of arbitrary gaps [...] does not make affixal status impossible, nor clitic status necessary, [...] the presence of arbitrary gaps argues strongly in favour of affixal status".

2.2.3 Positional variants

In this section and the next, I will discuss two constructions which have in common that they place argument markers in postverbal rather than preverbal position: postverbal placement of object markers in imperatives and so-called Subject-Clitic Inversion (SCI) in interrogative matrix clauses. While such constructions are most often

¹⁵ The realization of two third persons object markers in Standard French also constitutes an argument in favor of an affixal analysis, but for completely different reasons. In this variety, both markers are overtly realized, but their ordering differs from marker sequences involving one non-third person marker: when both markers are third person, the accusative marker precedes the dative, but when the dative marker is either first or second person, the dative precedes the accusative. Since this ordering difference cannot be attributed to a syntactic difference between third person and non-third person arguments, this fact has been taken to support an affixal analysis of Standard French argument markers (cf. Stump 1980:18, Simpson & Withgott 1986:164, Miller 1991:179, and Heap et al. 1993).

handled through some form of syntactic movement (cf., e.g., Rooryck 1992 about clitic-placement in imperatives and Kayne 1972 and Rizzi & Roberts 1989 concerning SCI), I will argue here that a syntactic approach may not be the most appropriate for the facts of QCF and that a morphological analysis is preferable.

In this section, I will focus on object-marker placement in imperatives. As is well known, object markers occur in postverbal position in non-negative imperatives in French and in the Romance languages in general. Below is a French example ((26)a). QCF differs from Standard French, however, in that object markers occur in postverbal position in negative imperatives as well, as shown in (26)b.

- (26) a. *Donne-le-moi* (Standard French)
 'give-it-to.me' = 'Give it to me'
- b. *Donne-moi-le pas* (QCF)
 'give-to.me-it not' = 'Don't give it to me'

But more specifically, I will focus on the fact that no straightforward correspondence exists between these postverbal markers and their preverbal counterparts, thus forcing us to posit two different variants which are specified with respect to the position in which they must appear. Table 2 below lists the forms for each object marker for preverbal and postverbal positions.

Table 2
Preverbal and postverbal object markers

Object markers	Preverbal position	Postverbal position
1sg accusative and dative	<i>me</i>	<i>moi</i>
2sg accusative and dative	<i>te</i>	<i>toi</i>
3sg masc. accusative	<i>le</i>	<i>le</i> (with schwa or [e])
3sg fem. accusative	(<i>l</i>) <i>a</i>	<i>la</i> ¹⁶
reflexive	<i>se</i>	—
dative and locative	<i>y</i>	<i>z-y</i>
partitive and genitive	[ã], [nã], [nn]	[ã], [zã]
1pl accusative and dative	<i>nous</i>	<i>nous</i>
2pl accusative and dative	<i>vous</i>	<i>vous</i>
3pl accusative	(<i>l</i>) <i>es</i>	<i>les</i>
3pl dative	[lœR], [lø], [løZ]	[lœR], [lø], [løZ]

If we consider only first and second person forms, in the singular and the plural, we might be tempted to suggest a (morpho)phonological analysis that would take into account accentuation. We might propose, for instance, that if the atonic form contains a schwa, that schwa becomes [wa] when stressed in final position in the verb group. Such an analysis is not adequate, however. First, postverbal *moi* and *toi* are not necessarily stressed, since they do not have to appear in final position in the verb group, as shown in (26)b above. Second, this rule would have to be marked as not applying to the 3rd accusative masculine marker, since, as shown in ? above, this marker remains *le* and can be pronounced with a schwa even when it occurs in a stressed position. In

¹⁶ The application of /l/-deletion, a rule which frequently affects object markers applies to argument markers and determiners in QCF, is restricted to preverbal *la* and *les*, but, in this case, a phonological rule phrased in terms of stressed positions seems to adequately handle the facts (cf. Walker 1984:139).

additio*n, if we now look at *en* and *y*, we see that one form, *nã*, is reserved for preverbal use, while two forms, *zã* and *zi*, can only occur in postverbal position (cf. Morin 1979a:16 for arguments concerning the attachment of [z] to the postverbal clitic rather than to the verb stem). Thus, all these forms must be listed in the lexicon or generated in a morphological component with clear indications as to where they can be used.

I have presented as a case of morphological idiosyncrasy a construction which is usually treated as a syntactic rule (Kayne 1975:149 and Rooryck 1992) and argued that a morphological component must be involved in order to generate the correct argument markers in the correct position, since no phonological rule can derive one set of forms from the other.¹⁷ In the next section, I consider a set of facts that might be taken as representing the quintessential syntactic rule of French, namely Subject-Clitic Inversion, and argue that, at least in the case of QCF, the syntactic analysis does not constitute the best approach to the facts.

2.2.4 Subject-clitic inversion

Ever since Kayne (1972), the correct formulation of SCI in French has been the object of much speculation. The most influential proposals have suggested, in order to generate the Standard French sentences in (27) below, syntactic rules moving the verb to a postverbal position (Kayne 1972) or moving the verb to a position before the subject clitic (Rizzi & Roberts 1989).

¹⁷ The facts of QCF discussed here are basically identical to the facts of Standard French. This means that this argument for the morphological treatment of postverbal object markers in imperatives holds equally for Standard French, thus supporting Stump's (1980) and Miller (1991) conclusion that the argument markers in that variety are also affixes.

- (27) a. *Pars-tu?*
 'leave-you.sg' = 'Are you leaving?'
 b. *Quand arrivera-t-il?*
 'when will-arrive-he' = 'When will he arrive?'

The absence in European Colloquial French of sentences like (27), as observed by Lambrecht (1981), Coveney (1989), and Zribi-Hertz (1993), has been interpreted as strong support for an affixal analysis of subject markers in that variety. Indeed, one possible explanation for this fact is that the syntax cannot move the subject markers anymore, because they have become affixal elements and are, thus, not accessible to syntactic rules (Ashby 1977:30 and Haiman 1991:139). Implicit in Ashby's and Haiman's statements is the assumption that, whenever subject markers can be inverted, they remain syntactic objects and cannot be analyzed as affixes. In this section, I call this assumption into question by discussing SCI in QCF and arguing that there is no reason to deny affixal status to the subject markers of QCF based on the sole possibility of occurring in postverbal position in interrogative sentences.

Sentences like (27)a above are still found in QCF (Fox 1989 and Picard 1992), in Manitoba French (Rodriguez 1991), and in some regional varieties of French (Morin 1985). I will focus, here, on the facts of QCF. The distribution of SCI in this variety is, however, much more limited than in Standard French, since it can only affect second person subject markers, singular and plural, as shown by the grammaticality of (28)a and (28)b and exemplified by the ungrammaticality of (28)c, and applies only in yes/no questions, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (28)d.

- (28) a. *M'aimes-tu?*
 'me like-you.sg' = 'Do you like me?'
 b. *M'aimez-vous?*
 'me like-you.pl' = 'Do you like me?'
 c. **M'aime-t-elle/il?*
 'me like-she/he' = 'Does she/he like me?'
 d. **Pourquoi l'aimes-tu?*
 'why me like-you.sg' = 'Why do you like me?'

For non-second person subjects, other constructions are obviously available, such as intonation alone, as in (29)a below, and the interrogative particle *-tu*, an element homophonous with the 2sg subject marker but not marked for person, as shown in (29)b. I will discuss the interrogative particle in more detail in Chapter 3, when I propose a morphological analysis in terms of processes for both this element and the facts of so-called SCI in QCF.

- (29) a. *Elle part?*
 'she leave' = 'Is she leaving?'
 b. *Elle part-tu?*¹⁸
 'she leaves-INT' = 'Is she leaving?'

If we adopt without question the perspective that only syntactic elements can be moved and, as a consequence, allowed to occur in various positions within some linguistic unit, then we are forced to conclude that the subject markers of QCF are not affixes. Before jumping to this conclusion, however, we must weigh the importance of this

¹⁸ There are important pragmatic differences between the different interrogatives strategies, but this issue goes much beyond the scope of the present dissertation. For a discussion of the pragmatic functions of the different forms of interrogation, cf. Fox (1989:166ff).

criterion against all the evidence that we have been discussing in this chapter and which argues very strongly in favor of an affixal analysis of preverbal subject markers. In this section, I will briefly discuss the reason why the syntactic analysis is not an appropriate approach to the facts of SCI in QCF and why a morphological one is not only possible, but also preferable. In Chapter 3, data from SCI in other Romance dialects, as well as dual-position affixes in Afar, Arabic, and Huave will be presented to show that once we consider data from a wide range of languages, positing dual-position affixes for QCF may still be a marked option, but it is not a complete oddity anymore.

As mentioned above, one main difference between SCI in QCF and in Standard French is that the former is restricted with respect to the subject markers to which it can apply. It is precisely this restriction which is problematic for a syntactic account of SCI in QCF. Indeed, as we already know, syntactic rules are general rules which apply or can apply whenever their structural description is met. The facts of SCI in Standard French are, therefore, compatible with this view, since this rule affects all the subject clitics of this variety.¹⁹ Since, however, the second person subject markers of QCF differ from non-second person markers only with respect to the fact that they can appear in postverbal position in interrogative sentences, there is no independent motivation for categorizing *tu* 'you.sg.nom' and *vous* 'you.pl.nom' differently from the other subject markers, just to restrict the application of SCI to these two elements. Therefore, I suggest that rather than adopting the *ad hoc* solution of marking non-second-person subject markers as not undergoing SCI, an alternative approach is to posit two *tu* and two *vous* subject markers, one

¹⁹ Cf., however, Morin (1979a), Safir (1982), Huot (1987), and Bès (1988) for a non-syntactic analysis of SCI in Standard French.

of which will be marked, let us say, [+interrogative] and will be specified as occurring in postverbal position. This solution does not unduly burden the grammar with a new device, since, as argued in the preceding section, a similar solution must be adopted for the postverbal realization of object markers in imperatives.

2.2.5 VP-coordination

There is another type of construction which can be used to argue that syntactic rules do not have access to argument markers: VP-coordination. Indeed, as is well known, when the subjects of two or more clauses are identical, it is generally possible not to repeat the subject and to conjoin only the VPs, as illustrated by the following English examples:

- (30) a. *Mary came and left*
 b. *She came and left*

In Standard (literary) French, it is similarly possible for subject markers to have scope over two VPs, as shown in (31):

- (31) *Je mange du pain et bois du vin*
 'I eat of-the bread and drink of-the wine'
 = 'I eat bread and drink wine'

In QCF and in European Colloquial French (Schwegler 1990:115 and Miller 1991:158), however, argument markers must be present on each verb in VP-conjunction constructions, as illustrated by the following QCF examples:

- (32) a. *ben il a laissé ça pis il a rentré à Northern* (15-71:091)
 'well he has left that and he has entered at Northern'
 = 'Well, he quit that [job] and went to work at Northern'
 b. **ben il a laissé ça pis a rentré à Northern*
- (33) a. *on prenait des cannes pis on jouait dans la ruelle là²⁰* (15-71:102)
 'we took of-the cans and we played in the alley LÀ'
 = 'We would use cans and play in the alley'
 b. **on prenait des cannes pis jouait dans la ruelle là*
- (34) a. *tsé un enfant il arrive pis il te pose une question* (50-71)
 'y'know a child he arrives and he to-you poses a question'
 = 'Y'know, a child comes to you and asks you a question'
 b. **tsé un enfant il arrive pis te pose une question*
- (35) a. *elle a un beau carosse pis un beau bicycle à trois roues pis elle joue pas pantoute* (15-71:124)
 'she has a nice baby-carriage and a nice bicycle at three wheels and she plays not at-all'
 = 'She has a nice baby-carriage and a nice tricycle and she doesn't play at all'
 b. **elle a un beau carosse pis un beau bicycle à trois roues pis joue pas pantoute*

All the corresponding examples in which the second subject marker would be missing are ungrammatical in QCF. Ashby (1980:199), in his study of European Colloquial French, has not found a single subject pronoun preceding multiple verbs. The

²⁰ The *là* in this example is not a deictic adverb (locative or temporal), but rather a discourse marker which is used in QCF to punctuate sentences (Vincent 1983). Since no translation is available for it in English, I simply gloss it as LÀ and usually do not include in the idiomatic translations.

next example is particularly interesting because, even though, the version without a subject marker on the second verb would be grammatical in QCF, the attested example does contain a subject marker. This type of sentence in which the two conjoined verbs are formally related is exceptional, even in Standard French, since it is the only context in which object markers do not have to be repeated on each conjunct (Kayne 1975:97 and Miller 1991:159).

- (36) a. *il faut pas que ça dégèle pis ça regèle de nouveau* (10-71:900; Lefebvre & Fournier 1978:282)
 'it must not that that defrost and that freezes-again of new'
 = 'It must not defrost and freeze again once more'
 b. *il faut pas que ça dégèle pis regèle de nouveau*

In my opinion, the fact that the subject marker is used even in this type of sentence is an indication that this last bastion of the old grammar in which argument markers could be manipulated by syntactic rules is losing ground in QCF.

Given current GB analyses in which verbs raise to inflectional categories in order to pick up their morphology, it is not so clear anymore how so-called VP-conjunction would be analyzed, but what is clear from the examples in (32) above is that the impossibility of deleting the subject marker argues strongly for an analysis in which the said subject markers are not accessible to syntactic rules. Indeed, for Miller (1991:157), this is a crucial criterion in distinguishing between affixes and postlexical clitics: "In cases where repetition is obligatory on each conjunct, then the item is necessarily an affix and cannot be a postlexical clitic". Thus, the necessity of repeating subject markers on

each finite verb in conjunction constructions is parallel to the requirement that suffixal agreement markers be present on each finite English verb in the same constructions:

- (37) a. *She writes novels and reads poetry*
 b. **She writes novels and read poetry*
 c. **She write novels and reads poetry*

2.2.6 Extraction

The parallel between English 3sg *-s* and the subject markers of QCF further extends to extraction constructions such as relative questions, long-distance extraction, and *wh*-questions. When the extracted phrase is a third person singular NP, English verbs in all these environments must agree with this NP and bear this inflectional agreement marker, as illustrated in (38).

- (38) a. *This is my friend who writes novels*
 b. *This is the friend who I told you writes novels*
 c. *Who writes novels?*

In QCF, as we will see in this section, we find that subject markers occur in the same environments as English *-s*. For the first time in our discussion, however, the extraction facts will reveal a difference between subject and non-subject markers; that is, we will find that subject markers are used in structures where object markers are not.

2.2.6.1 Relative clauses

As I have already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, subject doubling is viewed by certain linguists as one of the most characteristic constructions of Colloquial French. Not unrelated to this, as we will see, is the fact that relative clauses also exhibit patterns that are quite different from those of standard French. Indeed, according to Foulet (1928:100; my translation):

"It is in the use of the relative pronoun that the vernacular differs most completely from cultivated language. Their separation is even so extreme that it can serve to define one variety with respect to the other. The vernacular—in France, at the moment—is essentially a language which has simplified the system of relative pronouns. [...] It would be interesting to investigate why at least thirty million French men and women are unable to use the relative pronoun in conformity with the rules of grammar."²¹

Three main types of relative structures are used in QCF, only one of which is considered grammatical by prescriptivist grammarians.

i) *Gap strategy*

In Standard French, relative clauses contain a complementizer (*que/qui* "that/who") or a relative pronoun (*dont* 'whose', *où* 'where', *auquel* 'to which', etc.) in clause-initial position and a gap within the clause, corresponding to the relativized element. In QCF, this strategy is generally used in the formation of direct object relatives, often used in

²¹ Original (note that Foulet's orthography is preserved in the words *système* and *aus*):
 "C'est dans l'emploi du relatif que la langue populaire se sépare le plus complètement de la langue cultivée. L'écart est même si marqué qu'il peut servir à définir l'une par rapport à l'autre. La langue populaire, en France et en ce moment, est essentiellement une langue qui a simplifié le système des relatifs. [...] Il n'est pas sans intérêt de rechercher pourquoi trente millions de Français au bas mot sont incapables de se servir du relatif en se conformant aux règles de la grammaire."

subject relatives, and variably used in locative relatives. Examples of these three types are given in (39):

- (39) a. ...*différentes expressions que tout le monde a toujours eues* (15:B067)
 '...different expressions that all the world has always had'
 = 'different expressions that everybody has always had'
- b. ...*avant une personne qui se forçait...* (118:463)
 '...before a person who self forced'
 = 'Before, a person who made an effort...'
- c. ...*des places où qu'il y a de la foule* (15:463)²²
 '...of-the places where that there has of the crowd'
 = 'places where there is a crowd'

ii) "*All-purpose*" *que*

The second relative construction in QCF contains a *que* which we can call "all-purpose", because it can replace relative pronouns in virtually all types of relative clauses. What we find in such cases is the complementizer *que* at the beginning of the clause and no anaphoric element within the relative clause referring to the relativized element (cf. Damourette & Pichon's "defective" relative clause and Wilmet's 1977:86 "universal" relative pronoun). This construction leaves to the context the task of determining to which element of the clause *que* corresponds. Examples of this type are given in (40):

- (40) a. *les anciennes places que je restais* (118:B106) (*que* = *où*)
 'the old places that I stayed'
 = 'the old places where I lived'

²² Note that, while the relative pronoun *où* is used in this sentence, just as it would be in a Standard French relative clause, the presence of the complementizer *que* in addition to the relative pronoun violates the Standard French ban against doubly-filled Comps and clearly indicates that this clause belongs to Colloquial French.

- b. *j'ai des voisins (que)²³ je parle temps en temps* (15-84:68) (*que* = *à qui*)
 'I have of-the neighbors (that) I speak time in time'
 = 'I have neighbors that I talk to once in a while'
- c. *la manière qu'on est élevé là* (15:B039) (*que* = *dont*)
 'the manner that we are raised LÀ²⁴'
 = 'the way we are raised'
- d. *des cahiers de classe là qu'on se servait plus* (118:494) (*que* = *dont*)
 'of-the notebooks of class LÀ that we well served anymore'
 = 'class notebooks that we didn't use anymore'

iii) *Resumptive strategy*

In this third and last type of relative clause construction in MCF, the relative clause is introduced by the complementizer *que* and contains a resumptive expression which is coreferential with the antecedent of the relative (cf. Wilmet's 1977:88-89 "relatif décumulé").²⁵ As Labelle (1990:99) points out, the resumptive element can be a pronoun, clitic or not, a possessive determiner, or a pronominal form of the preposition. In (41) below, we find examples of resumptive pronouns in various positions: subject in (a), DO in (b), IO in (c), and possessive in (d):

²³ *Que*'s 'that' in parentheses have not been uttered. Such cases can be attributed to the existence, in QCF, of a complementizer-deletion rule (Sankoff 1980 and Martineau 1985).

²⁴ This *là* is a discourse marker, more particularly a punctator, according to Vincent's (1983) analysis.

²⁵ Actually, two more types of relative clauses involve the 'fancy' relative pronouns *dont* 'whose' and *auquel/duquel* etc. 'to which/of which' and can presumably be attributed to attempts on the part of speakers to get away from their colloquial grammar and produce a standard relative. We can distinguish between simple cases of hypercorrections, in which those relative pronouns are used in contexts where Standard French does not allow them, as in (i)a below, and cases of 'redundancy' in which the 'fancy' relative pronoun is doubled by a resumptive element, as shown in (i)b:

- (i) a. *Dites moi le sort dont il a pu subir* (*dont* = *que*; Guiraud 1966:42)
 'tell me the fate whose he has been-able to-suffer' = 'Tell me the fate that he has met'
- b. *voilà ma stratégie dont j'en ai parlé avant* (Godard 1989:57)
 'here-is my strategy whose I of-it have spoken before' = 'Here's the strategy of which I have talked before'

Since no examples of these types have been found in the interviews of the Sankoff/Cedergren corpus that I have listened to, I will not discuss these constructions in this dissertation.

- (41) a. *J'étais pas une personne que j'avais beaucoup d'amis* (15:134)
 'I was not a person that I had a-lot of friends'
 = 'I was someone who didn't have a lot of friends'
- b. *j'en ai connu moi, que... bien nous-autres, aujourd'hui, on les déteste pas* (2:395)
 'I of-them have known me, that, well us, today, we them hate not'
 = 'I have known some, me, that, well, we don't hate today'
- c. *c'est un petit gars que n'importe qui s'adaptait à lui* (51:135; reported in Lefebvre & Fournier 1978:275)
 'that is a little guy that anybody self adapted to him'
 = 'that's a little boy that anybody adapted to'
- d. *La femme que j'ai soigné son chien la semaine passée*
 "the women that I have healed her dog the week passed"
 = "the woman whose dog I took care of last week"

and in (42), we find three examples in which "orphan prepositions" (cf. Zribi-Hertz 1984)

show up in the position corresponding to the relativized element:

- (42) a. *c'est une revue qu'il y a aucune annonce dedans* (Lefebvre & Fournier 1978:275)
 'that is a magazine that it there has no advertisement in-it'
 = 'that's a magazine where there is no advertisement'
- b. *c'est un conducteur que je me fierais plus dessus* (Lefebvre & Fournier 1978:275)
 'that is a driver that I self would-rely no-more on-him'
 = 'that's a driver that I wouldn't rely on'
- c. *La fille que je sors avec est correcte* (Bouchard 1982:225)
 'the girl that I go-out with is correct'
 = 'the girl I go out with is OK'

Even though this inventory of relative constructions is quite representative of the structures found in QCF, it fails to convey very important information about the relative frequency of each pattern. For example, while the use of *que* 'that' in clauses in which Standard French would use *dont* 'whose' is extremely frequent, the use of resumptive

pronouns in direct object position is extremely rare. It is, in my opinion, no accident if I have had to use secondary sources in order to find examples of the resumptive strategy: it is because this strategy is relatively rarely used. Resumptive pronouns are indeed very rare in direct object position (contra Cannings 1978:6).²⁶ In subject position, however, "resumptive" elements are used in such large numbers as to make me suspect that an analysis in terms of resumptive pronoun might not be appropriate. Additional examples of subject markers in subject relative clauses are easy to find in the Sankoff/Cedergren corpus; a few more are given in (43):

- (43) a. ... *ma mère qu'elle a enduré pis enduré pis enduré* (15-71:234)
 '... my mother that she has endured and endured and endured'
 = 'my mother who has put up with so much'
- b. *ben il y a le métro que ça a changé beaucoup* (15-71:389)
 'well it there has the subway that that has changed a-lot'
 = 'Well, there's the subway that has changed a lot'
- c. *j'en ai une autre qu'elle est veuve aujourd'hui* (15-71:B067)
 'I of-them have one other that she is widow today'
 = 'I have another one [a friend] who's now a widow'

Even though many studies of relative clauses in Colloquial French report only a few examples of each type of resumptive pronoun, I interpret the regularity with which such examples are reported as evidence that they are not as marginal as some authors would like to believe (cf., e.g., Bouchard 1982:122, Léard 1982:122, and Valli 1988:472-473). A preliminary study of four speakers of Montréal French (Auger 1991) confirms

²⁶ Admittedly, non-subject relative clauses are rarer than subject relatives (Kroch & Hindle 1982), but direct object relatives still occur in large enough numbers to allow us to interpret as significant the fact that we find very few cases of resumptive pronouns.

that relative clauses containing resumptive elements are not uncommon in QCF, but it reveals that such use is much more favored in some positions than in others. Indeed, in the small sample that I examined, they are found only in subject position. One of the four speakers from that study uses resumptive markers in 58% of her subject relative clauses (N = 59), once we exclude all the ambiguous cases in which it is impossible to distinguish between the relative pronoun *qui* and the complementizer + subject marker sequence *qu' + i(l(s))*.²⁷ We thus have the proof that, for some speakers, a strategy that looks very much like the resumptive strategy is indeed a very productive construction in subject relatives.

In addition to the subject relative clauses illustrated above, subject markers are also found in constructions in which long-distance extraction should have left behind an agreeing complementizer, that is, *qui* 'who' (cf. Pesetsky 1982):

- (44) *Vous voyez les défauts qu'il a, qu'est-ce qu'y a eu que ç'a pas marché* (15-84:174)
 'you see the defects that he has, what is it that there has had that that has not worked'
 = 'You see the defects he has and what there was that didn't work'
- (45) *Ils peuvent peut-être dire quelque chose que je pense que c'est une erreur* (44-71:24-48)
 'they can maybe say something that I think that it's a mistake'
 = 'Maybe they may say something that I think is a mistake'

²⁷ I.e., all third person masculine singular and all third person plural antecedents, since, as indicated in Table I at the beginning of the chapter, there is generally no gender distinction in third person plural in Québec Colloquial French

Finally, subject markers also frequently occur in pseudo-cleft constructions, as shown in (46) and (47) below. Since the vast majority of relative clauses have third person antecedents, these pseudo-cleft constructions are crucial in showing that the use of subject markers in extraction constructions is not limited to third person markers.

- (46) *C'est nous-autres les auxiliaires-bénévoles qu'on a acheté ça* (MA, 12/16/90)
 'it's us-others the volunteers that one has bought that'
 = 'we volunteers were the ones who bought that'
- (47) *C'est toi que t'avais un trouble sur ton auto, hein?* (JPA, 7/28/91)
 'it's you that you had a trouble on your car, he'
 = 'It's you who had a problem with your car, right?'

All the preceding examples contain subject markers that are neither 3masg.sg nor 3pl because of the impossibility of being sure whether to interpret /ki/ as corresponding to *qui* or *qu'il(s)* (Bouchard 1982:122 and Labelle 1990:101-102). This ambiguity of the /ki/-sequence introducing relative clauses is a well-documented fact throughout the history of the French language. Examples of confusion between *qui* and *qu'il(s)* are found as early as Old French (Wilmet 1977:85 and Jokinen 1978:57) and are consistently reported for all periods (cf., e.g., Valli 1988:463 about Middle French and Haase 1898:72 about the 17th century). Similar examples are also found in transcriptions of contemporary QCF. In the case of famed authors like Michel Tremblay, it is likely that sentences like (48) below represent a conscious attempt to reflect the structure of QCF. However, (49), which was produced by one of the transcribers of the Sankoff/Cedergren corpus, most likely illustrates uncertainty in interpreting the sequence /ki/.

- (48) *y faut vraiment que j'apprécie ce qu'y m'arrive* (Michel Tremblay, Des nouvelles d'Édouard, p. 277)
 'it must truly that I appreciate that that it to-me happens'
 = 'I really ought to appreciate what's happening to me'
- (49) *j'en connais qui demeurent dans le bas de la ville puis qu'ils parlent bien aussi*
 (transcription of 44-71:23-18)
 'I of-them know who live in the low of the city and that they speak well too'
 = 'I know some who live in the lower part of the city and who speak well too'

Confirmation that the transcriber of (49) is uncertain about how to transcribe /ki/ is found in the following example, where we would expect to find *qu'il* but where the transcriber has written down *qui*:

- (50) *Ça faisait dix jours qui [=qu'il] l'avait* (transcription of 44-71:17-17)
 'that made ten days who it-had'
 = 'He had had it for ten days'

Additional support for a bimorphemic analysis of /ki/ comes from the fact that, in a coordinated sequence of relative clauses which have the same antecedent, /k/ need not be realized, as shown in the next two examples:

- (51) *Un jeune /ki/ va se présenter, puis il a de la misère à parler, [...] il annonce pas très bien* (30-71:44; Lefebvre & Fournier 1978:282)
 'a young /ki/ goes self present, and he has of the difficulty to to-speak, [...] he announces not very well'
 = 'A youngster who shows up and has difficulty expressing himself, that doesn't appear very promising'

- (52) *Un gars /ki/ aime travailler là-dessus, /ki/ aime travailler dans la crasse puis il aime pas être dérangé, d'accord* (6-71:495; Lefebvre & Fournier 1978:282)
 'a guy /ki/ likes to-work there-upon, /ki/ likes to-work in the dirt and he likes not to-be disturbed, OK'
 = 'A guy who likes to work on that, who likes to work in dirt, and who doesn't like to be disturbed, OK'

Lefebvre & Fournier (1978:281-282) argue convincingly that, in spite of the absence of the complementizer, those two clauses must be interpreted as relative clauses. Their first argument has to do with intonation: The intonation of both clauses is rising, rather than falling, just like relative clauses introduced by overt complementizers. They contrast these cases with other sentences in which the second clause, formally identical but accompanied by falling intonation, is interpreted as a matrix clause. Their second argument concerns the well-known *que*-deletion rule of QCF. They observe that subject relative clauses behave like any other subordinate clause in allowing the complementizer of a coordinated clause to be deleted. Indeed, Lefebvre & Fournier (1978:282) report that, in unpublished work, Cedergren & Giacomi have observed frequent *que*-deletion in the second clause of a conjunction of subordinate clauses, as shown in the following examples reported by Lefebvre & Fournier (1978:282):

- (53) a. *non c'est parce qu'ils ont 45 ans pis ils veulent pas les employer*
 'no it's because they have 45 years and they want not them employ'
 = 'No, it's because they're 45 and they don't want to employ them'
- b. *il faut pas que ça dégèle pis ça regèle de nouveau*
 'it must not that that defrost and that freezes-again of new'
 = 'It must not defrost and freeze again once more'

No special device need be invoked in order to account for the absence of /k/ in coordinated relative clauses, if we recognize its morphemic status as complementizer and interpret /i/ as a regular subject marker.

Additional support for the analysis of /i/ in /ki/ as a subject marker comes from the fact that, contrary to European CF, adult QCF does not delete /i/ before vowels, so that we hear (54)a but not (54)b:

- (54) a. *maman elle recevait les enfants qui étaient mariés* (15-71:208)
 'mom she received the children who were married'
 b. **maman elle recevait les enfants qu'étaient mariés*
 'mom she received the children who were married'

While this fact, in itself, does not constitute evidence that /i/ is a subject marker, it is certainly compatible with the hypothesis that at least some of them are.

A final and decisive piece of evidence concerning the hypothesis that speakers of QCF sometimes interpret /ki/ as a sequence of two morphemes rather than as the relative pronoun or agreement-marked complementizer comes from the fact that some speakers can insert linguistic material between /k/ and /i/, as shown by the two following examples, in which a dismissive noise (*pttt!!*) and an adverbial phrase intervene between the complementizer and the subject marker:

- (55) *y en a des femmes qu(')i rencontrent des hommes pis qu(')i... qu(')i font bon chemin avec mais il nn'a d'autres **que pttt!! ils veulent rien savoir des hommes*** (15-1-84:511)
 'there of-them has of-the women who/that they meet of-the men and who/that they, who/that they make good road with but there of-them has of-others that PTTT!! they want nothing to-know of-the men'
 = 'there are women who meet men and who get along well with them, but there are others who—PTTT!!—don't want to hear about men'
- (56) *y en a beaucoup si ils avaient fait ça **que par après ils auraient eu moins de misère*** (15-71:300)
 'there of-them has a-lot if they had done that that by after they would-have had less of misery'
 = 'There are quite a few of them, if they had done that, that afterwards they would have had it easier'

This rather long digression about the ambiguity of /ki/ was motivated by the desire to stress the fact that the use of the bare complementizer *que* plus a subject marker on the verb in subject relative clauses may be even less rare than the number of unambiguous cases leads us to believe. While it is obviously impossible for the analyst to decide whether the following examples must be analyzed as containing the complementizer *qui* or the sequence *que + il(s)*, it is a fact that hearers, and most particularly children acquiring QCF, are free to analyze them either way (cf. Hudelot 1977:101 and Labelle 1990:101-102).

- (57) a. *moi j'ai mon neveu /ki/ s'marie là* (15-71:295)
 'me I have my nephew /ki/ self marries LÀ'
 = 'As for me, I have my nephew who's getting married'
- b. *pis y a des femmes /ki/ disaient que oui* (15-71:319)
 'and there has of-the women /ki/ said that yes'
 = 'And there were women who said 'yes''

We have just seen that subject markers do show up in relative clauses and pseudo-cleft constructions with a regularity which makes it impossible to dismiss them as mere performance errors or erratic productions. To me, this is evidence that they are part of the grammar of QCF speakers, and I do not need to check with them whether they are grammatical or not, as Zribi-Hertz (1988:35) suggests in her definition of syntactic grammaticality: "will be considered grammatical from the point of view of Grammar G every sequence of words produced and accepted as a sentence by a speaker for whom G corresponds to his/her linguistic competence" (my translation; Zribi-Hertz's own emphasis). Indeed, in the context of a complex sociolinguistic situation in which Standard French is imposed by the education system and the social power structure as the only acceptable form of French and in which virtually every speaker participates to varying degrees in this system of values, it seems extremely hazardous to me to base a grammatical description on subjective judgments which are more likely to reflect what is socially acceptable than what is grammatically possible. Ideally, speakers of such non-standard varieties as QCF should become linguists and use their own intuitions, and there are a number of such linguists. But, as Labov (1972:290-292) has pointed out, linguists are lames which have moved out of the communities where the most vernacular forms of their language is spoken and, as a consequence, their own intuitions about that variety are not particularly reliable. Furthermore, even linguists who speak some non-standard variety sometimes must describe a non-standard variety which is slightly different from their own. This is precisely the case here, since, even though subject-doubling is

definitely part of my grammatical system, the use of subject markers in highest relative clauses is not.

With the exception of the few examples given as illustrations for the resumptive strategy at the beginning of the section, only examples of subject resumptive markers have been discussed, because these are the only type of resumptive element which is found in significant numbers in the Sankoff/Cedergren sample that I have examined. If I am correct in assuming that all argument markers in QCF are affixal elements, then the different behavior of subject vs. non-subject markers must be attributed to some other difference between the two types of elements. Specifically, I will explore the possibility that this difference is correlated with the doubling frequencies of subject and non-subject markers mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Following Roberge (1990), I hypothesize that subjects are doubled in such high frequencies because of the fact that subject markers are fully grammaticalized as inflectional agreement markers affixed to finite verbs and that object markers are either not grammaticalized or not completely grammaticalized, yet. Concretely, I am therefore suggesting that in spite of a number of apparent distinctions, English and QCF are essentially of the same type as far as their verbal morphology is concerned: verbs in both languages show overt agreement with their subjects but not with any of their objects. In the rest of this section, I will examine the relative-clause patterns described above in order to see if they are compatible with this hypothesis. And if this approach appears promising, I will pursue it further in the remainder of this chapter. In Chapter 3, I will propose an analysis for the argument

marking system of QCF, and, in Chapter 4, I will venture to suggest an analysis for QCF relative clauses.

Before moving on, let me summarize the facts. First, we have seen that there is ample support for an affixal analysis of all the argument markers of QCF. In the theoretical framework that I adopt, which is basically that of Cummins & Roberge (1994a,b), this means that these argument markers are attached to their verbal stems in a presyntactic morphological component, so that fully-inflected verb forms are inserted in the syntactic structure. Second, we have just seen that, in spite of their similar status at the morphological level, subject and non-subject markers behave differently: only the latter elements show up regularly in relative clauses. I have, in consequence, hypothesized that this lack of symmetry is attributable to a difference in status at the morphosyntactic level: only subject markers are true agreement markers and can be expected to occur in all the environments in which true agreement markers usually occur.

In looking for support for this grammaticalization hypothesis, I will proceed by eliminating competing analyses. The two obvious competitors are (i) an analysis in terms of resumptive elements (Bouchard 1982) and (ii) an absence-of-extraction account (Lefebvre & Fournier 1978). Since both analyses are relatively old, I will not focus on the specific details of the two accounts, but rather on the general adequateness of their proposals, given what we now know about resumptive pronoun patterns in natural languages.

As implied by the term I have been using in describing relative clauses in which an overt element occurs within the clause in the position or function of the extracted element, the most obvious competitor to the grammaticalization analysis is one in terms

of resumptivity. Informally, a resumptive pronoun is a pronoun which occurs in place of a gap in a relative clause, a question or a dislocation construction (Sells 1984 and Engdahl 1985). Languages famous for their resumptive pronoun strategy in relative clauses include Hebrew, various varieties of Arabic, the Celtic languages, and Swedish. As we are about to see, resumptive pronouns in all these languages behave quite differently from the QCF argument markers, thus making it doubtful that the resumptive analysis can appropriately account for all the facts of QCF relative clauses.

Such a resumptive analysis has been proposed for QCF subject relatives, as well as for all other types of relatives, by Bouchard (1982). If we compare QCF with the languages just listed, however, the pattern of resumptive pronoun usage represented by QCF would appear to be quite unique, since it shows the highest proportion of resumptive pronouns use in a position where most languages do not allow resumptive pronouns at all. We should indeed remember that resumptive pronouns appear most frequently in the highest subject position in the relative clause in QCF, which is precisely the position where resumptive pronouns are not allowed in the abovementioned languages. In Hebrew, for example, resumptive pronouns and gaps vary freely in direct object, embedded subject, and all indirect object positions, they are obligatory in oblique object positions and in NP-internal positions, but they may not appear in the highest subject position of the relative clause (cf. Doron 1986:331 and Shlonsky 1992:444-445). Similarly, in Palestinian Arabic, resumptive pronouns are obligatory in all positions, except in the highest subject position in the relative clause (cf. Shlonsky 1992:445-446), where they are excluded. In Swedish, resumptive pronouns are allowed only in subject

position, but, once again, they do not occur in the highest subject position (cf. Beite et al. 1963 and Engdahl 1985). In Irish, finally, McCloskey (1990:210) notes that "[t]here is, in fact, just one position from which resumptive pronouns are excluded. The *highest* subject of a clause cannot be occupied by a resumptive pronoun."

These facts about linguistically-unrelated languages obviously do not completely rule out the possibility that a resumptive-pronoun analysis might still be appropriate for QCF. At this point, my goal is simply to show that it does not appear likely, and that, as we will see after we briefly discuss the absence-of-extraction approach, an alternative approach is not only available, but also plausible.

The second possible analysis is one in which no *wh*-extraction takes place: what we have is a relative clause which opens with a complementizer followed by a clause whose structure is identical to that of a matrix clause. Analyses along these lines have been proposed for Tok Pisin and Brazilian Portuguese by Tarallo (1983) and Sankoff and Tarallo (1987). According to these studies, the relativization strategies of Tok Pisin and Brazilian Portuguese directly reflect the way these languages handle anaphora in main clauses, because a pronoun deletion rule is at play in both types of clauses. That is, the proportion of use of resumptive pronouns in relative clauses reflects the frequency of use of pronouns in main clauses. This type of analysis cannot, however, be extended to the QCF facts, since no correlation can be established between the clitic frequency in main and in relative clauses. While no marked tendency to drop any types of clitics in main clauses can be observed, we observe that resumptive pronouns are extremely rare in direct object position in Colloquial French and less frequent in oblique than in subject position.

The same remark applies to the various oblique objects: while the use of resumptive oblique markers is relatively rare in relative clauses, there is no particular tendency to drop oblique markers in non-relative clauses.²⁸

Neither the resumptive approach nor the lack-of-extraction hypothesis can, therefore, account for the patterns of use of argument markers in relative clauses in QCF. Instead, I propose that the difference between subject and object markers can be attributed to the fact that only the former are true resumptive pronouns, while the former are simply inflectional agreement markers which are part of the verbal morphology. Their occurrence in subject relative clauses is, as a result, totally expected, and the relatively low frequencies of resumptive elements in the other positions are completely in line with what is usually observed in colloquial varieties of European languages. In Chapter 3, I will return to the consequences of this proposal and I will bring into the picture additional data and data from long-distance extraction constructions, as well as data from a number of other natural languages. We will see, for one thing, that the facts from other Romance dialects, with and without subject doubling, provide strong support for the present hypothesis.

²⁸ It may be slightly unfair to Lefebvre & Fournier's (1978) position to claim that there should be a direct correspondance between pronoun use in relative and in non-relative clauses, since the authors themselves make no such claim, but it is striking that the lexical insertion and suppletion rules which they propose in order to account for the occurrence of resumptive pronouns in relative clauses certainly look like they should also apply in non-relative clauses.

2.2.6.2 *Wh*-questions

If the subject markers of QCF can really be compared to English 3sg *-s*, there is one more environment where we expect them to show up: in *wh*-questions where the subject is the extracted element. This prediction is borne out, since one does not find in QCF the Standard French structure exemplified in (58)a, with a single occurrence of the question word *qui* 'who'. Instead, we find a sequence of two /ki/'s, as shown in (58)b:

- (58) a. *Qui est venu?* (Standard French only)
 'who is come'
 = 'Who came?'
 b. *Qui /ki/ est venu?* (QCF)
 'who /ki/ is come'
 = 'Who came?'

(58)b is one way of asking the question "Who came?" in QCF; other ways involve more complicated forms of the question word, all containing two versions of the ambiguous sequence /ki/: *qui est-ce qui*, *qui c'qui*, *qui c'est qui*, etc. The specific analysis of these forms need not concern us here. What is crucial, though, is the fact that two tokens of /ki/ occur and that there is evidence, in a number of dialects of French, that the two tokens are not of the same type, since they are actually pronounced differently. In Picard, in Norman, and in Acadian French, the consonant of interrogative *qui* is palatalized, while the /k/ of second /ki/ in subject questions and the relative pronoun (except in some lexicalized expressions) is not (cf. Cochet 1933:39 and Maury 1991).

Confirmation that it is agreement-marker status and not just affixal status which is responsible for the use of the default 3masc.sg subject marker in *wh*-questions comes

from the fact that non-subject markers do not show up in the same environment, as we can see in the following examples, which contain the complex interrogative elements typical of QCF but no argument markers. As the (b) variants show, use of the argument markers is ungrammatical in these questions.

- (59) a. *ben qu'est-ce qu'ils ont?* (15-71:379)
 'well what is-it that they have'
 = 'Well, what do they have?'
- b. **ben qu'est-ce qu'ils l'ont?*
- (60) a. *De qui tu parles?*
 'of who you.sg speak'
 = 'Who are you talking about?'
- b. **De qui t'en parles?*
- (61) a. *à quelle place vous demeurez?* (15-71:B258)
 'at which place you live'
 = 'Where do you live?'
- b. **À quelle place vous y demeurez?*

If we adopt the view that so-called subject clitics are actually agreement-markers prefixed to the verb, and not elements represented in a syntactic structure, then the presence of those agreement-markers is precisely expected in relative clauses and other extraction environments. And if we refuse to extend this analysis to non-subject markers, claiming that these do maintain their argument status, then their absence in the same extraction environments is also expected. Instead of constituting a problem for existing generalizations, the distribution of these elements in relative clauses and *wh*-questions provides support for the agreement-marking analysis which I will develop in the following chapter. Before moving on to the analysis itself, though, I still have to discuss the

possibility that, in spite of the high frequency of subject doubling, an analysis in terms of dislocation is still the best approach to the data. The rest of this chapter is concerned with this issue.

2.3 On the syntactic status of QCF argument markers

The question of the syntactic status of the various argument markers has already been evoked in the discussion about the behavior of subject and non-subject markers in extraction contexts. In that section, I hypothesized that subject markers occur in those environments because they are true agreement markers and are thus expected to show up on every finite verb. The non-occurrence of object markers in the same contexts was attributed to the fact that, even though these elements are verbal affixes, they are not agreement markers. Instead, non-subject markers retain argument status. Confirmation of this hypothesis must now be sought in non-extraction environments.

I will now approach the issue of the syntactic status of the argument markers from the perspective of the doubled phrases of sentences like those in (7) at the beginning of this chapter, repeated in (62) below for convenience. Normally, this complementary study of the doubled phrases will confirm the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the argument markers themselves and show that at least some doubled subjects are true subjects and show all the characteristics of typical arguments, while non-subjects will have to be analyzed as some type of topics, that is, non-arguments.

- (62) a. Subject
mon frère le plus vieux il jouait du violon (118-71:270)
 'my brother the most old he played of-the violin'
 = 'My oldest brother played the violin'
- b. Direct object
personne la lisent la revue (15-71:547)
 'nobody her read the magazine'
 = 'Nobody reads the magazine'
- c. Indirect object (with *à* 'at/to')
on y donnait nos payes à notre mère (35-71)
 'we to-her gave our paychecks to our mother'
 = 'We gave our paychecks to our mother'
- d. Indirect object (with *de* 'of/from')
fait que on en entend parler des grèves (19-84:114)
 'makes that we of-them hear talk of-the strikes'
 = 'So, we hear about the strikes'
- e. Partitive
ma femme en fait des ragoûts de pattes (118-71:465)
 'my wife of-them makes of-the stews of legs'
 = 'My wife makes pig-feet stew'
- f. Complement of direction
on y a ben été au parc Dominion (35-71)
 'we there has well been to-the park Dominion'
 = 'We went to Dominion park a lot'
- g. Complement of origin
j'en arrive de l'hôpital
 'I of-there arrive of the hospital'
 = 'I've come from the hospital'

Therefore, in the rest of this chapter, I will concentrate on the doubled phrases and try to determine whether those doubled phrases occur in argument position or in \bar{A} -position, i.e., in some type of topic or dislocated position. Five arguments will be discussed. The first one concerns the possibility for quantified and indefinite phrases to be doubled by an argument marker. The second and third arguments deal with word order: placement of preverbal doubled phrases before or after the complementizer and/or *wh*-element and ordering of doubled phrases with respect to each other and to other

phrases and the different interpretations which sometimes result. The fourth argument has to do with the discourse function of the sentences containing doubled arguments: if such sentences truly are dislocated, then they should carry some special pragmatic meaning which non-dislocated sentences lack. Finally, the fifth criterion concerns the claim that dislocated sentences are marked by a special intonation pattern which clearly distinguishes them from non-dislocated sentences.

2.3.1 Doubling with quantifiers

On the surface, sentences containing left-dislocated subjects and sentences involving subject-doubling are often undistinguishable. Similarly, sentences containing right-dislocated objects and sentences involving doubled objects are also superficially very similar. Indeed, as we will see in more detail in Section 2.3.4, one cannot rely on the presence of an intonational break between the dislocated phrase and the rest of the sentence in order to distinguish the two types of constructions, since the presence of such breaks is not always necessary (cf., e.g., Fradin 1990:7-8 about French and Duranti & Ochs 1979:389 about Italian). One way of deciding which analysis is appropriate, however, consists in looking at which types of NPs can occur in the doubled position. As is well-known, bare quantifiers cannot occur in dislocated position (Rizzi 1986), so that, if it turns out that such phrases can be doubled by argument markers, we will have to conclude that the doubled phrases are in argument position and not in some type of topic position.

Rizzi uses this quantifier-doubling criterion to argue that subject markers in French are not of the same type as those found in a number of Northern Italian dialects: while the latter can be doubled by bare quantifiers, as shown in (63), this option is not available in French.

- (63) a. *Gnun l'a dit gnent* (Torinese; Rizzi 1986:396)
 'nobody he has said nothing'
 = 'Nobody said anything'
- b. *Nessuno l'ha detto nulla* (Fiorentino; Rizzi 1986:396)
 'nobody he has said nothing'
 = 'Nobody said anything'
- c. *Tut l'e capita' de not* (Trentino; Rizzi 1986:397)
 'everything it is happened of night'
 = 'It all happened at night'
- (64) a. **Personne (,) il n'a rien dit* (Rizzi 1986:397)
 'nobody he NEG has nothing said'
- b. **Tout (,) il est arrivé hier* (Rizzi 1986:397)
 'everything it is arrived yesterday'

Based on this contrast between the Torinese, Fiorentino, and Trentino, on the one hand and French, on the other, Rizzi concludes that Northern Italian dialects subject clitics are some type of inflectional agreement marker but that the subject clitics of French are real syntactic subjects which are cliticized to the verb only at PF. Thus, he attributes the impossibility of having both a bare quantifier and a subject marker occurring in the same sentence to the fact that the subject position is occupied by the subject clitic at S-structure in French.

While Rizzi's observation is correct for Standard French and for many varieties of Colloquial French, it should be noted that at least some speakers of QCF allow dou-

bling with bare indefinites, even when no specific interpretation is possible, as illustrated by the use of the imperfect tense in (65)a and hypothetical use of *mettons* 'let's suppose' in (65)b:

- (65) a. *en campagne, quand quelqu'un il dansait...* (118-71:534)
 'in the country, when someone he danced...'
 = 'In the country, when someone danced...'
- b. *... mettons quelqu'un il te dit que tu vas mourir* (Ossipov 1992:287)
 '...let's-put someone he to-you.sg says that you go to-die'
 = 'Let's suppose someone tells you you're going to die'

Such examples may not be as frequent as those involving definite, human subjects, but they are found with sufficient regularity to eliminate the possibility that they are performance errors.²⁹ The same remark can be made about Ontario French (Nadasdi 1994) and European Colloquial French. Indeed, concerning the latter variety, Hulk (1986:109) gives the following examples of doubled quantifiers:

- (66) a. *Tout le monde il est beau*
 'all the world he is beautiful'
 = 'Everybody's beautiful'
- b. *Un enfant il dort toute la journée*
 'a child he sleeps all the day'
 = 'A child sleeps all day'

²⁹ It should also be noted that not all bare quantifiers can be used in preverbal subject position. *Rien* 'nothing', for instance, can only be used with expletive subject *il* in QCF:

- (i) a. **Rien est arrivé*
 'nothing is happened' = 'Nothing has happened'
- b. *Il est rien arrivé*
 'it is nothing happened' = 'Nothing has happened'

She also gives the example of doubling with *personne* 'nobody' in (67)a, but the grammaticality mark that she gives it shows that not all speakers of European Colloquial French accept it. It is interesting to note, however, that two speakers of European French to whom I submitted the very similar example which is given in (67)b had very little difficulty accepting it. And confirmation that doubling is possible with *personne* comes from (67)c below: *personne il* is used in a literary passage written in Colloquial French.

- (67) a. ? **Personne il n'aura le courage de résister*
 'nobody he NEG will-have the courage of to-resist'
 = 'Nobody will dare resist'
- b. *Personne il est venu*
 'nobody he is come'
 = 'Nobody came'
- c. *Personne il fiche rien, à Toulon, excepté les pêcheurs, qui vont à la pêche deux fois par semaine, et ça leur suffit* (P. Mille, Barnavaux et quelques femmes 1908; Zribi-Hertz 1993:8)
 'nobody he does nothing, at Toulon, excepted the fishermen, who go to the fishing two times per week and that to-them suffices'
 = 'Nobody does nothing, in Toulon, except for the fishermen, who go fishing twice a week, and that contents them'

Cooccurrence of subject bare quantifiers and subject markers thus indicates that at least some doubled subjects must be analyzed as occurring in subject position and not in any type of topic position. The situation concerning objects is, however, quite different, since we do not find bare quantifiers doubled in post-verbal, object position.

- (68) a. **Un jour, je le rencontrerai quelqu'un*
 'one day, I him will-meet someone'
 = 'Some day, I'll meet someone'

- b. **Ton secret, je vas y dire à quelqu'un*
 'your secret, I go (it) to-him say to someone'
 = 'Your secret, I'll reveal it to someone'

Note that we occasionally find examples of quantified objects doubled with argument markers, but only in cases in which they can be interpreted as quantified NPs rather than as bare quantifiers. This allows us, for instance, to analyze *toutes ces histoires* 'all those stories' in (69) below as an NP rather than as a quantifier which must bind a variable, thereby allowing the constituent to occur in dislocated position.

- (69) *C'était si bon d'y croire à toutes ces histoires (Le Sumidagawa)*
 'it was so good of-to-them believe to all those stories'
 = 'It was so good to believe in all those stories'

The only apparent counterexample to the generalization that quantifiers cannot occur in dislocated position are the following examples involving a left-dislocated subject and a left-dislocated direct object, respectively.

- (70) a. *quelqu'un qui vient de la campagne, on dirait qu'il parle différent de Montréal (15-71:B095)*
 'someone who comes from the country, we would-say that he speaks different from Montreal'
 = 'Someone who comes from the country, it sounds like he speaks differently from someone from Montreal'
- b. *quelqu'un qui vient de la campagne en ville, je vas le reconnaître (15-71:B011)*
 'someone who comes from the country into city, I go him recognize'
 = 'Someone from the country in town, I recognize him'

It is true, however, that these examples do not contain bare quantifiers, but quantifiers modified by a restrictive relative clause. They thus show that the crucial criterion for allowing quantifiers in dislocated positions is not so much that the phrase be interpreted as referring to some specific entity but that it not be bare. Maybe more satisfying, however, would be an explanation in which the semantic role of the restrictive relative is taken into account, so that only non-restricted quantifiers can function as operators.

The examples in (70) above are very similar to the Italian examples in (71) below from Cinque (1990:74), in which the obligatory use of the object clitic is attributed to the fact that the quantifier phrases are interpreted as quantified NPs rather than as bare quantifiers. That is, according to Cinque, because left-dislocated bare quantifiers are operators and must bind a variable, they do not allow a coreferential clitic to occur within the clause. But when the same quantifiers are interpreted as NPs, they fail to qualify as operators and an overt clitic must be present, because an empty category would fail to be identified as a variable in the absence of an operator and the resulting sentence would be ruled out.

- (71) a. *Qualche sbaglio, ogni tanto, lo fa anche Gianni*
 'some mistake, every now and then, it makes also Gianni'
 = 'Even Gianni, every now and then, makes some mistake'
- b. *Tutti i tuoi errori, prima o poi, li pagherai*
 'all the your errors, sooner or later, them will-pay.2sg'
 = 'All your mistakes, sooner or later, you'll pay for them'

In this section, we have thus seen that the facts concerning quantifier doubling support the hypothesis that subject markers in QCF are true agreement markers which allow their coreferential doubled phrases, including bare quantifiers, to occur in subject position. Concerning objects, however, we saw that the only quantifiers which can be doubled by non-subject markers are those which are interpreted as quantified NPs rather than as quantifiers, thus suggesting that doubled objects do not occur in argument position. These facts are fully compatible with the hypothesis that non-subject markers are true syntactic arguments.

2.3.2 Relative ordering of doubled subjects, *wh*-phrases, and COMP

One criterion which Roberge (1990:94) uses in order to decide whether preverbal doubled subjects occur in A- and \bar{A} -position concerns the position of the doubled phrase with respect to a complementizer or *wh*-phrase: in the phrase structure which Roberge assumes, topics occur to the left of the *wh*-element and/or complementizer which introduce the clause, thus predicting that if doubled subjects are truly dislocated, then they should occur before such elements. This ordering of dislocated elements and *wh*-elements is not restricted to QCF, since Iatridou (1990b:9) reports that, in Modern Greek, left-dislocated constituents must appear before *wh*-elements in matrix questions.³⁰

As Roberge rightly observes, such a structure is possible (see (72) below), but post-complementizer doubled subjects are also found, as shown in (73). Roberge thus reserves the dislocation analysis to sentences containing left-dislocated constituents

³⁰ In Italian, however, left-dislocated phrases can occur after the *wh*-element, as shown by example (79) below.

occurring to the left of the *wh*-phrases and analyzes sentences with doubled phrases to the right of the *wh*-phrase as true cases of subject doubling.

- (72) a. *Marie, qui qu'elle veut voir?* (Roberge 1990:94)
 'Mary, who that she wants to see'
 = 'Mary, who does she want to see?'
- b. *Je me souviens, la petite fille du voisin, quand elle s'est noyée*
 'I self remember, the little girl of-the neighbor, when she self is drowned'
 = 'I remember, the neighbor's daughter, when she drowned'
- (73) a. *Qui que Marie elle veut voir?* (Roberge 1990:94)
 'who that Mary she wants to-see'
 = 'Who does Mary want to see?'
- b. *Je me souviens quand la petite fille du voisin elle s'est noyée*
 'I self remember when the little girl of-the neighbor she self is drowned'
 = 'I remember when the neighbor's daughter drowned'

Roberge's claim that the post-*wh* position is not a position in which left-dislocated constituents occur is confirmed by the following minimal pair where *la petite fille du voisin* is now an indirect object: the post-*wh* position is much less natural for the left-dislocated phrase than the pre-*wh* position:

- (74) a. *?*Je me souviens quand, la petite fille du voisin, les pompiers y ont sauvé la vie*
 'I self remember when, the little girl of-the neighbor, the firepeople to-her have saved the life'
- b. *Je me souviens, la petite fille du voisin, quand les pompiers y ont sauvé la vie*
 'I self remember, the little girl of-the neighbor, when the firepeople to-her have saved the life'
 = 'I remember, the neighbor's daughter, when the firepeople saved her life'

The reliability of this argument based on the relative ordering of *wh*-phrases and preverbal doubled phrases is further confirmed by the following examples, which show that left-dislocated objects can only occur in pre-*wh* position, in both matrix and embedded clauses. In those groups of sentences, a. shows that a doubled subject can occur in post-*wh* position, b. shows that a dislocated object is, if not completely ungrammatical, at least very marginal in that position, whereas c. illustrates the fact that that same dislocated object is perfectly grammatical in pre-*wh* position.

- (75) a. *Quand ma mère elle l'a vu rentrer, elle dit* (7-71; Campion 1984:132)
 'when my mother she him has seen to-enter, she says'
 = 'When my mother saw him come in, she says'
- b. *?*Quand ma mère je l'ai vue rentrer, j'ai dit...*
 'when my mother I her have seen to-enter, I have said...'
- c. *Ma mère, quand je l'ai vue rentrer, j'ai dit...*
 'my mother, when I her have seen to-enter, I have said...'
 = 'My mother, when I saw her come in, I said...'
- (76) a. *Quand est-ce que Pierre il a acheté sa maison?*
 'when is-it that Peter he has bought his house'
 = 'When did Peter buy his house?'
- b. *?*Quand est-ce que, sa maison, Pierre (il) l'a achetée?*
 'when is it that, his house, Peter (he) it has bought'
- c. *Sa maison, quand est-ce que Pierre il l'a achetée?*
 'his house, when is-it that Peter he it has bought'
 = 'His house, when did Peter buy it?'

These examples thus confirm that there is a difference between preverbal doubled subjects and direct objects: while the former can appear either before or after the *wh*-phrase introducing matrix questions and embedded clauses, the latter can only appear in pre-*wh* position.

Roberge claims that the same conclusion concerning the position of doubled subjects can be drawn from the respective ordering of complementizers and doubled phrases, so that, in (77) below, the fact that the subject appears in post-complementizer position in a. forces an analysis in terms of subject doubling, while the pre-*que* doubled subject makes possible a dislocation analysis for b.:

- (77) a. *Il a fallu que maman elle aille travailler sur la ferme* (Roberge 1990:94)
 'it has been-necessary that mom she go to-work on the farm'
 = 'It was necessary for mom to go work at the farm'
- b. *Il a fallu, maman, qu'elle aille travailler sur la ferme* (Roberge 1990:94)
 'it has been-necessary, mom, that she go to-work on the farm'
 = 'Mom, it was necessary for her to go work at the farm'
- (78) a. *?*Il a fallu que Marie, sa mère vienne lui rendre visite*
 'it has been-necessary that Mary, her mother come to-her render visit'
- b. *Il a fallu, Marie, que sa mère vienne lui rendre visite*
 'it has been-necessary, Mary, that her mother come to-her render visit'
 = 'It was necessary for Mary that her mother come and visit her'

As (78) above shows, there is indeed a preference for dislocated objects to occur before the complementizer rather than after it in this construction. Unfortunately, however, the occurrence of the doubled phrase in post-complementizer position cannot so straightforwardly be equated with a non-dislocation analysis, since, in clitic left-dislocation in Italian and Greek,³¹ the dislocated phrase often occurs after the complementizer, as shown in the Italian example in (79) and the Greek example in (80):

³¹ Cinque (1983, 1990) distinguishes between two types of left-dislocation: Clitic Left-Dislocation (CLLD), which can occur with any type of phrase and involves either a null or a clitic resumptive element and Left Dislocation (LD), which is restricted to NPs and allows a variety of elements to occur as resumptive elements within IP. I will return to these two types of dislocation in the chapter on pragmatic constructions.

- (79) *Da quando, al mercato, ci va lui, non mangiano più bene* (Cinque 1990:58)
 'since when, to-the market, there goes he, not eat-1pl anymore well'
 = 'Since, to the market, he goes, we don't eat well anymore'
- (80) *Dhiavasa tin idhisi oti ton Kosta ton apelisan* (Sabine Iatridou, p.c.)
 'read-1sg the news that the Kosta him they-fired'
 = 'I read the news that, Kosta, they fired him'

And in QCF, we also find sentences in which a left-dislocated object occurs after the complementizer, as illustrated in (81) below. While it would be possible to propose an analysis in terms of CP-recursion for (81)a and (81)b, and maybe also for (81)c, (cf. Iatridou 1990b:10 for a similar proposal concerning Modern Greek), thus making it possible to maintain the generalization that dislocated constituents are generated outside COMP, another explanation would still have to be sought for (81)d and (81)e, for which an analysis in terms of CP-recursion is either not likely or not possible.

- (81) a. *Je pense que ce livre-là, je l'ai déjà lu*
 'I think that that book-there, I it have already read'
 = 'I think that that book, I've already read it'
- b. *Je sais que les chats, faut en prendre soin*
 'I know that the cats, must of-them take care'
 = 'I know that cats, you must take good care of them'
- c. *Je me rappelle que ma mère, son père y donnait la bénédiction*
 'I self remember that my mother, her father to-her gave the benediction'
 = 'I remember that my mother, her father blessed her'
- d. *me semble que vous-autres il vous donnait la bénédiction ton père* (wife, 118-71:505)
 'to-me seems that you-others he to-you gave the benediction your father'
 = 'It seems to me that, in your family, your father blessed you'
- e. *Ce qui arrive, c'est que Marie, j'y en ai jamais parlé*
 'that that happens, that's that Mary, I to-her about-it have never spoken'
 = 'What happens is that Mary, I never mentioned it to her'

It is therefore not possible to exclude a dislocation analysis for (77)a above solely on the basis of the relative order of the complementizer and the doubled phrase. Indeed, Cinque (1990) would probably suggest that the difference between subjects and non-subjects can be attributed to the fact that they involve two different types of dislocation: preverbal doubled subjects are instances of Clitic Left-Dislocation and are expected to be found in all types of clauses, while preverbal dislocated non-subjects are cases of Left-Dislocation and their occurrence is restricted to matrix clauses and complement clauses of a few bridge verbs. The problem with this proposal is that neither subjects nor objects straightforwardly correspond to either type of dislocation in QCF (Auger 1993), thus calling into question the validity of the two types of dislocation defined by Cinque or requiring that alternative analyses be proposed. In the case of subjects, the alternative analysis that I have been suggesting all through this chapter is one in which the doubled subject is the actual subject and the subject marker is an agreement marker. The issue of suggesting an appropriate analysis for left-dislocated objects will be dealt with the Chapter 5.

The evidence is more conclusive, however, when doubled subjects occur to the right of *wh*-phrases, since we have seen that, in QCF at least, left-dislocated objects occur much more naturally to the left than to the right of the *wh*-phrase. I thus interpret this fact as evidence that the doubled subjects in (73) should not be analyzed as dislocated phrases.

2.3.3 Relative ordering of doubled phrases with other phrases

Another criterion involving word order deals with the ordering of doubled phrases with respect to each other and to other phrases. If all doubled phrases are dislocated, we should be able to move them around with respect to each other without really changing the meaning of the sentence. All that should change is what the sentence is about, as illustrated in (82):

- (82) a. *Marie, mon travail, j'y en parle jamais*
 'Mary, my work, I to-her of-it speak never'
 = 'Mary, I never talk to her about my work'
- b. *Mon travail, Marie, j'y en parle jamais*
 'My work, Mary, I to-her of-it speak never'
 = 'My work, I never talk to Mary about it'

While it is difficult to translate into English these sentences with two left-dislocated objects, because English does not allow such constructions, it is quite clear that both doubled phrases in the QCF sentences above must represent old or inferrable information and that the only difference between the two word orders has to do with establishing what the sentence is about and how it is connected to the linguistic context in which it is uttered. In the following pairs of examples involving a doubled subject and a doubled direct object, however, the doubled subjects need carry special pragmatic information only in (83)a and (84)a, where they are separated from the rest of the sentence by dislocated objects. Indeed, in (83)b and (84)b, it is perfectly possible to interpret the subjects as pragmatically unmarked.

- (83) a. *Le pêcheur, les poissons, il les laissait aller* (95; Campion 1984:48)
 'the fisherman, the fishes, he them let to-go'
 = 'As for the fisherman, he would let the fish go'
- b. *Les poissons, le pêcheur il les laissait aller*
 'the fishes, the fisherman he them let to-go'
 = 'The fish, the fisherman let them go'
- (84) a. *Marie, son steak, elle le mange saignant*
 'Mary, her steak, she it eats rare'
 = 'As for Mary, her steak, she eats it rare'
- b. *Son steak, Marie elle le mange saignant*
 'her steak, Mary she eats it rare'
 = 'Her steak, Mary eats it rare'

According to Carroll (1982a:303-305), whenever a constituent intervenes between the doubled subject and the verb, we know that it is dislocated. The same situation obtains in null-subject languages such as Modern Greek, where a preverbal subject is ambiguous between a dislocated subject with a null subject clitic and a regular, unmarked subject, but where the presence of an intervening dislocated object between the subject and the rest of the sentence forces a dislocated analysis of the subject, according to Iatridou (1990b:9). Indeed, in such sentences, both constituents are understood as old information, which is a sign that both are clitic-left dislocated.

Now, concerning postverbal doubled objects, Carroll (1982a:308-309) argues that the word order facts and the intonation patterns that characterize those word orders are evidence that QCF doubled objects occur in argument position rather than as topics outside IP. She interprets the fact that doubled objects occur before adverbial phrases and are uttered with a normal intonation contour in the following examples as evidence that such phrases are part of the VP rather than adjoined to it.

- (85) a. *Je lui ai donné le disque à elle hier* (Carroll 1982a:309)
 'I to-her have given the record to her yesterday'
 = 'I gave her the record yesterday'
- b. *Il me l'a envoyé à moi chez moi*
 'he to-me it has sent to me at me'
 = 'He sent it to me to my home'
- c. *Il y en aura des fleurs au printemps*
 'it there of-them will-have of-the flowers at-the spring'
 = 'There will be flowers in the spring'

While something is intuitively right about Carroll's claim, we will see that much care must be taken in interpreting the facts. Furthermore, consideration of additional data reveals that the facts are more complex than she reports. In the rest of this section, I will investigate the extent to which this word-order criterion can be used to determine the grammatical status of postverbal doubled objects in QCF, and I will draw conclusions from the facts under consideration.

There are two main reasons for being particularly careful with this word-order criterion. The first is that, as I have already mentioned, claims about intonation patterns tend to be based on impressionistic accounts rather than on empirical evidence, so we do not know for sure what a normal intonation contour is and we do not know either how reliably a certain pattern can be attributed to a certain construction. The second reason is that, in spite of thirty years of intense research in generative syntax, there is still no general agreement as to where certain constituents are attached in syntactic structures. Adverbs and adverbial phrases are notoriously one such case; indeed, according to Iatridou (1990a), adverbs are the category about which linguists know the least. Carroll reports that, for Chomsky (1965), adverbs are part of VP, so that if a constituent

intervenes between the verb and the adverb, then it must be part of VP, too. A VP-internal analysis is also proposed for adverbs by Larson (1988). Other researchers, however, such as Saccon (1992:386), adjoin adverbs to VP, thus opening the possibility that doubled phrases occurring before adverbs be also adjoined to VP. Now that these difficulties have been acknowledged, I would still like to go ahead and argue that the word-order facts of QCF can be interpreted as strong indication that not all postverbal doubled objects behave alike, hopefully making a significant step toward a satisfactory analysis of the very complex facts under consideration.

This much is clear about QCF: doubled direct objects do not occur in argument position. This conclusion is dictated by the fact that doubled direct objects most naturally occur after other arguments and adverbial phrases, contrary to non-doubled constituents. Indeed, as (86)a, (87)a, and (88)a below show, sentence-final position is much more natural for those doubled direct objects than the regular argument position, even though their non-doubled counterparts must occur before prepositional complements and adverbial phrases, as indicated by the grammaticality of (86)c, (87)c, and (88)c.

- (86) a. *Pis ils l'ont sacré dans le canal le char* (108-84:312)
 'and they it have thrown in the canal the car'
 = 'And they have thrown it in the canal, the car'
- b. *??Pis ils l'ont sacré le char dans le canal*
 'and they it have thrown the car in the canal'
- c. *Pis ils ont sacré le char dans le canal*
 'and they have thrown the car in the canal'
- d. **Pis ils ont sacré dans le canal le char*
 'and they have thrown in the canal the car'

- (87) a. *Mais je l'ai vu si souvent, le numéro de Gabriel (Zazie:166)*
 'but I it have seen so often, the number of Gabriel'
 = 'But I have seen it so often, Gabriel's act'
- b. *?*Mais je l'ai vu le numéro de Gabriel si souvent*
 'but I it have seen the number of Gabriel so often'
- c. *Mais j'ai vu le numéro de Gabriel si souvent*
 'but I have seen the number of Gabriel so often'
- d. *??Mais j'ai vu si souvent le numéro de Gabriel*
 'but I have seen so often the number of Gabriel'
- (88) a. *Je vais la juger demain la cause*
 'I go her judge tomorrow the case'
 = 'I'm going to judge it tomorrow, the case'
- b. **Je vais la juger la cause demain*
 'I go her judge the case tomorrow'
- c. *Je vais juger la cause demain*
 'I go judge the case tomorrow'
- d. **Je vais juger demain la cause*
 'I go judge tomorrow the case'

It is only when they are next to right-dislocated subjects that doubled direct objects can be moved around freely, as shown in (89), thus supporting an analysis in which both constituents are right-dislocated.³²

³² Note, however, that it is not necessarily the case that constituents which appear after right-dislocated subjects must also be right-dislocated. Indeed, I have found the following examples in which a non-doubled direct object, a prepositional adjunct, and an adverbial phrase all occur after right-dislocated strong pronouns:

- (i) *tant qu'on aura pas nous-autres notre propre industrie dans nos mains (20-71)*
 'as-long that we will-have not we-others our own industry in our hands'
 = 'as long as we won't have, us, a hold of our own industry'
- (ii) *tout d'un coup je ferais un voyage moi avec ça (35-71)*
 'all of one strike I would-make a trip me with that'
 = 'What if I traveled, me, with that!'
- (iii) *Les devoirs, ils les corrigeaient eux-autres copie par copie (Campion 1984:48)*
 'the assignments, they them corrected them-others copy by copy'
 = 'The assignments, they corrected them, them, one at a time'

And the following examples show that this position is not reserved to pronouns, but can also be occupied by subject NPs:

- (iv) *Tout d'un coup qu'elle ferait un voyage, Marie, avec ça!*
 'all of one strike that she would-make a trip, Mary, with that'
 = 'What if she traveled, Mary with that!'
- (v) *Les devoirs, ils les corrigeaient, mes profs, copie par copie*

- (89) a. *Elle va te le donner, Marie, ton cadeau*
 'she goes to-you it to-give, Mary, your gift'
 = 'She's going to give it to you, Mary, your present'
- b. *Elle va te le donner ton cadeau, Marie*
 'she goes to-you it to-give your gift, Mary'
 = 'She's going to give you your present, Mary'

Two further arguments support the dislocation analysis. First, in both orders, the possibility of having a falling intonation on *donner* 'to-give' is typical of dislocation structures, not of verb-object sequences, in which the intonation falls only after the object. Second, both doubled direct objects and right-dislocated subjects must occur after such adverbs as *hier* 'yesterday' and *ici* 'here', as in (90) and (91):

- (90) a. *Elle est arrivée hier, Marie*
 'she is arrived yesterday, Mary'
 = 'She arrived yesterday, Mary'
- b. *?*Elle est arrivée Marie hier*
 'she is arrived Mary yesterday'
- (91) a. *Elle l'a laissé ici ton cadeau*
 'she it has left here your present'
 = 'She's left it here, your present'
- b. *?*Elle l'a laissé ton cadeau ici*
 'she it has left your present here'

In this case, it therefore does not really matter whether adverbs occur within VP or adjoined to VP; what matters is that doubled direct objects behave like right-dislocated subjects and must occur to the right of the adverb. I take this fact, added to the optional

'the assignments, they them corrected, my teachers, copy by copy'
 = 'The assignments, they corrected them, my teachers, one by one'

ordering of the two constituents, as supporting a dislocation analysis for both constituents.³³

Doubled prepositional complements introduced by *de* 'of/from' differ from direct objects in that they can occur before *hier* and *ici*, as in (92) and (93):

- (92) a. *Je t'en ai parlé de ce problème-là hier*
 'I to-you of-it have spoken of that problem-there yesterday'
 = 'I told you about this problem yesterday'
- b. *Je t'en ai parlé, hier, de ce problème-là*
 'I to-you of-it have spoken, yesterday, of that problem-there'
 = 'I told you, yesterday, about this problem'
- (93) a. *Marie elle en a lu des livres ici*
 'Mary she of-them has read of-the books here'
 = 'Mary has read many books here'
- b. *Marie elle en a lu, ici, des livres*
 'Mary she of-them has read, here, of-the books'
 = 'Mary has read many books here'

A phrase doubled by *en* can even occur before a non-doubled complement, as shown in (94), thus making the VP-internal hypothesis quite plausible for these phrases:

- (94) a. *J'en parle souvent de ce problème-là à Marie*
 'I of-it speak often of that problem-there to Mary'
 = 'I often discuss this problem with Mary'

³³ One possible counterexample to this claim is the following example, in which a right-dislocated subject occurs before a temporal adjunct:

(i) *Ils en ont pas mal de pouvoir les syndicats dans le moment* (118-71:B184)
 'they of-it have not bad of power the unions in the moment'
 = 'They have a fair amount of power, the unions, at the moment'

At this point, I have no explanation to offer for why this sentence is grammatical and the sentence in the text is so bad.

- b. *J'en parle souvent à Marie, de ce problème-là*
 'I of-it speak often to Mary, of that problem-there'
 = 'I often discuss this problem with Mary'

Doubled dative complements seem to behave like direct objects. Since they are always VP-final, it is not possible to look at the relative ordering of two arguments. Indeed, the only cases in which indirect objects occur before direct objects involve heavy direct objects. In such cases, it is possible for the doubled dative complement to occur before another argument, as in (95) below, but this structure is probably attributable to a stylistic rule moving a heavy constituent rightward rather than to the base rules generating the doubled constituent within VP.

- (95) *on lui a donc jamais appris à cette petite que la propriété, c'était sacré* (Zazie:58)
 'one to-her has therefore never learned to this little-one that the property, that was sacred'
 = 'Didn't anybody ever told this little girl that property was sacred'

In presence of a temporal adverbial, it is more natural for the dative or locative PP introduced by *à* 'to/at' to occur in sentence-final position than in pre-adverbial position. As (96)a and (97)a show, it is when the doubled *à*-phrase is sentence final that the sentences are most acceptable with a natural intonation pattern. (96)b and (97)b are not completely ungrammatical, but significant intonational breaks are required after the verb and between the complement and the adverbial phrase in order to produce an acceptable reading. Finally, (96)c and (97)c show that the non-doubled complements can occur in pre-adverbial position, suggesting that the sentence-final position of the doubled

phrases might be attributed to the fact that they are involved in a dislocation structure rather than to some independent word order fact about the arguments present.

- (96) a. *J'y vas une fois par semaine au cinéma*
 'I there go one time per week to-the cinema'
 = 'I go to the movies once a week'
- b. *?? J'y vas au cinéma une fois par semaine*
 'I there go to-the cinema one time per week'
- c. *Je vas au cinéma une fois par semaine*
 'I go to-the cinema one time per week'
- (97) a. *J'y parle une fois par semaine à Marie*
 'I to-her speak one time per week to Mary'
 = 'I talk to Mary once a week'
- b. *??J'y parle à Marie une fois par semaine*
 'I to-her speak to Mary one time per week'
- c. *Je parle à Marie une fois par semaine*
 'I speak to Mary one time per week'

In this section, we have seen that, contrary to Carroll's (1982a) claim, the word order evidence does not support an analysis of doubled direct objects, dative, and locative phrases in argument position. Instead, the fact that those constituents occur more naturally after temporal and locative adverbs argues in favor of a dislocation analysis. This analysis is further confirmed by the fact that their pre-adverbial occurrence must be accompanied by an intonational break of the type usually associated with dislocation constructions. The only doubled phrases which seem to occur in argument position are prepositional complements introduced by *de* 'of/from' and doubled by *en*. Interestingly, *en* is also a marker frequently used resumptively in relative clauses. It is thus possible that this specific construction has reached a level of grammaticalization which is interme-

diate between that of subject doubling and object dislocation. I will investigate this possibility in more detail in Chapter 3.

2.3.4 Pragmatic motivation

As I have already mentioned, doubled phrases, and most particularly doubled subjects, are used in very large numbers in colloquial French in general and in QCF in particular. That is, sentences containing both a lexical argument and a coreferential argument marker of the type *Marie elle parle bien français* 'Mary (she) speaks French well' are commonly used in varieties of spoken French. We should recall that two Montréal French speakers studied in Auger (1991) doubled more than 70% of their subjects, that two Marseille French speakers in Sankoff's (1982) paper doubled 80% of their subjects, and that this proportion of subject doubling reached 96% in the speech of teenagers from Villejuif, a suburb of Paris (Campion 1984:219). Such figures suffice to make linguists wonder whether these constructions can still do the work of dislocation constructions, that is, mark special pragmatic functions like stress, emphasis, change of topic, etc. (Kaiser 1994:3 and Vion 1992:48).

Indeed, it has been observed that the use of doubled constituents cannot always be attributed to need to convey some special pragmatic value. Barnes (1985:25), for instance, reports that about 25% of her left-dislocated lexical subjects cannot be attributed to the need to convey any special pragmatic value. She gives the following three examples of weakly motivated left-dislocated subjects:

- (98) a. *tu sais les énormes bottes comme Jean-Marc il a*
 'you know the enormous boots like Jean-Marc he has'
 = 'y'know, enormous boots like Jean-Marc has'
- b. *un philosophe, un type dont la matière principale c'est la philosophie*
 'a philosopher, a guy whose the matter main it's the philosophy'
 = 'a philosopher, a guy whose main subject is philosophy'
- c. *I' faut pas les commander parce que comme ma maman (euh) elle devait pas prévoir qu'on allait être malade, euh*
 'it must not them order because like my mom euh she had not to-foresee that we went to-be sick, euh'
 = 'You don't have to order them because, like my mom she couldn't know that we were going to be sick'

According to Barnes, the fact that these doubled subjects occur in subordinate clauses makes it quite obvious that they should not be interpreted as contrastive or emphatic and that they do not introduce or change a discourse topic. While she dismisses the 25% figure as a small and not so significant fact about her data, stressing that pragmatic motivation and/or grammaticalization of *c'est* 'that's' can account for the remaining 75% of her examples, it seems to me that 25% represents a mass of data for which an explanation must be sought. The need for such an explanation is reinforced by the fact that a slightly smaller but still significant number of pragmatically-neutral left-dislocated subjects (13%) have been observed in Ashby's (1988) study of a corpus of Tour French. Interestingly, in Ashby's study, it is mainly right-dislocated subjects which are pragmatically neutral: 28% cannot be assigned any special pragmatic value. Ashby therefore wonders whether the existence of such weakly motivated left- and right-dislocated constructions might indicate that spoken French is currently undergoing a typological change in which the presence of prefixal agreement markers on the verb allows subjects to appear both in preverbal and in postverbal position.

Not surprisingly, Ashby (1988:225) failed to find support for his hypothesis. This result must be attributed, I think, to the fact that if argument markers and dislocation constructions are in fact involved in language change, the change is presumably much too slow to be revealed by comparing the linguistic behavior or the grammars of older and younger speakers. Indeed, we know that subject doubling was already a prominent characteristic of colloquial speech in the 17th century, since we find the following prescription in Oudin (1632:82; reported in Champion 1984:206): "On ne met point de pronom personnel après un substantif, pour servir à un mesme sujet: par exemple on ne dit jamais, Monsieur il a dit mais Monsieur a dit."³⁴ Unfortunately, my efforts to track the evolution or trajectory of the construction throughout the centuries have been unsuccessful: except for this remark by Oudin, subject doubling is not attested in writings trying to reproduce popular French. It is therefore not possible to find empirical support for the hypothesis that subject doubling has been undergoing slow linguistic change for the past 360 years. It could therefore be the case that very slow change is going on and that it is too slow to observe across contemporary generations. But we cannot exclude the possibility that variation between doubling and absence of doubling is stable and that no change is happening at all. In either case, subjects are more likely to be doubled in contexts in which they are compatible with some special pragmatic interpretation than in contexts where no such value is possible. Thus, the fact that, at least in some varieties of colloquial French, a fair number of sentences contain doubled subjects which might be attributable to the fact that they convey special pragmatic information does not undermine

³⁴ "One must not use a personal pronoun after a noun to refer to the same subject; for example, one must never say 'Sir he has said', but 'Sir has said'."

the conclusion that subject markers are affixes and that they can function like agreement markers and allow cooccurrence of a lexical subject. But what is crucial for my hypothesis is that a sizable number of examples are not really compatible with a dislocation analysis, since they do not convey any particular pragmatic value. These examples are the ones that strongly support the grammaticalization hypothesis whereby doubled subjects are simple syntactic subjects rather than extra-sentential topics.

Also crucial to the argument concerning the grammaticalization of subject doubling is the fact that no such lack of pragmatic motivation has been reported for left-dislocated non-subjects in either QCF or European Colloquial French. Left-dislocated objects are regularly associated with a number of different pragmatic values such as turn-taking, topic shift, and contrast, while right-dislocated subjects express convey such varied values as contrast, topic shift, filler, clarification, epithet, and turn closing (Ashby 1988:217).

I should finally mention that in Ontario French, a variety of French very closely related to QCF, Nadasdi (1994:134) has failed to find any significant effect of the old vs. new information status of subjects on the occurrence of subject doubling. He interprets this result as strong evidence that subject doubling in Ontario French truly corresponds to a basic, subject-verb structure rather to some type of pragmatically-marked dislocation construction.

In this section, we have thus seen that the suspicion expressed by some linguists that subject doubling is too frequent in Colloquial French to be compatible with a

dislocation analysis is supported by the fact that a number of doubled subjects are as unmarked, at the pragmatic level, as ordinary, syntactic subjects.

2.3.5 Intonation

It is often considered that dislocation is characterized by a typical intonational pattern which sets the dislocated phrase apart from the rest of the sentence (cf., e.g., Doron 1986:330, Jaeggli 1986:32, Everett 1989:346, Roberge 1990:92, and Vion 1992:48). Unfortunately, however, very little empirical work has been done on this issue, so it is difficult or impossible to find strong support for it. It is striking, however, that even impressionistic observations report that the presence of an audible pause is not a necessary condition for dislocation in such languages as Italian (Ochs & Duranti 1979:389) and English (Geluytens 1992:46, 98). Similar reports about the absence of intonational breaks separating dislocated phrases and the rest of the sentence abound in French: Dubuisson, Emirkanian, & Lemay (1983:26), Barnes (1985:1), Huot (1987:151), and Fradin (1990:7-8). Champion (1984:15) reports that only 12% of the left-dislocated constituents in her corpus of Montréal French are marked off by a pause. Since the 88% of left-dislocated phrases which are not set off from the sentence include left-dislocated objects and that there is, in my opinion, no doubt that such elements are indeed left-dislocated, we must thus conclude that it is impossible to infer from the absence of a pause after a preverbal doubled subject or before a postverbal doubled object that an analysis in terms of dislocation is impossible. Does this mean that we must abandon the use of intonation as a criterion in identifying dislocated structures?

I would like to suggest that the answer to this question is no. First, even though intonational breaks are not always present, there is evidence that a certain intonational pattern is associated with dislocation structures. Such evidence comes from the results of comprehension experiments conducted by Vion (1992); these experiments revealed that subjects interpret dislocated sentences more rapidly when such sentences were uttered with a typical dislocated intonation. Therefore, I would like to generalize Carroll's (1982a) proposal that dislocation be defined by a virtual pause and suggest that the proper phrasing of the intonation criterion might be in terms of the possibility of a pause and/or intonational break, whatever the actual realization of this dislocation intonation patterns turns out to be. That is, if it is possible to detach a doubled phrase without changing the meaning of the sentence or without making its use infelicitous in the linguistic context and situation in which it was uttered, then that phrase is probably dislocated. But if adding this intonational pattern modifies the acceptability of the sentence under consideration, then we are certainly dealing with a doubled phrase.

Second, I think that, once again, we should distinguish preverbal doubled subjects and other doubled constituents. Indeed, if I am correct in assuming that preverbal doubled subjects are syntactic subjects and not dislocated phrases, then we do not expect an intonational break to occur between them and the rest of the sentence. Support for this position comes from two sources. Reports on the absence of intonational breaks are particularly common concerning subjects; such reports are found in Moignet (1965:147-148), Hirschbühler (1971:29), and Kaiser (1994:3). All three authors comment on the fact that this lack of pause observed between lexical subjects and the rest of the sentence in

spoken French is not typical of dislocation constructions. The second source is an empirical study of the intonational patterns associated with dislocated subjects in QCF which is currently under way at Laval University. The preliminary results reported in Deshaies, Guilbault, & Paradis (1992) support the conclusion that some doubled subjects are dislocated, while the absence of any perceivable fall in intonation in other cases would seem to support a doubling analysis. These results are, however, very preliminary, and much more research will be required before solid conclusions can be reached.

Because of the small number of empirical studies and the difficulty in correctly identifying intonational patterns, we must remain very careful and not rely too heavily on the intonation criterion in trying to determine whether the doubling constructions of QCF should be analyzed as involving dislocation or not. I suggest that the possibility of inserting a pause and marking a certain constituent with a dislocation-like intonation pattern (whatever that dislocation-like intonation pattern might be) can serve as a criterion for deciding whether a particular constituent is compatible with a dislocation analysis. But the numerous reports on the absence of intonational break between dislocated phrases and the rest of their sentences emphasize the impossibility of linking the absence of intonational break with non-dislocation. Finally, the finding reported in Deshaies, Paradis, & Guilbault (1992) that no perceptible intonational break separates some doubled subjects from the following verb supports the claim made in this dissertation that such subjects are true syntactic subjects.

2.3.6 Acquisition

Even though the present study does not deal directly with first-language acquisition, it should be pointed out that all the acquisition studies which have dealt with either the argument markers or relative clauses provide strong support for the analysis proposed here. Kaiser (1994) reports that the acquisition of subject markers by children who grow up speaking both French and German in Germany is comparable to that of the verbal agreement morphology of German, thus supporting the hypothesis that German verbal suffixes and subject and French subject markers are the same type of elements. He further reports significant differences between the acquisition of subject and non-subject markers, the latter being acquired later than the former, also supporting our hypothesis that the two types of elements function differently at the morphosyntactic level. Clarke (1985:710-11) also reports that French-speaking children frequently produce sentences containing both a lexical subject and a subject clitic and that the prevalence of such constructions yields only at around age 9 to the more frequent use of plain subject NPs. This finding, which is strikingly similar to the results of Dubuisson et al. (1983) reported below, would seem to indicate that schooling may play an important role in convincing children to decrease their use of doubled subjects.

Vion (1992:48) reports that five- and six-year old French-speaking children use a particularly large number of sentences containing both a lexical argument and a coreferential argument marker and that nearly three quarters of those sentences do not involve any of the prosodic features associated with dislocation constructions and could thus be considered, in her terms, "stylistic redundancy phenomena".

Dubuisson et al. (1983) report that grammar-school children first use large numbers of subject-doubling constructions in their written compositions, but that this tendency decreases as they learn that this construction is not acceptable in Standard written French. With respect to object doubling, however, they report that the children basically never overuse such constructions and that their numbers remain quite constant while, at the same time, the amount of subject doubling decreases gradually. These data are thus compatible with the hypothesis that children have internalized a grammar in which subject markers are true agreement markers and must learn a new grammar in which those same subject markers are not agreement markers but the argument themselves. As far as object markers are concerned, however, it would seem that the children have never hypothesized that they are agreement markers, thus always treating sentences containing both a lexical object and an object marker as dislocated constructions.

In her study on the acquisition of relative clauses, Labelle (1988, 1990), found that children acquiring French in Québec use a large number of so-called resumptive markers in subject relative clauses. This type of pattern is not found in the acquisition data of English-speaking children (Helen Goodluck, personal communication). Labelle also reports a few cases of resumptive pronouns in other functions, but in no case are those uses comparable to what she observed for the subject markers, thus also supporting our claim that there exists a crucial difference between subject and non-subject markers.

Finally, in France, where the plural *s* on *ils* is realized as a liaison consonant before vowel-initial verbs and argument markers, we find further support for the claim that children analyze the sequence /ki/ as involving the complementizer *que* 'that' plus

the subject marker *il(s)*. Indeed, Ager (1990:115) reports that Maresse-Palaert (1969) has observed the use of *qui z ont* '/ki/ + /z/ have' for *qui ont* 'who have' in the speech of six-year-old children.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have extensively discussed three issues concerning argument markers and doubled lexical arguments in QCF: (i) what is the morphological status of the argument markers, i.e. are they affixes generated in a morphological component and attached to the verbal stem before lexical insertion, (ii) what is the morphosyntactic status of the various argument markers, and (iii) are the doubled phrases syntactic arguments or are they dislocated, topic-like constituents? In general, clear answers have been provided.

The morphological facts concerning the argument markers are quite clear: they are all affixes, and their attachment to their verbal stem must be handled in a morphological component. Even facts which might, at first sight, seem to challenge this conclusion turn out to be not only compatible with it but even easier to handle. Here, I am thinking of such "inversion" facts as Subject-Clitic Inversion, which is restricted to second-person subject markers in QCF, and object-marker postposition in imperatives, which must insert different markers depending on the preverbal or postverbal position.

Subject and non-subject markers differ, however, in their morphosyntactic status. We have seen that subject markers behave like true agreement markers and are found in all typical environments in which subject agreement markers normally occur. Such

environments include relative clauses and *wh*-questions. Object markers, however, fail to show up at all or with any regularity in such environments, thus suggesting that they are not agreement markers and that they maintain argument status.

This conclusion is supported by the facts concerning doubled phrases. Once again, subjects and non-subjects behave differently. We have seen that preverbal bare quantifiers can be doubled by subject markers, thus strongly supporting the hypothesis that many doubled subjects are true syntactic subjects rather than dislocated phrases. Ordering facts involving *wh*-phrases and doubled objects also support the claim that preverbal doubled subjects which immediately precede the verb are syntactic subjects. For instance, we saw that the interpretation of the order [Obj + Subj + SubjM-ObjM-Verb] differs from that of [Subj + Obj + SubjM-ObjM-Verb] in that the subject must be interpreted as old information only in the latter. The facts concerning doubled objects are a bit more complicated. Non-subjects all disallow doubling of bare quantifiers. In spite of that, doubled direct objects are the only elements for which we can singlehandedly rule out the possibility that they occur in argument position: their relative ordering with respect to other arguments and adverbial phrases clearly indicates that they are in dislocated position. The word order facts are not really as clear with respect to prepositional phrases. I have no definitive solution to this problem at the moment. I would, however, like to point out that this situation might be attributable to the fact that grammaticalization of PPs and PP-markers is more advanced than it is for DO-markers,

but far less advanced than for subjects and that this might contribute to making the evidence more difficult to interpret.³⁵

The facts of QCF described here are strikingly similar to what is found in a number of Northern Italian dialects, in which subject doubling is general (cf., e.g., Renzi & Vanelli 1983, Rizzi 1986, Brandi & Cordin 1989, Poletto 1991a, and Suñer 1992). In such dialects, IO doubling is sometimes found, but not DO doubling. The distribution of the subject markers, including their "resumptive" use in subject relative clauses, suggests that analyses along the same lines must be suggested for QCF and the Northern Italian dialects. Apparently, the main difference between them is the fact that subject doubling remains optional in QCF, while it has become obligatory in many Northern Italian dialects. In the appendix to this chapter, I will review the facts of a Northern French dia-

³⁵ There is one criterion discussed by Lambrecht (1981:91-92) in favor of an antitopic analysis of postverbal doubled objects which I have not discussed in this chapter, because I have not had time to investigate in detail its implications. Lambrecht points out that doubled objects do not behave like real arguments, as shown by the fact that they cannot be modified by such adverbial modifiers as *même* 'even', *aussi* 'also/too', *seulement* 'only', and *presque* 'almost'. To illustrate his point, he gives the following sentences:

- | | | | |
|-------|----|---|-------------------|
| (i) | a. | <i>Même ses amis i-l-ont-abandonné</i> | (subject) |
| | | 'even his friends they him have abandoned' | |
| | | = 'Even his friends have abandoned him' | |
| | b. | <i>*I-l-ont abandonné, même ses amis</i> | |
| | | 'they him have abandoned, even his friends' | |
| (ii) | a. | <i>Il-a-menti à sa femme aussi</i> | (indirect object) |
| | | 'he has lied to his wife too' | |
| | b. | <i>*I-lui-a-menti, à sa femme aussi</i> | |
| | | 'he to-her had lied to his wife too' | |
| (iii) | a. | <i>Il-a-fini presque la moitié</i> | (direct object) |
| | | 'he has finished almost the half' | |
| | b. | <i>*I-l-a-fini, presque la moitié</i> | |
| | | 'he it has finished almost the half' | |
| (iv) | a. | <i>El-a-mangé seulement du fromage</i> | (partitive) |
| | | 'she has eaten only of-the cheese' | |
| | | = 'She has eaten only cheese' | |
| | b. | <i>*El-en-a-mangé, seulement du fromage</i> | |
| | | 'she of-it has eaten, only of-the cheese' | |

lect, Picard, in which subject doubling has become obligatory. It is indeed striking that this French dialect is, as far as subject markers are concerned, the perfect counterpart to the Italian dialects.

Appendix: On the status of subject markers in Picard

Picard shares with many Northern Italian dialects, but not with Standard French, the following properties: (a) subject doubling, (b) the absence of clitic inversion in certain persons of the verb, (c) the presence of apparent resumptive pronouns in subject relative clauses, and (d) the use of a verbal form with a default third person singular subject marker in *wh*-questions when the extracted element is the subject. These properties, which are illustrated in (99) below, will lead me to propose an analysis where these elements are base-generated in AgrS and behave like true inflectional affixes.

- (99) a. *l'soleu i luit* (Herbert 1980:123)
 'the sun he shines'
 = 'The sun is shining/shines'
- b. *Pipine a' n'y est point?* (Lediu 1911:8)
 'Pipine she NEG there is not'
 = 'Isn't Pipine there?'
- c. *Ti que tu t'entends à la médecine* (Lediu 1905:3)
 'you that you self-understand to the medicine'
 = 'You who understand medicine'
- d. *ties c' qui l'arot bin cru?* (Dauby 1979:295)
 'who-is that that-he it-would-have well believed'
 = 'Who would have thought so?'

As is the case in the Northern Italian dialects, the subject-doubling construction in Picard is a relatively recent development. To the extent that the literary and official texts written in the old province of Picardy correspond to the language spoken in the area (cf. Gossen 1951:32), it can be said that Old Picard was very similar to Old French in that the use of subject pronouns was not obligatory; see (100)a below. In addition, when

subject pronouns were present, they did not have to occur immediately before the verb as they do nowadays, as is illustrated in (100)b:

- (100) a. *Anuit vous ferons herbergerie* (Aiol et Mirabel, v. 2026, last quarter of 13th century; cf. Gossen 1951:149)
 'tonight to-you will-do-1pl housing' = 'Tonight, we will give you lodging'
- b. *Nous pour le reswart de pieté et pour le devotion des orisons de ledite eglise et le salut de nostre ame, de nostre chier pere et de no chier frere et de tous nos anchiseurs, les devant dis trente journeus de tere volons, otrions et confermons le dite eglise comme kies sires* (Boulogne, 1277; cf. Gossen 1951:139-140)
 'we for the goal of piety and for the devotion of prayers of the said church and the salvation of our soul, of our dear father and of our dear brother and of all our ancestors, the previously mentioned thirty days of land wish1pl, grant-1pl and confirm-1pl the said church as these(?) lords'

In Middle Picard texts from the 17th century, subject pronouns always occur adjacent to a verb: either in preverbal position, as in most affirmative clauses, or in postverbal position, as in interrogative clauses. That is, Middle Picard subject clitics were cliticized to the verb, but they did not yet behave like agreement markers. For one thing, they did not cooccur with lexical subjects, as illustrated in (101)a, and, for another, they did not have to be repeated on each verb in conjoined constructions, as shown in (101)b. At the same time, we observe that Middle Picard subject clitics could be manipulated by syntactic rules, since they underwent clitic inversion in questions, as in (101)c.³⁶ Finally, subject relative clauses in Middle Picard involved the same structure which is still used today in modern Standard French: they made use of a case-marked version of the

³⁶ However, I will later argue against the assumption that subject-clitic inversion, much less inversion in general, can be automatically interpreted as the result of a syntactic rule.

complementizer—that is *qui*—but, other than the agreement suffix on the verb, no overt subject marker referred back to the antecedent—see (101)d.

- (101) a. *Sen pere ly donny une vague baillette* (Flutre 1970:82)
 'her father to-her gave a cow gray'
 = 'Her father gave her a gray cow'
- b. *et comme hla il on ouidé no querette et s'en sont allé* (Flutre 1970:143)
 'and like that they have emptied our cart and REFL from-there are gone'
 = 'And, just like that, they emptied our cart and left'
- c. *éroi-je foay le bête?* (Flutre 1970:93)
 'would-have-I done the stupid-one'
 = 'Would I have acted stupid?'
- d. *Alizon qui étoi noire comme en tizon* (Flutre 1970:98)
 'Alison who was black like a brand [= burning piece of wood]'

This behavior of subject pronouns in Middle Picard is highly reminiscent of the situation in many Northern Italian dialects of the 16th and 17th centuries: during that period, subject clitics in the Northern Italian dialects were bound to an argument position, as indicated by the fact that a subject pronoun was not required when a subject DP was present and that subject QPs appeared without subject clitics (cf. Vanelli 1987 and Poletto 1991b:32). In the case of Fiorentino, Poletto (1991b:11) reports Renzi's (1989) finding that subject clitics remained independent syntactic DPs until the 18th century.

One Middle Picard dialect, though, behaves somewhat differently: Rouchi, the dialect spoken in and around Valenciennes. The only Rouchi text included in the anthology of Middle Picard texts published in Flutre (1970) shows a number of cases of doubling, as illustrated in (102)a and (102)b below; concomitantly, this dialect forms its subject relative clauses by using the bare complementizer *que* followed by the appropriate

subject clitic, as in (102)c. It would thus seem that this Picard dialect was ahead of its neighbors with respect to the grammaticalization of subject clitics.

- (102) a. *Tou chéqu'un i n' sé pu qu'en rire* (Flutre 1970:25)
 'all each-one he NEG knows anymore only of-it to-laugh'
 = 'All that anyone can do is laugh about it'
- b. *Les jonom' i n' sont mi' si sots* (Flutre 1970:25)
 'the young-men they NEG are not so stupid'
 = 'Young men are not so stupid'
- c. *N'est-c' point d'eun' jonn' fill' qu'al est grosse?* (Flutre 1970:23)
 'NEG is-that not of-a young girl that-she is big [= pregnant]'
 = 'Isn't it about a young woman who is pregnant?'

The possibility that the Picard dialect of the département du Nord might have been ahead of its neighboring varieties—and/or that its literary representation might have been less influenced by Parisian French than other varieties—receives support from the examination of five 18th century texts collected by Flutre (1977). According to Flutre, those texts were strongly influenced by French, and it is therefore not surprising to note the absence of subject doubling in them. That is, what is truly Picard about the texts in question is a number of phonetic, morphological, and lexical traits; their syntax is barely distinguishable from that of comparable French writings of the period. One text, however, gives some indication that Picard subject clitics might have been on their way to becoming agreement markers; the text of Brûle-Maison (1679-1740), an author from

Walloon Flanders,³⁷ contains one trace of Modern Picard syntax: a resumptive pronoun

in a subject relative clause:

- (103) *Et se queu' qu'ell' fertillot comme un batot* (Flutre 1977:208)
 'and his tail that she wagged like a mobile-part-of-a-flail'
 = 'and its tail which wagged like the mobile part of a flail'

Haigneré (1903/1969) confirms that this relative clause construction was productive in the grammar of Brûle-Maison, since he reports eighteen more examples of the same type:

- (104) a. *J'ai vu bielle Hélène qu'elle s'entretenoit avec un Tourquennois* (p. 337)
 'I have seen beautiful Helen that she REFL entertained with a Tourquennois'
 = 'I saw beautiful Helen who was talking with someone from Tourcoing'
- b. *Ché pour acaté du chiro pour m'en p'tit frère qu'il a des vierres* (p. 337)
 'it's for to-buy of-the syrup for my little brother that he has of-the worms'
 = 'It's for buying sirup for my little brother who has worms'
- c. *N'aiche point ti, Brûle-Majon, que te cante den Lille?* (p. 340)
 'NEG is-that not you, Brûle-Maison, that you sing in Lille'
 = 'Isn't it you, Brûle-Maison, who sings in Lille?'

Haigneré (1903/1969:378) further confirms that Brûle-Maison used subject doubling outside of subject relative clauses—although he gives very few examples, thus

³⁷ Remember that Picard is also spoken in some regions of Belgium. It should also be pointed out that, linguistically speaking, modern Walloon is quite different from modern Picard, since it lacks both subject-doubling and subject resumptive pronouns in relative clauses, as documented in Remacle (1960). This makes it unlikely (though obviously not impossible) that a former stage of Walloon had subject resumptive pronouns in relative clauses.

making it difficult for us to evaluate the extent to which that author used subject doubling and whether he also doubled quantifiers; still, cf.:

- (105) a. *Le mien il est en France*
 'the mine he is in France' = 'Mine is in France'
 b. *Se femme elle a survenue*
 'his woman she has showed-up' = 'His wife showed up'

These texts from the 17th and 18th centuries can thus be viewed as precursors of what we find on a larger scale in texts from the 19th century. Indeed, subject doubling began showing up in texts as a regular feature of Picard during the 19th century, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (106) a. *nos lanterne a s'a déteinte* (Flutre 1977:252)
 'our lantern she REFL-has extinguished' = 'our lantern went out'
 b. *Cholle maliche al est honnete* (Corblet 1851/1978:142)
 'the meanness she is honest' = 'Meanness is honest'
 c. *L'fieu d' no clerc, i chantera* (Dezoteux; cited in Haignéré 1903/1969:378)
 'the son of our clerk, he will-sing' = 'Our clerk's son will sing'
 d. *Tout l' monne, i s'ploint* (Crinon; cited in Haignéré 1903/1969:378)
 'all the world, he REFL-complains' = 'Everybody complains'

Subject doubling started showing up in texts from Valenciennes and Walloon Flanders as early as the 17th and 18th centuries, but its use did not become widely attested, geographically speaking, until the 19th century. With this chronology in mind, we can now turn to the primary object of study in this paper: subject doubling as it is found in Modern Picard, along with such related features as: (a) the absence of clitic

inversion in certain persons of the verb, (b) the presence of apparent resumptive pronouns in subject relative clauses of the type illustrated in (103) above, and (c) the structure of wh-questions in which the extracted element is the subject.

It is usually agreed that Picard lexical subjects always cooccur with a coreferential subject clitic; this is clearly stated, for example, by Haigneré (1903/1969:313-314), Ledieu (1909:42), Hrkal (1910:262), Cochet (1933:36), Vacandard (1964:31), Flutre (1970:519), Debrie (1974:18), and Dauby (1979:43). In itself, this observation does not allow us to decide between a dislocation- and a doubling-analysis, since it could be the case that, in Picard, only definite phrases can be used as subjects. While Debrie (1974:41) reports that sentences with preverbal quantifier subjects like that in (107)a below are rare, so that the structure illustrated in (107)b is much preferred, quantified subjects doubled by subject markers are found in sufficient numbers to convince us that subject clitics can clearly cooccur with such elements in Picard. A few examples of this phenomenon are given in (108) further below.

- (107) a. *Les uns i n'en prennent pis les autres i n'en veulent point* (Debrie 1974:41)
 'the ones they of-it take and the others they of-it want not'
 = 'Some take some of it and the others don't want any'
- b. *Y en a qu'i n'en prennent pis d'autres qu'i n'en veulent point* (Debrie 1974:41)
 'there of-them has that they of-it take and of-others that they of-it want not'
 = 'Some take some of it and the others don't want any'
- (108) a. *personne i n'a le droit de le mettre deheurs* (Haigneré 1903:324)
 'nobody he NEG has the right of it to-put outside'
 = 'Nobody has the right to put it outside'
- b. *Tout le monde i le prijé et il l'adore* (Haigneré 1903:324)
 'all the world he him pray and he him-adores'

- = 'Everybody prays him and adores him'
 c. *chacan i a ker l'indrot adù qu'i est vnu au mon.ne* (Herbert 1980:96)
 'each-one he has heart the place where that he is come to-the world'
 = 'Everybody likes the place where he was born'

Since quantifiers cannot be dislocated, examples like those in (108) above can be taken as strong support for an analysis of Picard subject "clitics" in terms of subject doubling. This conclusion is further supported by the extraction facts of this language. In the present section, I discuss extraction-related subject-marking in relative clauses and in *wh*-questions.

First, as mentioned earlier, it might seem that Picard subject relative clauses systematically involve a resumptive pronoun, since subject clitics are almost always present in that clause-type, as illustrated in (109):

- (109) a. *Mi qu' j'o d'vini pourquoi* (Barleux 1963:6)
 'me that I have guessed why'
 = 'Me who have guessed what'
 b. *ch' gart', ti qu' t' os du flair* (Barleux 1963:6)
 'the guard, you that you have of-the sense-of-smell'
 = 'Guard, you who have intuition'
 c. *par l' graind-route qu'alle traverche Villers-Carbonnel* (Barleux 1963:13)
 'by the great road that she traverses Villers-Carbonnel'
 = 'by the main road that goes through Villers-Carbonnel'

Most exceptions to the above generalization involve the verbs *avoir* 'to have' and *être* 'to be' (cf. Hrkal 1910:257)—cf. (110)a and (111)a below. But, as the examples in (110)b and (111)b show, those verbs occasionally appear without a subject marker in main clauses, too. The absence of a subject marker is not particular to relative clauses.

- (110) a. *ch'est un mystère qu'est pos comprenap'* (Barleux 1963:7)
'that's a mystery that is not understandable'
- b. *N'étoit pos riche* (Barleux 1963:6)
'NEG-was not rich' = 'He wasn't rich'
- (111) a. *c'meint qu' tu dis ch' cloqui qu' o un pigeon pas-d'sur* (Barleux 1963:10)
'how that you say the steeple that has a pigeon over-it'
= 'How do you call a steeple that has a pigeon on it?'
- b. *airot dit ch' Trémerrair' qu'i preindot ch' catheiu d' Nesle* (Barleux 1963:8)
'would-have said the Bold that he was-taking the castle of Nesle'
= 'One would have said it was Charles the Bold who was taking the Nesle Castle'

If subject pronouns truly behave like agreement markers, then there is one further extraction-environment where we would expect them to show up: that is, in questions where the *wh*-element is the subject, we expect some kind of a subject-agreement marker to appear. What we find is that a third-person masculine singular subject marker appears in all subject questions, as illustrated in (112) below.

- (112) a. *ķi k i e làa* (Cochet 1933:40)
'who that he is there' = 'Who's there?'
- b. *Tiès qui-a eu les honneurs?* (Dauby 1979:45)
'who-is-it that-he has had the honors' = 'Who had the honors?'

In spite of a certain amount of variation in the actual form of the *wh*-word—these two examples contain *qui qu'i* and *qui est-ce qu'i*—these different forms both involve two forms of *qu(')i*. As can be seen in (112)a and (112)b, there is clear phonological evidence that the two *qui*'s involved in this type of question are different—since, in most varieties of Picard, the first, interrogative *qui*, is palatalized (as indicated by the phonetic

- (114) a. *Menges-tu bien?* (Ledieu 1909:56)
 'eat-you-sg well' = 'Do you eat well?'
 b. *Mengez-vous bien?* (Ledieu 1909:58)
 'eat-you-pl well' = 'Do you eat well?'

This pattern is observed in the varieties in which *tu* and *vous* are used as preverbal subjects (cf., e.g., Flutre 1955:46, Debrie 1974:16, and Dauby 1979:32). In other varieties, *tu* and *vous* are reserved exclusively for postverbal use in inversion constructions in interrogative sentences; in preverbal position, *te* 'you-sg' and *os* 'you-pl' are used, and these forms can never be inverted (cf. Ledieu 1909:56, 58). In such Picard varieties, we can therefore say that no subject clitics undergo subject-clitic inversion.

Subject-clitic inversion is not attested at all in Picard *wh*-questions, as shown in (115) below (cf. also Debrie 1974:157); this is presumably because the presence of the complementizer *que* in C° makes it impossible for the verb to raise to Comp. Indeed, verb movement to Comp is now considered to be involved in subject-clitic inversion, rather than movement of the clitic itself (cf. Rizzi & Roberts 1989 and Roberts 1991a).

- (115) a. *Quoi que j'ai dit de mal, mi?* (Lediu 1911:3)
 'what that I-have said of bad, me'
 = 'What did I say wrong?'
 b. *quoi qu'os avez appris de nouvieu da vou voyache?* (Lediu 1911:1)
 'what that you-pl have learned of new in your trip'
 = 'What (new things) did you learn during your trip?'
 c. *quoi que tu li veux?* (Lediu 1911:8)
 'what that you-sg to-him want'
 = 'What do you want from him?'

One last construction in which the absence of clitic inversion can be noted in Picard involves what can be called interpolated or "incised" (*incise*) clauses. Haigneré (1903/1969:334) notes that, while Standard French makes frequent use of the phrases *dit-il* 'says he', *dis-je* 'say I', etc., Picard systematically replaces those constructions with the forms *qu'il dit* 'that he says', *que je dis* 'that I say', etc., plus similar variants involving the verb *faire* 'do':

- (116) a. *"Vo frère", qu'i di, "il est é-revénu"* (Haigneré 1903/1969, vol. II:ix-xi)
 '"your brother", that he says, "he is come-back"
 = '"Your brother", says he, "is back"'
- b. *"Te vas chi ête bin", qu'al fait Ginette* (Herbert 1980:117-119)
 '"you go here to-be well", that she does Ginette'
 = '"You will be comfortable here", says Ginette'

CHAPTER 3

A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF QCF ARGUMENT MARKERS

3.1 Previous accounts of "pronominal clitics"

Romance pronominal clitics have always been a "hot" topic in linguistics, and generative linguistics since the 70's is no exception to this generalization. Two basic questions have been discussed over and over in the literature: (i) are pronominal clitics base-generated in the positions in which they appear on the surface, or are they generated in argument positions and moved by syntactic and/or phonological rules, and (ii) can syntax handle the generation and arrangement of clitics or clitic sequences, or are the numerous idiosyncrasies which characterize clitic clusters attributed to their morphological nature? As we will see in this brief review of the literature of the past twenty years, a wide variety of proposals have been made, and the correct analysis of Romance clitics remains a very debated issue even at the moment.

Not surprisingly, the type of analysis proposed by specific researchers tends to correlate with the questions they ask. For instance, linguists who are interested in issues of a more syntactic nature, such as the fact that languages like Italian and Spanish have clitic climbing, tend to support analyses in which object clitics are generated in an argument position and moved to their surface position by syntactic movement rules (Kayne 1989, 1991, Roberts 1991b). Such analyses are generally concerned with clitic clusters as whole units and do not pay much attention to the internal composition of such clusters

or to the problems that they raise for syntactic rules. As we have seen in Chapter 2, such problems include phonological idiosyncrasies, haplology, and clitic ordering within clitic clusters, but syntacticians are usually not concerned with this type of issue (cf., e.g., Sportiche 1992:5, who is very explicit about this). Morphologists, on the other hand, are precisely concerned with such idiosyncrasies rather than with the fact that clitic clusters can occur either on the matrix verb or the infinitive in certain complex sentences, and as a consequence, they suggest that morphological devices are responsible for generating inflected verb forms (Lapointe 1979/80, Stump 1980, Bonet 1991, and Halpern 1992). This characterization of the research on Romance pronominal clitics is obviously too general to account for all the different positions which have been taken, but as a generalization, it remains accurate. In the rest of this section, we will see that some proposals fall straightforwardly in one of these two groups, while others rely on still different criteria or even take into account both morphological and syntactic considerations, yielding a proposal that tries to compromise both types of requirements.

3.1.1 Morphological approaches

Ever since Darmesteter (1877-3-6), observations concerning subject clitics in French have centered around three main issues: first, the fact that they are inseparable from verbs, contrary to subject pronouns in the other Romance languages and in the Germanic languages; second, their functional similarity with suffixal agreement markers in Latin and the other Romance languages; and third, the fact that in spoken language, they tend to cooccur more and more frequently with overt lexical subjects, thus calling

into question their role as syntactic subjects. While the first and the third of these observations still play an important role in the argumentation of those researchers who argue for a morphological analysis of argument markers in different varieties of French, the second one, concerning the functional similarity with agreement suffixes, is not so much invoked in recent linguistics, probably because functional similarity does not guaranty that two elements should be analyzed alike.

In Chapter 2, I discussed a number of idiosyncratic combinations, cooccurrence restrictions, and arbitrary gaps in the distribution of argument markers in QCF. I argued, moreover, that such facts strongly suggests that the argument markers are generated as verbal affixes rather than as clitics coming into contact with a verbal host through syntactic operations. While the data reviewed in that chapter are more extensive than those discussed in Ossipov (1990) and slightly different from the facts from educated European French analyzed in Miller (1991), all three studies reach the same conclusion. Actually, all studies focussing on such morphological criteria, with the exception of Labelle (1985), have concluded that argument markers should be handled in a morphological component (Lapointe 1979/80 and Stump 1980).

A slightly different approach is suggested by Simpson & Withgott (1986) in their analysis of clitic sequences in French as well as in Warlpiri and Waramungu, two Australian languages. Since non-concatenative, idiosyncratic phenomena occur only within clitic sequences without affecting the combination of the host and the clitic cluster, they propose that clitic clusters are created within the lexicon and attached to their host in syntax. In my opinion, this is a very interesting proposal for Warlpiri and Waramungu,

as well as for most languages with real syntactic clitics. In Chapter 2, however, we saw a number of counterexamples to the claim that no idiosyncratic phenomena affect combinations of clitics and their hosts.

Finally, within GB theory, Bonet (1991) and Cummins & Roberge (1994a,b) admit that a purely syntactic approach to Romance clitics cannot handle all the idiosyncratic facts and ordering variation that characterize those elements. They propose that a morphological component is responsible for generating and/or spelling out the actual clitic sequences. It is interesting to note that these two studies reach the same conclusion based on quite different types of data. Bonet (1991), on the one hand, shows that clitic ordering in one language, Catalan, cannot be reasonably derived syntactically. Cummins & Roberge, on the other hand, conducted a survey of the position of the object clitics relative to various morphological forms of the verb in 27 dialects of Italian, French, and Ladin and concluded (p. 244):

"This kind of almost random variation within a very narrow range of closely-related varieties suggests to us that the position of the object clitic in relation to the verb is not a result of different syntactic structures and rules [...] but rather a case of more 'trivial morphological variation.'"

3.1.2 Syntactic approaches

Ever since the beginnings of transformational grammar, a large number of researchers have treated Romance pronominal clitics as syntactic elements which can be manipulated by syntactic rules. This situation is doubtless due to the fact that Romance clitics can appear in different positions with respect to their hosts and can even attach to

hosts which do not subcategorize for them, thus clearly distinguishing them from affixes as we know them in European languages. Indeed, as we saw in Chapter 2, subject clitics in QCF usually appear in preverbal position, but in yes/no questions, they occur in postverbal position. Similarly, object clitics are usually preverbal, but they are postverbal when their host verb is in the imperative. Furthermore, in causative constructions, object clitics are realized on the matrix verb rather than on the infinitive that subcategorizes for them, as shown in (1):

- (1) *Je l'ai fait laver*
 'I it have made to-wash'
 = 'I had it washed'

And in Spanish and Italian, a construction called "clitic climbing" allows object clitics to be realized either on the embedded verb or on the matrix verb, as in (2):

- (2) a. *Mario vuole leggerlo* (Italian; Burzio 1986:323)
 'Mario wants to-read-it'
 = 'Mario wants to read it'
- b. *Mario lo vuole leggere* (Italian; Burzio 1986:322)
 'Mario it wants to-read'
 = 'Mario wants to read it'

In this section, I will therefore briefly review the major syntactic analyses which have been proposed for handling Romance pronominal clitics. For the sake of space, I will concentrate mostly on studies conducted within a generative framework during the past thirty years.

Until Sportiche (1992) proposed integrating the insights from both approaches, syntactic analyses of clitics divided themselves between two basically irreconcilable approaches: syntactic movement and base-generation. The movement approach, associated with Kayne's (1975) analysis of clitic constructions in French, contends that all arguments of the same type should be generated in the same position. For example, direct object NPs and direct object clitics both originate as complements of V. Since object clitics, however, do not appear in the same position as lexical objects, we must posit a syntactic rule which moves them to a preverbal position (cf., e.g., Kayne 1975:76).

One argument in favor of the movement approach is that it straightforwardly accounts for the mutual exclusivity which holds between clitics and lexical arguments in many Romance varieties: since both elements are generated in the same position, there is room for only one of them in any given sentence. This position is still held nowadays by Kayne (1991), Roberts (1991b), Bonet (1991), and Dufresne (1993)—although, as we will see in the next section, Bonet's (1991) analysis of Romance clitics adds a morphological component to Kayne's purely syntactic approach.

The ability of Kayne's movement analysis to straightforwardly predict the complementary distribution of clitics and NPs also turns out to be one of the main weaknesses of his approach. Indeed, a number of Romance languages allow clitics and lexical arguments to cooccur within the same sentence. Spanish and Rumanian are two such languages, as shown in (3) below. In order to account for these facts, Rivas (1977) proposes a base-generation analysis where clitics are generated on the verb of which they are an argument. This approach has gained wide acceptance among syntacticians who

work on Spanish, and versions of it have been proposed by Borer (1984), Jaeggli (1986), Suñer (1988), Moore (1991), and Franco (1993).

- (3) a. *l-am văzut pe Popescu* (Rumanian; = Borer's 1984:127 (1)a)
 'him-have-I seen OM Popescu' (OM = object marker)
 = 'I have seen Popescu'
- b. *Lo vimos a Juan* (Spanish; = Borer's 1984:156 (3)c)
 'him saw-we to Juan' = 'We saw Juan'

Safir (1985) extends the base-generation analysis of object clitics on V to subject clitics. Specifically, Safir (1985:194) generates subject clitics as morphological affixes occupying a slot in the template of the verb, and not in INFL as in many other analyses. He bases this distinction on differences in behavior between pronominal clitics and tense markers: tense affixes, for instance, always appear in the same position within a verb form, while subject pronominal clitics shift position in an inversion construction. Even though this argument might seem rather suspicious, given that most other researchers (cf., e.g., Di Sciullo 1990 and Haiman 1991) use the mobility argument to argue that Romance clitics cannot be treated as affixes, affixes in some languages can actually appear in more than one position. As we will see in this chapter, this fact, and many others concerning argument markers in QCF and inflectional morphology in general, will yield an analysis where the various argument markers are already attached to the verb when this element is inserted under V in syntactic structure. But before I discuss in detail the arguments motivating this approach and the analysis itself, I will finish this brief review of recent analyses of pronominal clitics.

With the notable exception of Safir's (1985) analysis, object and subject clitics have generally received different analyses in GB. Kayne (1975) claims that, even though objects and subject clitics all undergo movement, the latter were moved in the syntax and the former were moved only at Phonological Form—whence the distinction between "phonological clitic" and "syntactic clitic". In base-generation accounts, only object clitics are generated directly on the verb. As far as subject clitics are concerned, Rizzi (1986) argues that there is no single category which we can call "subject clitic", since these elements behave quite differently depending on which Romance language we are studying. Indeed, the subject clitics of many Northern Italian dialects differ from French subject clitics in that they regularly cooccur with lexical subjects in a construction known as subject doubling. Building on the traditional idea in Italian dialectology that these subject clitics instantiate some form of agreement doubling, Rizzi (1986) proposes that they are generated under INFL, that is, where verbal inflection is generated. He supports his proposal by showing that both Kayne's phonological cliticization analysis and Safir's affixation analysis cannot account for the data in the Northern Italian dialects.

Rizzi's (1986) base-generation proposal for subject clitics has proved very influential, and most subsequent analyses of subject doubling have adopted, and sometimes adapted, INFL-generation (cf., e.g., Brandi & Cordin 1989, Poletto 1991a, and Roberts 1991a). Roberge (1990), however, calls into question Rizzi's claim that the notion "subject clitic" is spurious. He suggests, instead, that all subject clitics, including those in Standard French, are generated under INFL and that subject doubling must be attributed to a parameter setting.

According to Sportiche (1992), neither movement nor base-generation can successfully account for all the facts concerning Romance clitics. As already mentioned, movement analyses cannot handle clitic doubling, while base-generation leaves unexplained why cliticization is subject to constraints typical of movement, such as the SSC, the CED, and the ECP. He thus combines base-generation and movement: the clitics are base-generated as heads of clitic phrases dominating VP, but it is the lexical arguments themselves this time rather than the clitics that move.

3.2 A syntactic approach to verbal inflection: Verb Movement

In this brief review of recent syntactic analyses of Romance pronominal clitics, I mentioned in passing the functional similarity between subject clitics and suffixal agreement markers in the Northern Italian dialects. I also remarked that it is now common practice to treat both types of elements as inflectional. The same approach has been adopted by some proponents of the base-generation analysis for object clitics in Spanish (cf. Suñer 1988, Moore 1991, and Franco 1993), who explicitly consider these elements to be agreement markers on a par with subject agreement markers. This position might seem quite compatible with my conclusion that QCF argument markers are affixal elements and that the subject markers are agreement markers. We will see, however, that the ability of this approach to handle the facts under investigation in this dissertation depends very much on the type of morphological theory that we adopt. In this section and the next, I will therefore review recent approaches to inflectional morphology within GB theory. In this section, I am concerned with the approach referred to as V-movement,

Split-INFL, and Exploded-INFL. In the next one, I will discuss the reintroduction of a morphological component within grammatical theory, which has been subsequently suggested as a way to overcome some of the shortcomings of the V-movement analysis.

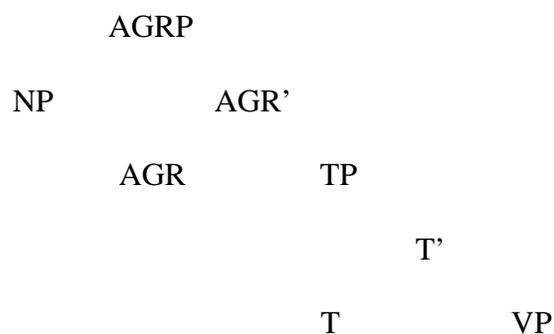
In recent years, a number of GB syntacticians have set out to get rid of a separate inflectional or morphological component by having syntax handle word formation (Laka 1991 and Ouhalla 1991). This development has been made possible by Pollock's (1989) proposal that INFL be split into two functional categories, AGR(ement) and T(ense),¹ coupled with Baker's (1985, 1988) Mirror Principle, which states that the order of surface elements must reflect the order in which the derivation takes place. Expanding on the idea that verbs, in many languages, including the Romance languages, raise to INFL in order to pick up their morphological features, it was proposed that each inflectional category is represented by a phrasal projection whose head the verb moves through on its way to some higher functional position. Some researchers remain vague about whether the verb picks up actual morphemes or just features whose realization will be handled at PF. Other researchers, however, clearly argue that actual morphemes are picked up and that the order in which they are picked up must be reflected in the resulting verb-form (Rivero 1990:141, Cheng & Demirdash 1991:128, Speas 1990:279, and Mitchell 1991:378).

As a result, linguists began to debate the relative ordering of the two functional categories proposed by Pollock as well as other ones subsequently proposed. Originally,

¹ Even though this has been pointed out many times, it is worth repeating that Pollock created this additional structure because he needed additional landing positions for movement in order to account for the differences in word order between French and English, not to handle verbal inflection.

Pollock claimed that Tense dominated Agreement. Based on Romance verb forms, however, Belletti (1990:28) argues that this order should be reversed, so that the subject-agreement morpheme will appear outside the tense morpheme on the verb: *legg-eva-no* 'read-imperfect-3pl'.

(4) Belletti's (1990:28) phrase structure



Chomsky (1991:434) adopts Belletti's proposal, but he adds additional projections: FP, where a [\pm finite] feature is generated; NEGP, for negation; and AGR_oP, for object agreement, as shown in the following tree:

universal principles of syntax to be able to handle such idiosyncratic facts (Janda in press and Janda & Kathman 1992).

Concrete attempts to handle inflectional morphology through verb movement have been numerous within the past few years; in addition to the ones already listed above, Janda & Kathman (1992:143) list the following studies: Wright's (1989) analysis of Choctaw, Rivero's (1990) work on Albanian and Greek, Whitman's (1990) account of Nunggubuyu, and Mitchell's (1991) study of Finnish. As Janda & Kathman (1992) and other researchers point out, however, such analyses create at least as many problems as they solve. I will discuss some of these concrete problems as support for my decision to reject the verb-movement analysis in favor of a real presyntactic morphological component after I round up this chronological summary of theoretical proposals for handling inflectional morphology in recent GB theory.

3.3 Beyond Verb Movement

Two serious problems with the Verb-Movement analysis of verbal inflection have led a number of researchers to either completely reject this approach or to restrict its domain to certain types of morphology or to certain morphemes. The first such problem is empirical: it fails to account for many types of data. I will discuss some of these problems in detail in Section 3.5 below. The second is theoretical: even if it were possible to account for all of inflectional morphology using syntactic devices, such analyses would inevitably be of a highly language-particular nature. This type of approach appears to be incompatible with Chomsky's (1991:417) view of syntax as a

component where "there are no rules for particular languages and no construction-specific principles".

Not very long after Verb Movement accounts of verbal inflection started to blossom, the outline of Chomsky's Minimalist Program started circulating. Among the many important changes that it introduces in the GB program is the idea that fully-inflected verb forms are inserted in syntactic structure. The interpretation of this new possibility was not unanimous, though. Sportiche (1992:40), on the one hand, maintained that the order of inflectional morphemes on the verb still had to reflect the order of the derivation. Speas (1991b:410), on the other hand, suggested that this requirement did not hold anymore, thus allowing us to propose a universal syntactic structure which would be able to reflect the semantic scope of the various inflectional categories (Speas 1991b:390), while allowing for crosslinguistic variation in the actual surface order of the morphemes in question. That is, even though Chomsky carried over into his Minimalist Program the idea that functional categories head their own projections, we must now interpret these nodes as not containing actual morphemes but rather features which must be checked against features contained in some lexical category.

This 1991b analysis by Speas marks a rather sharp contrast with her own previous analyses of Navajo morphology (1990, 1991a). What seems to have convinced her of the inadequacy of Verb-Movement as a way of handling verbal inflection is the extent of crosslinguistic variation which characterizes natural language and which forces linguists to propose solutions which end up proving too powerful to be of any theoretical interest. For example, if one tries to adapt Ouhalla's idea that relative ordering of AGR and T can

account for crosslinguistic variation in order to account for Navajo, then one must also parametrize Aspect and AgrO (Speas 1991b:393). Or if we use the idea that affixes are lexically defined as to direction of attachment, then basically any order of attachment becomes possible. Either of the two possibilities obviously raises the problem of language acquisition which always arises when the structure is not determined by Universal Grammar.

As Speas (1991b:410) points out, a checking analysis of verb inflection has two consequences: "The first is that it requires a theory of morphology in which inflectional morphemes may be added in the lexicon. The second is that if these morphemes can be put on in the lexicon, there is no need for every one of them to correspond to a syntactic head position." In my opinion, and in the opinion of a growing number of linguists, these consequences are advantages. The second consequence allows Speas to propose that Agr is not a syntactic position but rather a relationship between two positions; in this, she agrees with Iatridou (1990a) and Kinyalolo (1991:94). Roberts (1993:19) agrees that agreement is a structural relationship, but he persists in generating two AGRPs. The first consequence is to remove from syntax the burden of having to handle the notoriously idiosyncratic facts of morphology.

The model presented in Cummins & Roberge (1994a,b), Bessler (1994), and Nadasdi (1994) is inspired by many of the same considerations as that of Speas' approach and also builds on Chomsky's Minimalist Program; it spells out in more detail, however, avenues which were only suggested in Speas (1991b). The only truly meaningful difference between the two approaches concerns the exact location where morphological

operations take place: while Roberge and his colleagues agree that a pre-syntactic component must take care of building inflected words, they suggest that morphology takes place in a Lexicon-Syntax Interface whose task is to handle inflectional morphology rather than in the lexicon, as Speas suggested. They share with Speas, however, the assumption that checking ensures that the fully-inflected words which are inserted in syntactic structure are compatible with the rest of the sentence. Finally, they propose another interface level between syntax and PF where language-particular templates and morpholexical rules apply which ensures that the forms fed into PF for spell-out are interpretable.

The two approaches which I have just summarized propose a unified approach to verbal inflectional morphology: verbs are inflected either in the lexicon or in a presyntactic component, and they are inserted fully-inflected at S-structure. The analysis which I will develop further in this chapter is of this type. It should be mentioned, however, that other researchers have proposed that inflectional morphology may not be amenable to a uniform treatment. Indeed, Rohrbacher (1994), Speas (1994), and Sportiche (1994) all propose that Verb-Movement constitutes an appropriate mechanism for handling some morphology, but that a presyntactic morphological component is also necessary. As we are about to see, however, they all have different reasons for making such a proposal: while Sportiche's motivation is quite morphological in nature, the motivations of Rohrbacher and Speas are very syntactic.

One argument in favor of a morphological rather than syntactic treatment of argument markers that I repeated over and over again in Chapter 2 concerns the

unpredictability of some of the combinations. That is, if we take the case of *chus* 'I am', for instance, I argued that this sequence had to be listed as such in the lexicon because it could not be the result of any general phonological rules. This argument is precisely the one used by Sportiche (1994) to argue that the postverbal 3ms subject marker which appears in questions, e.g., *Parle-t-il encore?* 'speaks-[t]-he still' must be handled in a morphological component rather than by syntactic rules. Indeed, even though the diachronic origin of this epenthetic [t] is quite obvious (cf. Foulet 1921), there is no simple way for a synchronic analysis to insert [t] between two vowels which come into contact as a result of a syntactic movement rule.

The motivation for distinguishing between two types of inflectional morphology is linked to syntactic issues in Rohrbacher's and Speas' approaches. For Rohrbacher (1994), only languages which have referential agreement morphology which is listed in the lexicon and inserted under AGR in the syntactic tree force the verb to move to the highest inflectional head. Descriptively, those languages are those where "subject-verb agreement uniquely marks the person features [1st] and [2nd] by overtly distinguishing the forms for first and second person from each other, the form for third person and the infinitive" (Rohrbacher 1994:v). In languages where agreement morphology fails to clearly mark person, those agreement markers are postsyntactic spell-outs of agreement morphology on the verb. The absence of V-to-I movement in such languages is due to the absence in I of an affix that requires to be bound.

While it is not fully clear why it should be specifically this criterion which determines whether agreement affixes are listed affixes in the lexicon or postsyntactic

spellouts rather than some other criterion, there is at least a serious effort on the part of Rohrbacher to tackle a number of notoriously difficult problems in the study of null-subject languages in general and French in particular. Indeed, the idea that "rich inflection" licenses null arguments has been around since Taraldsen (1980) in generative syntax and since almost forever in traditional grammar, but nobody so far has been able to precisely define what "rich inflection" is. The last effort, Jaeggli & Safir's (1989) Morphological Uniformity criterion was an ad hoc proposal designed to describe the facts rather than explain them. It also turned out to be inaccurate, since early Old French turns out to be a counterexample (Vance 1989:123-124). At least, Rohrbacher attempts to give some semantic explanation for picking this specific criterion rather than some other. With respect to French, now, he is the first modern linguist, to my knowledge, to try to propose an account for the problem of double marking which arises if we analyze subject markers as inflectional agreement markers. Indeed, in forms like *vous mang-ez* '2pl eat-2pl', we now have the features for second person plural showing up in two different places. As we will see, this is a serious problem for Verb-Movement analyses of verbal inflection. This important proposal by Rohrbacher has been adopted by Speas (1994) in an article where she explores the possibility that this analyses, coupled with Chomsky's (1991) principles of economy, might provide a more principled account for null-subject languages.

In spite of its seriousness and of a number of insightful remarks, I will not adopt Rohrbacher's non-unitary approach to inflectional morphology. First, it is not obvious to me that the referentiality criterion is the right way to decide whether inflectional

elements should be dealt with in the syntax or in the morphology. Instead, I would suggest that differences between morphological and syntactic rules should be invoked. Second, even though I very much appreciate Rohrbacher's effort to handle subject-agreement marking in Colloquial French, I do not see how his syntactic treatment of subject "clitics" can account for such morphophonological idiosyncrasies as *chus* 'I am'. Furthermore, if we extend his analysis to the various object markers, it is quite clear that his referentiality criterion will dictate that we also generate object markers as syntactic heads. All the problems of clitic ordering and cooccurrence restrictions will be as acute as in any syntactic approach to Romance clitics.

The analysis which I will develop in this chapter thus retains the idea defended in Safir (1985) that subject and object markers are inflectional affixes generated on the verb and develops it in the spirit of Chomsky's (1993) renewed commitment to the Lexicalist Hypothesis in his Minimalist framework. Specifically, I follow the lead of Speas (1991b) and Cummins & Roberge (1994a,b) and assume that fully-inflected verbs are inserted in syntactic structures. An approach along these lines is the only possible way, in my opinion, to combine the insights of modern syntactic theory with the traditional insight, perpetuated by modern linguists such as Lapointe (1979/80) and Stump (1980), that the so-called pronominal clitics of French behave more like affixes than like clitics. Even though the theoretical framework is different, this avenue will also yield an analysis which has much in common with the G/HPSG analyses of Ossipov (1990) and Miller (1991).

3.4 Against AgrP

Another way of suggesting that not all verbal morphology consists of affixes which are inserted under syntactic nodes and attached to the verb through verb movement is to reject the existence of an Agreement Phrase and return to the traditional idea that agreement is a relationship between two elements, a source and a target. Indeed, it is a fact that agreement does not exist independently from the relation that establishes it, contrary to Tense and Aspect, which can be selected as such and which then have semantic repercussions on the sentence in which they are used. AgrP has come under attack by a number of researchers: not only is it not necessary in order to handle the word-order facts for which it was created, but it cannot appropriately account for all the agreement patterns in natural languages. Here, I will summarize the arguments given by Iatridou (1990a) and Speas (1991b).

Even though most subsequent uses of the exploded INFL analysis deal with the generation of inflected verbs, Iatridou (1990a) reminds us that Pollock's (1989) motivation for proposing the split INFL analysis had to do with the relative ordering of verbs, adverbs, and negation in different types of clauses in English and French. That is, Pollock claimed that the creation of additional projections was necessary in order to derive the different word order possibilities in sentences like those in (7) below. More specifically, Pollock argues that the verb in (7)b raises from its base-generated position and appears in a position between Tense and VP, and he suggests that we call that position Agr.

- (7) a. *À peine parler l'italien après cinq ans d'étude...* (= Pollock's 1989 (24)a)
'hardly to-speak Italian after five years of study...'

- b. *Parler à peine l'italien après cinq ans d'étude...* (= Pollock's 1989 (27)a)
'To speak hardly Italian after five years of study...'

As Iatridou (1990a) shows, however, not only is it unnecessary to posit the existence of an AgrP phrase in order to account for these word order facts, but this analysis also makes a number of wrong predictions with respect to the ordering of verbs and adverbs. As a result, Iatridou (1990a:553) argues that, in English, and probably also in French, there is no Agr(P). Simplifying somewhat, Iatridou's alternative analysis of verb-adverb placement can be summarized as follows: (i) adverbs are usually adjoined to VP, (ii) a separate VP projection is posited for auxiliaries, thus creating an additional adverb position, (iii) and some type of reanalysis can take place with certain combinations of predicates and adverbs (e.g., *parler à peine* 'barely speak'), thus accounting for cases where the adverb occurs postverbally rather than preverbally, thus making it unnecessary to posit verb movement in order to account for the verb-adverb of examples like (7)b above. Crucially, Iatridou argues that not all adverbs behave the same way and that an analysis in such general terms as Pollock's wrongly predicts the existence of ungrammatical word orders. As for Agr, Iatridou (1990a:569) suggests that we abandon the idea that subject agreement corresponds to a structural position and return to the idea that it is a relationship, more specifically a specifier-head relationship.

The conclusion that Agr does not correspond to a structural position but rather to a relationship between two positions is also reached by Speas (1991b:412) on the basis of an entirely different sort of data. Speas' conclusion is the result of her attempt to account for Navajo verb morphology by using the split-INFL framework proposed by

Pollock (1989) and further developed with respect to inflectional morphology by Ouhalla (1991).

As we already saw briefly in Section 3.1.3, what is interesting about Navajo verbs is that their inflectional "prefixes occur in the opposite order from what we would expect if the order mirrored the syntactic projection of functional heads. Subject Agr is closest to the verb stem, then Tense, then Aspect and Object Agr is furthest from the verb stem" (Speas 1991b:390), as illustrated in (8):

- (8) *Shíínígháád* (= Speas' 1991b (1)c)
 shi- 0- i- ni- gháád
 1SG.OBJ-ASP-PAST-2SG.SUBJ-shook
 'You shook me'

That is, the morpheme order is the opposite of that observed in languages such as French, Italian, and German, where agreement suffixes occur outside tense markers. As Speas (1991b:401) further remarks, this morpheme ordering is found in all the Athapaskan languages (cf., e.g., Saxon 1989 with respect to Dogrib and Kari 1989 for Ahtna). As we also saw in Section 3.1.3, Speas takes these facts as evidence that Ouhalla's (1991) parametric approach to morpheme-ordering variation cannot be correct, because it would unreasonably augment the power of the theory.

She thus suggests that syntactic structure need not reflect morphological structure and that fully-inflected verb forms are inserted in syntactic structure. As I pointed out above, this approach allows mismatches between the categories represented in syntax and in morphology. She uses this possibility to reject the existence of AGRP, since, as she

points out, this structural approach to agreement cannot account for agreement between one source and many targets. She points out that, in languages such as Hindi and Swahili, subject agreement manifests itself on every auxiliary as well as on the main verb. If the subject agreement-marker is one element which gets adjoined to the verb through Verb Movement, it is difficult to see how it could be realized in more than one position. Instead, if we view agreement as a Spec-head relationship, then it is possible to propose that agreement occurs between one source and many targets, if syntactic movement allows one source to successively establish Spec-head relationships with a number of targets. Similar facts about the realization of agreement on multiple heads obtain in KiLega, another Bantu language, and Kinyalolo (1991) also concludes that agreement must be instantiated through Spec-head relationships rather than as a structural position. Bessler (1994:117), in his study of agreement in French, similarly concludes that agreement is not represented in F, the sentence nucleus which contains all the inflectional features which have scope over the sentence. Cf. also Cummins & Roberge (1994a:256). Speas further justifies her treatment of agreement as a relation rather than a syntactic position by remarking that, while the appearance of tense, aspect, mood, etc. is independent, to a large extent, of other elements in the sentence, the number of agreement morphemes depends on the number of arguments that the verb takes, thus justifying her proposal that Tense and Aspect are the only projected heads, and that agreement corresponds to a Spec-head relationship between elements.²

² Laka (1991:198) also rejects an AGRP approach to agreement, but her analysis differs from those of Iatridou (1990a) and Speas (1991b) in that her alternative still generates the agreement markers as nodes in the syntactic structure. It is not really clear at this point what the theoretical and empirical implications of her model are, but it should be pointed out that she is suggesting reintroducing elements in the syntactic structure which

We have thus seen three different reasons why we need not and should not posit AgrP: (i) in languages such as English and French, this node is not necessary in order to derive the different orderings of negation, adverbs, and verbs; (ii) the representation of agreement as an element associated with a syntactic node makes it difficult to account for cases where agreement is realized on more than one element; and (iii) while Tense and Aspect do not depend on any other element in the sentence for their interpretation, Agr elements often share features with other elements of the sentence and depend on such elements for their interpretation.

We could add to these reasons the fact that generating agreement markers in the syntactic structure forces us to introduce a new kind of information that is specific to affixal elements. That is, as we will see in the next section, in Arabic imperfective verbs, subject-agreement affixes must be specified as to whether they adjoin to the left or the right of the verb, or maybe even on both sides at once. To handle this type of problem, Roberts (1991b) proposes that truly affixal elements have morphological subcategorization frames. While this proposal takes care of the problem, I would like to suggest that this solution is a roundabout way of introducing morphological information in syntax and that, as such, it is a rather unsatisfactory solution. This problem, however, is not particular to agreement affixes, since it also affects tense and aspect and all other inflectional morphemes, and I will therefore discuss it in more detail in the next section.

do not project to the phrasal level. Furthermore, this approach faces the same type of problem that all syntactic accounts of morphology must deal with: how does she account for the non-syntactic idiosyncrasies which affect the inflectional morphology of Basque?

If we accept these arguments against positing AgrP, we are accepting that some inflectional morphology takes place in a morphological component, thus opening the way for a fully morphological approach to morphology.³ In the next section, we will discuss further reasons for rejecting a Verb-Movement analysis of inflectional morphology. Some of these problems have already been pointed out in the growing literature against this approach, but some are original to this dissertation.

3.5 Empirical problems with Verb Movement

From the very start, Baker (1985:400-401) recognized that the Mirror Principle applies only to concatenative morphology:

The second area in which the Mirror Principle does not necessarily apply can be referred to generally as 'nonconcatenative morphology'. [...] Thus, there exist processes of umlaut, reduplication, infixation, and so on, which may be part of the morphology of a language, but which do not show up as nicely ordered morphemes. At a deeper level, there are languages that make extensive use of what can be called 'nonconcatenative morphology' proper, where morphological elements seem to be merged together, so that they have discontinuous realizations. The Semitic languages are the most famous examples of this type

³ Admittedly, what is lost in a fully-morphological approach to inflectional morphology is a principled account for why morpheme order is so systematic in so many cases, rather than totally random. On the one hand, head-movement and the Mirror Principle correctly predict numerous morpheme orders in a wide variety of languages. On the other hand, a number of exceptions and the fact that certain types of morphology fall outside the scope of the Mirror Principle either restrict or call into question the validity of the approach. This question is too important to be addressed in a cursory manner, and I will therefore not address it here.

3.5.1 Verb Movement and non-concatenative morphology: the Semitic languages

Interestingly enough, while Laka (1991:239) acknowledges this limitation of the applicability of the Mirror Principle and the implications that this fact has for the handling of non-concatenative morphology, Ouhalla (1991) bases half of his V-movement proposal for verbal inflection precisely on two Semitic languages: Berber and Arabic. Unfortunately, however, his analysis is based on a very fragmentary set of data, and, as soon as we consider additional verb forms, in some cases verb forms that he himself gives as illustrations for other phenomena, a much more complex picture emerges. For example, Ouhalla's argument for ordering Agr outside T for these languages is based on the position of the future marker, which is realized at the left-edge of the verb, outside the marker for 3ms:

- (9) a. *ad-y-segh Mohand ijn teddart* (Berber; Ouhalla 1991:57)
 'fut-3ms-buy Mohand one house'
 = 'Mohand will buy a house'
- b. *sa-y-ashtarii Zayd-un daar-an* (Arabic; Ouhalla 1991:57)
 'fut-3ms-buy Zayd-NOM house-ACC'
 = 'Zayd will buy a house'

He does not say a word, however, about the fact that past tense is not realized as a prefix occurring before the subject-agreement marker, as shown in the examples in (10) below. Instead, in those verb forms, vowel deletion, insertion, and alternation seem to mark past tense (Berber: *segh* 'buy' → *sgha* 'buy.past'; Arabic *ashtarii* 'buy' → *shtarii* 'buy.past'). These examples immediately follow the discussion about the relative ordering of the future marker and the subject-agreement marker in Ouhalla's book, but they are

given next in order to illustrate the placement of negation outside AGR, and he does not say a word about the problem that they pose for his analysis.

- (10) a. *ur-y-sgha Mohand teddart* (Berber; Ouhalla 1991:58)
 'NEG-3ms-bought Mohand house'
 = 'Mohand has not bought the house'
- b. *lam ya-shtarii Zayd-un l-bayt-a* (Arabic; Ouhalla 1991:57)
 'NEG 3ms-buy Zayd-NOM the house'
 = 'Zayd has not bought the house'

Furthermore, nowhere does he seem to discuss the fact that, in Arabic, subject agreement is realized as a suffix in the perfect and as a discontinuous morpheme in the imperfect.⁴ In his discussion of the morphological structure of Arabic verbs, we therefore find only examples of imperfective verbs. It is not until he discusses case-marking on noun phrases that we find the following example, which contains two verbs, the first with a subject-agreement suffix (followed by an object-agreement suffix), the second with a subject-agreement suffix:

- (11) *ufi-n-t y-mmuth* (Arabic; Ouhalla 1991:119)
 'found-3p-him 3ms-has died'
 = 'They found him dead'

⁴ The absence of entries for *perfective* and *imperfective* in the index confirms this impression.

Also quite problematic for his approach is the fact that, in addition to appearing in different positions depending on verbal aspect, subject-agreement is also realized as discontinuous morphemes in the imperfective aspect, as shown in the following paradigm:

(12) Subject agreement in imperfective verbs in Arabic (Fassi Fehri 1988:114)

Pers	Gender	Sg	Dual	Pl
1		?__		n__
2	Masc	t__	t__a:	t__u:
	Fem	t__i:	t__a:	t__na
3	Masc	y__	y__a:	y__u:
	Fem	t__	t__a:	t__na

It is extremely difficult to see how a syntactic approach to inflection could handle these facts, even if we adapt Ritter's (1993) suggestion for NPs and propose that Number heads a distinct functional projection from AGR. That is, while this approach would presumably correctly allow us to attach verbal stems to the left of the plural markers, thus ensuring that they are realized as verbal suffixes, some mechanism would still have to be devised in order to ensure that the correct form of the plural morpheme occurs for a given person-gender-number combination (e.g., *-na* for [- 1st] feminine plural, and *-u:* for [-1st] masculine plural). Matters get even more complicated for gender, since this feature is realized as a suffix in second person but as a prefix in third person.⁵

As we can see, close consideration of two languages, Berber and Arabic, already casts serious doubt on the validity of the Verb Movement approach to inflectional

⁵ Note that, if we wanted to adopt an exploded-INFL analysis, this fact would probably mean that we should adopt and extend Ritter's proposal that gender does not head its own projection and realize gender on some the verb.

morphology. In the rest of this section, various other problems of a mostly morphological nature will be briefly discussed.

3.5.2 Other problems with Verb Movement

These problems are not limited to Berber and Arabic. Janda & Kathman (1992) discuss a number of morphological idiosyncrasies which prove problematic for a syntactic treatment of inflectional morphology. For instance, they discuss another case where subject-agreement markers appear in different positions depending on their person. Thus, in Choctaw past tense verbs, the first person singular marker occurs as a suffix between the verb stem and the past marker, while the first person plural occurs as a prefix. This type of pattern where different persons are marked in different positions is certainly not a rarity, since, in the Algonquian languages "first and second persons are specified by pronominal prefixes on verbs[;] third persons of various types, along with number, are indicated by verbal suffixes" (Mithun 1991:86-87).

Janda & Kathman (1992) also report the existence of numerous portmanteaus, that is, elements which simultaneously realize two or more morphemes and where it is impossible to identify parts. One such example is the expression of subject and object agreement in Southern Tiwa, which is often combined into a single form: for example, *bey-* '2sg:1sg' and *i-* '1sg:2sg'. Or a more well-known example is the morpheme *-o* in the Latin verb form *amo* which simultaneously indicates [1st, sg, pres, indicative, active] (cf. Pullum & Zwicky 1992:390 for the same argument).

Also problematic for a syntactic view of inflectional morphology is the existence of subtractive morphology, that is of features which are marked by the removal rather than by the addition of phonological material. Note that some researchers do not seem to have a problem with the idea that verbs move to a certain node not to pick up an actual morpheme but to lose some material. Indeed, a Verb-Movement analysis of the verbal inflection of Louisiana French Creole has been proposed by Rottet (1993) for the following facts:

- (13) a. *Mo mōzh pa*
 'I eat NEG'
 = 'I'm not eating'
- b. *Mo pa mōzhe*
 'I NEG eat'
 = 'I haven't eaten/didn't eat'

For Rottet, the verb in (13)b above has not undergone any movement and appears within VP, as indicated by the fact that it follows *pa*, the negative adverb. As a result, it does not bear Tense features. In (13)a, however, *mōzh* has raised to T, as shown by its placement to the left of *pa*, and, as a result, it bears Tense features. As we can see, however, Tense is not marked by any overt morpheme, but rather by the absence of the final vowel: *mōzhe* → *mōzh*.

Maybe the most spectacular challenge for a syntactic approach to morphology is the case of dual-position affixes in Afar. This East-Cushitic language possesses a number of 'dual-position' affixes which "appear as prefixes on verbs beginning with [e,i,o,u] and as suffixes on verbs beginning with [a] or a consonant" (Fulmer 1991:189); these affixes

include the person, causative, benefactive, passive, and plural markers. (13)a, (14) contains examples with the person marker for second person (Fulmer 1991:189):

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|----------------|----|------------------|----|---------------|
| (14) | a. | <i>t-okm-è</i> | b. | <i>yab-t-à</i> | c. | <i>ab-t-é</i> |
| | | 'you-eat-perf' | | 'speak-you-impf' | | 'do-you-perf' |
| | | = 'You ate' | | = 'You speak' | | = 'You did' |

The reason why Afar's mobile affixes represent such a challenge for the Verb-Movement approach is that, in addition to have to handle the fact that a single element appears in different positions on different verbs, this conditioning is of a phonological nature. It is generally held that phonology and syntax are two independent components and that syntax does not appeal to phonological information in its rules (Miller, Pullum, & Zwicky 1992:317-318). Postulating a rule that left-adjoins an element just in vowel-initial words would be a clear violation of this independence.

Mobile affixes are also found in the Amerindian language Huave. Noyer (in press) discusses three types of mobile affixes which can be realized as either prefixes or suffixes: (1) verb-stem formative theme, (2) certain tense- and person-affixes, and (3) the first person (and/or future) affix. The position of the theme vowel serves as a partial index of argument structure, as shown in (15)a. The second group of affixes share the property that they attach to the theme vowel, wherever that theme vowel happens to be, as is the case with the past morpheme illustrated in (15)b. Finally, the 1sg affix appears as a suffix in the past tense and as a prefix otherwise, as in (15)c.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|--|--|------------------|
| (15) | a. | <u>a</u> - <i>ts'āk'</i>
'unfasten' | <i>ts'āk'</i> - <u>a</u> -
'come loose' | (Noyer in press) |
| | b. | <u>t</u> - <i>a-wit'</i>
past-THEME-raise
'(s)he raised (it) up' | <i>wit'</i> - <u>i</u> - <u>t</u>
raise-THEME-past
'(s)he rose up' | |
| | c. | <u>s</u> - <i>a-wit'</i>
'I raise' | <i>t-a-wit'</i> - <u>as</u>
'I raised' | |

While the fact that the theme vowel can occur in either pre- or postverbal position is not directly relevant for the argument which I am making here,⁶ the two other types constitute more examples of elements which the syntax must place in different positions with respect to the verb stem. While it would be possible, here again, to follow Roberts' (1991b) suggestion and devise morphological subcategorization frames that would regulate affix placement, this procedure is not independently required syntactic purposes and should, in consequence, be avoided.

Other researchers have significantly contributed to the case against a Head-Movement treatment of inflectional morphology. Joseph & Smirniotopoulos (1993), for instance, convincingly show that Rivero's (1990) Verb-Movement account of the inflectional morphology of Greek is based on a number of misrepresentations which seriously undermine her approach. Bresnan & Mchombo's (1993) study of Chicheŵa noun class markers provides strong support for a linguistic theory which recognizes the existence of two separate components, morphology and syntax, each with its own set of rules and operations. Indeed, they found that some noun class marker in Chicheŵa are

⁶ We will see, however, that this fact is crucial for arguing against the widely-held assumption that affixes can only appear in one position, so that if something can occur in both preverbal and postverbal position, then it must be a clitic.

generated by morphological, word-internal rules, while others are generated by syntactic rules. They show that a unified syntactic analysis of all noun class markers like the one proposed by Myers (1987) for related Shona makes wrong predictions for Chicheŵa. Halpern (1992:9), finally, found support in his extensive study of clitics for Simpson & Withgott's (1986) view that clitic clusters must be handled by morphology rather than syntax:

the ordering of clitics with respect to one another, by hypothesis to be treated in the same fashion as the ordering of inflectional affixes, often is not based on syntactic function, but rather properties such as number or even syllable count. Based on this, I conclude that the ordering of clitics in clusters is not generally due to syntactic configuration; instead, the morphology must be responsible for such ordering. This further suggests that morphology alone might be responsible for inflectional affix ordering and undermines the syntactically-based accounts.

As Joseph & Smirniotopoulos (1993) point out, one might object that all these people's argumentation against a syntactic treatment of inflectional morphology relies on accidental and unimportant details such as suppletion and morpheme ordering which the syntax should not have to deal with anyway. Two possibilities can actually be considered to solve this problem. The first one views the features generated under each functional category as abstract features which are spelled out in a post-syntactic morphological component. Joseph & Smirniotopoulos (1993:393-394) reject this approach as "nothing more than a morphological solution masquerading as a syntactic one". The second solution has concrete morphemes generated in each functional node and a postsyntactic morphological component which rearranges ungrammatical sequences so as to fit the mor-

phological patterns allowed by the particular language one is dealing with. While not totally impossible, such a model strikes me as particularly uneconomical. Furthermore, it would seem to entail that one ordering of inflectional morphemes is logical and basic and that deviations from it are what must be handled by the postsyntactic rearrangement rules. I am not sure that we could prove that there exist such a basic morpheme order.

More importantly, however, there exist arguments against treating affixes as syntactic objects. Even if we dispense with Roberts' (1991b) morphological subcategorization frames and attribute affix placement to morphological rules in a postsyntactic morphological component, we must still find a way to make sure that the syntax does not separate the stem from its affix by either inserting some syntactically-independent element between the two or by doing excorporation. Indeed, Roberts proposes that two types of head-adjunction exist, a looser type which affects clitics and which allows the verb to move and leave its object clitic behind and a tighter type which prevents further movement of the verb without taking along its newly-attached affix. In a type of approach where idiosyncratic morphological facts are not dealt with until the syntax is over, there must thus be some special device to protect those entities which we call "words".

Another case where some special provision must be made in order to avoid affixal elements to undergo or be subjected to syntactic operations is also found in Roberts' work. Valdôtain has two series of subject clitics, one of which must always occur in preverbal position, the other in postverbal position (Roberts 1991a). In order to account for the grammaticality of (16)a in Valdôtain, as opposed to the ungrammaticality of the same construction in French, Roberts (1991a:318) proposes that preverbal subject clitics

in the latter variety need not be identified at PF and adds that this suggestion is fully compatible with his analysis of those elements as "default markers of a position, and inert for most grammatical processes".

- (16) a. *l'a-el/ela mindja* (Roberts 1991a:307)
 '3sg-has-he/she eaten'
 = 'Has he/she eaten?'
 b. **Il a-t-il mangé?*
 'he has-he eaten'
 = 'Has he eaten?'

3.6 Toward a morphological analysis of QCF argument markers

This issue of the inertness of subject clitics in Valdôtain takes us back to the object of this dissertation: the argument markers of QCF. This section will be divided into two parts. First, I will return to some of the facts introduced in Chapter 2 and discuss the specific problems that they pose for the Verb-Movement approach to verbal inflection. Second, I will propose a morphological analysis for the argument markers. As already mentioned, this analysis, which is very much inspired by the work of Cummins & Roberge (1994a,b) and their colleagues, posits a presyntactic morphological component where inflected words are prepared for lexical insertion. For postsyntactic spellout, a processual-morphology approach of the type proposed in Janda (1987), Anderson (1992), Pullum & Zwicky (1992), and Bessler (1994) will be adopted.

3.6.1 QCF argument markers and Verb-movement

A large part of Chapter 2 was devoted to presenting evidence that the argument markers of QCF must be analyzed as verbal inflectional morphemes which are attached to verbal stems in a morphological component rather than as pronominal clitics handled by syntactic rules. In this section, I will briefly review some of that same evidence and show that the facts of QCF support the conclusion which I have reached earlier in this chapter: Verb-Movement is not an adequate approach to verb inflection. In the course of doing so, I will occasionally discuss data from other Romance varieties, where relevant.

3.6.1.1 Double marking

Analyzing the argument markers of QCF as inflectional affixes has a number of far-reaching consequences. One of them is that there are now cases where the features for subject agreement are realized twice within a single word; the case of 2pl in finite verbs in French that I mentioned earlier is one such case, 3pl in the simple future is another such case. Finally, a number of irregular forms also have double marking of subject agreement in some persons. These cases are illustrated in (17):⁷

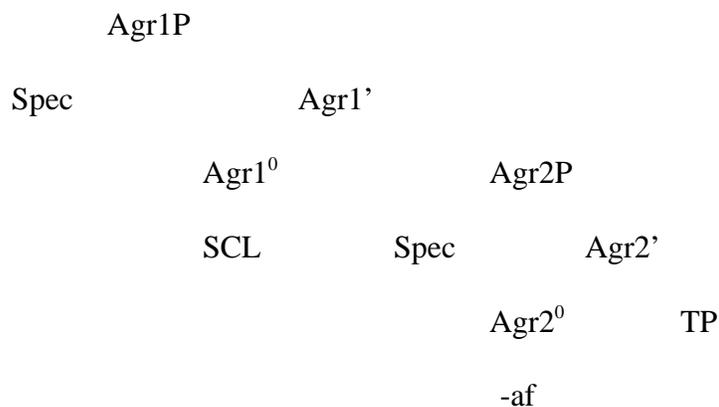
- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------|----|-----------------|----|----------------------|
| (17) | a. | <i>vous savez</i> | b. | <i>ils vont</i> | c. | <i>ils viendront</i> |
| | | '2pl know-2pl' | | '3pl go-3pl' | | '3pl come-fut-3pl' |
| | | = 'you-guys know' | | = 'they go' | | = 'they will come' |

⁷ I am not including 1pl forms like *nous mangeons* '1pl eat-1pl' here, because such forms are so rarely used in colloquial speech that it is probably fair to assume that they are not part of this grammar (cf. Laberge 1977:132 and Lambrecht 1980:343). Deshaies (1987:179) does not report a single occurrence of subject *nous*.

We know that the two instantiations for 2pl or 3pl in the above examples are truly two separate morphemes and not one discontinuous, because they can occur independently of each other. For example, in irregular verbs, *vous* can occur without *-ez*, as in *vous dites* 'you.pl say' or *vous faites* 'you.pl do', and *-ez* occurs on its own in imperative forms: *parlez!* 'speak!' (cf. Auger & Janda 1994).

Roberts' (1991a) double-AGR structure, which is illustrated in (6) above and repeated in (18) below for convenience, has been proposed precisely for handling similar cases of double marking of subject-agreement features in Valdôtain; see (19) further below.

(18) Roberts' (1991a:306) structure for subject-doubling constructions



- (19) a. *t'îè mindja* b. *l'a mindja* (Roberts 1991a:304)
 '2sg have.2sg eaten' '3sg have.3sg eaten'
 = 'you have eaten' 'he/she has eaten'

On the basis of the facts of subject doubling, Roberts reaches the conclusion that the subject clitics which accompany auxiliary verbs in that variety are some form of inflection and must therefore be generated under Agr rather than in subject position. This raises a problem, however, with respect to the agreement suffixes which still exist in that variety and can be presumed to be generated in Agr. His double-Agr solution allows the verb to first pick up its agreement suffix in Agr² and then move on to Agr¹ and adjoin to its subject clitic. If we stipulate that affixes bear morphological frames which tell the stem where to attach and that clitics always left-adjoin to verbs, then we can correctly derive the verbal forms in (19) above.

This structure cannot, however, account for the following fact from Fiorentino, another Romance variety with subject doubling. In this variety, in Subject-Clitic Inversion, the 3pl subject marker appears between the verb stem and the plural marker, as shown in (20) from Brandi and Cordin (1989:132):

- | | | | | |
|------|----|---|----|---|
| (20) | a. | <i>Icché gl'hanno fatto?</i>
'what they have-3pl done'
= 'What have they done?' | b. | <i>Icché ha(e)-gli-no fatto?</i>
'what have-they-3pl done'
= 'What have they done?' |
|------|----|---|----|---|

As we just saw, in a Verb-Movement analysis of the type proposed by Roberts, the verb must pick up its verbal suffix before picking up the subject clitic or moving past it. Given the widely accepted assumption that, once affixes have been attached to their stem, syntax cannot break up this sequence, it is really difficult to see how the subject clitic could be forced to intervene between the verb stem *ha* and the *-no* suffix.

This admittedly quite unusual verb form would therefore appear as a perfect candidate for a morphological analysis where both *gli* and *no* are treated as affixes and for a morphological process or template that would stipulate the morpheme order for 3pl interrogative verb forms. Later in this chapter, I will propose such morphological processes for interrogative verb forms in QCF. At that point, I will present additional evidence from Subject-Clitic Inversion in other Romance varieties which show, among other things, that the connection between the verb stem and the inverted clitic is too close to be the result of simple syntactic contact (contra Simpson & Withgott's 1986 general approach to clitics and most analyses of Subject-Clitic Inversion).

One last remark concerning the Fiorentino piece of data is in order: one cannot help noticing a similarity between this case and a certain construction in non-standard Spanish where a 3pl agreement marker also occurs outside a clitic. The examples in (21) below contain a reflexive clitic, but Heap et al. (1993:3) show that this phenomenon is attested with a variety of different object pronouns.

- (21) a. *sientesen* (Nonstandard Spanish I; Heap et al. 1993:2)
 'sit-refl-pl' = 'Sit down'
- b. *sientensen* (Nonstandard Spanish II; Heap et al. 1993:2)
 'sit-pl-refl-pl' = 'Sit down'

Heap et al. (1993) discuss the possibility of a Verb-Movement analysis for this construction and conclude that such an account would not only unduly complicate the syntax but would also violate constraints on Head Movement (Travis 1984). They also discuss the case of object clitics in European Portuguese: in this variety, object clitics

occur between the verb stem and the tense/aspect suffixes. In both cases, they suggest an alternative morphological account, and they argue that this approach handles the facts more straightforwardly than Verb Movement (cf. also Cummins & Roberge 1994a:245).

3.6.1.2 Morphophonological idiosyncrasies, cooccurrence restrictions, gaps

In Chapter 2, I argued that a number of inflected verb forms must be listed in the lexicon already attached to their argument markers, because they cannot be generated by any general phonological or morphophonological rules. Such forms include *chus* 'I am', *ε* 'she is', *sont* 'they are', and *m'as*, the 1sg auxiliary for the periphrastic future. These facts demonstrate that at least some verbal inflectional morphology cannot be handled through Verb-Movement.

Further evidence against a syntactic approach to inflectional morphology in general and to QCF argument markers in particular concerns the cooccurrence restrictions which affect argument-marker combinations. Simpson & Withgott (1986), Bonet (1991), Halpern (1992), and a number of other researchers have already argued that the restrictions which affect argument-marker clusters in the Romance languages and in some Australian languages are best accounted for if such combinations are treated morphologically rather than syntactically. For example, as we have already seen, there is no syntactic prohibition against combining a 1sg direct object and a 3sg indirect object, as shown in (22)a, and there is no templatic-like restriction against two preverbal object markers, as indicated by the grammaticality of (22)b, so that the impossibility of combining a 1sg direct object marker and a 3sg indirect object marker, which is illustrated in (22)c, cannot be attributed

to either the subcategorization frame of the verb involved, a general syntactic rule, or a general limit on the number of affixes allowed on any given verb. Instead, it must be handled by some form of morphological template or process.

- (22) a. *Elle m'a présentée à lui*
 'she me-has presented to him'
 = 'She introduced me to him'
- b. *Elle me l'a présentée*
 'she to-me her-has presented'
 = 'She introduced her to me'
- c. **Elle lui m'a présentée*
 'she to-him me-has presented'
 = 'She introduced me to him'

Furthermore, the fact that third person accusative and third person dative markers cannot both be overt, so that only the dative marker is realized, even though such verb forms are understood as containing features for a third person accusative is a morphological fact that syntactic rules cannot handle:

- (23) a. *J'ai donné le livre à Marie*
 'I have given the book to Mary'
 = 'I gave the book to Mary'
- b. **J'ai donné à Marie*
 'I have given to Mary'
- (24) a. *J'y ai donné*
 'I to-her (it) have given'
 = 'I have given it to her'
- b. *Elle me l'a donné*
 'she to-me it has given'
 = 'She gave it to me'
- c. **Elle m'a donné*
 'she to-me has given'

As the examples above show, *donner* 'to give' is a ditransitive verb, and both arguments must generally be realized in order to yield a grammatical sentence. The only exception is when both arguments are third person and realized as argument markers; in this case, only the dative marker shows up. Whether this is the result of a phonological coalescence rule, the reflection of a tendency in the Romance languages to mark only one of two arguments in such configurations (cf. Morin 1983:53 and Bonet 1991:108, who report similar facts for Barceloní Catalan and Italian), or a combination of both, I do not know. But it is clear that this type of morphological idiosyncrasy cannot be handled through syntactic rules.

3.6.1.3 Postverbal object markers

As we saw in Chapter 2, object markers in French and in QCF often take on different forms depending on whether they occur in pre- or postverbal position, and no general phonological rule can derive such alternations. For instance, we saw that postverbal markers are not always stressed, so that their form cannot be attributed to a general prohibition against the occurrence of schwa in stressed position. We also saw that, while *me* 'me' and *te* 'you.sg' became *moi* and *toi* in postverbal position, *le* 'it' did not become **loi*, but remained *le*. For convenience, representative examples are given in (25) and (26):

- (25) a. *Tu me crois* b. *Crois-moi!*
 'you.sg me believe' 'speak to-me'
 = 'You believe me' = 'Believe me!'

- (26) a. *Je le crois* b. *Crois-le!*
 'I it/him believe' 'believe it/him'
 = 'I believe it/him' = 'Believe it/him!'

In this section, I will discuss Rooryck's (1992) Verb-Movement recent proposal for clitic placement in the Romance languages and will show that the facts just described constitute a problem for this type of analysis.

In Rooryck's analysis, true imperative verbs—that is, verbs which bear imperative morphology, not infinitives or subjunctives used as imperatives as in (27) below—raise to C⁰ in order to pick their imperative morphology.

- (27) a. *Ne pas fumer*
 'Neg not to-smoke'
 = 'No smoking'
 b. *Que personne ne bouge!*
 'That nobody NEG move'
 = 'Nobody move!'

On their way to C⁰, verbs must, however, leave their object clitics behind them in order to avoid an ECP violation. It is this obligation for the clitics to be left behind which accounts for their enclitic status in this construction. In Standard French negative imperatives, the presence of *ne* in Neg prevents verb raising from taking place. The verb must now remain in a position lower than NegP, thus accounting for the preverbal position of the object markers.⁸

⁸ Rooryck's claim that imperative morphology is generated in Comp is based on Romance languages where different forms occur in positive and negative imperatives, and his analysis may be sound for such cases. But his claim is highly problematic for French, where no such asymmetry exists. In most cases, French imperatives

Object markers are problematic in a number of ways for Rooryck's analysis. First, if the only (or main) difference between imperative and non-imperative sentences is the landing site of the verb, then the fact that different forms of the object markers occur in different positions does not follow at all. In Rooryck's analysis, it is the same clitic which either occurs on the same node as the verb or is left behind when the verb moves on to Comp. A similar problem arises concerning the ordering of the clitics within a clitic cluster: how do we account for the fact that when non-third person accusative and third person dative clitics cooccur, their relative ordering varies depending on whether they are proclitic or enclitic, as shown in (28):

- (28) a. *Il me le donne* b. *Donne-le-moi*
 'he to-me it gives' 'give-it-to-me'
 = 'He gives it to me' = 'Give it to me'

are homophonous with present indicative forms. But there exist a few forms which can be claimed to be imperative. The first such case concerns 2sg verbs from the first conjugation. These verbs differ from their indicative counterparts in that they do not end in *-s*, as shown in (i):

- (i) a. *Parle-lui!* b. *Ne lui parle pas!* c. *Tu lui parles*
 'speak-to.him' 'NEG to.him-speak not' '2sg to.him speak'

As we can see, the *s*-less imperative form is used in both positive and negative imperatives.

While one might want to discard the example above as not particularly illuminating because I claim to be imperative morphology is purely an orthographic convention, additional evidence for my position comes from the following facts concerning *être* 'to be'.

In (ii) below, we see that, in the imperative, *être* is homophonous with the subjunctive, so that we might wonder whether *sois* is a true imperative in the following examples. As we can see, *sois* appears in both positive and negative imperatives, which Rooryck would probably want to attribute to the fact that *sois* does not raise to Comp. But if Rooryck is right about the fact that postverbal clitics are a sign that the verb has raised to Comp, then c. forces us to conclude that *sois* can occur in Comp and thus be a true imperative verb form.

- (ii) a. *Sois gentil!* b. *Ne sois pas si triste!* c. *Sois-y!*
 'be nice' 'NEG be not so sad' 'be there'
 = 'Be nice!' = 'Don't be so sad'

At this point, I have no alternative analysis to offer, but this issue definitely deserves further investigation. As we are about to see, this is not the only problem associated with his claim that imperative morphology is generated in C0.

One possible, partial explanation is suggested by Rooryck's himself. Indeed, Rooryck discusses forms where an intervocalic /z/ shows up, as in (29) below, and he suggests that this /z/ which only shows up in postverbal clitic clusters is an instantiation of imperative morphology.

- (29) *Donne-moi-/z/-en*
 'give-to.me-of.it'
 = 'Give me some'

This is not an unreasonable hypothesis, since, as we saw in Chapter 2, this /z/ typically shows up in imperative verbs before *en* and *y*. But note that an analysis along these lines would not suffice to generate the actual surface forms and that a morphological component would have to contain information about which forms occur where and how they are ordered with respect to each other. However, it is not certain that this approach can actually work. Indeed, since, according to Rooryck, object clitics are left behind in AgrS⁰ and thus do not reach C⁰, it is difficult to see how they can instantiate imperative morphology. Is phonological cliticization sufficient to trigger the imperative morphology to be passed on to the object clitics? This is an empirical question.

3.6.1.4 Subject-Clitic Inversion

As we saw in Chapter 2, SCI in QCF is restricted to second person subjects in *yes/no* questions. First and third person subject markers must always occur in preverbal

position. I interpreted these facts as making a syntactic analysis of SCI difficult, since some device would have to be introduced in order to restrict applicability of a syntactic movement rule. One possible solution would be to mark only second person subject markers as eligible for undergoing SCI, or, alternatively, to mark first and third person subject markers as not eligible. There is, however, a serious problem with this approach: it is totally *ad hoc*. That is, "invertability" is the only difference between second and non-second person subject markers, since they must all occur in presence of a strong pronoun subject, they must all be repeated before each verb in verb-conjunction constructions, and they all are used as "resumptive" elements in subject relative and pseudo-cleft clauses.

Before suggesting a morphological analysis of SCI in QCF in Section 3.6.2, I would like to strengthen the case for such a morphological analysis by reviewing facts about SCI in other Romance varieties. As we will see, QCF is not the only language for which a syntactic analysis of SCI is either impossible or extremely implausible.

Subject-Clitic Inversion in other Romance dialects

In this section on other Romance dialects, I will first discuss data which show that a syntactic movement rule cannot generate all types of SCI and that it is sometimes necessary to generate subject markers in two different positions. I will then consider two types of data which illustrate the crucial role that morphological conditions sometimes play in constraining SCI.

SCL + verb + SCL in Franco-Provençal

In some varieties of Franco-Provençal, it is possible for both a preverbal and a postverbal subject clitic to occur in the same sentence. In these cases, it is thus impossible to posit a movement rule which would take the subject clitic and move it after the verb (Kayne 1975) or, alternatively, would move the verb past the subject clitic (Rizzi & Roberts 1989). Instead, we must base-generate two occurrences of the subject pronoun (cf. Roberts 1991a for a syntactic analysis of these SCI facts in Valdôtain, which is a variety of Franco-Provençal).

- (30) a. *n en nó unkó de pale?* (Olszyna-Marzys 1964:28)
 '1pl have 1pl still of hay/straw'
 = 'Do we still have hay/straw?'
- b. *Dze medzo-dzò an pomma?* (Roberts 1991a:307)
 '1sg eat -1sg an apple'
 = 'Shall I eat an apple?'

Morphophonological alternations

In the preceding section, I discussed the fact that some object markers in French and in QCF have different forms depending on whether they occur pre- or postverbally, and I argued that such a fact was a problem for a syntactic approach to inflection and clitic-placement. In this section, I discuss similar facts concerning subject markers in SCI.

In a number of Romance varieties, the form of preverbal and postverbal subject markers differs, and there is no general phonological rule which can generate all the relevant forms. Consider, for example, (31) below, which shows subject pronouns in

Middle Picard. For 1sg, we find the atonic form *je* in preverbal position and the old, tonic *jou* in postverbal position, but any attempt to systematically account for the distribution of the tonic forms fails once we look at 1pl. Indeed, in this case, we have the tonic form in preverbal position and the atonic form in postverbal position. Finally, no tonic/atonic distinction seems to affect that 2pl forms, since *vous* occurs in both positions.

(31)	Preverbal	Postverbal	(Flutre 1970)
	<i>je/ej/jé/j'</i>	<i>je/jou</i>	'I'
	<i>nos/nous/os</i>	<i>ne</i>	'we'
	<i>vos/vous/os</i>	<i>vous</i>	'you.pl'

In the variety of Modern Picard spoken in Somme, in Northern France, we find yet another type of correspondence between pre- and postverbal subject markers: dialectal forms are used in preverbal position, while French forms are used in postverbal positions for all persons except 1sg and 3masc (sg and pl):

(32)	Subject Pronouns in Modern Picard (cf. Haigneré 1903/1969 and Ledieu 1909)		
	Preverbal	Postverbal	
	<i>je</i>	— ⁹	'I'
	<i>te</i>	<i>tu</i>	'you.sg'
	<i>i(l)</i>	<i>i</i>	'he'
	<i>a(l)</i>	<i>elle</i>	'she'
	<i>os</i>	<i>nous</i>	'we'
	<i>os</i>	<i>vous</i>	'you.pl'
	<i>i(l)(s)</i>	<i>i</i>	'they.masc'
	<i>i(l)(s)</i>	<i>elles</i>	'they.fem'

⁹ Haigneré reports that the 1sg postverbal form is missing.

Similarly, in the variety of French of Pontarlier, in Eastern France, no systematic correspondences can be established between pre- and post-verbal forms of the subject markers, as shown in the paradigm based on data from Tissot (1970) in (33) below. This case is very similar to what we see in Middle Picard, with tonic forms sometimes appearing preverbally, sometimes postverbally.

(33)	Preverbal	Postverbal	Preverbal	Postverbal
	<i>i</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>n'/nous</i>
	<i>te</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>ous</i>
	<i>i/l'</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i/l'</i> (3mp)	<i>u</i>
	? (3fs)	<i>le</i>	<i>le/l'</i> (3fp)	<i>lè</i>

Moving from Northern France to the Occitan dialects of the south, we find that, in Limousin, third person singular and plural subject clitics are realized as *ou(s)* in preverbal position and as either *t-eu* or *t-i* in postverbal position, as shown in (34) and (35) below. In addition to a change in vowel, we thus observe the occurrence of a [t]. Even though the diachronic origin of this epenthetic consonant is quite unproblematic, since it can probably be attributed to an old liaison consonant, just as is the case of French *-t-il/-t-elle* and Colloquial French *-ti/-tu* (cf. Foulet 1921:269), this historical explanation cannot straightforwardly be incorporated into a synchronic analysis of clitic placement. Hence, *t-eu/t-i* in Occitan must be a distinct post-verbal subject-marker form (cf. Sportiche 1994:19 for a similar argument and a similar conclusion concerning Standard French *t-il*).

Interaction between inverted subject marker and stem

Finally, an even more extreme case of interaction between an inverted subject marker and its host is found the following Friulan example from Benincà (1994). As we can see, occurrence of the subject marker in postverbal position shortens the stem vowel in all three singular persons:

(38)	<i>o vjo:t</i>	<i>vjodio?</i>	<i>o vjiodin</i>	<i>vjodino?</i>
	<i>tu vjo:ts</i>	<i>vjodis-tu?</i>	<i>o vjodé:s</i>	<i>vjode:zo?</i>
	<i>al vjo:t</i>	<i>vjodel?</i>	<i>e vjòdin</i>	<i>vjodino?</i>

Once again, it would be difficult for a syntactic analysis in terms of Verb-Movement and cliticization to account for such intimate links between the verb stem and the postverbal subject marker as revealed by the vocalic alternation triggered by the postverbal subject marker. I thus interpret this paradigm as strongly supporting a morphological treatment of subject markers and verbal inflection in general (contra Beninca 1994).

3.6.2 A morphological analysis of QCF argument markers

As mentioned toward the beginning of this chapter, the Checking Theory proposed by Chomsky (1993) offers a simple solution to the problems discussed above. Indeed, Chomsky's (1993:27-28) new Minimalist Program allows functional features to be generated in the lexicon as an intrinsic property and to be checked against the inflectional element I. Fully inflected verbs are thus inserted into the syntactic tree, and a derivation

is grammatical only if the V-features in Tense and AGR and the features of the inserted verb are compatible. As a consequence, the verb does not move up the tree in order to pick up affixes anymore, but only in order to check these features.

Since Speas (1991b:415) remarked on the vagueness which characterized some aspects of Chomsky's proposal, specific suggestions have been made concerning how this general framework proves to be appropriate for handling inflectional morphology. First, as Speas herself noted, because the order in which the morphemes are realized in particular languages does not have to reflect the order in which the functional categories appear in the syntactic tree, this new theory allows us to propose a universal structure for INFL and to free syntax from the burden of having to generate a mass of highly idiosyncratic data. Note, however, that Speas (1991b:414) does not give up the idea that there is a relationship between syntactic structure and morpheme order: according to her, morpheme order is constrained by head-movement of the verb through tense and aspect, but it is not determined by it. This idea that morpheme order is still somewhat dependent on syntactic derivation may account for the high level of systematicity observed in inflectional morphology crosslinguistically. It also allows us to treat agreement as a Spec-head relationship rather than as a position within syntactic structure. While some researchers persist in proposing Verb-Movement analyses of verb inflection, we saw earlier in this chapter that a growing number of syntacticians now admit the possibility that at least some inflectional morphology can and/or must be handled in a presyntactic morphological component, while spellout takes place at PF.

Bessler (1994:99-100) lists the following three requirements for an "adequate theory of inflectional morphology":

- i) a separate morphological component must be recognized; that is, morphology must not be treated as some sort of subcomponent of syntax or phonology;
- ii) the theory must treat derivation and inflection separately and must provide a way to handle the link between the latter and syntax; and
- iii) it must be able to handle non-concatenative morphology.

According to Bessler, Anderson's (1992) approach is the only one which tries to meet all of these criteria and, in consequence, his own approach builds very much on Anderson's analysis.

I am in full agreement with Bessler on all of these criteria. The model which I adopt here is that of Bessler (1994), Cummins & Roberge (1994a,b), and Nadasdi (1994). Because this approach generates all inflectional features in a presyntactic interface component called the Lexicon-Syntax Interface (LSI), I will refer to it as the LSI-analysis. In addition to proposing the creation of this presyntactic morphological component where inflectional morphology takes place, this model adopts Chomsky's (1993) Checking mechanism, which takes place in syntax and ensures compatibility between the morpho-syntactic features of the lexical elements and the sentence in which they are inserted, and posits the existence of language-particular morphological processes which spell out inflected words at PF. In the rest of this section, I will spell out the details of the LSI-analysis, pointing out the areas of disagreement between the various authors and

indicating what my own position is. I will also make specific proposals for areas and issues which have not been dealt with, yet.

Because Bessler, Cummins & Roberge, and Nadasdi want to treat derivation and inflection separately and because the lexicon seems to be the natural home for the former, which creates new words whose meanings must often be listed in the lexicon, they reject Chomsky's suggestion that inflectional features are generated in the lexicon. Instead, they expand on another aspect of Chomsky's model: they adopt the idea that interfaces play a crucial role in linking the Computational Component and the PF and LF performance systems and propose the creation of an additional interface, the Lexicon-Syntax Interface (LSI), which will be responsible for handling inflection. They suggest that lexical stems and bundles of unordered inflectional features are freely associated in this interface level, before lexical insertion, thus concretely implementing Chomsky's idea that fully-inflected words are inserted in the syntax.

In syntax, a Checking operation (cf. Cummins & Roberge 1994a:251 for a detailed proposal concerning this mechanism) ensures that the lexical items are compatible with the sentence in which they have been inserted. If the features do not match—for example, if a direct object marker is attached to an intransitive verb or if a 2sg subject-agreement marker cooccurs with a 3pl subject—the derivation crashes at LF (Bessler 1994:111 and Cummins & Roberge 1994a:249). Derivations can also crash at PF if the language-particular morphophonological rules do not allow the realization of a certain feature-combination. It is therefore possible for an element to be well-formed syntactically but not morphophonologically, thus accounting for the ungrammaticality of (39) below:

- (39) **Il me lui a présentée*
 'he me to-him/her has presented'
 = 'He introduced me to him/her'

If the derivation does not crash, spellout takes place at PF. Here, we find the first (and probably only) major difference between the three proposals: Cummins & Roberge adapt Bonet's (1991) item-and-arrangement morphological approach, Nadasdi favors a templatic approach similar to that proposed in Simpson & Withgott (1986), and Bessler advocates an approach in terms of morphological processes of the type proposed by Anderson (1992). The present paper adopts the latter, processual approach, where verbal forms are directly generated by morphological processes rather than altered to yield idiosyncratic forms or fit a language-particular template, because of its appropriateness to handle morphological operations in which it is difficult to identify and segment discrete morphemes. That is, processual morphology seems preferable when considering such unpredictable forms as the previously-mentioned ϵ 'she is' and *chus* 'I am'. It is also preferable to the templatic approach defended by Nadasdi. Indeed, as we are about to see, while Nadasdi's templatic approach can handle quite straightforwardly the possible combinations of argument markers in QCF, it cannot handle all the facts of Standard French, and it provides no easy way to account for non-concatenative combinations. The template in (40) below was proposed for Standard French by Nadasdi. It works as follows: clitics which are not restricted to one level, like *il* and *ne*, can combine with all the other clitics, but clitics which occupy the same vertical position or the same horizontal level cannot cooccur on the same verb.

(40) Nadasdi's (1994:70) template for Standard French preverbal argument markers

il	ne	me		lui	
			le	y	en

This template thus correctly predicts that *me le* and *le lui* are permissible clitic sequences and that *me lui* is not. Unfortunately, however, it incorrectly rules out as non-permissible the sequences *l'y* and *l'en*.

- (41) a. *Elle l'y a conduit*
 'she him there has led'
 = 'She took him there'
- b. *Elle l'en a averti*
 'she him of-it has warned'
 = 'She warned him about it'

Now, if we try to adapt this concept of template so it can account for QCF clitic clusters, the results appear more promising. Indeed, as we saw in Chapter 2, the facts of QCF are slightly simpler since this variety possesses fewer argument markers. I argued that *ne* is not part of QCF grammar and that *lui* is replaced by *y*. The facts which must be taken into account are thus the following:

- (42) Possible combinations of argument markers in QCF
- | | |
|--------------|--|
| <i>me le</i> | <i>Il me l'a donné</i> |
| <i>*l'y</i> | <i>*Il l'y a donné / *Il l'y a rencontrée</i> |
| <i>*m'y</i> | <i>*Il m'y a présenté / *Il m'y a menée</i> |
| <i>m'en</i> | <i>Il m'en a parlé / *Il m'en a ramenée</i> |
| <i>l'en</i> | <i>*Il l'en a débarrassée / *Il l'en a ramenée</i> |
| <i>y en</i> | <i>Il y en a parlé</i> |

Sequences containing locative *en* seem much less natural than clusters containing partitive *en* in QCF, but this can probably be attributed to a general tendency not to use argument markers with adjunct locatives, as discussed in Chapter 2. Therefore, the fact that *Il m'en a ramenée* 'He brought me back from there' is not really natural, and probably not grammatical, in QCF does not necessarily argue in favor of distinguishing two different *en* for the purpose of clitic placement—even though, obviously, different features must be used at the morphosyntactic level, since a partitive complement does not behave like a locative complement.

The following template can thus be suggested in order to predict the possible combinations of argument markers in QCF:

(43) Template for the preverbal argument markers of QCF

je	me	y	
tu	te	leur	
il	nous		
elle	vous		
on		le	en
vous		la	
ils		les	

While this template correctly generates all and only the permissible argument-marker clusters of QCF, noncatenative cases like the haplology example discussed in Chapter 2 pose a serious problem for this type of approach. Indeed, the template in (43) above straightforwardly rules out **m'y* '1sg.acc + 3sg.dat/loc' and **te leur* '2sg.acc +

3pl.dat', but it is not clear how it could account for those uses where the form *y* corresponds to two feature bundles, namely '3msg.acc + 3sg.dat'. Another, and probably more serious, problem for the templatic approach concerns the idiosyncratic forms which were also discussed in Chapter 2. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the template above can generate such forms as *chus* 'I am' and *m'as* 'I'm going to'. For these reasons, I thus reject the templatic approach to morphology in favor of an Andersonian processual approach. Concrete examples of such processes will be given and discussed below.

One might wonder why we need to handle the generation of inflectional features and their spellout in two different parts of the grammar. Indeed, if we view the morphology as a highly idiosyncratic part of the grammar, nothing really prevents us from generating features and placing them with respect to their stem at the same time. For reasons which are not always made very explicit, however, proponents of the LSI-analysis have opted for presyntactic generation and postsyntactic spellout. For example, Cummins & Roberge (1994b:2) state: "The range of variation observed [in the behavior of pronominal clitics and verbal desinences in various Romance dialects] is interpreted as evidence for the need for post-syntactic mechanisms".

The main advantage of a morphological theory which separates generation of inflectional features and spellout is that it can handle mismatches between morphosyntactic features and their overt realization quite straightforwardly. Indeed, while in the normal case, there is a one-to-one correspondence between morphosyntactic features and their morphophonological representation, there is no reason to disallow occasional mismatches. For example, since PF representations are independent from ILS representations, two

feature bundles can get realized as one overt morpheme, thus straightforwardly handling haplology cases like those discussed above (e.g., 3sg.fem.acc + 3sg.fem.dat → *y*), or one feature bundle, e.g. subject agreement, can get realized with two morphemes (2pl.subj → *vous* + *-ez/-tes*, as in *vous mangez* 'you.pl eat.2pl' and *vous dites* 'you.pl say.2pl'). One advantage of handling subject agreement this way is that we do not have to devise any special mechanism to ensure that the two parts of subject-agreement marking match. Another advantage is that the independence between morphosyntactic and morphophonological representations does not force us to view *vous* + *-ez/-tes* as one discontinuous morpheme. As argued in Auger & Janda (1994), an analysis in terms of discontinuous morpheme is not desirable, given that the two parts appear to be somewhat independent of each other: only *-ez* shows up in imperatives, *-tes* instead of *-ez* occurs in some irregular verbs in the present indicative, and *vous* can show up in postverbal position in interrogative verb forms, as exemplified in (44):

- (44) a. *Parlez!* b. *vous faites* c. *Parlez-vous?*
 'speak.2pl' 'you.pl do.2pl' 'speak.2pl-you.pl'
 = 'Speak!' = 'you do' 'Are you speaking?'

The only potential disadvantage of this approach, in my opinion, is that it might conceal the additional level of complexity which is presumably associated with double-marking of a single feature bundle. I suggest, however, that this is not a real problem, if we posit that mismatches are inherently undesirable, because they are non-optimal, and that they always add to the complexity of a given morphological form (cf., e.g., Sadock

& Schiller's 1993:393 Generalized Interface Principle). Realization of one bundle of morphosyntactic features as two morphemes thus represents a marked option.

Now, one crucial test for the approach which is being developed here is how well it can handle the difference between subject and object markers. That is, the fully-inflected verb forms generated by the ILS must allow cooccurrence of a lexical subject with a verb bearing a subject marker, but disallow cooccurrence of an object marker and a lexical object. In Bessler's proposal, the argument markers of French bear, in addition to person, number, and gender features, a feature corresponding to their case. Thus, *elle le mange* 'she it eats' bears a subject marker with the features 3fsg.nom and a DO marker with the features 3msg.acc, in addition to the features 3sg for subject agreement. Since, in French, verbs agree only with their subjects, Bessler claims that these agreement features need not be further specified nor structured. In Bessler's description of a variety of French with no clitic doubling, the possibility for a verb to take a lexical argument thus depends on whether it bears an argument marker with a positive value for the case corresponding to that argument: in the example above, the verb is saturated for both nominative and accusative and, as a consequence, it cannot take overt lexical arguments.

At first sight, it might seem that Bessler's proposal requires only minimal changes in order to account for the facts of QCF. Indeed, as we saw in Chapter 2, the major difference between Standard French and QCF is that the subject markers in the latter variety do not function as arguments but as agreement markers, so that our analysis must allow (45) below to be generated. One possibility is to pursue the avenue mentioned above: one set of subject-agreement features is generated in LSI and subject markers and

agreement suffixes are treated as the PF spellout of this single set of features. This way, no [+nom] feature appears on the verb, and a lexical subject is allowed to be realized. And since QCF agree only with their subjects, no additional specification or structure is required in order to associate the agreement features with the subject.

- (45) *Marie elle le mange*
 'Mary she it eats'
 = 'Mary eats it'

As for sentences with no lexical subjects like (46), they are, in this approach, treated as simple cases of null-subject sentences (cf., e.g., Roberge 1990 and Speas 1994 for analyses of null-argument constructions as involving *pro*; but see Sadock 1991 for the suggestion that agreement markers are the true syntactic arguments in null-argument constructions and Jelinek 1984 for the revival in a generative framework of Humboldt's 1836 suggestion that affixes are arguments and the lexical phrases with which they agree, some type of adjunct).

- (46) *Elle le mange*
 'she it eats'
 = 'She eats it'

I would like to suggest, however, that Bessler's analysis is too language-specific and that it is therefore desirable to make our account of the verbal morphology of QCF more general. Precisely, I would like to call into question his claim that the verbal agree-

ment features of French need not be structured. Indeed, as soon as we take into account languages with multiple-agreement systems such as Georgian or Basque, it becomes necessary to structure the verb's feature bundles so we know which features are associated with which argument (Anderson 1992:146). In those languages, it is not possible to have a default principle linking agreement features and their argument. Anderson thus concludes that some structure is necessary within Morphosyntactic Representations and that the feature bundles associated with the various arguments must be layered, with the direct object features being most deeply embedded, the indirect object features occurring in an intermediate position, and the subject features being recorded in an outermost layer, as illustrated in (47):

- (47) Morphosyntactic representation for Class I verbs in Georgian (Anderson 1992:146)
 [Tense/Aspect, \mathbf{F}_{Sbj} [\mathbf{F}_{IO} [\mathbf{F}_{DO}]]]

Contrary to Bessler (1994:132), who rejects the need to structure the feature bundles when dealing with the Romance languages based on the fact that Romance verbs agree with only one type of argument, I suggest that it is preferable to propose a general analysis which can be extended to all types of languages, no matter how complex their agreement systems are. Furthermore, there are two reasons why the non-structured approach might not appropriately handle even the Romance facts. First, the claim that Romance verbs only agree with their subjects is highly arguable, given the convincing arguments which have been presented in favor of an analysis of Spanish indirect object clitics and Porteño Spanish direct object clitics as agreement markers (cf., e.g., Suñer

1988, Moore 1991, Fontana 1993, and Franco 1993). Second, from a diachronic perspective, it seems easier for some affixal element in a language to make the transition from argument marker to agreement marker if the feature structure is already available than if the structure must be created while the transition is being made or once it has been completed. If the layering is already present, however, we predict that Bantu and Romance languages should be able to develop object agreement without much difficulty. Indeed, if this approach is on the right track, the transition from argument marker to agreement marker would simply involve the loss of the case feature.

I thus suggest that layered morphological representations coupled with the possibility for feature bundles to include a case feature allows us to generate all the various verb forms which are inserted in syntactic structure. The layering is necessary in order to organize the various agreement features in languages with multiple-agreement systems, while the case feature is necessary in order to saturate verbs and prevent lexical arguments from cooccurring with argument markers which function as true syntactic arguments. For example, while the layering structure in (47) is hypothesized to hold for all Romance verbs, QCF differs from Spanish in that IO markers in the former variety bear a [+dat] feature, thus saturating the verb and preventing IO-doubling, while IO markers in the latter language do not bear this [+dat] feature and allow a lexical indirect object to cooccur. In Spanish, since there are two types of agreement represented on the verb and since the respective feature bundles are not associated with a case feature, it becomes necessary to rely on layering in order to associate the features with the appropriate argument.

This approach in terms of argument saturation also straightforwardly predicts that only markers which do not saturate a position in a verb's subcategorization frame will be allowed to occur in extraction contexts such as relative clauses and *wh*-questions. I will discuss this issue in more detail in Section 3.6.3 below. For the moment, it suffices to mention that this analysis is completely compatible with the QCF facts discussed in Chapter 2. In that chapter, I argued that verbs bearing subject markers naturally show up in subject relative clauses because subject markers do not count as resumptive pronouns, while verbs bearing object markers create resumptive constructions which are no different from structures which contains an adverbial preposition or a preposition + strong pronoun.

What is crucial for syntactic operations such as agreement, case marking, etc. is the morphosyntactic features which are generated in LSI and not the morphophonological features of PF. For Bessler (1994:109), those morphosyntactic representations are fully specified: "each lexical item that goes through the LSI receives a specification for each feature that is relevant for the given lexical item's category (noun, verb, adjective, etc.)" (my translation). As an illustration, he discusses the case of definite determiners in French. At the morphosyntactic level, four forms are generated: *fsg*, *msg*, *fpl*, and *mpl*, and these are the forms that enter into agreement relationships with the head nouns of their NPs. At the morphophonological level, however, only three forms are generated: *fsg la*, *msg le*, and *pl les*. While it is true that this approach does not burden the lexicon with an undue number of homophonous lexical entries, since it views the lexicon as a list of stems which get assigned inflectional features only at the LSI, we will see in the discussion of generic *ça* in Chapter 4 that a unification approach to agreement allows us

to postulate that inflected forms may remain underspecified even as they enter morpho-syntactic and syntactic relations. That is, contrary to Bessler, who would undoubtedly posit two *ils* 'they' and two *je* 'I' for QCF, one feminine and one masculine form in each case, so that he can account for predicate agreement in the sentences in (48) below, I propose instead that the LSI generates one 3pl form and one 1sg form which are underspecified for gender and thus compatible with both feminine and masculine predicates.

- (48) a. *Ils sont gentilles/gentils*
 'they are nice.fpl/nice.mpl'
 b. *Je suis grande/grand*
 'I am tall.fsg/tall.msg'

Another consequence of my position concerning underspecification of morphosyntactic features concerns the representation of case features when argument markers do not appear on verbs. Because his approach requires morphosyntactic features to be fully specified, Bessler (1994:197) suggests that, when no direct object marker appears on a transitive verb, then this verb bears a feature [-acc]. I propose, instead, that when no DO marker is realized, no [acc] feature is present, so that such a verb is not saturated for that particular argument and thus requires an overt argument in the syntax. Otherwise, the derivation will crash, because the verb will be missing one of its obligatory arguments.

Before moving on to the concrete part of the analysis, that is, to the morphological processes which are required for generating the verbal forms of QCF, there is one more type of analysis which must be discussed. So far in this dissertation, I have argued against a Verb-Movement approach to verbal inflection as well as against a templatic

account of argument-marker combinations. I have not, however, considered the possibility that Distributed Morphology might also adequately handle the facts. Given that, in this morphological theory, morphology can rearrange the output of syntax so that the resulting morphological structure does not necessarily reflect the syntactic derivation, one might wonder whether there is an empirical difference between the two approaches or whether the differences are, in the end, purely notational or theory-internal.

I can see two crucial differences between the approach defended here and that of Halle (1990), Bonet (1991), Noyer (1992), and Halle & Marantz (1993). First, in the LSI-analysis, affixal elements are affixal all the way through, and, as a consequence, the syntax need not be complicated with additional devices that will ensure that affixes will never be separated from their stems by anything else than other affixes. Distributed Morphology, on the other hand, as described in Halle & Marantz (1993:166)

is assumed to pick up inflectional features, bundled in terminal nodes, through various mechanisms that are either syntactic or rely on syntactic structure. Head movement and adjunction, a syntactic operation, may affix an inflectional morpheme to a stem. In addition, head merger under structural adjacency, also a syntactic operation, may affix inflectional morphemes to verbs. The addition of Agr and other morphemes at MS, followed by the copying of features in agreement depends on the syntactic structure.

Second, our approach is processual and allows us to handle non-concatenative morphology more straightforwardly than Distributed Morphology. Pullum & Zwicky (1992:393) discuss a number of problems that Halle's (1990) morphological approach cannot handle. Those problems include the lack of one-on-one correspondence between

morphemes and the features which they realize, discontinuous morphemes, zeroes, and rule ordering. These issues are all unproblematic for a processual approach to morphology, since processes can associate complex feature bundles with a single morpheme or, on the contrary, one feature with material occurring in two different positions at the same time. And, as Pullum & Zwicky (1992:391) point out, processual approaches allow us to say that affixes occur only when some rule calls for them, so that there is no need to posit zero-morphemes when we are analyzing a zero-inflected form.

3.6.2.1 Morphological processes

All that remains to be done at this point to complete the LSI-analysis of QCF verbal morphology is to give concrete examples of the morphological processes which spell out the verbs at PF. Up to this point, things are indeed quite clear:

- (i) stems from the lexicon are freely associated with inflectional features in the LSI;
- (ii) fully-inflected verbs are inserted in the Computational Component;
- (iii) Checking ensures that the verbal features are compatible with the sentence in which the verb is inserted;
- (iv) if a feature clash arises, if an argument is missing, or if a lexical phrase cannot be interpreted because two XPs compete for the same argument position, then the derivation crashes at LF;
- (v) and if the morphosyntactic features yield a non-permissible morphophonological structure, then the derivation crashes at PF.

What this section deals with is how permissible morphophonological structures are spelled out. The focus, here, will obviously be on argument markers, their attachment to verbal stems, and their relative ordering. Other inflectional elements will be taken into account only insofar as they bear on the formulation of processes involving argument markers.

Morphological processes such as those proposed by Anderson (1992) typically instruct the grammar on how to spell out feature bundles attached to a stem or to a category of stems. Because he takes the formal constituents of inflected words to be operations on the forms of words, rather than morphemes, there is no need for each feature or feature bundle to be associated with a given morpheme or realization, thus making it particularly appropriate for handling non-concatenative phenomena. For example, while any morphological theory can handle *il me parle* 'he speaks to me', since there is a quite direct correspondence between morphemes and features (although one might wonder what specific material the features [+1] and [-pl] are associated with in *me*, which is opposed to 1pl *nous*), only morphological processes allow the straightforward generation of *y* in *il y donne* 'he gives it to him' as involving both 3sg.dat and 3acc.

(49) a.	+verb +pres +indic +3 -pl -fem +dat +1 -pl <i>/X/ → /il me + X/</i>	b.	+verb +pres +indic +3 -pl -fem +dat +3 -pl +acc +3 <i>/X/ → /il y + X/</i>
---------	--	----	---

The specific features contained in the processes above and in all the processes to come should not be taken to represent the most optimal feature system which can be designed for handling verbal morphology. They should simply be viewed as convenient approximations of what such a system should be. For example, I would not rule out the possibility that third person might be better represented by [-1, -2], that is, as the absence of person, as suggested by Benveniste (1946/1966:230) and by such contemporary linguists as Kinyalolo (1991:39) and Anderson (1992). It is also likely that the specification of tense and mood features dispenses with the need to specify [+verb]. In-depth investigation of these issues will have to await future research, however.

As for **me lui*, **te leur*, and all the other non-permissible clusters, their non-occurrence can simply be attributed to the non-existence of a process that would generate them. As noted earlier, we must allow the syntax to generate such feature combinations,

since these are permissible syntactic constructions (cf. Chapter 2), so that it is a purely morphophonological fact about French and QCF that such sequences of argument markers are not allowed.

Double marking

In (49)b, we thus have an example of how two feature bundles get realized with one overt form. We saw above that the opposite situation also obtains. That is, once we take subject markers to instantiate subject agreement, we must account for verb forms where subject-agreement features are realized in two different positions. As we also pointed out earlier, this phenomenon does not represent a problem for a theory which takes morphosyntactic features to be independent from morphophonological features, thus allowing mismatches. It is also problematic for a processual approach to morphology, as shown by the following processes for the generation of *vous parlez* 'you.pl speak.2pl', *vous dites/faites* 'you.pl say.2pl/do.2pl', and *je viendrai* 'I come-will-1sg':

- | | | | | |
|------|----|---|----|--|
| (50) | a. | +verb
+pres
+indic

+2
+pl

/X/ → /vous + X + -ez/ | b. | DIRE
FAIRE
ÊTRE
+pres
+ind

+2
+pl

/X/ → /vous + X + -tes/ |
|------|----|---|----|--|

- (51) +verb
 +fut
 +ind

 +1
 -pl

 /X/ → /je + X + -r- + ai/

Morphophonological idiosyncrasies

Morphophonological idiosyncrasies such as *chus* 'I am' and *m'as* 'I'm going to' are handled through processes whose structural description is so restrictive that they can apply to only one form. We saw above a process whose application is limited to three verbs in the second person plural in the indicative present. The morphological idiosyncrasies are extreme cases of such restrictive processes.

- | | | | |
|---------|--|----|---|
| (52) a. | ÊTRE
+pres
+indic

+1
-pl

/X/ → /chus/ | b. | ALLER
+pres
+indic
+aux

+1
-pl

/X/ → /m'as/ |
|---------|--|----|---|

Partially-lexicalized verbs

Particularly complex problems arise when we are dealing with verbs which seem to be involved in processes of lexicalization which are not completed yet. At least three

such verbs have been identified in QCF: *s'en aller* 'to leave', *s'en venir* 'to come', and *s'agir* 'to be about' (cf., e.g., Carroll 1982a:321-322). In all three cases, argument markers remain attached to past participles in compound verbs, as shown in (53) below, instead of appearing on auxiliary verbs, as is the case with most other verbs of QCF, as shown in (54).

- (53) a. *Je me suis en-allée*
 'I self am from-there gone'
 = 'I left'
- b. *Il s'est en-venu*
 'he self is from-there come'
 = 'He came'
- c. *Il a s'agi de toi* (Carroll 1982a:321)
 'it has self-acted of you'
 = 'It was about you'
- (54) a. *Elle me les a données*
 'she to-me them has given'
 = 'She has given them to me'
- b. *Elle s'en est moqué*
 'she self of-him/her is mocked'
 = 'She has made fun of him/her'

I would actually like to add one verb to the list of partly lexicalized verbs in QCF: *y aller* 'to go there'. This verb differs from the preceding ones in that the locative marker *y* does not appear on the past participle in compound tenses:

- (55) **Je suis y-allée*
 'I am there gone'
 = 'I went there'

But it is exceptional in two other respects. First, we should remember that the use of locative *y* in QCF seems to be restricted (almost) exclusively to the verb *aller*, so that it becomes possible to suggest that this marker is not productive anymore in the grammar of QCF and that its occurrence with *aller* is lexicalized. Berretta (1985:204) makes the same hypothesis for spoken Italian. Second, we saw in Chapter 2 that the distribution of *y* across tenses is, to say the least, quite intriguing. For convenience, this distribution is repeated here for convenience:

- (56) Indic.: Present: *j'y vas, tu y vas, il y va, on y va, vous y allez, ils y vont*
 Imperfect: *j'y allais, tu y allais, on y allait, vous y alliez, ils y allaient*
 Passé comp.: *ch't'allé, t'es-t'allé, il est allé, ...*
 Future: *j'irai, tu iras, il ira, on ira, vous irez, ils iront*
 Per. future: *j'vas y aller, tu vas y aller, ...*
 Subjunctive: *que j'y aille, que tu y ailles, qu'il y aille*
 Imperative: *vas-y, allons-y, allez-y*

As we can see, *y* is regularly missing before the future stem *-ir*. If we except the passé composé, it is present with all other stems. I would like to suggest that the passé composé behaves differently from the other tenses because, in this case, *y* would have to attach to the auxiliary verb rather than to *aller* itself, a requirement which is at odds with the ongoing lexicalization process which seems to be affecting *y aller*. If this hypothesis is correct, it would allow us to account for all the other cases where *y* is absent by invoking a rule or process which does not realize *y* before the *ir-* stem of the verb *aller*. Now, even though there is quite obviously an important phonological component involved in this process, since an [i] can be said to disappear before another [i], the existence of

sequences of two [i]'s—both across word boundaries and within inflected verbs, as shown in (57) below—makes it clear that this process must be treated in morphophonological rather than phonological terms.

- (57) a. *Si il part* [siipaR]
 'if he leaves'
 b. *Il y parle* [iipaRl]
 'he to her/him speaks'
 = 'He speaks to her/him'

Now, one obvious problem for the hypothesis concerning the *passé composé* is why *y aller* does not follow the same avenue as *s'en aller*, *s'en venir*, and *s'agir*, which all realize *en* and *s'* on the past participle. At this point, I have no satisfactory answer to this question. All I can say is that all of these verbs pose a number of problems. For example, even *s'en aller* and *s'en venir* do not behave like we would expect. Like their fully-lexicalized equivalents *s'envoler* 'to take off' and *s'enfuir* 'to escape', their reflexive markers always attach to the auxiliary verb in compound tenses and are realized postverbally in imperatives. But, unlike *s'envoler* and *s'enfuir*, *en* is also realized postverbally.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|---|----|--|
| (58) | a. | <i>Je me suis envolé</i>
'I self am taken off'
= 'I took off' | b. | <i>Envole-toi!</i>
'take-off-self'
= 'Take off!' |
| (59) | a. | <i>Je me suis enfui</i>
'I self am escaped'
= 'I escaped' | b. | <i>Enfuis-toi</i>
'escape self'
= 'Escape!' |

- (60) a. *Va-t-en!*
 'go from-here'
 = 'Leave!'
- b. *Viens-t-en!*
 'come from there'
 = 'Come here!'

Note that, in the variety of French spoken in Grenoble, France, lexicalization of *s'en venir* has either followed a different route or is more advanced than in QCF, since Tuailleon (1988) reports that the imperative for that verb if follows the same pattern as *s'enfuir* and *s'envoler*:

- (61) *Va jouer aux cartes, mais en viens-toi de bonne heure* (Tuailleon 1988:295)
 'go to-play to-the cards, but from-there-come-self of good hour'
 = 'Go and play cards, but come home early'

The facts concerning these four partly lexicalized verbs in QCF are thus extremely complex. On the one hand, three of them behave differently from all other verbs in allowing an argument marker to be realized on their past participle rather than on the auxiliary verb in compound tenses. On the other hand, general processes for the placement of object markers in imperatives must still be invoked since those same argument markers occur in their "normal" postverbal position in the imperative. In this section, I have been more or less explicitly assuming that this state of affairs can be attributed to the fact that lexicalization is not completed, yet. But, as far as I know, we have no evidence either supporting or invalidating this hypothesis. Furthermore, there seems to be more than one possible road that can be followed toward lexicalization. I will thus leave these questions open here and will conclude that the facts reviewed in this

section, however confusing they are, still constitute additional support for an affixal analysis of the argument markers of QCF. Otherwise, it would be quite difficult to account for the occurrence of the reflexive marker between the verb stem and *en* in the imperatives in (60) above.

Postverbal object markers in imperatives

In chapter 2, I argued that the fact that the form of many object markers varies depending on whether these markers occur in pre- or postverbal position poses a serious problem for a movement analysis of clitic placement. Indeed, a syntactic analysis like that of Rooryck (1992), which posits that the same argument markers occur in both positions, must be complemented by morphological rules which modify the form, and sometimes the relative order, of these elements when they occur in postverbal position. As an alternative to this type of approach, I suggested that a morphological account could generate all the relevant facts. Earlier in this chapter, we saw that such a morphological account does not even require additional, *ad hoc* machinery, since "dual-position" or "mobile" affixes are found in Afar and Huave (cf. Section 3.5.2) and must therefore be generated anyway. Thus, instead of seeing dual-positioning of object markers as evidence that the argument markers of French and QCF must be treated as syntactic elements, I interpret the facts concerning argument-marker placement in imperatives as supporting a morphological analysis.

In this section, I will present and discuss a sample of morphological processes which generate imperative verb forms in QCF. It will not be necessary to discuss all

- (63) a. *Parles-y* b. *Donne-moi-z-en*
 'speak to-her/him' 'give-to-me-of-it'
 = 'Speak to her/him' = 'Give me some'

For *y*, this is, as a matter of fact, the only postverbal form.¹⁰ I thus propose the following processes:

- (64) a. +verb
 +imper
- { +loc }
 { +dat }
 +3
 -pl
- /X/ → /X + z'y/
- b. +verb
 +imper
- { +gen }
 { +part }
 +3
 -pl
- /X/ → /X + z'en/

Subject-Clitic Inversion

In QCF, Subject-Clitic Inversion is restricted to second-person subjects in yes/no questions. This type of restriction is not easy to take into account in a syntactic account of SCI, since there is otherwise no difference between second person and non-second person subject markers in this variety. Once again, I thus interpreted these facts as supporting a morphological rather than a syntactic analysis. While a morphological approach to SCI certainly goes against the dominant view concerning Romance clitics,

¹⁰ In the case of *en*, a *z*-less form shows up in postconsonantal environments such as *va-t-en* 'go away'. This fact suggests that there might be a general requirement that postverbal argument markers start with a consonant and that the default consonant be /z/. Therefore, when another consonant is already present, /z/ need not be inserted. It is not clear to me at this point, however, how this morphophonological alternation should be represented.

it is not without precedent, since Morin (1979a), Safir (1982), and Huot (1987) have, before me, proposed such an affixal analysis. Note also that Sportiche (1994) interprets postverbal *t-il* in Standard French as an affix which must be attached to the verb in a morphological component. More generally, Halpern (1992:244) claims, concerning Romance clitics:

the choice of pre- or postverbal positional positioning becomes a matter of morphological selection, sensitive to inflectional specifications of the verb. This leaves the choice of pre- or postverbal positioning as a matter of idiosyncratic listing. Kayne (1991) points out that this does not explain why clitics are routinely preverbal in finite clauses and postverbal only in certain types of nonfinite clauses. My position on this at the moment would be that this is a reflection of historical development rather than a direct consequence of UG.

Additional evidence that an affixal analysis of Subject-Clitic Inversion in QCF is not as farfetched as some might think comes from consideration of the same construction in other Romance varieties. Indeed, as we saw in Section 3.6.1.4, a number of Romance dialects require that subject markers be generated in different positions either because two such markers are allowed to show up in the same sentence as in Franco-Provençal or because different forms occur in the different positions as in Middle and Modern Picard. We also discussed cases where inverted subject markers interact so closely with the verb stem to which they are attached that they either replace the agreement marker on that stem, as in Norman, or shorten the vowel of the stem, as in Friulan.

Morphological processes for the spell-out of postverbal second person markers are given in (65) below. What these processes say is that, when a verb bears the feature

[interrogative], it can be realized with a postverbal subject-marker. A general principle of grammar ensures that only tensed verbs bear subject features, thus preventing realization of a subject morpheme on an infinitival or participial form.

- (65) a. +verb
 +int

 +2
 +sg

 /X/ → /X + -tu/
- b. +verb
 +int

 +2
 +pl

 /X/ → /X + -ez + vous/

Since, in the above processes, the verbs bear subject features, the requirement that tensed verbs bear a subject marker is satisfied, and no other subject marker is allowed to appear, hence producing *Viens-tu?* and *Venez-vous?* and correctly ruling out **Vous venez-vous?* The form *Tu viens-tu?* is allowed, however, as long as the postverbal *-tu* corresponds to the question particle described in Section 2.2.4 in the preceding chapter. This interrogative particle is generated by the process in (66) below. That is, since this postverbal *-tu* bears no subject features at all, a preverbal subject marker will be required to appear, because of the general requirement that tensed verbs have a subject.

- (66) Interrogative -tu

+verb
+int
+tns

/X/ → /X + tu/

For the other subject markers, those which do not allow Subject-Clitic Inversion, it suffices to list one process for each subject marker. This process does not specify any value for [int] and only generates a subject marker to the left of the verb. There is thus no way for the morphological rules to generate inversion constructions for subject markers which do not allow them. Note that it would probably also be possible to have a general redundancy rule stating that non-second persons cannot be realized postverbally.

Finally, we must make sure that we never get both a postverbal subject marker and an interrogative marker: **viens-tu-tu*, **venez-vous-tu*, or **venez-tu-vous*. There are at least five different possibilities which must be investigated with respect to this problem.

- i) Based on Halle's earlier proposals, we could suggest that when a morphological feature is spelled out in the morphological component, the feature itself disappears, thus preventing double spellout of a single feature. However, as a general principle of grammar, this position is problematic, since it prevents all double marking, such as the cooccurrence of *vous* and *-ez* for second person plural verb forms in French discussed above.
- ii) A more specific variant of Halle's constraint on double marking, i.e., a ban on the occurrence of two 'yes/no' [+wh] features in a clause, has been proposed by Roberts (1993:237) in order to account for the impossibility of using interrogative *-ti* in *wh*-questions and in embedded yes/no questions in Colloquial French. If we take both SCI and *-tu* to involve the feature [+int], we could thus rule out their cooccurrence by invoking this ban on double interrogatives. This solution cannot be correct, however, given the possibility of inversion in *wh*-questions in Standard

French and the possibility for the *-ti* morpheme to occur in *wh*-questions in Franco-Provençal (cf. Roberts 1991a:321 and Olszyna-Marzys 1964:36-37).

- iii) We could invoke the Elsewhere Condition and propose that, when the more restricted rules of second-person inversion apply, they block application of the more general rule which realizes interrogative *-tu*. One problem with this approach is that it has been shown that the Elsewhere Condition does not hold for lexically-unrestricted rules of morphology (cf. Janda 1987 and Janda & Sandoval 1984 on, for example, non-prescriptive Spanish forms like *habla-ste-s*).
- iv) We could invoke templatic restrictions. For instance, we could impose a limit on the number of affixes after the verb stem to one. Unfortunately, this could not be a general condition on QCF verb-forms, since cooccurrence of two object-markers is allowed in imperatives: *donne-moi-le* 'give-to.me-it'. Another possibility would be to assign the postverbal subject markers and interrogative *-tu* to the same slot, thus accounting for their mutual exclusion. Even though this last possibility is not implausible, especially given the fact that the interrogative marker arose through reinterpretation of a subject marker, this type of approach is not compatible with a processual approach such as the one adopted here.
- v) Finally, we could stipulate disjunctivity between the two sets of rules: if one rule applies, the other cannot. Anderson (1992:128-135) discusses a number of cases where problems of complementarity seem to involve facts that are irreducibly morphological, that is, where there is no plausible syntactic or phonological basis for the absence a certain marker in a given word.

Even though, in the present case, it might be possible to invoke principles like the Elsewhere Condition, a prohibition against double marking, or mutual exclusion due to the fact that the two postverbal elements occupy the same slot, I will retain the disjunctivity approach, in reason of its generality: if disjunctivity must be invoked in some cases, then we might as well adopt it as the general principle handling cases of morpheme complementarity.

The distribution of [+int] verb forms in QCF and the wh-criterion

The distribution of [+int] verb-forms in QCF follows nicely from Rizzi's (1991) *wh*-criterion. Rizzi proposes that when Infl bears the feature [+wh], the verb must move to Comp at S-structure in order for [+wh] to be high enough to make the sentence interrogative. If we apply Rizzi's proposal to the case at issue and analyze the inverted verb-forms and the verb-forms containing interrogative *-tu* as bearing the feature [+wh] (or [+int]), we predict that these forms must occur in Comp at the syntactic level. We can further attribute the fact that these interrogative verb-forms occur only in yes/no questions to the existence of doubly-filled Comp constructions in QCF: given that Comp is already occupied by *que* (with *quand*, *quand est-ce*, *quand c'est* etc. in Spec,CP; cf. Roberge 1983:126) there is no available landing site for V-to-I movement, and the *wh*-criterion is not met at S-structure, thus ruling out sentences like (67):

- (67) a. **Quand qu'es-tu parti?* b. **Quand est-ce qu'il est-tu parti?*
 'when that are-you.sg left' 'when is-it that he is-INT left'
 = 'When did you leave?' = 'When did he leave?'

In cases where no overt complementizer is present, it is still possible to maintain the position that interrogative verb forms are ruled out because the Comp position is not available as a landing site for them, if we follow Sankoff's (1980:88) and Roberge's (1983:128) suggestion and extend the rule of *que*-deletion which is required for cases as in (68) to sentences containing *wh*-elements, as those in (69) below.¹¹

- (68) a. *C'est la fille Ø j'ai vue* (Sankoff 1980:89)
'it's the girl (that) I have seen'
= 'It's the girl that I saw'
- b. *Je pense Ø ça a été plutôt un snobisme* (70-71:175; Sankoff 1980:89)
'I think (that) that has been rather a snobbery'
= 'I think it was more a kind of snobbery'
- (69) a. *Quand tu as tout en main puis ça va bien...* (109-71:145; Sankoff 1980:85)
'when you.sg have all in hand and that goes well...'
- b. *Je sais pas comment ça se fait* (6-71:400; Sankoff 1980:85)
'I know not how that self does'
= 'I don't know why'

In questions where non-interrogative verb-forms are used, the *wh*-criterion is satisfied through dynamic agreement, as suggested by Rizzi (1991:13): a *wh*-operator can endow a clausal head of the *wh* feature under agreement. Hulk (1994) suggests that Parisian Colloquial French (PCF), which totally lacks SCI, also totally lacks I-to-C movement in interrogative constructions and that dynamic agreement is the process responsible for the interrogative interpretation of questions in this variety. QCF thus differs from

¹¹ One piece of evidence supporting this unitary treatment of *que*-deletion is the identity of the phonological conditioning at work in both types of constructions.

PCF in that the former maintains both static and dynamic agreement in yes/no questions, while the latter has lost static agreement.

The proposal sketched here, linking the distribution of interrogative verb forms in QCF to Rizzi's (1991) *wh*-criterion, is finally supported by the fact, already mentioned above, that Franco-Provençal allows SCI and interrogative *-ti* to occur in *wh*-questions. Indeed, this is exactly what the absence of doubly-filled Comps in this language leads us to expect.

3.6.3 Coordination

If the morphological analysis proposed so far is to prove adequate, it must not only generate all of QCF inflected verbs, but also predict the distribution of forms with and without argument markers. For example, we saw in Chapter 2 that all argument markers are obligatorily repeated on each verb in conjunction constructions, as in (70) and (71):

- (70) a. *(Pierre) il s'est levé pis il est parti*
 '(Peter) he self is raised and he is left'
 = 'Peter/he got up and left'
- b. **(Pierre) il s'est levé pis est parti*
 '(Peter) he self is raised and is left'
- (71) a. *Paul il l'haït pis il le trouve pas mal niaiseux*
 'Paul he him hates and he him finds not bad stupid'
 = 'Paul hates him and finds him quite stupid'
- b. **Paul il l'haït pis (il) trouve pas mal niaiseux*
 'Paul him hates and (he) finds not bad stupid'

This state of affairs is a straightforward consequence of the affixal analysis developed here: because argument markers are sublexical elements, they are inaccessible to syntactic rules and cannot have scope over a conjunction of two verbs. This follows directly from the Lexicalist Hypothesis. Thus, if both verbs in a conjunction construction are generated with argument markers rather than lexical arguments, then both verbs must bear their argument markers. Otherwise, the verb without an argument marker or a lexical object would be missing an argument, thus crashing at LF. With respect to coordination, the argument vs. non-argument status of the argument markers is thus irrelevant; all that counts is their affixal status. In the next section on extraction constructions, we will see that morphosyntactic status plays a crucial role in explaining the different distribution of subject vs. non-subject markers.

3.6.4 Relative clauses and other extraction contexts

We saw in Chapter 2 that we find three basic types of relative clauses in QCF: (i) the gap strategy, (ii) all-purpose *que* 'that', and (iii) the resumptive strategy. For convenience, examples of the various types are repeated in (72)-(74):

- (72) Resumptive strategy
- a. *J'étais pas une personne que j'avais beaucoup d'amis* (15:134)
 'I was not a person that I had a-lot of friends'
 = 'I was someone who didn't have a lot of friends'
 - b. *j'en ai connu moi, que... bien nous-autres, aujourd'hui, on les déteste pas* (2:395)
 'I of-them have known me, that, well us, today, we them hate not'
 = 'I have known some, me, that, well, we don't hate today'

- c. *c'est un petit gars que n'importe qui s'adaptait à lui* (51:135; reported in Lefebvre & Fournier 1978:275)
 'that is a little guy that anybody self adapted to him'
 = 'that's a little boy that anybody adapted to'
- d. *La femme que j'ai soigné son chien la semaine passée*
 "the women that I have healed her dog the week passed"
 = "the woman whose dog I took care of last week"

(73) Gap strategy

- a. *...différentes expressions que tout le monde a toujours eues* (15:B067)
 '...different expressions that all the world has always had'
 = 'different expressions that everybody has always had'
- b. *...avant une personne qui se forçait...* (118:463)
 '...before a person who self forced'
 = 'Before, a person who made an effort...'
- c. *...des places où qu'il y a de la foule* (15:463)
 '...of-the places where that there has of the crowd'
 = 'places where there is a crowd'

(74) All-purpose *que*

- a. *les anciennes places que je restais* (118:B106) (*que* = *où*)
 'the old places that I stayed'
 = 'the old places where I lived'
- b. *j'ai des voisins (que) je parle temps en temps* (15-84:68) (*que* = *à qui*)
 'I have of-the neighbors (that) I speak time in time'
 = 'I have neighbors that I talk to once in a while'
- c. *la manière qu'on est élevé là* (15:B039) (*que* = *dont*)
 'the manner that we are raised LÀ'
 = 'the way we are raised'
- d. *des cahiers de classe là qu'on se servait plus* (118:494) (*que* = *dont*)
 'of-the notebooks of class LÀ that we welf served anymore'
 = 'class notebooks that we didn't use anymore'

The extent of the variety of relative constructions and the great differences with Standard French have had some researchers claim that this is one of the most characteristic and interesting features of Colloquial French. Cf., e.g., the following passage from Foulet (1928:100; my translation):

"It is in the use of the relative pronoun that the vernacular differs most completely from cultivated language. Their separation is even so extreme that it can serve to define one variety with respect to the other. The vernacular—in France, at the moment—is essentially a language which has simplified the system of relative pronouns. [...] It would be interesting to investigate why at least thirty million French men and women are unable to use the relative pronoun in conformity with the rules of grammar."¹²

In this section, I will try to answer Foulet's question about why so many French speakers do not use Standard French relative clauses. My hypothesis is that two very basic differences between the grammars of Standard French and QCF can actually account for most, if not all, the differences between the two relativization systems. The first difference concerns the argument markers, and the second, the inventory of relative pronouns.

At this point, we are all familiar with the difference in morphosyntactic status which I posit between subject markers and non-subject markers in QCF: the latter are simply agreement affixes, while the latter conserve argument status. This difference in morphosyntactic status is responsible, in my opinion, for the fact that subject markers are used so frequently in an apparent resumptive manner in subject relative clauses, while non-subject markers occur more rarely.

As I already pointed out in Chapter 2, the problem with simply listing examples of the different relativization strategies is that it does not reflect their relative frequencies

¹² Original (note that Foulet's orthography is preserved in the words *système* and *aus*): "C'est dans l'emploi du relatif que la langue populaire se sépare le plus complètement de la langue cultivée. L'écart est même si marqué qu'il peut servir à définir l'une par rapport à l'autre. La langue populaire, en France et en ce moment, est essentiellement une langue qui a simplifié le système des relatifs. [...] Il n'est pas sans intérêt de rechercher pourquoi trente millions de Français au bas mot sont incapables de se servir du relatif en se conformant aux règles de la grammaire."

of use. It is customary, in theoretical linguistics, to dismiss frequencies as uninteresting, because they are claimed to reflect performance rather than competence. In this case, however, I would like to claim that the relative frequencies with which "resumptive elements" are used is the reflection of a quite deep fact about the grammar of QCF. In Auger (1991), I found that, in my small sample of four speakers from the Sankoff/Cedergren corpus, speakers who used resumptive pronouns at all in relative clauses did so only in subject relatives. Furthermore, the speaker who used the highest proportion of "resumptive" subject markers (58% of the unambiguous cases) was the speaker with the second highest frequency of subject doubling (70% of all her subjects were doubled).

Linking the use of subject markers in subject relatives to the hypothesis that subject markers are grammaticalized agreement markers is thus a quite natural and logical step. This approach presents at least three advantages. First, in addition to correctly predicting that only subject markers will frequently occur in extraction contexts, it proposes a global account of argument markers in all types of clauses, rather than invoking principles or rules particular to extraction constructions. Second, from a historical viewpoint, the relative recency of the grammaticalization process and its substandard status can account for the absence of any clear examples of subject resumptive pronouns in the course of the history of the French language. Third, this approach is compatible with the hypothesis that subject *wh*-questions also contain a subject marker—if we analyze the second /ki/ in subject *wh*-questions as containing a default, 3msg subject marker—and the observation that object *wh*-questions do not contain an object marker, as illustrated in (75) and (76), respectively:

interpretation of these elements when they appear in relative clauses, thus making their use quite infrequent.

This analysis brings QCF relative clauses in line with what we know about resumptive pronouns. If we maintained a resumptive analysis of subject markers in subject relatives, QCF would appear to favor resumptive pronouns most precisely in the position where most languages with resumptive pronouns do not allow them at all. QCF would thus represent a quite unique case among the languages of the world. Indeed, we saw in Chapter 2 that, in Hebrew, Palestinian Arabic, Welsh, Irish, and Swedish, resumptive pronouns are found in a variety of syntactic positions, but that they are always excluded from the highest subject position (cf. also Keenan & Comrie's 1977 Accessibility Hierarchy).

Object markers are arguments and, as such, they are not allowed to occur in extraction constructions. Their use in relative clauses can thus be attributed to the same rules which generate resumptive pronouns as a last-resort strategy (cf. Shlonsky 1992). This consideration predicts that resumptive pronouns should be more frequent in oblique than in DO positions. The preliminary results presented in Auger (1991) fail to support this prediction, since no resumptive pronouns were found in positions other than subject, but other studies and comments made in the literature support it. For example, Lefebvre & Fournier (1978:291) note that the presence of resumptive pronouns in DO position does not sound completely natural to them and that they have found no such examples in their corpus of Montréal French. This difficulty to come across resumptive pronouns in direct object position contrasts with oblique positions, since the authors report a number of

attested examples where pronouns and adverbial prepositions are used resumptively. Furthermore, note that the use of a DO resumptive marker in (72)b above was probably triggered by the presence of intervening material between the complementizer and the verb of the relative; this type of structure is indeed particularly likely to favor last-resort strategies.

To elaborate briefly on the historical remark found a few paragraphs above, it is worth insisting on the fact that the analysis of argument markers presented here is fully compatible with the distribution of resumptive pronouns in French texts since at least the 11th century (Auger in press). Most historical examples of resumptive pronouns occur in oblique positions, just as expected under Shlonsky's (1992) last resort account. While sporadic use of non-subject resumptive pronouns has always been constant, the first clear examples of subject resumptive pronouns appear in descriptions of 20th century spoken French. Before that, alternative, non-resumptive analyses cannot be discarded in order to account for apparent subject resumptive pronouns. For example, because *que* was often used with some adverbial value in old texts, the only Old French case of subject resumptive pronoun, the one which is cited in every study of Old French syntax, can also be analyzed as involving an adverbial clause (Kuntzmann 1990:357) or some type of "incise" clause (Valli 1988:469), rather than a relative clause.

- (77) *Et si vont les beles dames cortoises que eles ont deux amis ou trois avec leurs barons* (Aucassin et Nicolette 6,36; Valli 1988:458)
 "and so go the beautiful ladies courteous that they have two friends or three with their barons"

It is thus possible to understand this sentence as meaning either (i) 'And so go the beautiful ladies who are friends with two or three barons' or (ii) '... because they are friends with two or three barons'

The second major difference between the relative system in QCF and in Standard French concerns the inventory of relative pronouns available in each variety. It is immediately apparent that the set is much smaller in the former variety than in the latter. Indeed, if we view *qui* as a variant of the complementizer *que*, QCF can be said to have one relative pronoun: *où* 'where'. Standard French, for its part, possesses *dont* 'whose', *qui*, 'who' and *quoi* 'what', as objects of prepositions, and all the prepositional forms of *quel* 'which': *auquel* 'to which', *duquel* 'from which', and *lequel* 'which', which combines with prepositions such as *avec* 'with', *dans* 'in', etc. Guiraud (1966) argues that Colloquial French does not possess the *lequel*-compound forms, because these forms are the creation of 16th century grammarians, and they never made it into the common, spoken language. The reason why *dont* is absent from QCF and *où* must compete with *que* cannot be attributed to this type of external intervention, but it should be pointed out that the tendency to use all-purpose *que* instead of relative pronouns has been attested ever since Old French (Auger in press and references therein). Modern QCF usage thus continues earlier tendencies which the pressure of grammarians and teachers has not managed to eradicate.

Having said this, nothing exceptional characterizes the all-purpose *que* strategy for relative-clause formation. I suggest that the oblique relative clauses in (74) above should also be analyzed as involving extraction, just like subject and direct object relatives.

Because oblique prefixes on the verb retain argument status, they do not normally occur in such clauses. When they do occur, they are interpreted as resumptive pronouns, just like the clauses containing adverbial prepositions in (78) below. The difference between Standard French and QCF relies, this time, on the choice of the element which introduces the relative clause: sometimes QCF uses the complementizer because it lacks a relative pronoun for a given function (e.g., *dont* or *qui*), and sometimes *que* occurs even though a relative pronoun is available (in the case of locative and temporal relatives, where *où* can be used).

- (78) a. *c'est une revue qu'il y a aucune annonce dedans* (Lefebvre & Fournier 1978:275)
 "that is a magazine that it there has no advertisement in-it"
 = "that's a magazine where there is no advertisement"
- b. *c'est un conducteur que je me fierais plus dessus* (Lefebvre & Fournier 1978:275)
 "that is a driver that I self would-rely no-more on-him"
 = "that's a driver that I wouldn't rely on"
- c. *La fille que je sors avec est correcte* (Bouchard 1982:225)
 "the girl that I go-out with is correct"
 = "the girl I go out with is OK"

To summarize this section on relative clauses and *wh*-questions, I am thus arguing that the difference between relative clauses in Standard French and in QCF are not as profound as we might have imagined. Indeed, extraction remains the basic mechanism in the formation of relative clauses in both varieties. The surface differences have been attributed to the grammaticalization process which has transformed subject markers into prefixal agreement markers for many speakers of QCF and to the reduced inventory of

relative pronouns available. Based on the analysis of subject markers as agreement prefixes, subject relative clauses of the type illustrated above should not be interpreted as involving resumptive pronouns, but rather as involving the complementizer *que*, a gap in subject position, and a tensed form of the verb which is inflected for subject agreement. If this analysis is correct, it then turns out that the subject relative clauses of QCF are very similar to subject relatives using *que* in OF and MF, with the difference between the two constructions lying in the morphology of the verb rather than in the structure of the clause: agreement suffixes in OF and prefixes in MCF. Under this approach, it also turns out that the use of resumptive pronouns as a last-resort strategy in MCF is probably comparable in qualitative and quantitative terms to that observed in previous stages of French.

Support for this analysis: Other Romance dialects

Further support for the analysis of subject markers as affixal agreement markers in both main clauses and subject relative clauses in MCF comes from comparing various Romance dialects, some of which exhibiting so-called subject doubling, others lacking this particularity. Such a minimal pair is found with two neighboring dialects of French: Picard and Walloon. The former has obligatory subject doubling, thus leading me to propose for Picard an analysis along the same lines as that suggested above for QCF (cf. Appendix, chapter 2 and Auger 1994), while the latter completely lacks subject doubling. As expected, a difference is also observed in relative clauses: Picard subject relatives all

involve *que* + subject marker, as illustrated in (79) below, and Walloon subject relatives involve *qui*, as shown in (80), further below.

- (79) a. *ch' gart', ti qu' t' os du flair* (Barleux 1963:6) (Picard)
 'the guard, you that you have of-the sense-of-smell'
 = 'Guard, you who have intuition'
- b. *avu s'n épeule drote qu'alle erbeyot par sus s' tête* (Barleux 1963:12)
 'twith his shoulder right that she looked by over his head'
 = 'with his right shoulder that ? over his head'
- (80) *ci ki n'a rin* (Remacle 1960:65) (Walloon)
 'that who NEG has nothing'
 = 'the one who has nothing'

The Franco-Provençal dialect once spoken in the small Swiss village of Vionnaz described by Gilliéron (1880) also supports the hypothesis defended here: subject doubling appears to be variable but frequent in this dialect, and so-called subject resumptive pronouns are also found variably in subject relative clauses. One such example from Gilliéron (1880:131) is given in (81) below:

- (81) *una faye ke l'avâi tã fã d'ître marèna d'õ éfã* (Franco-Provençal)
 'a fairy that she had so hunger of to-be godmother of a child'
 = 'a fairy who had so much desire to be godmother of a child'

Similar constructions are discussed by Olszyna-Marzys (1964) about other varieties of Franco-Provençal. He even specifies that the first person singular marker, *yo*, is repeated in relative clauses only in those dialects where that marker is regularly used before the verb.

Subject doubling has become famous in current linguistics mostly through studies of Northern Italian dialects. Once again, only those dialects in which subject pronouns behave like affixal agreement markers allow those markers to show up in relative clauses. Here, two different patterns are possible, however. In some cases, the marker in the relative clause agrees in person, number, and gender with its antecedent. In other cases, a default form corresponding to the third person form used as an expletive shows up, no matter what the features of its antecedent are (cf., e.g., Fiorentino; Brandi & Cordin 1989:126). In Basso Polesano, Poletto (1991a) distinguishes three types of subject clitics, and only the one which truly behaves as an affixal agreement marker in non-relative clauses, the 2sg subject marker, is allowed to occur in subject relatives. In Friulan, finally, another dialect where subject doubling is, if not obligatory, at least very frequent, subject markers are also used in subject relatives as shown in (82):

- (82) a. *tyèra ka se kultiva* (Iliescu 1972:161) (Friulan)
 'land that-she self cultivates'
 = 'land which is cultivated'
- b. *l lôf ke e stàdi daùr*
 'the wolf that he stands outside'
 = 'the wolf that is outside'

The goal of this section was to show that the morphological analysis which is put forward in the dissertation is also adequate for non-matrix clauses. I have also, although somewhat indirectly, supported my approach by showing that the occurrence of subject markers in subject relatives is a recent phenomenon which can thus be said to coincide with the grammaticalization of subject markers as agreement affixes. Indeed, if subject

resumptive pronouns had predated grammaticalization, this would not invalidate the analysis defended here, but it would suggest that an alternative analysis is possible. Crucially, though, we saw that, as long as subject markers were syntactically-independent elements, they were not used resumptively.

3.7 On the independence of morphology and morphosyntax

The analysis developed in this chapter depends crucially on the assumption that the morphosyntactic and morphophonological dimensions are independent, so that it is possible for an affix to behave either as an agreement marker or as a true syntactic argument. A similar approach is adopted by Fassi Fehri (1988), who proposes that agreement affixes in Arabic can be either pronominal or non-pronominal, i.e., argumental or non-argumental. This approach allowed me to attribute the fact that all argument markers must be repeated on every verb in VP-conjunction constructions to the fact that those elements are all affixes and to account for the different behavior of subject vs. non-subject markers in extraction contexts to their behavior as agreement marker or arguments.

In Chapter 1, I briefly mentioned the existence of crosslinguistic evidence supporting this hypothesis. Indeed, consideration of a few natural languages quickly reveals that the four logical possibilities created by postulating independence of affixal status and behavior as agreement marker are all instantiated. The table below, repeated from Chapter 1, contains a few examples of each type. In this section, I discuss in some detail some of these cases, and I will focus more particularly on the instances of non-affixal

agreement markers, since, as far as I know, not much attention has been given to the existence of this particular combination.

Table 1: Agreement and argument markers: a crosslinguistic survey

	Lexical affixes	Non-affixal
Agreement marker (i.e., allows cooccurrence of a lexical argument)	QCF subject markers Bantu subject markers Spanish IO markers Italian subj-agreement suffixes	Subject agreement in Polish Clitic doubling in Pirahã Set II clitics in Yagua Clitics in Nganhcara
Argument status (i.e., precludes cooccurrence of a lexical argument)	QCF non-subject markers Chicheŵa object markers Spanish DO markers Celtic subject markers Finnish possessive suffixes	English pronouns German pronouns

Morphologically-free arguments

The only cell in this table which does not call for any particular comments is that containing the non-bound syntactic arguments, of which English and German pronouns are examples. Such elements are generated in an argument position in syntactic structures may be handled by syntactic rules, and receive Case and a theta-role from the verb. The only problematic cases in this class are expletives, which do not receive a theta-role from the verb, but we need not be concerned with this problem here.

Agreement-marking affixes

Things get a little more complicated when we consider some agreement-marking affixes in null-argument languages. Indeed, Jelinek (1984, 1989) and Mithun (1991), as well as traditional Iroquoianists, according to Baker (1990:26), have argued that the argu-

ment markers in such languages as Warlpiri, Choctaw, Papago, Algonquian, and Iroquian are true arguments and that the overt lexical phrases which are allowed to cooccur with them are adjuncts or dislocated phrases. Sadock (1986:155) proposes a variant of this approach for the subject-agreement markers of Spanish. In his terms, Spanish verb inflections are optionally autolexical; that is, verbal suffixes are the actual subjects when no lexical subject is present, but they function like agreement markers when there is such a subject. It is probably safe to say, however, that the most widely accepted analysis of such affixal elements remains the agreement analysis: verbal affixes are agreement markers which must share some features with some argument of the verb, and, in some languages, the information carried by the agreement markers is somehow rich enough to license empty arguments. This is still the dominant view in GB (Belletti 1990, Roberge 1990, Bessler 1994, and Cummins & Roberge 1994a,b), as well as in other approaches (Miller 1991 and Simpson 1991).

Argumental (or syntactically-relevant) affixes

One might want to invoke the Lexicalist Hypothesis and rule out argumental analyses of subject agreement markers on the grounds that words must be treated as minimal, indivisible entities from the point of view of the syntax (Anderson 1992:8). Considerations of simplicity would certainly favor an analysis where syntax and morphology are totally separate components and where elements from one component may not be invoked in the other component. The existence of affixal elements which bear argument status such as Celtic subject markers and Bantu object markers shows, however, that this

interpretation of the Lexicalist Hypothesis cannot be upheld: we must either interpret it less strictly or abandon it altogether. Indeed, as is well known, Celtic subject markers occur in complementary distribution with lexical subjects: in Irish (McCloskey & Hale 1984) and in Breton (Stump 1984), subject markers cannot cooccur with lexical subjects (both NPs and pronouns), while in Welsh, subject markers are allowed to occur with pronominal subjects, but not with lexical ones (Sadler 1988). When overt subjects are present, verbs bearing default 3sg agreement must be used. This pattern is exemplified with the following Breton examples from Stump (1984:290-292). In (83)a, we see that an inflected verb form is used when no subject pronoun is present, and, in (83)b, we see that a bare verb form must be used when the 1sg pronoun is overt. (84) shows that, similarly, in the presence of a lexical subject, the bare verb form must also be used.

- (83) a. *Levrioù a lennan* b. *Me a lenn/*lennan levrioù*
 'books pcl read-1sg' 'I pcl read/*read-1sg books'
 = 'I read books'
- (84) *Levrioù a lenn/*lennont ar vugale*
 'books pcg read/*read-3pl the children'
 = 'The children read books'

While it is possible to suggest an incorporation analysis of the facts at issue in Breton, arguing that no lexical subject can cooccur because the subject markers are subjects at the syntactic level, thus preventing another subject from being generated (Doron 1988 and Taraldsen 1992). Attractive though this approach may be, it must be would be difficult to extend it to such cases as object-markers in Chicheŵa. Indeed, there

is evidence that Chicheŵa subject and object markers are true affixes and that they should be generated as affixes on the verb. The two types of elements differ, however, in that only the former are agreement markers; the latter behave like syntactic objects in that they do not allow cooccurrence of an overt object within the clause. When both an object marker and a lexical object occur, the sentence is interpreted as dislocated, as shown in the following examples from Bresnan & Mchombo (1987:744):

- (85) a. *Njũchi zi-ná-lú-a alenje* (Chicheŵa)
 'bees SM-PAST-bite-INDIC hunters'
 = 'The bees bit the hunters'
- b. *Njũchi zi-ná-wá-lú-a alenje*
 'bees SM-PAST-OM-bite-INDIC hunters'
 = 'The bees bit them, the hunters'

In their 1987 article, Bresnan & Mchombo refer to the object marker as an incorporated pronoun, thus accounting for the pattern in (85) above. The problem with their approach, though, is that one must incorporate a pronoun between an affix and a stem. In frameworks like Autolexical Syntax (Sadock 1991) and LFG (cf. also Bresnan & Mchombo 1993), which allow constructions to receive different structures at different levels of representation, such an approach is possible. If we assume, however, that the syntax handles whole words and does not have access inside words and that what is a word at one level is also a word at all other levels, this it is quite unlikely that a syntactic operation like incorporation could account for the facts of argument marking in Chicheŵa. I therefore suggest that Celtic subject markers and Chicheŵa object markers are affixes

which are morphologically generated on the verb, but that they are affixes which function as arguments in the syntax.

Elements of this type are, in fact, relatively frequent in natural languages. For instance, researchers like Lapointe (1979/80), Stump (1980), Safir (1985), and Miller (1991), who propose affixal analyses for Standard French argument markers, view these elements as syntactically-relevant affixes: the presence of these affixes on verbs prevents overt lexical arguments from occurring. Similarly, in Roberge (1990) and in the present analysis, QCF object markers are just such argumental affixes. Additional examples include DO markers in most dialects of Spanish and in Italian and possessive markers in Finnish (Kanerva 1987). Finally, Fassi Fehri (1988:119) proposes that some affixes in Arabic, depending on whether they can cooccur with overt lexical subjects or not; affixes which can be doubled are treated as non-argumental agreement markers, while those which cannot are pronominal, i.e., argumental, affixes.

At the beginning of this section on argumental affixes, I suggested that, because of such data, the Lexicalist Hypothesis had to be either restricted or abandoned. I would like to conclude the section by proposing that the Lexicalist Hypothesis can be maintained given that we define a little more precisely what we mean when we say that the syntax cannot handle sublexical elements. If all we mean by that is that syntactic rules cannot move or delete affixes, then nothing more needs to be said. We have seen in this chapter that all apparent cases of movement involving argument markers were compatible with morphological analyses, so that no syntactic rules are required for handling QCF argument markers. The only kind of information that the syntax must have access to is whether a

verb is saturated for a given argument or not. In a way, this type of information is not much different from agreement features, and we can posit that the same mechanism that is responsible for making this information available at the word-level can also pass on the information that a verb is saturated or not with respect to a specific argument. All the inflected forms discussed in this section can be dealt with by assuming that the information carried by the syntactically-relevant affixes is available at the level of the words, so that syntactic rules know, for instance, that *je le connais* 'I know him' is already saturated for DO and thus cannot occur in a sentence which contains a lexical DO.

Non-affixal agreement markers

The most interesting cell in the table above is the one which contains elements which are not morphologically-bound but function like agreement markers. The hypothesis defended here treats affixal nature and behavior as agreement marker as two independent dimensions, and, at first, the prediction that non-affixal agreement markers should exist might have seemed like a liability. In this section, we will see that it is not. I will discuss four cases where syntactic clitics can be doubled by overt lexical arguments, that is, precisely the type of construction which Fontana (1993:293) predicted not to exist. It is true that cases of this type are not numerous, which probably accounts for the fact that not much attention has been paid to them, but the fact that four of them could be found indicates that there probably exist more and that they are no accident. Their existence must be accounted for in any linguistic theory.

In Nganhcara, an Australian language of the Pama-Nyungan family, "[c]litic pronouns [...] cross-reference and agree in person and number with A and S (nominative), O (accusative), DATIVE, and ABLATIVE" (Smith & Johnson 1985:102). So far, Nganhcara does not present any particularities. What is special about this language is that Nganhcara agreement markers are not verbal affixes, as in most European languages we know, or part of an auxiliary complex as in Warlpiri, another Australian language (cf. Hale 1973 and Simpson 1991); instead, they can occur in either postverbal or preverbal position, in which case they are cliticized to the element that immediately precedes the verb, as illustrated in the following examples from Smith & Johnson (1985:105):

- (86) a. *nhila pama-ng nhingu pukpe-wu ku'a waa-ngu*
 '3sg.NOM man-ERG 3sg.DAT child-DAT dog give-3sg.DAT
 = 'The man gave a dog to the child'
 b. *nhila pama-ng ku'a hningu pukpe-wu-ngu waa*
 c. *nhila pama-ng ku'a pukpe-wu nhingu-ngu waa*
 d. *ku'a nhingu pukpe-wu nhila pama-ng-ngu waa*
 e. *ku'a nhingu pukpe-wu pama nhila-ng-ngu waa*

It is absolutely clear from the various possibilities for the placement of *-ngu* that this element is a true clitic (an XP clitic in the terminology of Fontana 1993 and Halpern & Fontana in press) and not a verbal affix. Still, it is also clear that it behaves like an agreement marker which can cooccur with a lexical argument, in this case *pukpe-wu* 'child-DAT'.¹³

¹³ Things are actually slightly more complicated, since a third dative element is present in the sentence: *nhingu* '3sg.DAT'. The subject is also represented by two elements: *nhila* '3sg.NOM' and *pama-ng* 'man-ERG'. Not enough data are available for me to investigate this question here. I point out these facts because they are interesting, but they do not call my main argument concerning the existence of non-affixal agreement

Another clear case of non-affixal agreement marker is found in Yagua, a language of the Peba-Yaguan family which is spoken in northeastern Peru. According to Everett (1989), this language contains two classes of clitics. Class I clitics attach to phrasal heads, and, as a consequence, an affixal analysis would seem possible for them. For this reason, I will not discuss Class I clitics here. Class II clitics, however, cannot be analyzed as affixes, since they "appear on any word that immediately precedes their double" (Everett 1989: 343):

- (87) a. *Sa_i-púúchi Pauro_i rooriy viimú-ní_j Anita_j*
 '3sg.cl-carry Paul house into-3sg.cl Anita'
 = 'Paul carries Anita into the house'
 b. *Sa-púúchi Pauro_i-ní_j Anita_j*
 c. *Sa-púúchi-ní_j Anita_j*

In most dialects of Polish, as well as in Standard Polish, the forms of the present of the verb 'to be' have become verbal affixes which mark person and number on inflected verbs (Andersen 1987). In some regional and literary dialects, however, it would seem that this change is not yet completed, since these markers can still be found in sentence-second position, that is, separated from the verb whose features they mark. In spite of this formal difference in terms of morphophonological status, these markers allow doubling with an overt lexical phrase. Andersen (1987:30) reports that descriptions of such dialects all agree that *tnesis*, that is the separation of person and number markers from the verbal form, is an archaism. It might thus be the case that this type of system

is purely transitional and that when linguistic change reaches completion in those varieties, the agreement markers will become "well-behaved", affixal inflectional markers. In spite of this potentially transitional status, this situation still represents a nice attestation of one possible avenue toward the creation of "well-behaved" agreement-marking systems such as the ones we are used to dealing with. And it is likely that more languages have undergone or will undergo similar changes. For example, it is actually quite plausible that Swabian, a Germanic dialect, followed a similar path: in this variety, pronominal clitics started as second-position elements, and they have become verbal affixes which can be doubled by lexical arguments, thus producing structures which resemble Spanish clitic-doubling very much (Bynon 1993).

The last case concerns so-called clitic doubling in Pirahã, a Mura language spoken in Brazil. I am discussing this case last, because I am not fully convinced by Everett's (1987) arguments for analyzing the pronominal elements of this language as clitics rather than affixes. While, in the first three cases which I discussed, it was clear that the clitics attached to a given position rather than to elements of a given category, the facts are not so clear in Pirahã. Everett's (1987:257) reason for analyzing second and third person markers as clitics, and not as affixes, concerns the "promiscuous" character of their placement; according to him, they impose no restrictions on the grammatical category of their host. I am not so sure that second and third person markers are so promiscuous in this language. In the examples throughout the article, these markers attach either to verbs, possessor nouns, or postpositional objects. It is not unheard of in natural languages for inflectional affixes to be allowed to occur on more than one category. In Potawatomi,

a language from the Algonquian family, for instance, "the inflectional markers of the possessors of Nouns and of the Subjects of transitive Verbs share much (but not all) of their formal expression" (Anderson 1992:156). Partial overlap in the verbal and prepositional inflectional elements is also found in Breton, as shown in Stump (1984:291 & 297). I unfortunately lack time and space here to investigate in more detail and make sure that Everett's analysis of pronominal elements in Pirahã is correct, but I brought it up because there is a reasonable doubt that it may represent one more case of non-affixal agreement markers.¹⁴

Can independent words function like agreement markers? Two cases from QCF

The four cases discussed in this section all involve non-affixal elements, but they still involve elements which are morphologically-bound: XP-clitics. Before closing this section, I would like to tentatively mention the possibility that elements which are completely free might also become agreement markers. The elements in question are object *ça* 'that' and the locative adverb *là* 'there' in QCF. As the following examples show, the possibility to insert adverbs between verbs and these elements clearly indicates

¹⁴ Two more possibilities were uncovered too late to be investigated in detail here:

- (i) In Kobon, a language spoken in New-Guinea and described by Davies (1981), subject and object pronouns seem to be able to double lexical arguments without forcing an emphatic or contrastive interpretation of the doubled elements.
- (ii) In Warlpiri, the auxiliary is generally described as a second-position element to which agreement markers attach (Hale 1973 and Simpson 1991). Cases exist, however, where no auxiliary is present and where clitics still occur in second position. It is the case, for instance, in infinitival clauses (Simpson 1991:142). I am therefore wondering whether an analysis where auxiliaries and agreement markers are all second-position clitics would constitute a better approach. If this hypothesis turns out to be correct, we will have another case where second-position clitics function like agreement markers, since Warlpiri allows free clitic-doubling (Simpson 1991:150).

that they are not in the least cliticized to the verb of which they are an argument or adjunct:

- (88) a. *J'aime vraiment pas ça le foie*
 'I like really not that the liver'
 = 'I really don't like liver'
- b. *On mangeait pas souvent là*
 'we ate not often there'
 = 'We didn't eat there often'

Ça competes with affixal agreement markers in this variety, so that alternations like the following are frequently observed:

- (89) a. *la glacière on a eu ça* (15-71:250) b. *la glacière on l'a eue*
 'the icebox we have had that' 'the icebox we it have had'
 = 'The icebox, we got it' = 'The icebox, we got it'

Even more interesting, however, is the fact that *ça* quite often cooccurs with lexical objects and with phrasal complements. In fact, it would even seem that some speakers (such as myself) have developed a verb *aimer ça* 'like that', which must be used when the complement is phrasal or generic. Examples of doubling with *ça* are given below. In (90), *ça* occurs with various verbs and doubles either NPs or PPs; (91) contains examples of *aimer ça* with nominal complements, while (92) contains infinitival complements.

- (90) a. *tu connais ça un bordel?* (23-71)

- 'you know that a brothel'
= 'Do you know what a brothel is?'
- b. *on jouait à ça à la cachette* (118-71:364)
'we played to that to the hide-and-seek'
= 'We played hide-and-seek'
- c. *je sais pas si vous avez entendu parler de ça les Cyniques* (35-71)
'I know not if you.pl have heard to-speak of that the 'Cyniques''
= 'I don't know if you've heard about them, the *Cyniques*'
- (91) a. *oh moman elle aimait ben ça la musique* (35-71)
'oh mom she like well that the music'
= 'Oh mom really enjoyed listening to music'
- b. *on aimait ben ça la télévision* (35-71)
'we liked well that the television'
= 'We really enjoyed watching TV'
- (92) a. *pis j'aime ça jaser* (108-71:204)
'and I like that to-chat'
= 'And I like to chat'
- b. *moi j'aimerais ça sortir avec lui* (108-71:212)
'me I would-like that to-go-out with him'
= 'As for me, I'd like to go out with him'

Note that, in most of these cases, the complements doubled by *ça* can be interpreted generically. In the next chapter, I will discuss the generic use of *ça* in detail. I will suggest that subject *ça* is a generic agreement marker, but we will see that object *ça* is problematic from both the morphological and the semantic points of view: morphologically, because it is obviously not an affix, as I already mentioned, but semantically also, because the notion of genericity seems much easier to circumscribe when dealing with subjects than when dealing with objects.

But to get back to the question of whether this non-affixal *ça* should be analyzed as an agreement marker or not, I would suggest that this might be the way this element is headed but that it is not there yet. That is, in spite of the fact that this element quite

often doubles overt arguments, it behaves like other object markers and does not show up in extraction environments, as shown by the ungrammaticality of the following examples:

- (93) a. *J'ai lu ça ce livre-là*
 'I have read that that book-there'
 = 'I have read that book'
- b. **Le livre que j'ai lu ça hier est pas mal bon*
 'the book that I have read that yesterday is not bad good'
 = 'The book I read yesterday is quite good'
- (94) a. **Les jeux qu'on jouait à ça quand j'étais petit...*
 'the games that we played to that when I was small...'
 = 'The games we played when I was a kid...'
- b. **Les jeux qu'on aimait ça quand j'étais petit...*
 'the games that we liked that when I was small...'
 = 'The games that we liked when I was a kid...'

Là has, for its part, basically taken over the role of *y*, which, as we mentioned before, can be claimed to have disappeared from the productive verbal morphology of QCF and to remain only in lexicalized expressions. The following example of left-dislocation exemplifies this use of *là*. As we can see, this element can thus serve as a resumptive element in such constructions. I do not interpret this behavior as an indication that *là* should, at the moment, be analyzed as an agreement marker, but, if it is possible for such non-clitic elements to turn into agreement markers, this case is certainly an interesting one to keep an eye on.

- (95) *les salles de danse, ma mère voulait pas qu'on se tienne là* (15-71:142)
 'the rooms of dance, my mother wanted not that we self hang there'

= 'Ballrooms, my mother didn't want us to hang around there'

For one thing, *là* rarely occurs in locative relative clauses and, when it does occur, it is unmistakably interpreted as resumptive:

- (96) *les salles de danse qu'on se tenait là...*
 'the rooms of dance that we self hang there'
 = 'The ballrooms where we hung out...'

Implications of this proposal for issues of variation and language change

I just reviewed evidence that strongly supports one of the main proposals of this dissertation. It was indeed suggested that, in order to account for all the facts concerning QCF argument markers, it was necessary to treat the morphophonological and morphosyntactic dimensions as independent. This way, I was able to account for the fact that, in spite of the fact that all argument markers are affixes in QCF, only subject markers can be doubled by quantifiers and occur in extraction environments. It is a nice achievement to propose an analysis that works, but if this analysis is stipulative and accounts only for the facts at issue, it is not even certain that this is a worthwhile enterprise. Fortunately for the analysis proposed here, we found crosslinguistic evidence that supports the position adopted here. That is, examples of non-affixal agreement markers have been uncovered, thus justifying a system which predicts the existence of four different types of markers depending on whether they are affixal or not and whether they function like agreement markers or not.

In my opinion, this system has a further advantage: that of predicting that more than one avenue should be open for language change to proceed. Indeed, if the morphophonological and morphosyntactic are independent, this opens the possibility for one dimension to change and the other not to change, so that, for examples, object markers in French were able to become affixes quite early on, even though they have not become agreement markers, yet, and may never become ones. It also allows for the two dimensions to change at different rates, so that, for example, agreement markers in the archaic dialects of Polish discussed above have completely changed at the morphosyntactic level but not at the morphophonological level. Now, this does not exclude the possibility that optimal "settings" exist and that what happens in between those settings is purely transitional, as has been suggested for the Polish facts. But the non-optimal settings cannot be discarded as unimportant, especially given that their instantiation in actual languages may last very long times. If we take again the case of French object markers, it might be possible to predict that they will eventually all become agreement markers. In my opinion, this is a very bold prediction to make at the moment, given the facts that have been described here. But even if we make this prediction, the fact that object markers have been affixes for so long is completely incompatible with an analysis which would view this type of system as inherently instable and subject to rapid change. The system which I have proposed here does not force any such interpretation of the facts concerning object markers. Obviously, now that it has been proposed, it will be necessary to investigate both synchronic variation and linguistic change data in order to empirically provide further support for the claims made here.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen that a processual-morphology approach yields a more than satisfactory analysis of argument markers in QCF. At the beginning of this chapter, I reviewed a number of analyses which have been proposed in order to account for pronominal clitics and verbal morphology and concluded that forcing the syntax to handle such facts would overly burden a grammatical component that we want to remain as universal as possible. Some of the data reviewed with respect to this question include so-called pronominal clitics in a number of Romance varieties, verbal morphology in the Semitic languages, and dual-position affixes in Afar and Huave. As an alternative, I thus suggested that we adopt and adapt the ILS-analysis proposed by Bessler (1994), Cummins & Roberge (1994a,b), and Nadasdi (1994), which posits a presyntactic morphological component that generates fully inflected-forms and spells out those forms at PF. Concerning spellout, a processual approach to morphology was adopted. The specific solutions and processes which were proposed to solve the problems encountered by a syntactic approach to inflectional morphology showed that the present proposal adequately handles the facts of QCF, thus freeing the syntax from the burden of having to handle such idiosyncratic facts as are typical of inflectional morphology. Finally, it was shown that the affixal-analysis of argument markers proposed here straightforwardly predicts the distribution of argument markers in coordination and extraction constructions.

An important part of my proposal concerns the independence of the morphophonological and morphosyntactic dimensions, which allows the existence of four types of elements: [\pm affix, \pm agreement marker]. In the last section of this chapter, I showed that

this approach is independently motivated, since all four types are instantiated in natural languages. I also argued that this approach correctly predicts that the development of agreement systems is allowed to follow different routes and that components of the grammar can change at different rates because of the independence of the said components.

CHAPTER 4

ON GENERIC ÇA AND THE AGREEMENT RELATION

Even though it is an extremely common person marker in Québec Colloquial French (QCF), *ça/c*' is not usually included in traditional personal pronoun paradigms. It is used in both Standard and Colloquial French¹ and is derived historically from a deictic/demonstrative element meaning 'that' (cf. Grevisse 1980 and Maillard 1987). *Ça* has several different functions, particularly in the colloquial grammar, which I will list in the first section of this chapter. In this section, I will try to both (i) illustrate the variety of uses of *ça* and (ii) make clear which uses of *ça* will or will not be examined in the second part of this chapter. In the second part of the chapter, I will focus specifically on the generic use of *ça*, particularly since relatively few languages possess generic markers. Our discussion of *ça* should thus provide us with a valuable opportunity to examine the properties of genericity. Finally, in the last part of the chapter, I will discuss the agreement relation between *ça* and its coreferential subject. As we will see, the use of *ça* as prefixal agreement marker on the verb raises important questions about the nature of this particular construction as well as grammatical agreement in general. That is, while agreement markers such as *elle* '3fs.nom' or *en* '3.gen' in (1)a and (1)b could be said to copy features of their coreferential arguments or be matched with them,

¹ Cf., e.g., Grevisse (1980:578-579). Even though *ça* is overwhelmingly more frequent in colloquial French than in standard French, Zribi-Hertz's (1993:12) conclusion that *ça* does not belong to Standard French would seem a bit exaggerated.

I will argue that generic *ça* and affective *ça*, in sentences such as (2) below, actually contribute features which influence the interpretation of their coreferential NP, thereby affecting the meaning of the entire sentence, as well as govern grammatical agreement within the VPs which contain them.

- (1) a. *ma jeunesse elle a été très dure* (108-71:341)
 'my youth she has been very hard'
 = 'My youth was very hard'
- b. *on en voit des Canadiens français qui sont là* (30-71:259)
 'we of-them see of-the Canadian French who are there'
 = 'We see some French Canadians who are there'
- (2) a. *Les hommes ça parle tout le temps*
 'the men that talks all the time'
 = 'Men talk all the time'
- b. *Ça pleure tout le temps, cet enfant-là!*
 'that cries all the time, that child-there'
 = 'This child keeps crying and crying!'

4.1. The various uses of *ça*

Reed (1993a,b) considers *ce* to be a homonymic element with at least four distinct roles: demonstrative, expletive, neuter, and generic. Even though she does not specifically deal with *ça*, she implicitly treats it as a formal variant of *ce*. I do not wish to definitively state here whether *ce/ça* represents a case of homonymy or polysemy, yet I certainly agree with Reed that this segment has a variety of distinct uses which must be analyzed separately. Table 1 shows that our two classification systems are very similar, since three of Reed's categories are the same as mine. The only difference arises in the class she calls "neuter", which I, however, subdivide into five different types, sometimes

based on the type of referent *ça* has, other times on the type of pragmatic interpretation which obtains.

Table 1
Comparison of two classifications of "demonstrative" use

Reed's (1993a,b) types of <i>ce</i>	Auger's types of <i>ça</i>
Demonstrative	Deictic/demonstrative
Expletive	Expletive
Neuter	Clause-anaphoric Affective Inanimate <i>ça</i> (incl. TV shows, books, etc.) Emphatic Indefinite
Generic	Generic

4.1.1. Deictic/demonstrative uses

This use of *ça* corresponds most closely to its original function, serving to point to something that is either present in the situation or in the linguistic context.

- (3) a. *Prends **ça** là!*
'Take that (one/thing) there!'
- b. *y a eu tout **ça** (73-71:378)*
'there has had all that'
= 'There was all that'
- c. *non, l'cimetière juif est plus loin que **ça** (73-71:237)*
'no, the cemetery Jewish is more far than that'
= 'No, the Jewish cemetery is farther than that'

A number of frequently used expressions and prepositional phrases probably also belong to this class, including *pas si ADJ que ça* 'not so ADJ than that' = 'not so ADJ', *comme ça*, 'like that', *c'est pour ça* 'that's for it' = 'that's why', *pis tout ça* 'and all that', and *à part de ça* 'at part of that' = 'in addition'. Examples of these phrases are given in (4):

- (4) a. *les Françaises sont pas si extraordinaires que ça* (15-71:B135)
 'the French-women are not so extraordinary than that'
 = 'French women are not so extraordinary'
- b. *aujourd'hui c'est comme ça* (15-71:304)
 'today that's like that'
 = 'Nowadays, that's the way it is'
- c. *Ben c'est parce que la maison est à nous. C'est pour ça* (15-71:055)
 'well it's because the house is to us. that's for that'
 = 'Well, it's because the house is ours. That's why'
- d. *ç'a beaucoup changé là les maisons pis tout ça* (15-71:249)
 'that's a-lot changed LÀ the houses and all that'
 = 'It's changed a lot, the houses and all'
- e. *à part de ça, les hommes ils parlent pas autant que les femmes* (15-71:B267)
 'at part of that, the men they talk not as-much as the women'
 = 'In addition, men don't talk as much as women'

4.1.2 Expletive use

An expletive pronoun does not bear a theta-role and appears in a sentence for purely structural reasons (cf., e.g., Postal & Pullum 1988:636). The expletive use of the subject marker *ça* is exemplified in (5):

- (5) a. *comme moi mes deux gars ça leur prend euh des battes de baseball* (15-71:111)
 'like me my two boys that to-them takes uh of-the bats of baseball'
 = 'Like my two boys, they need baseball bats'
- b. *comment ça va?* (15-71:366)
 'how that goes'
 = 'How is it going?'

Following the analysis in Chapter 3, I suggest that we treat *ça* in this case as an agreement marker which licenses a null expletive subject.

Expletive pronouns also seem possible in direct object position in English, although this issue is controversial among many linguists (cf. Rothstein in press, Postal & Pullum 1988, and Authier 1991). The following examples illustrate their point:

- (6) a. *I dislike it that he is so cruel.* (Rosenbaum 1967:51; reported in Postal & Pullum 1988:642)
- b. *I resent it greatly that you didn't call me.* (Postal & Pullum 1988:642)

Similar constructions are found in QCF, with certain verbs requiring *ça* as the expletive pronoun and others requiring *le*, as shown in (7) below.²

- (7) a. *J'aime pas ça qu'elle soit toute seule*
 'I like not that that she be all alone'
 = 'I don't like it that she is alone'

² If the doubling analysis which posits that the object markers were agreement markers and the doubled phrase the actual argument of the verb had been retained for QCF objects, the possibility that the examples in (7) above might instantiate clitic-doubling or agreement would have to be considered. However, I rejected this analysis in Chapters 2 and 3, and I will assume that the same conclusion holds for clausal complements as for nominal complements.

- b. *Je le savais qu'il viendrait*
 'I it knew that he would-come'
 = 'I knew it he would come'

4.1.3 Clause-anaphoric use

As shown in (8) below, *ça* can also refer to complete clauses. Although it resembles the expletives in (5), *ça* in the examples below is associated with a subject (potentially null) which clearly receives a theta-role from the verb; the expletive form of *ça* above is used with a verb with no theta-role to assign the subject, causing *ça* to act merely as an agreement inflection on the verb.

- (8) a. *ça va paraître qu'on va à l'école* (15-71:B076)
 'that will show that we go to the school'
 = 'It shows when we go to school'
- b. *Marie m'a appelé hier soir. Ça m'a surpris*
 'Mary me has called yesterday evening. That me has surprised'
 = 'Mary called me last night. That surprised me'

The distinction between the expletive and anaphoric uses of *ça* is supported by data in Standard French, which formally marks the difference between the expletive and anaphoric uses. Both *c'/ça* and *il* can serve as expletive pronouns, depending partly on lexical factors (some "impersonal" expressions require *c'/ça*, some require *il*, while others allow both; cf. Auger 1990), but only *c'/ça* can function as an anaphor:

- (9) a. *Il/c'est rare que je me trompe*
 'it/that is rare that I self deceive'
 = 'I rarely make mistakes'
- b. - *Tu te trompes toujours!* - *Non, *il/c'est rare.*

'You self deceive always! No, it/that is rare'
 = 'You always make mistakes! No, that's rare'

4.1.4 Inanimate *ça*

In Standard French, *le/la/les* 'him/her/them' are the usual pronominal forms for definite direct objects. Yet, *ça* can sometimes replace those elements in QCF. Typically, such examples involve inanimate objects, with no special pragmatic effect, as illustrated in (10):

- (10) a. *je faisais ça souvent à domicile le travail* (73-71:123)
 'I did that often at home the work'
 = 'I often did the work at home'
- b. *Ce manteau-là, on a acheté ça hier*
 'That coat-there, we have bought that yesterday'
 = 'That coat, we bought it yesterday'

This "inanimate" use of *ça* also occurs in subject position where once again, it does not carry any special pragmatic value, in contrast with the animate use of *ça*, especially human referents, which always produces a special pragmatic effect, as we will see later.

- (11) a. *je te dis que les révélations de Henri Richard là que ça les a réveillés un peu* (15-71:B215)
 'I you tell that the revelations of Henri Richard LÀ that that them has woken-up a little'
 = 'I'm telling you that Henri Richard's revelations woke them up a little'
- b. *oui, c'était après construire, les trois maisons* (15-71:354)
 'yes, that was after to-build, the three houses'
 = 'Yes, they were being built, the three houses'

Speakers of QCF use inanimate *ça* particularly with cultural referents, such as television shows, theater plays, books, musical pieces. In some cases (cf., e.g., (12)a and (12)b below), a speaker can use a singular object marker instead of *ça*. Yet, *ça* can also enable one to distinguish the television show from the title character, as in (12)c.

- (12) a. *"Les noces de Figaro", c'est Mozart qui a composé ça*
 'The marriage of Figaro, it's Mozart who has composed that'
 = 'The Marriage of Figaro, Mozart composed that'
- b. *"Les trois mousquetaires", j'ai lu ça la semaine passée*
 'The Three Musketeers, I have read that the week passed'
 = 'The Three Musketeers, I read that last week'
- c. *"Cré Basile", il y a du monde qui aime ça (19:508)*
 'Cré Basile it there has of-the world who likes that'
 = 'Cré Basile, there are people who like that show'

In subject position, however, only *ça* is possible, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (13) a. *"Les trois mousquetaires" ça/*il se passe en France*
 'The Three Musketeers that/it self passes in France'
 = 'In The Three Musketeers, the action takes place in France'
- b. *"Rue des Pignons" ça/*elle a commencé en 1971*
 'Rue des Pignons that/she has started in 1971'
 = 'Rue des Pignons started in 1971'

4.1.5 "Affective" uses with individual human referents

Ça is highly restricted with human referents in QCF, although it is possible to exploit the unusual combination of an individual human referent with the default inanimate value of *ça* to create sentences which express the speaker's attitude toward the referent: approval or disapproval, disdain or admiration. The positive or negative conno-

tation is contributed in this case by the type of predicate (cf. Grevisse 1980:596 and Henry 1977b:101-104 for the observation that the use of *ça* with human referents is not necessarily pejorative, but that it is always loaded with affectivity). This affective use of *ça* with individual human referents is illustrated in (14):

- (14) a. *Ma fille de 17 ans ça se lave même pas une paire de bas!* (15-84:107)
 'my daughter of seventeen years that self washes even not a pair of socks'
 = 'My 17 year old daughter, she doesn't even wash herself a pair of socks!'
- b. *René Lévesque, ça, c'était un... une tête d'affiche* (6:678; Thibault 1983:48)
 'René Lévesque, that, that was a... a head of poster'
 = 'René Lévesque, now that was a prominent figure'

Many speakers of QCF require individual-level predicates, as demonstrated in the two examples above, yet some speakers also accept (15) below, a sentence which contains a stage-level predicate.

- (15) %*Paul Dumas, ça s'est évadé de la prison la semaine passée*
 'Paul Dumas, that self is evaded of the jail the week passed'
 = 'Paul Dumas, he escaped from jail last week'

4.1.6 Emphatic uses

Another pragmatically-marked use of *ça* is found in examples such as (16)a:

- (16) a. *Je te jure qu'il t'a lavé ça le plancher!*
 'I to-you swear that he to-you has washed that the floor'
 = 'I can tell you that he's washed the floor!'

- b. *C'est fin, cet enfant-là!*
 'that is nice, that kid-there'
 = 'That kid is so nice!'
- c. *Ça sent bon, ce bébé-là!* (Au nom du père et du fils, TVA)
 'that smells good, that baby-there'
 'Does that baby smell good!'

This particular use of *ça* requires a specific intonation pattern and various emphatic elements (such as *je te jure* 'I swear to you' and ethical datives) to make it most felicitous. *Ça* in (16)a does not tell us anything about the specific way in which the floor was washed, but it may help indicate that the floor was either washed very thoroughly, quickly, or with much anger. At this stage, I have separated the emphatic use of *ça* from "affective" *ça*, since only the former requires a specific intonation pattern, and since it also places fewer restrictions on stage-level predicates than the latter.

Sentence (16)a demonstrates that *ça* can have a specific referent, in this case, *le plancher* 'the floor', but we can also find non-referential uses of emphatic *ça*, identified by Henry (1977a:96) as "interjection" or "particle" *ça*. He gives the following examples, from Müller-Hauser (1943:176):

- (17) a. [A woman is trying on a scarf and the salesperson says] *Dieu, que ce jaune vous va bien, ah! ça, je vous la mets de côté*
 'God, that this yellow to-you goes well, ah, that, I to-you put of side'
 = 'God, does that yellow suit you, I must put it aside for you!'
- b. *Vous avez vu ma voilette? Oh! oui... ça, on la voit!*
 'You have seen my little-veil? Oh! yes, that, we it see!'
 = 'Have you seen my veil? Oh yes! we couldn't miss it!'

Even though it should be theoretically possible to have a coreferential relation in (17)a and (17)b between *ça* and either "the yellow scarf" or "the veil", the feminine argument marker *la* in both cases indicates that this object marker does not agree with *ça*, since *ce/ça* typically neutralize number and gender, thereby forcing the verb to bear default 3ms features.

4.1.7 Indefinite use

Moving away from pragmatically-marked uses of *ça*, we find cases where *ça* does not refer to any specific referent yet still functions as an agent, as exemplified in (18):

- (18) a. *Ça dansait beaucoup dans ce temps-là*
 'that danced a-lot in that time-there'
 = 'There was a lot of dancing at that time'
- b. *Ça va danser beaucoup au party ce soir*
 'that goes to-dance a-lot at-the party this evening'
 = 'There'll be a lot of dancing at the party tonight'

This type of example corresponds to Maillard's (1985:82) "collective impersonal":

- (19) a. *Ça bouge sur les campus*
 'that moves on the campuses'
 = 'There is action on the campuses'
- b. *Ça se bagarre au Liban*
 'that self battles at-the Lebanon'
 = 'There is fighting in Lebanon'

It is paralleled in Standard French by *cela*, as demonstrated in the following example from Grevisse (1980:597):

- (20) *Quelle activité dans l'atelier! Cela frappe, cela lime, cela ajuste, cela forge, cela taraude...*
 'what activity in the workshop! That hits, that files, that adjusts, that forges, that taps...'
 = 'So much activity in the workshop! There is hitting, filing, adjusting, forging, tapping...'

Semantically, this use of *ça* is similar to the German expletive *es* in impersonal passives or *there* in the English translations above. Syntactically, however, *ça* cannot be analyzed as an expletive, since *danser* 'to dance', *bouger* 'to move', and *bagarrer* 'to battle' have an agent theta-role to assign. In that sense, then, it is much closer to Standard French *on* 'one', which has an indefinite meaning but generally receives a theta-role from the verb, as in the following examples:

- (21) a. *On a souvent besoin d'un plus petit que soi* (La Fontaine)
 'one has often need of a more small than oneself'
 = 'One often needs someone smaller than oneself'
 b. *On m'a volé ma bicyclette*
 'one to-me has stolen my bicycle'
 = 'They have stolen my bicycle'

Ça may, in fact, be taking over the indefinite function otherwise performed by *on* in QCF. As I noted in Chapter 2, *on* has in fact become the 1pl subject marker in QCF. As a result, *on* typically has a definite, 1pl reading in a sentence such as *On dansait*

beaucoup dans ce temps-là 'ON danced a lot back then', whereby the speaker was one of the dancers. The indefinite or general reading, where the speaker was not one of the dancers, is possible, but strongly disfavored. I will nevertheless leave for further research a more detailed investigation of indefinite *ça* and its relation to other indefinite markers, such as *on* 'one' and *tu/vous* 'you-sg/pl'. The studies of Laberge & Sankoff (1980), Boutet (1985), and Deshaies (1987) on indefinite *tu/vous* and *on* in European and Québec Colloquial French have revealed several interesting patterns of alternation between *tu/vous* and *on*, although none includes *ça* as an additional form for indefinite subjects. The following triplet of sentences, however, shows some contexts where *ça* seems to be the only option for clearly expressing an indefinite agent, since *tu*, but not necessarily *on*, need a specific referent:

- (22) a. *On dansait beaucoup dans ce temps-là*
 'one danced a-lot in that time-there'
 = 'We danced a lot back then' OR 'There was a lot of dancing back then'
- b. *Tu dansais beaucoup dans ce temps-là*
 'you danced a-lot in that time-there'
 = 'You (interlocutor) danced a lot back then'
- c. *Ça dansait beaucoup dans ce temps-là*
 'that danced a-lot in that time-there'
 = 'There was a lot of dancing back then'

4.1.8 Generic uses

I will concentrate on the last use of *ça*, the generic reading, throughout this chapter. The examples in (23) below show that *ça* can be used with various types of NPs

to produce a generic interpretation (cf. also Lambrecht 1981:61, Galmiche 1985:3, Kleiber & Lazzaro 1987:83-84, and Maillard 1987:157).

- (23) a. *la nervosité [...] ça se soigne* (15-71:647)
 'the nervousness [...] that self cures'
 = 'Nervousness can be cured'
- b. *les hommes ça se laisse beaucoup aller* (19-71:467)
 'the men that self lets a-lot go'
 = 'Men are very easy-going'
- c. *Une thèse ça se finit pas, ça s'arrête* (Marty Laforest, May 1994)
 'a thesis that self finishes not, that self stops'
 = 'A dissertation does not end, it stops'

Informally, we can define a generic sentence as one which indicates type or class of things, rather than about items.³ It therefore represents a typical characteristic of that class, allowing for exceptions. If we say, for instance, that *Tables have four legs*, the sight of a three-legged table does not necessarily affect the truth-value of the generic sentence. This property distinguishes generic sentences from constructions with universal quantification, since the latter do not allow for exceptions. If we say that *All tables have four legs*, a single three-legged table suffices to render our sentence false.

We could perhaps understand the particular use of *ça* in sentence (18)a in the previous section as a subcase of generic *ça*. This form of *ça*, however, can refer to particular groups of individuals in particular situations, as in (18)b and (19) also in the previous section, suggesting that it does not function in quite the same way as truly

³ A more formal definition of generic sentence will be given further below.

generic *ça*. In effect, we cannot really restrict the reference of (23)b without losing the generic sense of this sentence:

- (24) ?**Les hommes ça va se laisser aller beaucoup au party à soir*
 'the men that will self let go a-lot at-the party at evening'
 = 'Men will loosen up a lot at the party tonight'

Speakers who accept this sentence interpret *ça*, not as the generic marker but as the affective marker described above for individual human referents. That is, if acceptable, this sentence is not about men in general, but about a specific group of men who will be at the party tonight. It would probably be more appropriate, therefore, to describe *ça* in (18) above as indefinite, rather than generic.

Generic *ça*, however, seems to occur in sentences which refer to types rather than tokens, as illustrated in (25) below. *Ça* in (25)a, for instance, indicates merely the type of park rather than the parks themselves that did not exist when the speaker was growing up. In (25)b, *ça* does not refer to the specific car which the speaker bought for 875 dollars, but to the particular model or brand (cf. also Maillard 1987:183; see Rosenberg 1970:102 for a similar use of *ce* in Standard French). In both cases, then, *ça* generalizes from a particular item or group of elements and asserts something about a whole kind. This is one use of *ça* paralleled in English by the word *that*.

- (25) a. *les parcs qu'on a aujourd'hui, dans notre temps on avait pas ça*
 (118:B113)
 'The parks that we have today, in our time, we had not that'

- = 'Parks like we have nowadays, back then, we didn't have anything like that'
- b. *ils vendaient ça 875 piastres* [sa première auto] (73-71:265)
 'they sold that 875 dollars [his first car]'
 = 'It sold for 875 dollars'

While this survey listing the uses of *ça* may not be exhaustive, it certainly demonstrates the variety of uses characterizing this marker in QCF. Serious investigation of this variety would undoubtedly require at least one complete dissertation (cf., e.g., Thi-bault's 1983 dissertation, which focuses on the alternation between *ça* and prefixal object markers, and Nadasdi's 1994 chapter on object markers and *ça* in Ontario French). In the next section, I will focus my attention on generic *ça* used in subject position, as illustrated in (23) above. Remarks will occasionally be made about genericity in object position, but the topic of subject genericity is complex enough in itself to warrant detailed investigation. Finally, in the last section, I will turn my attention to the morphosyntactic aspects of generic *ça*, particularly concerning grammatical agreement. In that discussion, I will broaden the scope of my investigation so as to take into account all the different subject uses of *ça* described in this section.

4.2. *Ça* as a marker of genericity in Colloquial French

Few languages have overt markers for genericity, provoking considerable uncertainty about what constitutes a generic element or sentence. The recent linguistic literature, consequently, contains much discussion about whether certain elements or sentences are actually generic. At the phrase level, Burton-Roberts (1976, 1977) argues

that indefinite singular NPs are the only type of NP to be truly generic, while Krifka et al. (1992:1:10) adopt the opposite position, claiming that singular indefinite NPs fail to receive a kind-referring interpretation when used with kind predicates. Contrasting with Burton-Roberts' position, Carlson (1977 and later works) suggests that generic noun phrases do not exist. Instead, NPs representing kinds and individuals can be used with individual-level predicates to yield generic sentences.

Another area of debate concerns whether generic sentences refer only to kinds or to both kinds and individuals. Carlson (1982, 1989) suggests that generic sentences such as *Dogs bark* and habitual sentences like *Fido barks* should not be distinguished, arguing that they together constitute examples of a wider class which he calls "gnomic". This approach is rejected by Galmiche (1985) and Léard (1987), who reserve the term "generic" for sentences involving a kind (a genus). Kleiber (e.g., 1987) takes a more or less intermediate position, attributing the generic readings of *Dogs bark* and *Fido barks* to different parts of each sentence: habitual sentences like *Fido barks* are generic due to their VP ("verbal genericity"), while sentences containing kind-referring NPs like *Dogs bark* are generic in virtue of the generic NPs which they contain ("nominal genericity"). Krifka et al. (1992) capture a similar idea with their distinction between characterizing sentences, which attribute to some entity a regularity which transcends particular facts, and kind-referring NPs like *dogs* or *the dog*.

One goal of the present section is to see what we can learn about genericity from a language with an overt generic marker.⁴ In the first subsection, I present evidence that some uses of *ça* mark genericity. I will then discuss a number of restrictions which govern the use of generic *ça*; we will see that some subjects cannot easily combine with generic *ça*. Because I hope to concentrate on the contribution of *ça* to a theory of genericity, I will only discuss generic sentences containing subject *ça*. This means that I will not try to determine what counts as a generic sentence and what does not apart from the sentences containing the subject generic marker *ça*.

In spite of much debate about the status of many generic sentences, one type of sentence is fairly uncontroversial: namely, those which attribute a general property to a kind, a genus, i.e., sentences which are not about individuals nor about particular episodes or facts. Examples of this core type are given in (26)a and (27)a below:

- | | | | |
|------|----|--|-----------------------------|
| (26) | a. | <i>Un chien/les chiens/des chiens ça jappe</i> | 'Dogs bark' |
| | b. | <i>Les chiens ils jappent</i> | 'The dogs are barking/bark' |
| (27) | a. | <i>L'air chaud ça monte</i> | 'Hot air rises' |
| | b. | <i>L'air chaud il monte</i> | 'The hot air is rising' |

The contrast illustrated by each pair of sentence in (26) and (27) above constitutes the core evidence that *ça* operates as a generic marker in QCF. While (26)a and (27)a, which both contain *ça*, must be interpreted generically, sentences (26)b and (27)b, which

⁴ This goal is also explicitly pursued by Léard (1987:134-135): "It is to be hoped that the morpho-syntactic types will allow a better classification or a reduction of genericity" (my translation). The present study builds on some important findings of Léard's study, but it goes on to focus on what the presence/absence of *ça* reveals about the semantic category of genericity.

contain *il(s)*, strongly favor a definite reading of the NPs. That is, (26)b, for example, is usually given a here-and-now reading best translated as 'The dogs are barking' or a general statement about some specific dogs best translated as 'The dogs bark'.⁵ As for (27)b, it is difficult to imagine interpretations other than the here-and-now reading 'The hot air (released from some object) is rising'. These QCF sentences differ from their non-doubled equivalents in that the latter are always ambiguous between a generic and a non-generic reading, as exemplified in (28) and (29):

- (28) a. *Un chien aboie*
'A dog is barking/barks'
b. *Les chiens aboient*
'The dogs are barking/bark'
c. *Le chien aboie*
'The dog is barking/barks'
- (29) *L'air chaud monte*
'Hot air rises/the hot air is rising'

Example (30) below shows that they do not necessarily also require a generically-interpretable NP within the same sentence is not necessary in order to establish a generic reference for *c'* or *ça*, since discourse can fulfill that role. In this example, *c'* and *ça* in the last line refer to children in general, as demonstrated by the exchange in which the two generic sentences are uttered. The subject marker *ils* 'they', though not completely

⁵ It is possible to imagine a generic reading for (26)b if the sentence is also interpreted as contrasting dogs with other animals, as in (i):

(i) *Les chiens ils jappent pis les chats ils miaulent*
'The dogs they bark and the cats they meow'
= 'Dogs bark and cats meow'

infelicitous in this exchange, would tend to refer to the interviewee's grandchildren, whom the interviewer does not know. The *ça* here is thus unambiguous, serving in fact as the only device in such structures to yield a non-specific, generic sentence:

- (30) Int: *Vous avez des petits enfants alors?*
 Subj: *J'en ai une. Mais l'autre [fille] elle vient, elle attend ça pour le mois de mars là.*
 Int: *Ah mon doux là ça serait fin d'avoir un...*
 Subj: *Ça va être deux oui. Un petit gars pis une petite fille. L'autre elle va avoir huit mois là la semaine prochaine.*
 Int: *Je suppose que vous devez les gâter...*
 Subj: *Elle est fine ah oui.*
 Int: *C'est fin à cet âge-là. Ça commence à gazouiller. (118:408)*
 Int: 'You have grandchildren, then?
 Subj: I have one. But the other one [daughter] has just, she expects that [a child] for the month of March.
 Int: Oh my goodness, it would be nice to have a...
 Subj: That will be two, yes. A little boy and a little girl. The other one, she's going to be eight months next week.
 Int: I suppose you must spoil them...
 Subj: She's nice, oh yes.
 Int: C' [=children] is nice at that age. ÇA begins to babble'

4.2.1 A marker for NPs referring to kinds combined with characterizing predicates

Having limited this inquiry to generic *ça* in subject position, we may now address three main ways in which QCF this marker bears on the overall theory of genericity. In this section, we will see that QCF has developed a generic form for precisely the relatively uncontroversially-generic sentence-types mentioned earlier: that is, sentences which combine NPs referring to kinds and characterizing predicates. In the next section, we will see that an intensional reading is a necessary but not sufficient condition for allowing generic *ça*: an NP must in some sense be understood as truly referring to a kind

in order for *ça* to be allowed. As we will see, we must be fairly flexible in deciding what counts as a kind in semantics (as opposed to biology). I will allow for the possibility of pragmatic and restrictions on which NPs can be interpreted generically.

Carlson (1977, 1980) has developed one of the most influential approaches to genericity in recent years. As already mentioned above, two central tenets of Carlson's approach include: (i) noun phrases are not generic in and of themselves, but are interpreted as generic only when combined with individual-level (i.e., generic) predicates⁶ and (ii) generic sentences do not necessarily need to be distinguished from habitual sentences.

Carlson discusses three main reasons why we should not distinguish between habitual and generic sentences:

- a) When NPs referring to kinds and NPs referring to individual objects combine with individual-level predicates, both refer to individuals, rather than to their parts (elements or stages). That is, the predicate does not apply to the elements or instantiations of the NP, but instead to its totality or abstraction. For Carlson (1989:168), individuals and kinds are both regarded as 'intensional'; that is, individuals are specific referents that can appear at different times and places (but not at the same time), regardless of changes that the referent may undergo

⁶ In his 1989 article, Carlson acknowledges that his earlier approach was too restrictive in that it allowed only for subjects to be interpreted generically. As a consequence, he now suggests that generic sentences should be viewed as a relation between two elements: a matrix sentence or predicate containing the sentence main verb and something else which is required to complete the generic interpretation (Carlson 1989:177). Subjects happen to be the favored "something else", but the something else can be an adverbial phrase or an object, and it need not even be a syntactic element within the sentence. As Carlson himself suggests, the discourse context itself may supply the constituent which is necessary in order to yield a generic interpretation. But since I am only dealing with subjects here, this point is not of crucial importance for my discussion.

between instances, whereas kinds are individuals which can be instantiated at distinct locations at the same time, in the same world. For example, *Mary* is *Mary*, no matter whether she is wearing a pink dress or blue pants, no matter whether she is studying in her room on Thursday morning or chatting with friends and listening to music in a bar on Saturday night; and *cats* are cats, no matter whether they are gray or brown or tortoiseshell, no matter whether they are sleeping or hunting, and no matter whether they are very independent or extremely clingy. *Mary* wearing a pink dress and studying on Thursday morning, or a clingy tortoiseshell cat sleeping on a couch on Monday afternoon are simply stages of the individual *Mary* and the kind *cat*.

- b) Any predicate which can be assigned to a particular individual can also be assigned to a kind (although the converse is not true: some predicates subcategorize for subjects or objects representing kinds; e.g., *become extinct* requires kind-referring subjects, and *invent* and *exterminate* subcategorize for kind-referring objects).
- c) In languages which possess an overt marker for genericity, the two types of sentences are almost never distinguished: "while numerous languages morphologically distinguish what I am calling 'generics' here from nongenerics, few if any distinguish habituals from 'generics' in the narrower (and more common) sense" (Carlson 1989:190-191).

While there is little to say about the first two arguments, there certainly seem to be exceptions to the third. QCF shows, for example, that we cannot always apply our

analysis of generic sentences to habitual ones. While we can use *ça* perfectly well with a subject that refers to a kind, as in (31)a, we cannot do so with a subject denoting an individual referent, as in (31)b:

- (31) a. *Les chats ça miaule* ("generic") 'Cats meow'
 b. *Mon chat *ça/il miaule* ("habitual") 'My cat meows'

Hence *ça* can function with only one subtype of gnomic sentences—NPs referring to kinds—thus providing empirical evidence for the opposition between kind and individual recognized by many researchers (e.g., Galmiche 1985:23).

This observation seems to contradict Carlson's claim that we need not distinguish between generic subjects referring to kinds and those referring to individuals. Carlson, however, probably had in mind verbal features of the tense/mood/aspect system, rather than anaphoric elements or agreement markers referring to noun phrases interpreted generically. Indeed, in his survey of approximately 110 languages, Carlson (1992:19-20) found that "the general realization pattern of the habitual is similar to the realization pattern of other elements of the tense-mood-aspect systems". Consequently, overt markers in some languages indicate whether non-verbal predicates have a generic or an episodic interpretation. In American Sign Language, for example, an inflectional element is added to episodic adjectives in order to yield a generic reading. Balto-Slavic languages, on the other hand, exhibit a process which applies to nominal predicates, yielding a generic/episodic contrast. Yet other languages (e.g., Nunggubuyu and Sere) use reduplication to mark the 'habitual', or 'iterative', aspect. In a few cases, we can even find pairs of verbs

which seem to express the generic/episodic distinction, as with the two forms of 'to be' in Spanish: *ser* for generic (or habitual) uses, and *estar* for episodic ones.⁷ Carlson, however, does not report even a single case in which a marker distinguishes between kind-referring and object-referring NPs.

Barlow (1988:117) reports one case where the agreement pattern on the verb correlates with a generic/non-generic interpretation. In Syrian Arabic, plural subjects can take either plural or singular agreement verbs. We get a non-generic sentence when the verb is plural but a generic reading when a singular verb combines with a plural subject, as illustrated below:

- (32) a. *l-keteb mā bihemmū* (Syrian Arabic; Cowell 1964:424)
 def-book.pl not with-him.pl
 = 'The books don't interest him'
- b. *l-keteb mā behemmo*
 def-book.pl not with-him.fem.sg
 = 'Books don't interest him'

We thus observe a striking similarity between these data and QCF *ça*, whereby singular agreement on the verb forces a generic reading in both languages. According to Barlow (1988b:116), "it is fairly common for generic *uses* of plural NPs to yield different agreement patterns compared with ordinary plurals", although his only other example,

⁷ While this is generally the case, there exist a number of cases where *estar* is used with individual-level predicates, expressing for example generic location or the state of being dead:

(i) *México está al sur de los Estados Unidos.* 'Mexico is to the south of the United States'

(ii) *Juan está muerto* 'John is dead'

Cf. Schmitt (1992) for a discussion of these two verbs in Brazilian Portuguese and for the conclusion that the difference between them is aspectual rather than generic/episodic

Kobon, does not really involve genericity. Davies (1981:149) also uses the term generic to describe Kobon, referring in this case to the combination of plural subjects and singular verbs, but his examples actually indicate a "collective" reading. In effect, plural subjects referring to tadpoles, ants, and lice must be used with a singular verb, while human generics must cooccur with a plural verb. Some of the examples of singular verb with a plural subject, moreover, involve stage-level predicates, which clearly indicates that those sentences are not generic.

Further crosslinguistic study may reveal in other languages patterns similar to those in QCF and Syrian Arabic. More extensive study of data in Syrian Arabic will also be necessary in order to clearly establish the link with QCF. If the two sentences above are truly representative of the whole language, they will confirm that QCF is not the only language that exploits its subject-verb agreement system to distinguish generic from non-generic sentences.

So far, I have argued that *ça* is an agreement marker which cooccurs with NPs referring to kinds. I also suggest that we can maintain Carlson's proposal—that generic and habitual sentences should be analyzed alike—as long as we restrict our analysis to the verbal features (i.e., to tense/mood/aspect features) involved in such sentences. This is consistent with Dahl's (1988:97) survey of genericity in 65 languages, where he concludes that languages using verbal markers in generic sentences (in the narrow sense) also permit them to express habitual actions.

We must, however, further restrict the distribution of generic *ça*, since it cannot cooccur with all subjects referring to kinds. We can in fact use the distribution of *ça* as

evidence that we must distinguish two types of "gnomic" sentences, as advocated by Krifka et al. (1992:1;3):

It is obvious that reference to kinds and characterizing sentences [which include Carlson's habitual] have something in common: with kinds we abstract away from particular objects, whereas with characterizing sentences we abstract away from particular events and facts. [...] Nonetheless, it is important to keep these two types of generic phenomena apart, since it turns out that there are linguistic differences between them.⁸

Krifka et al. suggest two independent ways for sentences to be classified as "gnomic". Either they have characterizing predicates, which abstract away from particular events or facts, as in (33) below, or they contain kind-referring NPs, as in (34).

- (33) a. *Mary walks to school*
 b. *Hurricanes arise in this part of the Pacific* (Milsark 1974; reported in Carlson 1989:170)
 c. *It rains 30'' a year here* (Carlson 1989:174)
- (34) *The panda/Pandas will become extinct soon*

A 'kind-referring NP' for Krifka et al. does not include all NPs which can or must refer to kinds, but only those compatible with kind-selecting predicates. Bare plurals and singular definite NPs in English, for example, can be used as the subject of *be extinct* and as objects of *invent*. They are therefore considered to be kind-referring NPs. Singular

⁸ I should point out that Krifka et al.'s (1992) distinction between kind-referring NPs and characterizing predicates is highly reminiscent of Kleiber's (1985:307, 1987) distinction between nominal and verbal genericity. In Kleiber's approach, nominal genericity has to do with classes of individuals which are characterized by a certain behavior or property, while verbal genericity is concerned with classes of actions or states which characterize an individual or a group of individuals.

indefinites, on the other hand, cannot be used in those constructions, as shown in (35) below. Consequently, they are not kind-referring NPs.

- (35) a. **A panda will become extinct soon*
 b. **Graham Bell invented a telephone*

A kind-referring NP and a characterizing predicate may cooccur within the same sentence, as in (36):

- (36) a. *Potatoes contain vitamin C*
 b. *Lions roar*

Ça, however, seems to mark the distinction between these two types of generic sentences in a quite straightforward way: it can only appear in sentences containing characterizing predicates. In (31)a, for example, we can see that *ça* is perfectly natural in a sentence where an NP referring to the species 'cat' occurs with the characterizing predicate 'to meow'. Similarly, if we translate (36)a into QCF, we once again get *ça*:

- (37) *Les patates ça contient de la vitamine C*
 'the potatoes that contains of the vitamin C'
 = 'Potatoes contain vitamin C'

Ça is no longer possible, however, if we combine *les chats* with a non-characterizing predicate such as 'become extinct':

- (38) **Les chats c'est sur le point de s'éteindre*
 'the cats that's on the point of self put-out'
 = 'Cats are about to become extinct'

Generic *ça*, therefore, seems restricted in QCF to sentences in which NPs referring to kinds combine with characterizing predicates. It is the characterizing predicate here that actually licenses *ça*, since *ça* cannot occur with kind-referring NPs alone, as confirmed by the examples in (39), thus supporting Krifka et al.'s suggestion that genericity can arise in two distinct ways.

- (39) a. *Les baleines c'est intelligent*
 'the whales that's intelligent'
 = 'Whales are intelligent'
- b. *Les baleines ça vit dans l'océan*
 'the whales that lives in the ocean'
 = 'Whales live in the ocean'
- c. ??*Les baleines c'est en voie d'extinction*
 'the whales that's in way of extinction'
 = 'Whales are an endangered species'
- d. **Les baleines ç'a été exterminé en 1973*
 'the whales that has been exterminated in 1973'
 = 'Whales were exterminated in 1973'

The contrast between sentences with characterizing predicates and those without is further confirmed by the distribution of determiners. The first two examples either a singular or plural indefinite NP; whereas the last two allow only a plural definite NP:

- (40) a. *Une baleine c'est intelligent*
 'a whale that's intelligent'
- b. *Des baleines c'est intelligent*
 'of-the whales that's intelligent'

- (41) a. *Une baleine ça vit dans l'océan*
'a whale that lives in the ocean'
b. *Des baleines ça vit dans l'océan*
'of-the whales that lives in the ocean'
- (42) a. **Une baleine c'est en voie d'extinction*
'a whale that's in way of extinction'
b. **Des baleines c'est en voie d'extinction*
'of-the whales that's in way of extinction'
- (43) a. **Une baleine ç'a été exterminé en 1973*
'a whale that's been exterminated in 1973'
b. **Des baleines ç'a été exterminé en 1973*
of-the whales that's been exterminated in 1973'

Generic *ça* thus seems linked to the distribution of indefinite NPs in generic sentences.

4.2.2 Restrictions on generically-interpreted NPs

In the preceding section, I argued that only NPs referring to kinds are compatible with generic *ça*. I also showed that generic *ça* is restricted by structural constraints, since NPs referring to kinds allow the use of *ça* only when combined with characterizing predicates. In this section, I present data showing that a third constraint, the fact that some NPs cannot refer to kinds, also restricts the distribution of generic *ça*.

The contrast between generic and non-generic interpretations, along with the alternation between *ça* and *il(s)/elle(s)* 'he/she/they' already demonstrated in examples (26)-(27) above, also arises in sentences (44) below. In QCF, (44)a and (44)b are both grammatical, but they carry slightly different implications. Sentence (44)a, which contains *c'*, characterizes the entire kind 'geranium', not just particular members of that

kind, thereby predicting that all geraniums—past, present, future, and even counterfactual examples—are always red. In contrast, sentence (44)b, which contains *ils* 'they', implies that "redness" may typify only a particular group of geraniums, without ruling out the existence of large numbers of pink geraniums.

- (44) a. *Les géraniums c'est rouge*
'Geraniums are red'
b. *Les géraniums ils sont rouges*
'The geraniums are red'

The same contrast occurs in the following pair of sentences:

- (45) a. *les hommes ils parlent pas autant que les femmes* (15-71:B267)
'the men they talk not as-much as the women'
= 'Men don't talk as much as women'
or 'The men don't talk as much as the women'
b. *les hommes ça parle pas autant que les femmes*
'the men that speaks not as-much as the women'
= 'Men don't talk as much as women'

As in example (44), the speaker uttering (45)a is not expressing a characteristic property of men, but simply contrasting the behavior of men and women in this particular context.

Finally, note that *ils* is favored over *ça* in the example below, since *ça* would treat long hair as an essential characteristic of today's men:

- (46) *Bien aujourd'hui [...] les hommes bien ils ont les cheveux longs* (29-71:285; Thibault 1983:41)
 'Well today [...] the men well they have the hair long'
 = 'Well, nowadays, men have long hair'

The contrast in (44) thus shows that *ça* necessarily produces a generic reading. Examples (47) and (50) below show, however, that not all NPs referring to groups can be doubled with *ça* and interpreted generically. (47)c shows that *c'* is either impossible or very marginal, even though we should in principle be able to get a generic reading for the NP 'the pens in my purse':

- (47) a. *Les stylos de mon sac sont rouges*
 'The pens in my purse are red'
 b. *Les stylos de mon sac ils sont rouges*
 c. *?*Les stylos de mon sac c'est rouge*

(47)c, moreover, remains marginal, as in the following example, even if we try to build a context which favors a generic interpretation of 'pens in my purse':

- (48) - *J'ai trouvé un stylo bleu dans mon bureau; ça doit être le tien.*
 - *Non, ça se peut pas. J'ai jamais de stylos bleus. ??Les stylos de mon sac c'est rouge.*
 'I have found a blue pen in my office; it must be yours.'
 'No, it can't be. I never have blue pens. (The) pens in my purse are red'

Similarly, the context in (49) below, designed to favor a generic reading of *mes étudiants* 'my students', does not really succeed in exploiting the use of generic *ça*, thus

supporting Léard's (1987:138) claim that NPs introduced by possessive determiners are necessarily specific, not generic.

- (49) *Je me cherche un ou deux étudiants de doctorat pour travailler dans mon projet de recherche. ??Mes étudiants c'est intelligent, ça travaille fort pis ça finit vite. Si tu connais quelqu'un qui conviendrait, dis-moi-le.*
 'I'm looking for one or two Ph.D. students who could work in my research project. My students are intelligent, they work hard, and they finish fast. If you know someone like that, let me know'

I have argued that *ça* functions as an agreement marker for NPs referring to kinds and that it can only cooccur with this type of NP. If so, then pragmatic conditions seem to restrict what counts as a 'kind' in a given society (Galmiche's 1985:11). I do not interpret "kind" here in the biological sense, since this type of definition would not allow generic sentences to refer specifically to black cats, for instance, since black cats do not constitute a separate species.

Kleiber and Lazzaro (1987:96) note that it would be difficult to interpret (47) above as a generic sentence, since the class of objects referred to in it could not likely have a set of properties allowing the sentence to denote all past, present, future, and counterfactual instantiations of 'pens in my purse'. Thus, no generic reading is readily accessible for 'the pens in my purse', and *ils* rather than *ça* is the only marker used in the QCF equivalent, as illustrated in (47)b and (47)c.⁹ A similar argument can be made for the

⁹ Sabine Iatridou insists that there must exist possible contexts where it is possible to obtain an intensional reading of *les stylos rouges dans mon sac*, and, when I am discussing the issue with her, she usually gets me to agree on such contexts. But, as soon as I walk out of her office and try to imagine such contexts on my own, the best I can do is the following contrastive context:

(i) *Les stylos dans ce sac-là, c'est rouge, pis, dans celui-là, c'est bleu!*
 'the pens in this bag-there, that's red, and, in that-there, that's blue'

pair of examples in (50). Although we can imagine characteristics shared by all factual and counterfactual instantiations of pool players, we have much more difficulty with a noun phrase like *my friends*—hence the problem of using *ça* in (50)b.

- (50) a. *Les joueurs de billard ça fume beaucoup*
 'Pool players smoke a lot'
 b. *?*Mes amis ça fume beaucoup*
 'My friends smoke a lot'

4.2.3 Conclusion on generic *ça* and avenues for future research

This study of generic *ça* supports a fairly restrictive definition of what Kleiber & Lazzaro (1987) call "nominal genericity". In QCF, only NPs referring to kinds can be marked with generic *ça*, and this generic reading is more readily available for groups commonly recognized as kinds. In addition, *ça* is restricted by the semantic structure of the generic sentence. Only NPs referring to kinds that combine with characterizing predicates allow *ça*. These restrictions on the distribution of *ça* indicate that we cannot completely assimilate generic and habitual sentences, even though the verbal features in the two types of sentences are frequently (perhaps always) identical.

While most generic sentences in QCF can be marked with *ça*, *ça* alone does not necessarily mean that a sentence is generic. Indeed, we saw in Section 4.1 above that the

= 'Pens in this bag are red, and, in that one, they're blue!'

Note, however, that I once spontaneously produced the following example; this would seem to confirm that, given the right context, it is possible to obtain generic readings for NPs which otherwise do not favor them.

(ii) *Oublie pas que les femmes dans ta famille, c'est débrouillard'*
 'forget not that the women in your family, that's resourceful'
 = 'Don't forget that women in your family are resourceful!'

language also has numerous non-generic uses of *ça*. The exact role of *ça* in generic sentences thus remains an empirical question (cf. Kleiber & Lazzaro 1987 and references therein). Future research on the following two constructions might help shed light on this issue: those with objects as well as those with infinitival or other clausal subjects. Should sentences like (51)a, for example, have a generic reading, especially since *ça* is possible here even when the infinitival phrase has a specific referent, as shown by (51)b. While (51)b could still refer to the act of lying to one's mother from a general point of view, thus permitting a generic interpretation, sentence (51)c, where the possible act of lying tends to be very much tied in with some specific, non-generic situation, disfavors this reading.

- (51) a. *Mentir ça sert à rien*
 'to-*lie* that serves to nothing'
 = 'lying, that serves no purpose'
- b. *Mentir à ta mère ça te servirait à rien*
 'to-*lie* to your mother that you would-serve to nothing'
 = 'pro_i lying to your_i mother, that would serve you_i no purpose'
- c. *Si tu mens à ta mère ce soir, ça va te servir à rien*
 'if you lie to your mother this evening, that will you serve to nothing'
 = 'if you lie to your mother tonight, that will serve you no purpose'

Instead of analyzing *ça* as the generic marker in the sentences above, it would thus seem more appropriate to group it with the clause-anaphoric *ça* described in Section 4.1 and further illustrated in (52) below. That is, if this approach is correct, *ça* appears in these sentences because of the categorial status of its referent rather than to any inherent semantic properties.

- (52) a. *Tu viens de mentir à ta mère; ça m'a beaucoup surpris*
 'you come of to-lie to your mother; that has me a-lot surprised'
 = 'You just lied to your mother; that surprised me a lot'
- b. *les hommes bien ils ont les cheveux longs. Ça a l'air salaud* (72.285;
 Thibault 1983:41)
 'the men well they have the hair long. That has the aid sloppy'
 = 'Men, well, have long hair. It looks sloppy'

Having established that *ça* does not have to signal genericity when it refers to clauses, we need to find out whether generic operators play a role in clauses not restricted to specific events or whether the unbounded reading results from a lack of restricting element, such as tense or adverbial phrases. I will leave this important question, however, for future research.

Regarding objects, Krifka et al. (1992:3:10) distinguish between kind-referring NPs and predicative NPs within the scope of a generic operator. They base this distinction on the two following criteria: the impact of passivization on the truth conditions of the sentence, and semantic changes caused when the object is replaced by a subordinate kind. These two criteria lead them to analyze the object of *smoke* (and *love*) as predicative, (see (53) below), but the object of *hate* (and *despise* or *erode*) as kind-referring (see (54) further below):

- (53) a. *Mary smokes French cigarettes ==> Mary smokes cigarettes*
 b. *Mary smokes cigarettes <#> Cigarettes are smoked by Mary*
- (54) a. *John hates Columbian coffee #> John hates coffee*
 b. *John hates coffee <==> Coffee is hated by John*

QCF seems, however, to contradict this classification. According to Krifka et al., the objects of *love* and *hate* are of different types (or at least behave differently), but these two verbs behave similarly in Colloquial French, since they both allow generic *ça* (cf. (55) and (56) below). The object of the equivalent of *smoke* (cf. (57) further below), however, does not. Note that the affixal object markers *l'* on verbs like *adorer* and *haïr* cause the sentences to refer to some specific coffee, rather than to coffee in general, as shown in the b. examples.

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|--------------------------|
| (55) | a. | <i>Jean il adore ça le café</i> | 'John loves coffee' |
| | b. | <i>Jean il l'adore le café</i> | 'John loves the coffee' |
| (56) | a. | <i>Jean il haït ça le café</i> | 'John hates coffee' |
| | b. | <i>Jean il l'haït le café</i> | 'John hates the coffee' |
| (57) | a. | ?* <i>Marie elle fume ça des cigarettes</i> | 'Mary smokes cigarettes' |
| | b. | <i>Marie elle (en) fume des cigarettes</i> | 'Mary smokes cigarettes' |

I am also not clear, moreover, why the criteria invoked by Krifka et al. should be relevant for determining whether objects are interpreted generically or not. Perhaps we can attribute the properties invoked by the authors to the positively-oriented value of *love* and *smoke* vs. the negatively-oriented value of *hate*, *despise*, and *erode*. The distribution of *ça* may stem in part from whether the object is affected by the verb, thereby contrasting *adorer* and *haïr*, which do not affect their object nor restrict the distribution of *ça*, with *fumer*, which does. The following examples support this approach:

- (58) a. *Je sais faire ça du café*
 'I know to-make that of-the coffee'
 = 'I know how to make coffee'
- b. *??Je sais en faire du café*
 'I know of-it make of-the coffee'
 = 'I know how to make coffee'
- (59) a. *?*Je bois ça du café*
 'I drink that of-the coffee'
 = 'I drink coffee'
- b. *J'en bois du café*
 'I of-it drink of-the coffee'
 = 'I drink coffee'

Furthermore, I am not clear about how the passive sentences in (53)b and (54)b above differ from each other, particularly how *Coffee is loved by John* is different from *Coffee is hated by John*. I share Laca's (1990:41) reservations about the evaluation of passive sentences involving affective attitude verbs; whereby, sentence (60) (= her (47a)) is at best strange.

- (60) *Women are loved by Bill*

Finally, Louise McNally points out (personal communication) that the criterion for the replacement of the object by a subordinate kind does not seem to really help determine whether the objects are generic or not. More specific sentences containing the verb *love*, for example, do not always imply their more general counterparts:

- (61) a. *Mary loves Columbian coffee → Mary loves coffee*
 b. *Mary loves houses → Mary loves dwellings*

I will leave an in-depth analysis of these two issues for later research, since they do not directly concern the capacity of *ça* to consistently mark NPs referring to kinds which are combined with characterizing predicates. In this sense, I hope to have thrown some light on one of the most widespread but challenging morphemes of QCF. Admittedly, many difficult questions remain to be answered before we will possess a complete account of *ça*.

4.3 On the agreement relation between NPs and *ça*

Having looked at the semantics of generic *ça*, we now turn to the morphosyntactic properties of the agreement relation between *ça* and the overt subject. I would like to begin this section, however, by briefly providing evidence that *ça* does indeed function as an agreement marker in the same way as the so-called "personal pronouns" discussed in Chapter 2.

4.3.1 On the agreement marker status of *ça*

Traditional accounts of French grammar identify only eight subject personal pronouns: *je, tu, il, elle, nous, vous, ils, elles*. Linguists, however, now widely recognize that *on* is increasingly replacing *nous* as a first person plural subject marker and should, therefore, be part of this same paradigm (cf., e.g., Lambrecht 1980:343 and Morin 1982:13). In the same way, *ça* is also frequently included in the set of subject markers of Colloquial French (Henry 1977a:95, Morin 1979a:22f, 1982, Jeanjean 1981:121, Lambrecht 1981:20, Kayne 1983, Thibault 1983:32-33, and Kaiser 1994:24), since it can

only be separated from a tensed verb by other argument markers. In support of this analysis, I will briefly review three arguments, two phonological and one syntactic.

To begin with, *ça* seems to demonstrate the same type of liaison characteristics as other subject markers. Morin (1982) observes that the consonant [l], for instance, is often inserted between the subject marker *ça* and an adjacent verb which starts in a vowel, as exemplified in (62) below.

- (62) a. *Ça* [l] *augmente sans arrêt*. [les prix] (Morin's 1982:27 (35)a)
 'that augments without stop [the prices]'
 = 'That continually goes up'
- b. *Est-ce que ça* [l] *explique l'ordre des mots?* (Morin's 1982:27 (25)e)
 'is-it that explains the order of-the words'
 = 'Does that account for the word order?'

The [l] in these examples cannot be the object clitic *l'*, since the clitic is normally pronounced as a geminate [ll] in this environment (Morin 1982:30), not as a simple consonant. We thus have the following producing minimal: *ça* [l] *augmente* 'It's going up' and *ça* [ll] *augmente* 'It raises it'. Since liaison typically appears in contemporary French between a verb and a subject marker, not a lexical subject, Morin concludes that *ça* belongs to the same paradigm as the other subject markers.

As a second characteristic, *ça* demonstrates both a strong and a weak pronominal form through a change in the quality of its vowel. While the vowel in the independent pronoun is usually back, [sa], the preverbal subject marker has an anterior vowel, [sa]. This alternation between a strong and a weak form brings *ça* completely in line with the

Similarly, *quart* 'quarter' contains a back low vowel when it stands by itself, as in (64)a, but a front vowel, at least in QCF, when it appears in compounds, as shown in (64)b.¹⁰ French seems to place a space between *quart* and *d'heure*, instead of a hyphen as in the *là*-compounds above, as a pure orthographic convention.

- (64) a. *sept heures et quart* [kaR]
 'seven hours and quarter'
 = 'a quarter past seven'
 b. *un quart d'heure* [kaR]
 'a quarter of hour'
 = 'fifteen minutes'

I conclude, therefore, that the vowel alternation in *ça* indicates that the weak allomorph functions as a prefix of a larger lexical unit.

Besides these phonological characteristics, *ça* also seems to have the syntactic properties of an agreement marker when used in subject relative clauses. As discussed in Section 3.6.4, we can most naturally account for subject markers in subject relative clauses if we assume that they function as affixal agreement markers on the verb rather than resumptive pronouns, thus allowing us to posit a gap in subject position. *Ça* follows this same pattern, as shown in (65):

¹⁰ The following expression should presumably be treated as a syntactic phrase rather than a compound, since a back vowel is found in it:

(i) *un quart de livre* [kaR]
 'a quarter of pound'
 = 'a quarter pound'

- (65) a. *ben y a le métro que ça a changé beaucoup* (15-71:389)¹¹
 'well there has the subway that that has changed a-lot'
 = 'Well, there's the subway which which changed a lot'
- b. *Ça va être bien euh.. des affaires que ça... ça se dirait pas tsé* (4-71:659)
 'that will be well uh of-the things that that that self would-say not y'know'
 = 'It will be, well uh, things that, people can't say'

Consequently, I conclude that the evidence suggests that *ça* functions as an affixal agreement marker on the verb in QCF, and I will treat it as such in the discussions that follow.

4.3.2 On the agreement relation between *ça* and its overt subject

The status of *ça* (and its *c'* variant before vowel-initial forms of *être* 'to be') as a subject marker raises a number of questions about the nature and place of this element in the system of agreement markers as well as the agreement relation it bears with overt lexical arguments. To this point, Reed (1993a,b) proposes three semantic features distinguishing the four different cases of homonymic *ce/ça*. In this section, I will try to determine whether morphosyntactic features alone are involved in grammatical agreement or whether semantic features also play a role here. More specifically, I will explore whether generic *ça* bears a [+generic] feature.

Generic *ça* constitutes a particularly interesting test case for a theory of grammatical agreement, since it seems to contradict the widespread view of agreement as an operation which copies and/or matches features between an argument and an agreement

¹¹ Note that, even though the subject relative interpretation seems more neutral to me, we cannot exclude the possibility that this sentence could be interpreted as containing a locative relative clause rather than a subject relative, since *que* is often used instead of *où* in this type of clause (cf., e.g., Frei 1929:185).

marker on the verb, with the argument serving as the agreement controller (cf., e.g., Davison 1988:41 and Aissen & Ladusaw 1988:1). That is, it is relatively easy to see a particular NP as both bearing and matching features such as [fem, sg, 3rd, nom] with *elle* in order to yield a grammatical sentence, like in (66)a below. Yet, we do not likely want to say that *les avocats* 'lawyers' can bear a feature [+generic] in (66)b:

- (66) a. *ma nièce elle travaille pour un gynécologue* (15-71:B318)
 'my niece 'she works for a gynecologist'
 = 'My niece works for a gynecologist'
- b. *Les avocats ça ment tout le temps*
 'the lawyers that lies all the time'
 = 'Lawyers are always lying'

Positing a [+generic] feature for NPs would require two lexical entries for each noun, one generic and one non-generic, a fairly uneconomical solution. As we saw in the first part of this chapter, Carlson (1977) argues that English bare plurals with generic reading are not generic in and of themselves, but get interpreted as such when combined with individual-level predicates. NPs in QCF should not be any different. Indeed, nothing differentiates these NPs from their non-generic counterparts. I maintain, therefore, that the generic reading stems from the combination of a generic-compatible NP and an individual-level predicate.

Barlow (1988b:117-118) points out that we might be able to mark some nouns as allowing a feature [+generic], if the distribution of this feature were limited to a small or well-defined class of lexical items. We find, instead, that most nouns can combine with generic *ça* to yield a generic sentence. We can then handle any exceptions by pragmatic

or cognitive rules rather than lexical idiosyncrasies. Kleiber and Lazzaro (1987:97) point out that we can, in fact, allow a generic reading for a suprisingly large number of noun phrases, if we work hard enough to establish a plausible context.

Once we take into account all the different possible uses of *ça*, however, we end up with a very large lexicon containing entries for all generic, affective, and 'inanimate' uses of nouns, as well as an unacceptable amount of redundancy. To account for the pair of sentences in (67) below, for example, we face the prospect of listing two entries for each [+human] noun, the one simply bearing the usual person, number, and gender features, and the other bearing an additional [+affective] feature. Instead, we could assume that *ça* itself contributes the feature [+affective], when combined with a noun referring to a human being.

- (67) a. *Ma fille de 17 ans ça se lave même pas une paire de bas!* (15-84:107)
 'my daughter of seventeen years that self washes even not a pair of socks'
 = 'My 17 year old daughter, she doesn't even wash herself a pair of socks!'
- b. *Ma fille de 17 ans **elle** se lave même pas une paire de bas!*
 she

The argument against generating multiple nominal entries may be even clearer with respect to the 'inanimate' use of *ça*. Indeed, it is quite clear that we do not want to attribute the semantic difference between the sentence containing *elle* '3fem.sg' and that containing *ça* to the lexical entry or entries for *robe* 'dress':

- (68) a. *Cette robe-là elle est belle*
 'this dress-there she is beautiful'
 = 'This dress is beautiful'
- b. *Cette robe-là c'est beau*
 'this dress-there that is beautiful'
 = 'This dress, that's beautiful'

The English translation for (68)a is quite straightforward; there is nothing to add about this example. Yet, the one for (68)b is much more problematic, since *ça* in this case somehow broadens the reference of *robe*, making it more vague, with a meaning something like 'The way you're wearing this dress is nice' or 'This dress goes well with the rest of your outfit'. It would thus appear that *ça* contributes some semantic information not associated to the noun itself.

These examples show that the type of agreement found in GPSG for example, appears inadequate as soon as we look into slightly more unusual cases:

"Metaphorically, agreement features spread out in a non-random way from a source, such as a NP, and are realized on a target, such as a verb. The target and source are in an asymmetric relation, in that the source has some set F of features, and the target does not, except by virtue of its syntactic/semantic relation to the source." (Davison 1988:41)

In this section, I argue that agreement-targets in QCF sentences with generic *ça* must be able to bear features of their own, since agreement markers can contribute features which are either absent from the source (i.e., the subject in subject-verb agreement) or else unspecified. Therefore, I suggest that we recognize that the different elements entering into an agreement relationship can all contribute features, so long as those

features are compatible. This approach is not revolutionary, since the semantic role of the agreement markers themselves has previously been recognized by a number of researchers. Schroten (1981:146), for example, states that "Subject-Verb Agreement cannot be a copying rule nor a matching rule only; the person-number affix of the verb has semantic content, and is interpreted by rule, which takes into account both its feature specification, and its being a subject." Langacker (1988:172) also notes that "there are instances where x' [the agreement marker] is not fully determined by x [the agreement source] and thus adds a semantic nuance that would otherwise be lacking. This is occasionally so with English verb agreement".

In current theory, the approach known as unification claims that different elements contribute distinct features to an agreement relation (cf. Shieber 1986 and Barlow 1988a). Barlow (1988a,b), Pollard and Sag (1988), and Steele (1989b) have already convincingly argued that a unification approach can handle cases where incomplete (underspecified) feature matrices are brought together. Barlow (1988b:44) provides the following two premises to account for agreement in Unification-Based Grammars:

1. "The source of agreement may be partially specified with respect to agreement features.
2. The agreement relation ensures that the agreement features of the source are compatible with the agreement features of the targets."

My analysis will differ, however, from those of the authors just mentioned, since I will apply unification to the Minimalist theory of Chomsky (1993, 1994). More specifically, I will explore in some detail Chomsky's suggestion that we can handle agreement

via Checking. In doing so, I will discuss the checking analysis of agreement proposed by Bessler (1994:114), which assumes that lexical items are fully specified for their morphosyntactic features prior to lexical insertion and are thereby available for checking in the Computational component. While this analysis has some merit for treating inflectional morphology in general and grammatical agreement in particular, I will argue that it has some important drawback and should, consequently, be abandoned for a unification approach, which has the advantage of allowing underspecification of morphosyntactic features.

4.3.2.1 Bessler 1994

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Bessler (1994) follows the proposal in Chomsky's (1993) Minimalist program that words are inserted into syntax with all of their inflectional morphology and then get checked in the Computational Component. Building on this approach, Bessler puts forward a specific model to handle various types of grammatical agreement found in the Romance languages. Crucially, however, morphological features are generated and spelled-out in different components of the grammar, thus allowing mismatches. More specifically, Bessler contends that morphosyntactic features, which are generated by the pre-syntactic Lexicon-Syntax Interface (LSI)—the interface responsible for all of inflectional morphology—must be fully specified; whereas morphophonological features, i.e., those relevant for spell-out in Phonetic Form, can be underspecified. Taking the definite determiner system of French, for example, Bessler suggests

that we must posit four separate morphosyntactic representations, as in (69) below, even though French has only three overt morphological forms, as in (70) below.

(69) Morphosyntactic representations of the definite determiners (Bessler 1994:148)

$\begin{array}{l} \text{det} \\ / \\ [+def] \\ [-dem] \\ [-pos] \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{l} \backslash \\ [-fem] \\ [-pl] \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{l} \text{det} \\ / \\ [+def] \\ [-dem] \\ [-pos] \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{l} \backslash \\ [-fem] \\ [+pl] \end{array}$
$\begin{array}{l} \text{det} \\ / \\ [+def] \\ [-dem] \\ [-pos] \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{l} \backslash \\ [+fem] \\ [-pl] \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{l} \text{det} \\ / \\ [+def] \\ [-dem] \\ [-pos] \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{l} \backslash \\ [+fem] \\ [+pl] \end{array}$

(70) Morphophonological representations of the definite determiners (Bessler 1994:148)

$\begin{array}{l} le \\ \text{det} \\ \\ [def] \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{l} / \\ [def] \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{l} la \\ \text{det} \\ \backslash \\ [pl] \end{array}$
$\begin{array}{l} les \\ \text{det} \\ / \\ [def] \end{array}$	$\backslash \\ [fem]$	

With nouns, Bessler likewise posits two different morphosyntactic entries for (almost) every noun,¹² one for the singular and one for the plural, even though the vast majority

¹² The exceptions being nouns which can only appear in the plural or in the singular, such as *funérailles* 'funeral', which must be plural in French.

of nouns in QCF bear no distinctive morphology for number.¹³ It is these features, therefore, that the Computational Component checks in order to make sure that *la robe* 'the.fem.sg dress. fem.sg' is a permissible NP, while **les robe* 'the.f/m.pl dress.fem.sg' is not.

By making the LSI responsible for generating morphosyntactic representations of lexical items, Bessler is able to separate productive morphology from the lexicon, since the lexicon need only contain roots, information about their grammatical category, and idiosyncratic pieces of information. The LSI can thus generate all the inflected forms without overburdening the lexicon, as do theories of grammatical agreement using feature copying (cf., e.g., Barlow 1988b:33).

The advantage gained by separating inflectional features from the lexicon, however, seems to get cancelled out by Bessler's requirement that morphosyntactic representations must be fully specified. We saw above that two different morphosyntactic representations are responsible for generating 3fem.pl *les* and 3masc.pl *les*, even though these two forms of the determiner are never formally distinguished. Similarly, Bessler (1994:180) posits two morphological elements for the 1sg subject pronoun *moi*—one feminine and one masculine. His proposal is very clear, but the reasons for it remain vague. On p. 115, he notes that a system which takes into account only features that are overtly realized in determining the morphosyntactic features of specific elements or categories misses a number of important generalizations. He does not, however, keep his promise to substantiate this claim in Chapter 4. All he says about full specification in Chapters

¹³ The orthographic *s* on plural nouns is basically never heard in QCF, since liaison with postnominal adjectives is not usual.

3 and 4 concerns the fact that features of agreement targets must match those of the source, implying that it is not sufficient for them to just be compatible. On p. 111, for example, he notes that: "checking makes sure that the features assigned to a target correspond to the features of the controller" (my translation). This interpretation is further confirmed by a passage on p. 163: "the morphosyntactic features belonging to any element which occurs as specifier or complement of a nominal projection [...] must be the same as those of the head of that projection" (my translation).

More importantly, full specification raises a number of problems for Bessler's analysis. What, for instance, determines which elements will bear which features if these elements can bear covert features? Should we require all elements in an agreement relation to share all the features of all of its fellow elements? Namely, should cardinal numbers in French be specified for gender, even though gender is never overtly realized on such elements? Bessler might, in fact need to posit two lexical entries for each cardinal number in French, since gender agreement takes place in NPs containing cardinal numbers (see (71) below), and since predicate adjectives also show agreement when no overt noun is present and when *les trois* is the only potential source for the gender feature, as shown in (72) further below.

- (71) a. *trois belles fleurs* 'three beautiful.fem flowers'
 b. *trois beaux arbres* 'three beautiful.masc.pl trees'

- (72) *Les trois sont belles*
 'the three are beautiful.fem'
 = 'All three are beautiful'

I clearly do not favor representing a gender feature on elements such as cardinal numbers, although I shall not attempt to deal with this very broad issue within the scope of my dissertation.

4.3.2.2 Arguments in favor of underspecification and feature-matching

Several facts concerning feature conflict in French indeed confirm my suspicion that full-specification of inflectional morphology in general and grammatical agreement in particular is not on the right track. Two particular sets of data show that when the conflicting features are not overtly realized, feature conflict is tolerated, yielding grammatical constructions.

The first set involves first and second person object markers in French. Kayne (1975:100-101) notes that French contains a rule which deletes clitic-verb sequences only when accusative and dative clitics are not phonologically distinct. In the following sentences, *frapper* 'to hit' takes a direct object clitic, and *donner des coups de pied* 'to kick' takes an indirect object.

- (73) a. **Paul l'a frappé et donné des coups de pied* (Kayne 1975:101)
 'Paul him has hit and given of-the blows of foot'
 = 'Paul hit and kicked him'
- b. *Paul nous a frappés et donné des coups de pied*
 'Paul us has hit and given of-the blows of foot'
 = 'Paul hit and kicked us'

As we can see, deletion of the clitic-verb sequence is ungrammatical for third person, but not for first person clitics. The relevant fact here seems to be that *nous* can

be either accusative or dative, while *le* must be accusative and *lui*, dative. Kayne therefore suggests that the clitic-verb sequence deletion rule disregards case and instead looks at phonological identity. Zwicky & Pullum (1986:758) reject Kayne's analysis, on the grounds that it violates the Principle of Phonology Free Syntax. They propose, instead, that *me*, *te*, *nous*, and *vous* are simply not marked for case, as opposed to both [accusative] *la/le/les* and [dative] *lui/leur*, thus demonstrating how morphological underspecification permits deletion in clitic-verb sequences with first and second person markers. Miller (1991:215ff) further refines Zwicky & Pullum's analysis to look at a more complex set of data, but still fundamentally uses morphological underspecification to account for deletion in (73)b.

The second set of data involves conjoined NPs in French, whereby the masculine plural form takes priority in constructions where an adjective has scope over two or more nouns with conflicting gender features:

- (74) *les revues et les livres français*
 'the magazines and the books French'
 = 'French magazines and books'

A feature clash arises, however, if the noun closest to the masculine adjective is overtly marked feminine, as shown in (75)a. If the adjective bears feminine plural features, it gets scope only over the adjacent noun, as in (75)b, rather than the whole NP:

- (75) a. **les chandails et les robes verts*
 'the sweaters.masc and the dresses.fem green.masc'

- b. *les chandails et les robes vertes*
 'the sweaters.masc and the dresses.fem green.fem'
 = 'the sweaters and the green dresses'
 = *'the green sweaters and dresses'

If, however, the adjective is not overtly marked for gender, the structure is grammatical with both conjoined nouns modified by the adjective (cf. Grevisse 1980:403):

- (76) *les chandails et les robes rouges*
 'the sweaters and the dresses red'
 = 'the red sweaters and dresses'

The data here are quite problematic if all adjectives are fully specified for all morphosyntactic features, since we seem to have no systematic way to distinguish the two types of adjectives. Bessler's, moreover, introduces underspecified morphophonological features too late to play a role in a syntactic derivation. We can, on the other hand, account for these data in quite a simple and straightforward way if we do not specify a gender feature for adjectives which never overtly realize this feature, thus allowing these adjectives to combine either with masculine or feminine nouns.

Consequently, adjective agreement in noun phrases is particularly important here, since it shows that some forms of grammatical agreement are better handled if we can underspecify agreement targets for the features which are not overtly realized.

Unlike Bessler's feature-copying analysis, a unification approach to agreement need not say anything special about the form of the adjective in the French NP-coordination constructions. Since *rouges* 'red' does not bear a gender feature, it can combine with

either masculine or feminine nouns. We should note that Bessler seems to open the door to underspecification in at least two places in his dissertation. First, he seems to contradict himself when he remarks that "the principle does not specify that nouns and nominal modifiers must absolutely have morphosyntactic features; it simply stipulates that there cannot be feature conflicts between the noun and its modifiers" (Bessler 1994:164; my translation). Second, he further admits that the same principle "does not specify that the noun must be realized. [...] there are even cases where a modifier (and/or the agreement markers on the latter) can help identify or license an empty noun" (p. 175; my translation). This second passage admits that the controller is not realized in some cases and that its agreement features may in fact be contributed by the agreement marker itself. This suggests that we would have to posit a number of empty pronominals, one for each combination of person, number, gender, and case features.

4.3.2.3 A feature-sharing approach to generic agreement

In this section, I will propose that generically-interpreted subjects and the verb prefix *ça* share features in an agreement relation, building on the proposals about inflectional morphology developed earlier. This analysis constitutes but one building block in a general attempt by Heap et al. (1993), Bessler (1994), Cummins & Roberge (1994a,b), and Nadasdi (1994) to spell out a theory of inflectional morphology compatible with the Minimalist framework in Chomsky (1993). Chomsky places great importance on the role of grammatical interfaces, without initially restricting their number. Chomsky (1994), however, clearly permits only two such levels: "A more specific assumption is that there

are just two such interacting systems: an articulatory-perceptual system A-P and a conceptual-intentional system C-I" (Chomsky 1994:4). The debate about this issue between Chomsky, on the one hand, and Roberge and his colleagues, on the other, deserves much more attention than I can afford to grant it here and must, therefore, be left for subsequent research.

The approach to grammatical agreement which I will develop here does not depend crucially on whether inflectional morphology is handled in the lexicon (Speas 1991b, Chomsky 1993), by an interface between the lexicon and the syntax (Cummings & Roberge 1994a,b), or generated in the syntax and organized linearly in a postsyntactic component (Halle & Marantz 1993). Indeed, Chomsky (1993) as well as Roberge and his colleagues all agree that the grammar inserts fully-inflected lexical items into syntactic structure in order to allow checking to take place as well as to make sure that elements which must agree within certain configurations contain compatible morphosyntactic features. I shall adopt these same basic assumptions for the mechanisms involved in generic agreement in QCF, hoping that these mechanisms can serve as the basis for a general theory of grammatical agreement to be developed in future research.

Current GB theory treats many instances of grammatical agreement as a Spec-head relation between a source and a target. Disagreements arise, however, concerning the necessity of positing a separate phrase, Agr(eement)P, where agreement morphology is generated. As we saw in Chapter 3, a number of researchers have exploited Pollock's (1989) functional projections corresponding to Agr(eement) and T(ense) to handle inflectional morphology. Belletti (1990), Ouhalla (1991), and Roberts (1991a), to name only

a few, have suggested that agreement affixes are generated as heads in Agr and tense affixes as heads of TP. Inflectional affixes are thus viewed as syntactic elements which are attached to verbal stems as a result of verb movement.

Reactions against these proposals were almost immediate. Iatridou (1990a), Kinyalolo (1991), Speas (1991b), and Georgopoulos (1992) rejected an extra position for agreement morphology. Iatridou, for example, argued that we can handle the word-order facts of French and English without having to project agreement phrases and that we should therefore return to Spec-head without AgrP. A second argument against agreement phrases concerns "agreement spreading". Speas (1991b:411), for instance, notes that a positional approach to agreement cannot explain why agreement in languages such as Hindi and Swahili is realized on more than one head. If we view agreement instead as a Spec-head relationship, we straightforwardly predict that agreement can show up on more than one target (both the main verb and the auxiliary in Hindi and Swahili) by having an agreement controller (e.g., a particular NP) pass through multiple specifiers. Chomsky's (1993:7) AgrP is an intermediate position which cannot handle agreement spreading. In his Minimalist framework, Agr_SP and Agr_oP provide the Spec-head configuration where agreement between a source and its target gets checked rather than a position where agreement affixes get generated. We nevertheless restrict subject agreement in this way to just one target.

I shall contend that grammatical agreement involves local relations rather than specific positions. Grammatical agreement typically involves two or more elements, such as verbs and their arguments, noun and their modifiers, and subjects and their predicates.

Agreement spreading may not be very common in VPs, but it happens quite frequently in NPs, where both determiners and adjectives often agree with their head noun. The facts are much too complex, both language-internally and crosslinguistically, for me to make a specific proposal about the exact nature of the relation which allows agreement to take place. Instead, I will focus here on the agreement patterns involving QCF *ça*. As we will see, we shall have to discuss quite a wide range of agreement relations, since *ça* affects both verbs and predicate adjectives, but not pronouns and anaphors. I will try to determine which morphosyntactic features are involved and how the features of the controller and the target are related. I shall also discuss the difference between grammatical and anaphoric agreement, always working to insure that my model shows some promise for a more general theory of grammatical agreement.

In example (66)b above, repeated below for convenience, the noun phrase *les avocats* appears to bear the features [masc, pl, 3]¹⁴, while the agreement marker and its verb bear the features [generic, masc, sg, 3].

¹⁴ At this point, I follow the established opinion and associate a third person feature with noun phrases (cf., e.g., Pollard & Sag (1988:237) and Plank (1991:537), but I would like to point out that the existence, in some languages like Spanish, West Greenlandic Eskimo, and QCF, of constructions where a verb in the first or second person cooccurs with a nominal subject raises the possibility that NPs may be unmarked for person and that third person might only correspond to the default case. Otherwise, sentences like the following must be analyzed as involving a mismatch with respect to the person feature:

- (i) a. *los españoles sois orgullosos* (Spanish; Schroten 1981:140)
 'the Spanish are-2pl proud' = 'You Spaniards are proud'
 b. *Amerikamiu-t pisuu-vugut* (West Greenlandic Eskimo; Sadock 1988:270)
 'American-ABS/IC 3P be.rich-IND/IC 1P' = 'We Americans are rich'
 c. *les petites filles on jouait à la corde à danser* (15-71:102)
 'the little girls we played to the rope to dance' = 'We little girls played jump-rope'

- (66)b *Les avocats ça ment tout le temps*
 'the lawyers that lies all the time'
 = 'Lawyers are always lying'

This construction raises two crucial questions. The first, concerning the clash of features that arises from combining a plural subject and a singular predicate; the second, concerning the feature [generic] itself, do we really want to posit a [generic] morphosyntactic feature? I will discuss this latter issue first, since the properties of generic *ça* will help us address the problem of feature clash.

At the beginning of this chapter, I listed a number of uses of *ça*, assuming that no unificatory approach was possible, following with Reed (1993a,b). Semantically, there are important and apparently irreconcilable differences between, for example, the expletive use and the generic use of *ça*. Although a homonymic approach is unproblematic for our analysis of the generic feature, it fails to capture the grammatical unity which characterizes all the different uses of *ça*. No matter what their meaning, they all impose masculine singular agreement on verbs and predicate adjectives. Only predicate NPs, moreover, can introduce their own features, presumably because number and gender features are inherent on nouns, but not on verbs and adjectives.

This leaves us with the following dilemma: should we posit a single morphosyntactic element *ça* and leave it up to a semantic component to interpret the various meanings of *ça*, or should we posit different forms of *ça* and then repeat for each of them the triggering mechanism of masculine singular agreement on verbs and predicate adjectives? On closer examination, the first approach seems more attractive, since the

various types of *ça* generally occur in complementary distribution, with the interpretation of each one determined by the predicates and/or subjects with which they combine. *Ça* functions as an expletive, for example, if it combines with a predicate that does not assign an external theta-role, as in (77)a or (77)b:

- (77) a. *Ça veut rien dire qu'il soit pas venu*
 'that means nothing that he be not come'
 = 'It doesn't mean anything that he hasn't come'
- b. *Ça leur prend des bottes*
 'that to-them takes of-the boots'
 = 'They need boots'

Context plays a similar role for the indefinite and generic uses of *ça*. *Ça* is interpreted as a generic agreement marker (cf. (78)a) if it appears in a sentence where the overt subject and the predicate are compatible with a generic interpretation. But if the same verb is used as a stage-level predicate with no overt subject, *ça* gets an indefinite reading, as shown in (78)b. Finally, we get an ungrammatical sentence, as illustrated in (78)c, if we try to combine an overt subject compatible with a generic interpretation and a stage-level predicate.

- (78) a. *Les loups ça se bagarre souvent*
 'the wolves that self fight often'
 = 'Wolves often fight'
- b. *Ça s'est bagarré en ville hier soir*
 'that self is fought in town last night'
 = 'There was fighting in town last night'
- c. **Les loups ça s'est bagarré en ville hier soir*
 'the wolves that self is fought in town last night'

4.3.2.3.1 A [neuter] feature on *ça*

I propose that we specify *ça* in only a very general way, without semantic features. As such, we need to distinguish *ça* from *il*, the other subject marker associated with [3, sg, masc]. In Chapter 2, I tentatively proposed the feature [neuter] in Table 1, precisely because it captures the morphosyntactic unity for all the different uses of this element. In this section, I maintain this proposal and contend that *ça* must bear a morphosyntactic feature in order to account for the [masc, sg] features realized on verbs and predicate adjectives. In the next section, I will briefly discuss Henry's (1994) analysis of singular concord in Belfast English and will show why this account does not easily extend to the facts in QCF.

I suggest that we distinguish between the morphosyntactic and semantic aspects of *ça*, whereby only the former is relevant for grammatical agreement. I further propose that *ça* introduces a [neuter] feature at the morphosyntactic level. This neuter feature is different, however, from one which we find in Latin and German, as QCF does not have a third gender. In the context of QCF, we must understand "neuter" as a context in which the features of an external source of agreement are neutralized and only default values are allowed to emerge. As in many other languages, these default values are [3, sg, masc] (cf. Davison 1988:41, Gair & Wali 1989:49, Bonet 1991:20, Suñer 1992:644, and Aoun, Benmamoun, & Sportiche 1994:202).

This notion of a neuter feature enables *ça* to avoid clashing with a predicate bearing its own inherent features. In this way, we allow for plural and feminine NP predicates, as in (79) below. The marker *ça/c'* forces the verbs in these sentences to

realize the default features [3sg] because these predicates do not introduce inherent features (cf. also (80)a).¹⁵ Adjectives also bear default agreement (3.masc.sg), since these elements cannot normally introduce their own features, as shown in (80)b.¹⁶

- (79) a. *Les voleurs c'est des beaux salauds*
 'the thieves that is of-the beautiful jerks'
 = 'Thieves are real jerks'
- b. *Isabelle Adjani c'est une très bonne actrice*
 'Isabelle Adjani that is a very good actress'
 = 'Isabelle Adjani is a very good actress'
- (80) a. *Les politiciens ça ment/*mentent tout le temps*
 'the politicians that lies/lie all the time'
 = 'Politicians always lie'
- b. *Les girafes c'est grand/*grandes*
 'the giraffes (f.pl), that is tall (m.sg)/tall (f.pl)'
 = 'Giraffes are tall'

The neutralizing effect of *ça* is very local, however, since agreement with the subject reappears with pronominal (non-affixal) complements and emphatic reflexives, as shown in (81):

- (81) a. *Les ingénieurs c'est sûr d'eux-autres*
 'the engineers that's sure of them-others'
 = 'Engineers are sure of them (=themselves)'

¹⁵ Note that, in the context of the affixal analysis which I propose for the argument markers of QCF, it would be quite surprising to have a prefix and a stem bearing disagreeing features.

¹⁶ I say that gender and number features are not normally inherent on adjectives, because *enceinte* 'pregnant' must probably bear an inherent [feminine] gender. Notice that the use of this feminine adjective with *ça* is marginally acceptable:

- (i) *??Les lapines c'est toujours enceinte*
 'the rabbit.fem it's always pregnant.fem'
 = 'Does are always pregnant'

- b. *Une infirmière c'est toujours content d'elle-même*
'a nurse that's always happy of her-self'
= 'A nurse is always pleased with herself'
- c. *Les profs d'université ça lit toujours tout eux-autres-mêmes*
'the professors of university that reads always all them-other-selves'
= 'University professors always read everything themselves'

How can we account for this split between adjectival predicates on the one hand and pronominal and reflexive constituents on the other? Roberge proposes that *ça* triggers feature neutralization only at PF, so that LF, treats plural generic subjects and their verbs as plural, and feminine subjects and their verbs as feminine. We thus avoid an apparent feature clash by simply removing the singular feature from the syntactic component and relegating it to Spellout, where morphophonological processes give rise to default features. This approach, however, has one important disadvantage. Namely, subject-predicate agreement must take place at PF, since the masculine singular features are not instantiated until that level. If agreement takes place in either the Computational Component or at LF, we will need a form of the adjective that agrees with the subject. With a slight modification, we could nevertheless avoid having plural features on the verb if we simply posit a [neuter] feature in constructions such as *ça lit* 'that reads', that we maintain until PF. This alternative allows us to attribute the [neuter] feature to either the verb or the predicate adjective. Feature checking can then take place in the Computational Component, making our proposal compatible with the Minimalist framework.

This approach has the advantage of allowing subjects and verbs to bear different features, although we need to spell out the specific mechanisms involved here. In this

case, we need to look at the type of agreement in the different configurations.¹⁷ Earlier, I mentioned that agreement often takes place in local relations, such as Spec-head. Based on the Minimalist framework, the agreement controller and the target must at some point in the derivation appear in a configuration where a checking operation ensures that the features on both elements are compatible. Typically, this type of agreement involves elements with a very local relationship, such as subject and verb or determiner and noun. Following the small-clause analysis by Stowell (1983) for copular sentences, we can even consider subject-predicate agreement as some type of local relation (perhaps Spec-head, although the subject position of a small clause does not really occupy a specifier position). Bessler (1994:166), for example, suggests that subject-predicate agreement involves a direct relation between a predicate adjective and a subject trace without the involvement of the verb itself.

As noted in parenthesis above, Spec-head agreement may not be sufficient to account for all cases of local agreement. Although this issue concerns all instances of subject-predicate agreement, it is particularly relevant to QCF. Indeed, the relation between the subject and the predicate in a small clause may in some sense be local, but it does not involve Spec-head agreement, whatever one's analysis of a small clause is. In addition, predicate agreement in QCF crucially depends on which subject-agreement marker appears on the verb, as illustrated in (82)a and (82)b below. This means that the verb must be involved in the agreement relation. The agreement pattern in this construc-

¹⁷ I want to thank Michel Degraff and Nigel Duffield for pointing out this possibility to me.

tion cannot, therefore, be the result of a simple relationship between the subject and the predicate adjective.

- (82) a. *Les roses ils sont belles*
 'the roses they are beautiful.fem.pl'
 = 'The roses are beautiful'
- b. *Les roses c'est beau*
 'the roses that's beautiful.masc.sg'
 = 'Roses are beautiful'

Subject-predicate agreement thus raises problems for the view that agreement can only take place within a Spec-head relation. As pointed out by Nigel Duffield (personal communication), the Spec-head relation can account for agreement on multiple adjectives within an NP only if we allow a projection for each adjective to enter into a Spec-head relation with the noun in the course of a derivation. We may, therefore, prefer an account that does not involve Spec-head agreement. Numerous researchers admit, in fact, that the Spec-head relation cannot handle all types of agreement. Bittner (1994:10), for example, lists three possible agreement relations: (i) government by a functional head of a nominal argument, (ii) Spec-head, and (iii) local c-command. Baker (in press) likewise argues that not all grammatical agreement can take place within a Spec-head configuration.

No matter how we eventually define the domain of agreement, we must distinguish the relation between subject and predicate from that between noun and pronoun. Indeed, one characteristic of pronoun-antecedent agreement is that it is NOT local, as it can even take place across clause-boundaries. As a result, pronoun-antecedent agreement does not involve the same type of local relation responsible for agreement between deter-

miner-noun, subject-verb, and subject-predicate. Examples of pronoun-antecedent agreement are given above; in (81)a and (81)b, the pronoun and anaphor occur in the complement position of an adjective; whereas the emphatic reflexive in (81)c is presumably right-adjoined. We cannot, therefore, likely provide a unitary analysis of both long-distance and local agreement, as any such proposal would probably have to sacrifice depth for breadth.

Further evidence for a non-unitary approach to agreement comes from the distribution of Case features: NP-internal agreement as well as subject-predicate agreement often involve Case features, as in the Latin examples in (83) below, whereas agreement between a pronoun and its antecedent never involves Case, as shown in (84).¹⁸

- (83) a. *tranquilli fluuii* (Deléani & Vermander 1975:32)
 'quiet.gen.masc.sg river.gen.masc.sg'
 = '(the) quiet river'
- b. *Romulus solletissimus fuit* (Deléani & Vermander 1975:42)
 'Romulus.nom.masc.sg very.clever.nom.masc.sg was'
 = 'Romulus was very clever'
- (84) a. *Populus_i Numam sibi_i regem adsciuit* (Deléani & Vermander 1975:65)
 people.nom.masc.sg Numa.acc.masc.sg self.dat king.acc.masc.sg gave'
 = 'The people took Numa for king'
- b. *The men_i found a smokescreen around them_i* (Zribi-Hertz 1980:134)

Based on these facts, I conclude with Bessler (1994:176ff) that the differences between the two types of agreement warrant treating them separately. Bessler (1994:184) suggests that we exploit the features [\pm pronominal] and [\pm anaphoric] and then connect

¹⁸ Cf., however, Pollard & Sag (1988:253) for the opinion that case-concord is not an instance of agreement and that all types of agreement should be handled in the same way.

pronoun-antecedent agreement with Binding Theory rather than some local agreement mechanism. Moreover, he proposes the following principle:

- (85) Bessler's (1994:184) matching principle for pronoun-antecedent agreement
 If a pronoun or an anaphor X has the same index as another nominal element Y, X must have the same morphosyntactic features as Y. (my translation)

We will need further research on pronoun-antecedent agreement in order to determine whether this simple principle can truly account for all the relevant facts. I will already suggest two slight modifications. First, I will require that X's morphosyntactic features be compatible with those of Y rather than identical, given the unification approach adopted here. Second, our preceding discussion suggests that we must exclude Case from the set of features which must be compatible:

- (85)' Modified matching principle for pronoun-antecedent agreement
 If a pronoun or an anaphor X has the same index as another nominal element Y, the gender, number, and person features of X must be compatible with those of Y.

The fact, therefore, that pronouns and reflexives agree with their subjects, even in cases where the verb bears the feature [neuter], does not constitute a counterexample to my claim that *ça* blocks sharing of morphosyntactic features between the subject and the VP. Rather, the agreement relationship between subjects and pronominal elements is subject instead to the Binding Principle. This approach straightforwardly accounts for why pronoun-antecedent agreement involves features with referential content, such as

person, number, and gender, not ones with purely morphosyntactic properties like Case, thereby contrasting with genuine examples of grammatical agreement, where agreement in case must accompany agreement in number, gender, and person.

4.3.2.3.2 Henry's (1994) analysis of singular concord in Belfast English

Belfast English demonstrates an agreement pattern strikingly similar to the one just described in the preceding section.¹⁹ In this variety, 3sg verbs can combine with subjects of all persons and numbers. Just as in QCF, this agreement pattern is optional, and pronominal agreement provides evidence that subjects must bear a plural feature. The main difference between Belfast English and QCF is that, according to Henry, there is no semantic difference between the sentences with singular and those with plural agreement. The examples in (86) below illustrate both the lack of agreement on the verb and plural agreement on the anaphors.

- (86) a. *John and me kicks ourselves* (Henry 1994:139)
 b. *Me and you is supposed to help ourselves*

Henry argues that singular agreement with plural subjects is a syntactic rather than a semantic or a pragmatic phenomenon. She argues that the *-s* which shows up in these examples is not a 3sg agreement marker, but a pure tense marker. She also contends that it occurs when the subject sits in the Spec of TP rather than having moved up to Spec of

¹⁹ I would like to thank Nigel Duffield for giving me this reference.

AGRsP. Three pieces of evidence support her claim that the subjects in (86) above do not occur in the same position as subjects which trigger verb agreement. First, singular-concord verbs cannot cooccur with nominative pronouns, whereas agreeing verbs allow nominative subjects, as shown in (87). Second, singular-concord verbs are incompatible with subject-auxiliary inversion, as in (88). Finally, adverbs cannot intervene between non-agreeing raising verbs and their subjects, as illustrated in (89) further below.

- (87) a. *Him and me is going* (Henry 1994:142)
 b. **He and I is going*
 c. *He and I are going*
- (88) a. **Is the children tired?* (Henry 1994:151)
 b. *Are the children tired?*
- (89) a. **The eggs really is cracked* (Henry 1994:146)
 b. *The eggs really are cracked*

As argued in the preceding section, we should distinguish between the two types of agreement, since the anaphors in Belfast English bear plural rather than singular features, even when the verb is singular.

In spite of all these similarities between Belfast English and QCF, we cannot for several reasons extend Henry's analysis to *ç**a*-constructions in QCF. First, we cannot determine whether subjects occur in the same position in both *il*-constructions and *ç**a*-constructions, because none of the criteria used by Henry reveal anything in QCF. By analyzing subject markers as affixes, as we have suggested, NPs and strong pronouns in subject-position never get overtly case-marked in QCF, thus preventing us from knowing

whether nominative-case assignment takes place in one construction but not the other. Second, QCF does not contain any subject-verb inversion be comparable to that found in English. Third, adverbs very rarely appear between subjects and verbs in both standard French and QCF. When they do so, the intonation pattern resembles a dislocation construction rather than a basic, SVO sentence.²⁰ We cannot, therefore, decide at this point whether subjects occur in the same position in the two QCF constructions.

The crucial argument against analyzing QCF *ça* as a tense marker rather than an agreement marker concerns predicate adjective agreement. This issue does not arise in English, because adjectives never agree with nouns. In QCF, however, a predicate adjective typically agrees with its subject for gender and number. How then can we expect the predicate adjective in (90) below to bear [masc. sg.] when the subject is marked [fem. pl.] while the verb bears no number and gender features at all?

- (90) *Les chattes c'est ben fin*
 'the cats.fem that's well nice'
 = 'Female cats are very nice'

In this section, I have not called into question Henry's (1994) analysis of singular-concord in Belfast English. I have simply argued that her approach does not seem appro-

²⁰ Note that if such sentences represent the basic, SVO word order, then the data would seem to indicate that there is no difference between *il*-constructions and *ça*-constructions:

- (i) a. *Ces machines-là souvent c'est brisé*
 'these machines-there often that's broken'
 = 'These machines are often out-of-order'
 b. *Ces machines-là souvent ils sont brisées*
 'these machines-there often they are broken'
 = 'These machines are often out-of-order'

appropriate for QCF. For one thing, we can see no evidence for a correlation between subject position and the nature of the subject-marker, although one could always argue that subjects in fact occupy different positions, even though the surface word order remains the same. A more serious objection concerns the possibility that *ça* would bear no agreement features at all. Such a proposal would be quite problematic for subject-predicate agreement: if the verb does not bear a feature which will force default values to be realized on predicate adjectives, it is difficult to account for the occurrence of [masc, sg] features on such adjectives.

4.3.3.3 Other rejected analyses

A simple distinction between semantic and syntactic agreement coupled with the traditional view of agreement features originating on agreement controllers clearly cannot account for either the facts about pronominal agreement in Section 4.2.3.1 or the Belfast English data described in the preceding section. Only a non-unitary approach to agreement provides a simple explanation for these data. In this section, I will briefly indicate why the agreement pattern of QCF is not compatible with an account based on semantic agreement.

Corbett (1983:9) tries to account for a number of feature mismatches by distinguishing between a semantic and syntactic approach.

'Syntactic', 'strict' or 'grammatical' agreement is the normal form of agreement, the form one would predict according to the morphological properties of the element which controls the agreement. [...] 'Semantic,

'loose' or 'logical' agreement means agreement according to meaning rather than form.

While we can perhaps make a case for treating generic plural NPs as semantically singular, the distribution of syntactic and semantic agreement on the various targets does not obey Corbett's (1983:10) Agreement Hierarchy:

(91) attributive - predicate - relative pronoun - personal pronoun

If singular agreement in generic constructions in QCF is truly semantic rather than syntactic, then Corbett's hierarchy predicts that agreement on predicates will require the same to appear on pronouns, which are lower on the Agreement Hierarchy. QCF, however, demonstrates exactly the opposite, as singular agreement occurs on predicate adjectives without showing up on personal pronouns.²¹ If we posit, however, that the feature [neuter] is generated on the verb rather than the subject, then we might be able to explain why the verb and the predicate adjective pattern together with respect to agreement, while everything else must bear specified number and gender features, by arguing that syntactic agreement is favored in local agreement relations, while semantic agreement is favored in not-so-local relations. Although I do not wish to completely dismiss such an account, I will continue to argue that the different features realized on separate targets stem from two distinct types of agreement, since we have independent motivation for this approach.

²¹ Relative pronouns do not show agreement with their antecedent in French and in QCF.

The facts concerning pronoun-antecedent agreement are also a problem for the information-based approach to agreement suggested by Pollard & Sag (1988), especially regarding their claim that we can have a unified treatment for all types of agreement, including pronoun-antecedent agreement. This approach, which "assumes that two elements which participate in an agreement relation specify partial information about a single linguistic object" (p. 237), proposes that the morphosyntactic features of some lexical entries can be underspecified, although they acquire features once combined with a more specified element (p. 250). This analysis thus predicts that all agreement targets should eventually bear the same features. If the features and the mechanisms involved in subject-verb are also the same for pronoun-antecedent agreement, it is difficult to see how this approach would account for the differences between the two agreement patterns in QCF and Belfast English.

Pollard & Sag's agreement theory has inspired two specific analyses that we also need to briefly discuss. The first one comes out of their treatment of collective nouns in British English. In order to explain why singular collective nouns in this variety can take either singular or plural verbs, Pollard and Sag (1988:250) suggest that:

collective nouns are lexically marked to introduce parameters unspecified for number. Singular verb forms [...] will require the variable of their subject to be [NUM SING], whereas plural verb forms will require the variable of their subject to be [NUM PLUR]. Thus the subject NP *the committee* will be compatible with either choice of verb, but once such a choice is made, the subject is thereby specified more fully, i.e. as either singular or plural.

This proposal, with a small group of nouns left unspecified for number, does not straightforwardly extend to generically-interpreted nouns in QCF. Under this approach, the number and gender features of nouns associated with *ça* would simply remain unspecified (\emptyset fem, \emptyset pl), thus allowing such NPs to occur with either singular or plural, masculine or feminine predicates. This analysis, however, raises several problems. First, nearly all nouns in QCF would have to remain unspecified for number and gender, since they can combine with *ça*, given the right predicate and the right linguistic context, in contrast to collective nouns in British English which constitute a small subset of all nouns. Second, this analysis would wrongly permit any combination of number and gender features with any noun.

The second analysis, inspired by Pollard & Sag's (1988:239) proposal that *je* and *tu* are unspecified for gender information, associates the underspecified number and gender features with *ça*, the element which is responsible for blocking agreement, rather than with the subject. This solution wrongly predicts, however, that *ça* in (80)b above should be able to take a feminine adjectival predicate, much like other subject markers unspecified for gender. Both of the feminine predicates in (92) below, for instance, occur with verbs lacking gender; yet the verb in (92)a bears the features [1sg, pres, ind], while the one in (92)b is marked [3pl, pres, ind].

- (92) a. *Chus grande astheure*
 'I-am tall.f.sg now'
 = 'I'm a big girl, now'
- b. *Mes filles ils sont grandes astheure*
 'my daughters they are big.f.pl now'
 = 'My daughters are grown-up now'

Gender underspecification thus seems to be appropriate for verbal forms such as *chus* 'I am' and subject markers as *tu* 'you.sg' and *ils* 'they', but not for *ça*.

The association of a [neuter] with the subject-marker *ça* appears, at this point, like the best approach to account for the facts in QCF. As suggested in the discussion on the feature-composition of *ça*, the morphosyntactic level need not worry about the semantic contribution of *ça/c*'. We simply need to ensure that this particular subject marker blocks the sharing of number and gender between the subject and the verb phrase, thus forcing default values to appear on verbs and predicate adjectives.

To make my proposal more concrete, I shall discuss how the analysis here handles the agreement pattern for *ça* in two specific examples. Take for instance (81)c, repeated below for convenience:

- (81)c *Les profs d'université ça lit toujours tout eux-autres-mêmes*
 'the professors of university that reads always all them-others-self'
 = 'University professors always read everything themselves'

In this sentence, we have a plural subject, *les profs d'université*, unspecified for gender, combined with a 3sg verb *ça lit* and a 3pl anaphor, *eux-autres-mêmes*, also unspecified for gender. Agreement here between the subject and the anaphor involves a pronoun-antecedent relation, which does not include the verb. Since the subject is inflected for [3pl] features, the anaphor may also bear these same features. The subject marker, however, causes the verb to bear the feature [neuter], thereby leaving verbal number and gender features unspecified. Finite verbs must presumably surface with some

specification for number and gender, either specified or unspecified (as in the case of the gender feature in forms like *chus* and *ils sont* above). Verbs associated with *ça*, therefore, surface in their 3masc.sg forms.

Evidence for masculine as the default gender comes from copular sentences like (90) above, repeated below for convenience.

- (90) *Les chattes c'est ben fin*
 'the cats.Fem that's well nice'
 = 'Female cats are very nice'

In this example, the subject, marked [3, fem, pl], combines with a verb bearing the feature [neuter], forcing [masc, sg] features on the predicate adjective. If *c'est*, however, bore no agreement features at all, we could not easily account for the presence of [masc, sg] on a predicate adjective when the subject is [fem, pl].

As we can see, predicate-subject agreement has great theoretical importance for the approach presented here as well as for the general theory of agreement. It shows, for instance, that some agreement features must be associated with the verb, yet it also constitutes a clear case where we must permit an agreement target, the verb, to contribute its own agreement features, since these features do not have to match those on the subject. Finally, we can see that predicate adjectives must agree with the verb rather than with the subject, strongly suggesting that the verb actually plays some role in predicate-subject agreement, perhaps functioning as a controller or, at least, as an intermediary, rather than having agreement take place directly between the predicate and the subject.

If this approach to morphosyntax and agreement simplifies how we determine which features attach to *ça*, we can shift the semantic burden to other components of the grammar. As we saw above, the subcategorization frame and/or the theta-grid of verbs sometimes determine whether *ça* must be interpreted as an expletive marker or as an indefinite agent. In other cases, we must take the semantic nature of the subject and the predicate into account in order to determine whether we can get either an affective reading or a generic interpretation. I will not, however, discuss this issue any further, since it now falls outside the scope of an agreement theory.

The analysis outlined in this section concerns one specific agreement construction in QCF, but we hope to be able to apply it to similar constructions in different languages. Syrian Arabic, for instance, has generic structures virtually identical to those reported in QCF. As demonstrated in (32) above, repeated below for convenience, plural subjects in Syrian Arabic can combine with either singular or plural verbs, with different interpretations associated with each construction. A generic interpretation is thus possible when the verb is singular. The main differences between QCF and Syrian Arabic concern the absence of an equivalent to *ça* in Syrian Arabic and the type of gender feature on the verb: feminine instead of masculine. This agreement pattern, while not surprising for QCF, is rather expected in an Arabic dialect, since Modern Standard Arabic uses 3fem.sg as a default agreement with plural, non-human subjects which precede their verbs (cf., e.g., Fassi Fehri 1988). As far as I know, this pattern constitutes the only other clear case where a number clash is associated with a generic reading.

- (32) a. *l-keteb mā bihemmū* (Syrian Arabic; Cowell 1964:424)
 def-book.pl not with-him.pl
 = 'The books don't interest him'
- b. *l-keteb mā behemmo*
 def-book.pl not with-him.fem.sg
 = 'Books don't interest him'

I do not, however, know what the agreement pattern is for predicate adjectives, pronouns, and anaphors. Future research on this construction will presumably help determine whether we can generalize our proposal crosslinguistically.

Note, however, that I do not suggest that neutralizing features can account for all cases of feature clashes. As noted above, Pollard & Sag (1988) argue that some lexical entries contain underspecified values for certain features whose content may, moreover, be restricted when we combine them with a more highly specified element. In some cases, we have to stipulate specific rules or mappings in order to explain why a specific feature combination does not correspond to the sum of its features, as with non-human plurals in Modern Standard Arabic. Barlow (1988b:196), in this particular case, proposes two mappings for feminine singular verb forms, one referring to feminine individuals, the other to non-human sets of individuals. When we select the latter mapping, the verb must combine with a plural noun phrase, thus yielding sentences like (93) below. Fassi Fehri (1988:120), for his part, proposes two different lexical entries for the agreement marker: one feminine singular, the other, non-human.

- (93) *ja:ʔ-ati l-kila:bu* (Modern Standard Arabic; Fassi-Fehri 1988:119)
 'came.fem.sg the-dogs (masc.)'
 = 'The dogs came'

Similarly, if we want to account for variation in agreement marking on predicate adjectives with *vous* '2pl.nom/2sg.polite.nom' in French, we probably have to posit two markers, with separate morphosyntactic specifications. Consequently, the plural subject marker can cooccur with plural predicate adjectives, the plural pronoun *vous-autres* 'you.pl', or the plural anaphor *vous-autres-mêmes* 'yourselves', as illustrated in (94). The singular marker, on the other hand, can occur with singular predicate adjectives, the referentially-singular pronoun *vous* 'you.polite', or the anaphor *vous-même* 'yourself.polite', as shown in (95):

- (94) a. *Vous êtes fiers de vous-autres, là!*
 'you.pl are.2pl proud of you-others, LÀ'
 = 'You must be proud of yourselves, now!'
 b. *L'avez-vous fait vous-autres-mêmes?*
 'it-have-you.pl done you-others-self'
 = 'Did you do it yourselves?'
- (95) a. *Vous êtes fier de vous, là!*
 'you.polite are.2pl proud of you.polite, LÀ'
 = 'You must be proud of yourself, now!'
 b. *L'avez-vous fait vous-même?*
 'it-have-you.polite done you-self'
 = 'Did you do it yourself?'

With this analysis, however, we still need to account for the feature conflict arising between the only plural subject marker, *vous*, and the verb. This problem is similar to the case with 1pl subject marking in Colloquial French, where a formally singular subject marker *on* 'one' combines with a singular verb form, e.g., *est* 'is' to yield a plural reading. The examples in (96) confirm that constructions with *on* do, in fact, get

a plural reading. In these cases, the predicate adjectives agree in gender and number with the plural subject, and the pronouns and anaphors appear in the unmistakably 1pl forms, *nous-autres* 'us' and *nous-autres-mêmes* 'ourselves':

- (96) a. *On était ben tannantes à l'école*
 'one was well mischievous.fem.pl at the school'
 = 'We were very mischievous in school'
- b. *On est fières de nous-autres*
 'one is proud of us-others'
 = 'We are proud of ourselves'
- c. *On l'a fait nous-autres-mêmes*
 'on it has done us-others-self'
 = 'We did it ourselves'

In a way, the problem with *on* is easier to solve, because we could simply propose that the verb forms used with *on* are not really marked for 3sg but are actually default forms of the finite verb. I would then want to treat *est* and *était* as default finite forms of the verb, claiming that *on* bears 1pl features in QCF, even though it was historically a 3sg.masc subject marker. Like *je*, *tu*, *vous*, and *ils*, the gender feature of *on* is unspecified, so the masculine and feminine predicates can combine with it. I have drawn this conclusion because *on* no longer demonstrates a singular value. We obviously cannot use this approach for *vous*, since forms like *êtes* and *avez* are clearly marked for 2pl, but this problem will have to await future research.

In this section, I have argued for a feature-sharing approach to agreement, whereby elements which agree with each other can contribute their own features to the general agreement relation, as long as the other elements are compatible with these features. We

cannot, therefore, use feature copying, so I have defined feature matching as a process which checks for compatibility rather than identity. We still need to consider agreement sources or controllers and agreement targets with respect to inherent features, such as gender on nouns and person on verbs, but controllers do not have the monopoly on contributing these features anymore.

This approach has numerous advantages. First, it avoids the massive redundancies usually found in copying or matching approaches to agreement (Pollard & Sag 1988:238). With feature-sharing, on the other hand, we can avoid multiple lexical entries or morphosyntactic representations for homophonous words. This means that the lexical entry of an adjective, for example, will simply not specify the gender feature if gender is not overtly marked. Second, morphosyntactic features need only be represented on grammatical categories on which they are overtly marked. Cardinal numbers, for instance, do not have to be specified for gender, thus further reducing redundancy in the lexicon and/or morphology. The example discussed in this section also illustrates this point: the [neuter] feature which has been suggested for the subject-marker *ça* need not and does not appear on lexical and pronominal subjects. Finally, it permits underspecification in the morphosyntactic component, which provides a straightforward account of constructions where only unspecified forms are allowed to occur, as in the example of object-marking + verb gapping and adjectival agreement in conjoined NPs discussed in 4.3.2.2 above.

I have no room here to investigate in detail how to implement this feature-sharing approach in a minimalist account of agreement. But it is clear in the opinion of Roberge

(personal communication) and myself that nothing in Chomsky's program forces agreement to be a feature copying or feature matching operation, thus making the introduction of feature-sharing into Minimalism unproblematic.

This exploratory study may raise as many questions as it has provided answers. For example, I have argued that copular verbs must play a role in the agreement relation between predicate adjectives and subjects in QCF, but I have not provided a specific way to handle this particular relation. I have also looked at the more general issue of which configurations are associated with agreement has also been raised, pointing out that we could not account for all the facts by equating agreement with Spec-head relations, although I did not propose an alternative analysis. Future research, including a thorough study of all agreement patterns in QCF as well as a crosslinguistic study, will determine whether this proposal is on the right track or not.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the semantic and morphosyntactic aspects of one of the most common elements in QCF, *ça*. After a brief presentation of its characteristics in QCF, I focused on the specific semantic aspects of generic *ça*. Contrary to Carlson's claim that languages with an overt generic marker never distinguish habitual from generic sentences, I demonstrated that QCF generic *ça* can only appear with NPs referring to kinds, thus preventing us from using it in sentences like **Mon chat ça mange beaucoup* 'My cat eats a lot'. I then argued that the distribution of generic *ça* corresponds with the proposal by supports Krifka et al. (1992) that we must distinguish between two types of

gnomic sentences, since *ça* can only occur when NPs referring to kinds are combined with characterizing predicates.

In the second part of the chapter, I argued that subject *ça* is part of the same paradigm as the other subject makers in QCF and should, therefore, be analyzed as an affixal agreement marker. This state of affairs then led to a discussion of the agreement relation between a lexical subject and *ça* in generic sentences. As a result, we could clearly see that elements other than agreement sources may contribute features to both the agreement relation and the sentence as a whole. The most economical solution, I argued, has *ça* contributing the feature [neuter]. If so, the agreement relation must ensure that this element combines with a compatible subject, thus allowing sentences like *Les éléphants ça trompe énormément* 'Elephants are very tricky' and disallowing **Mes amis ça fume* 'My friends smoke'. Finally, I addressed the feature conflict which arises from combining verbs and predicate adjectives whose agreeing elements can only bear [masc, sg, 3] features with plural and feminine subjects. In response, I proposed that the [neuter] feature blocks transmission of the features from the subject onto the predicate, thus forcing default values to appear on the predicate at PF.

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