On the Syntax of Clause Type Particles:
Evidence from Gascon, Innu and Quebec French

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ABSTRACT

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Various ways of encoding information about whether a clause is declarative, interrogative, exclamative or imperative are found across languages. In this thesis, I am looking at languages that encode clause typing by means of particles.

Some languages use particles to express morphosyntactic features that other languages express by inflection. Compare English *to love*, where the infinitive is marked by the particle *to*, with French *aimer*, composed of a root morpheme, *aim-*, and an inflectional morpheme, *-er*, marking the infinitive. In 'inflectional' languages like French, the verb root is assumed to move in order to check the features of the inflectional morphemes, whereas in 'non-inflectional' languages like English, no movement of the verb is assumed for the purpose of feature checking on a particle. At first glance, there seems no need to assume particle movement either.

This thesis is an exploration into the syntax of one kind of such particles, namely clause type particles. I will show that these particles actually move and interact with other particles and with other constituents in the same clausal domain. Data was collected from three unrelated languages that have received little attention in the literature: Gascon, Innu, and Quebec French. Clause type particles are shown to occupy a position in the left periphery of the clause and to express both Force and Finiteness features at the same time. Evidence from these languages suggests that clause type particles interact with Topic constituents and with negative markers. This study offers a detailed analysis of these interactions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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My warmest thanks certainly go to my three Bearnese informants for their great patience and generosity, and to all my (other) friends in Béarn for their warm welcome and their invaluable help. And, of course, to my Innu informant as well, for his time and interest, and for his helpful explanations and comments.

Finally, I would like to thank the participants of *Going Romance 2005* and the *Obrador de linguistica occitana 3* for their useful questions and comments.

À mes parents.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Most languages have a way of encoding information about whether a sentence is declarative, interrogative, exclamative or imperative. In most languages, the declarative clause is the "basic", default, unmarked type of clause. Other types of clauses can be expressed in various ways. For example, interrogative clauses can be marked by a particle, as in Quebec French (1a), by verb-subject inversion as in Standard French (1b), or simply by intonation as in Colloquial French (1c).

(1) **Interrogative clauses**
    a. *Il   vient   -tu?*   (Quebec French)
       he   comes Q
       'Is he coming?'

    b. *Vient   -il?*   (Standard French)
       comes he
       'Is he coming?'

    c. *Il   vient?*   (Colloquial French)
       he   comes
       'Is he coming?'

I will be examining clause typing in Bearnese, a variety of Gascon which marks clause types by using particles and has the virtually unique property of overtly marking the declarative clause. Moreover, although negative markers are not clause type markers, I will be examining the Gascon pre-verbal negative marker as well, since it interacts with Gascon clause type particles in a puzzling way. (Like Standard French,

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Gascon marks negation by using two co-occurring negative markers, a pre-verbal one and a post-verbal one.)

The advantage of studying Bearnese Gascon is that, while showing overt declarative marking, this language presents an otherwise familiar structure, since it is a Romance language. And yet, it has received little attention from generativists so far.

I will also be looking at interrogative clauses in Innu, an Algonquian language, and in Quebec French, my native language, since both languages have an interrogative particle. The interrogative particles in Innu and in Quebec French behave differently from the Gascon one, as well as differently from each other, and they also interact with the negative marker. Since I have only recently begun studying these two languages, the analysis I propose for their interrogative particles is highly tentative and subject to further research.

1.1 GASCON

Gascon is a dialect of Occitan spoken in the Southwest of France, in the region indicated by the arrow (added) on Figure 1. According to ethnologue.com, there were approximately 250,000 speakers in 1990.
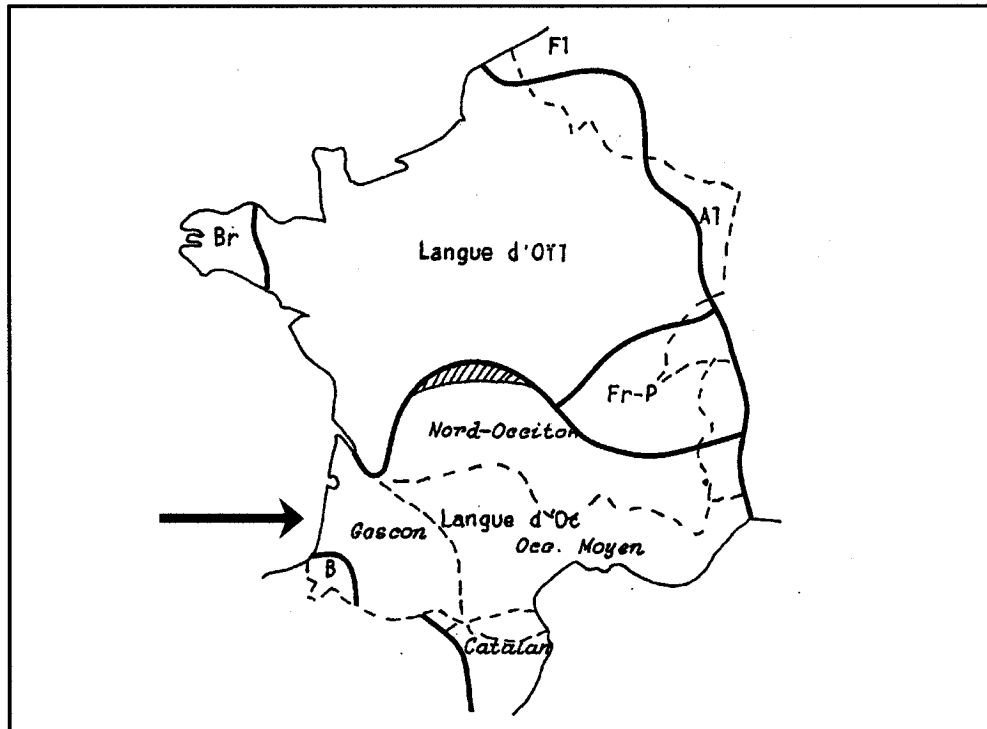
Figure 1 Dialectal domains of France (Source: Grosclaude 1977).

To mark declarative, interrogative and exclamative clauses, Bearnese Gascon uses a set of particles, called 'enunciative particles' in the literature (Bouzet 1932, Pusch 2001, among others). These particles are *que* for declarative, *e* for interrogative and *be* for exclamative clauses. Examples are given in (2).[1]

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[1] The particle *be* can also be used in affirmative-interrogative clauses, as in (i), and the literature mentions another particle, *ja*, which can, for some speakers, replace *que* in assertive clauses like the one in (ii). Since two of my three informants do not actually have the particle *ja*, I am leaving it aside. As for interactions between clause types as in (i), I leave them for further research. See chapter 6.

    (i)   *Be   parla   gascon Maria?*
            DECL/Q speaks gascon Mary
            'Mary speaks Gascon, doesn't she?'

    (ii)   *Ja   son maduras las arhagas.*
            ASSRT are ripe   the strawberries
            'The strawberries are ripe (I'm positive).'

(2) a. *Maria* ***que*** *parla gascon.*
    Mary   DECL speaks Gascon
    'Mary speaks Gascon.'

b. ***E*** *parla gascon Maria?*
   Q speaks Gascon Mary
   'Does Mary speak Gascon?'

c. ***Be*** *m' agrada la toa pelha !*
   EXCL me pleases the your dress
   'How I like your dress!'

According to Zauner (1896), the particle *que* would have originated from Lat. QUOD, the particle *e*, from Lat. ET, and the particle *be*, from Lat. BENE (see Pusch 2001). The particle *que* appeared occasionally in texts from the 13th to the 17th century, and became fairly generalized by the 18th century (Grosclaude 1986).

As for the origins of the use of *que*, Rohlfs (1970) proposes that it would be the complementizer *que*, whose main clause it was depending on would have been implied.

> *[...] il est clair que la conjonction* que *tout d'abord a dû dépendre d'une proposition principale* (je suis sûr que, c'est que) *ou d'une autre expression qui avait à peu près la même valeur* (bien sûr que, certainement que). *Plus tard, cette proposition principale ou l'adverbe duquel dépendait* que, *aurait été sous-entendu [...] On reconnaît ce premier stade encore en bordelais, où l'on dit* es que plau *'il pleut' (Lalanne II, 73). En Médoc, il y a 50 ans, on pouvait entendre dans le langage des vieillards* es que ha caloù *'il fait chaud'.* (Rohlfs 1970)

The 'enunciative particles' are systematically used by most Bearnese speakers, although some of them may accept as grammatical sentences that lack a particle. However, Bouzet remarks "L'omission des énonciatifs paraîtra d'un effet aussi étrange à un béarnais que pourrait l'être à un français l'omission des articles." (Bouzet 1932)

What would explain the fact that the judgements are not as categorical today as they were at the time where Bouzet published his article in 1932? One possible explanation would be that Gascon speakers speak more and more French and less and less Gascon. Today, it is virtually impossible to find a monolingual Gascon speaker, whereas there were many of them in the early 20th century. If Bouzet's informants were monolingual Bearnese speakers who were systematically using the particles and had little contact with speakers of French or other dialects, there is no reason why they would have accepted as grammatical a sentence lacking a particle. Conversely, fluency in French, which does not have enunciative particles, and also (due to increasing mobility) increasing contacts with speakers of Gascon varieties that do not use the enunciative particles, might well explain today's Gascon speakers occasional tolerance for missing enunciative particles.

1.2 INNU

Innu is a polysynthetic language, which means that in that language many morphemes can attach together to form a single word. An example of an Innu word is given in (3).

(3) *chi – minuhkâne – hîsû – shtim   – atinân*
     2P – make.a.slave – REFL – for.someone – 1PL:SBJ
     'We make ourselves slaves for you.'

As we can see in (3), the one word in Innu is translated by using six words in English.

Verbs in Innu take a subject prefix and an inflectional ending (Clarke 1982). In intransitive verbs, the prefix marks the person of the subject: *ni-* for the first person, *chi-* for the second person and ∅- for the third person, while the inflectional suffix indicates its number. The forms for the verb 'sleep' in the first and second person singular and the second person plural are given in (4).

(4) a. *chi – nipâ – n*
       2P   – sleep – 2SG
       'You (SG) sleep.'

   b. *ni – nipâ – n*
       1P – sleep – 1SG
       'I sleep.'

   c. *chi – nipâ – nawâu*
       2P   – sleep – 2PL
       'You (PL) sleep.'

In (4a) we see the second person prefix, *chi-*, and the singular suffix, *-n*. In (4b), *ni-* is the first person prefix, and again, *-n* marks the singular. In (4c), *chi-* marks the second person and *-nawâu* marks the plural.

Innu has grammatical gender marking that distinguishes not between masculine and feminine like in English or French, but between animate and inanimate. An example is given in (5).

(5) *chi – mâku – hte   – n   ni   – spitûn*
     2P – bite   – 3SG.I.OBJ[2] – 2SG.SBJ   1SG – arm
     'You are biting my arm.'

---

[2] A = animate; I = inanimate; OBV = obviative.

In (5) we see that the root of the verb 'bite' (*mâku-*) has two suffixes, which show agreement with the subject and the object. The first one, *-hte*, marks the object, which is 3rd person singular inanimate ('arm'); the second one, *-n*, marks the subject ('you'), which is 2nd person singular.

Innu has yet another person marker, which is called the obviative and is often referred to as the "fourth person" (Cyr 1992). When a transitive verb has a third person as subject and a third person as object, the object is marked as obviative. An example is given in (6). Unlike the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person markers, though, the obviative marker does not attach to the transitive verb, but to a determiner.

(6)   *anhe nâpeu wâpam – eu   an – yû   iskeu*
       that man   see:TR.A – 3P.OBJ;3SG.SBJ   that – **OBV**   woman
       'The man sees the woman.'

Thus, in (6), we see that the object, *anyû iskeu* ('the woman') has a suffix on the determiner, *-yû*, which marks the obviative.

Unlike Gascon, Innu does not overtly mark declarative clauses. It does, however, use an interrogative marker, *â*, as can be seen in (7).

(7)   *chi – chî – ayimihtâ   – n   â   ni   – masinahîkan?*
       2P – PST – read:3SG.I.OBJ – 2SG.SBJ   Q   1SG – book
       'Did you read my book?'

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that the interrogative clause in (7) is composed of only three words, one of which is the interrogative particle *â*.

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1.3 QUEBEC FRENCH

Like Innu and unlike Gascon, Quebec French does not overtly mark declarative clauses. It does, however, use an interrogative marker, *tu* (which does not exist in Standard French). An example is given in (8).

(8) *Marie elle vient -tu au cinéma?*
    Mary she comes Q to.the movies
    'Is Mary coming to the movies?'

Note that the interrogative marker and the second person singular subject are homophonous in Quebec French. Thus, in *Tu viens-tu?*, the first *tu* is the subject pronoun, whereas the second *tu* is the interrogative particle.

1.4 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

I am adopting Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist approach to generative grammar, which assumes that the computational system of the grammar has two interface levels: the LF (logical form) component and the PF (phonological form) component. Central to this approach are the notion of feature and the operation of feature checking. Features are properties of linguistic elements. Some features are *interpretable* by the LF component of the grammar, other are *uninterpretable* by this component and need to be checked before spellout (i.e. before being "sent" to the interface levels), by virtue of the Checking requirement, as stated in (9).

(9) **The Checking Requirement**
Uninterpretable features must be checked, and once checked they delete.
(Adger 2003)

Some features require that checking take place locally, i.e. under a sisterhood relationship, while others can check or be checked at a distance. The former features are said to be "strong", and the latter are said to be "weak". Strong features trigger movement; weak features do not. Example (10a) illustrates movement of a head Y° in order to check a strong uninterpretable F feature on a head X°, and example (10b) illustrates what happens if both the uninterpretable F feature on X° and the interpretable F feature on Y° are weak.

(10)   a. **Strong Feature Checking**   b. **Weak Feature Checking**
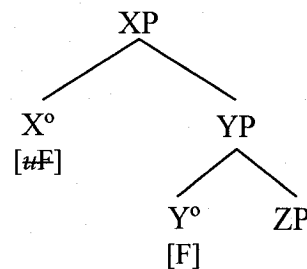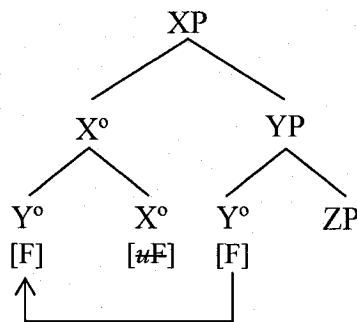
In (10a), we see that Y° has raised to X° in order to check the uninterpretable F feature on X°, since that feature is strong and needed to be checked locally. In (10b), where both the uninterpretable feature F on X° and the interpretable F feature on Y° are weak, checking took place without movement, that is, with Y°, the host of the

interpretable feature F, remaining *in situ*. (Note that in (10a) the strong feature could have been the interpretable one, yielding the same result.)

Furthermore, features can be assumed to have values (Adger 2003). Notation of feature values varies across the literature. For example, [-plural], [+singular, -plural] and [singular] are three possible ways of indicating the value for the [Number] feature associated with the word *cat*.

Rizzi (1997, 1999) defined two syntactic projections responsible for clause typing, Force and Int(errogative). These projections are part of the so-called left periphery. Illustrated in (11), the left periphery, or CP domain, corresponds to the complementizer layer, which is composed of functional projections that dominate IP and host discourse-related elements like complementizers, *wh*-elements, topicalized elements and clause type markers.

(11)   CP   **Complementizer layer**

        ...

           IP   **Inflectional layer**

              ...

                  *v*P   **Lexical layer**

                      ...
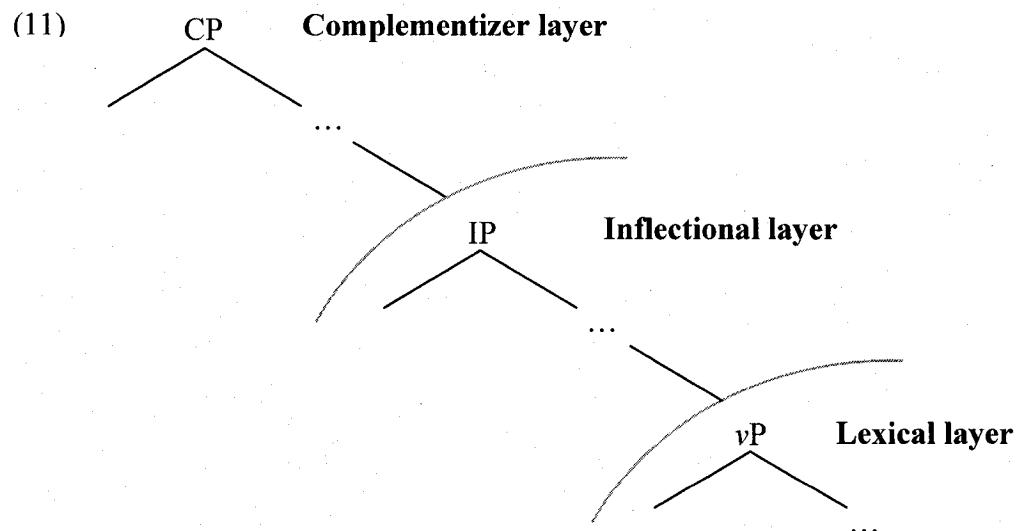
According to Rizzi, the left periphery of the clause is composed minimally of the Force and Fin(iteness) projections, which mark respectively the upper and lower boundaries of the complementizer system and may enclose Int, Top(ic) and Foc(us) projections, if these projections are activated, that is, if they are needed to accommodate a topicalized or focussed constituent.[3]

Rizzi (1999) defines the Force and Fin projections as follows:

- The **Force** projection distinguishes clause types (declarative, interrogative, exclamative, relative) and may be selected by a verb in a higher clause. The Force head hosts complementizers like English *that*, French *que* or Italian *che*.

- The **Fin** projection distinguishes between finite and non-finite clauses and selects the appropriate IP. The Fin head hosts complementizers like English *for* or Italian *di*, which introduce a non-finite clause.

The **Int** projection is activated in interrogative clauses and hosts interrogative markers like English *if*, Italian *se* or Spanish *si*. As for the **Top** and **Foc** projections, they are activated to host topicalized and focussed constituents respectively. A clause may have multiple Top projections, but only one Foc projection. Rizzi explains this difference by noting that the presupposition (the complement of the focus) may only contain given information and therefore no other Foc projection, whereas nothing prevents the comment (the complement of the topic) to include a topic (the topic being "old" information). The fully expanded structure of the left periphery is given in (12).

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[3] This follows from the Economy Principle (Chomsky 1995), according to which derivations must be minimal.

(12)　ForceP　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Rizzi 1999)

```
           Force°    TopP*
                    Top°    IntP
                           Int°    TopP*
                                  Top°    FocP
                                         Foc°    TopP*
                                                Top°    FinP
                                                       Fin°    IP
```
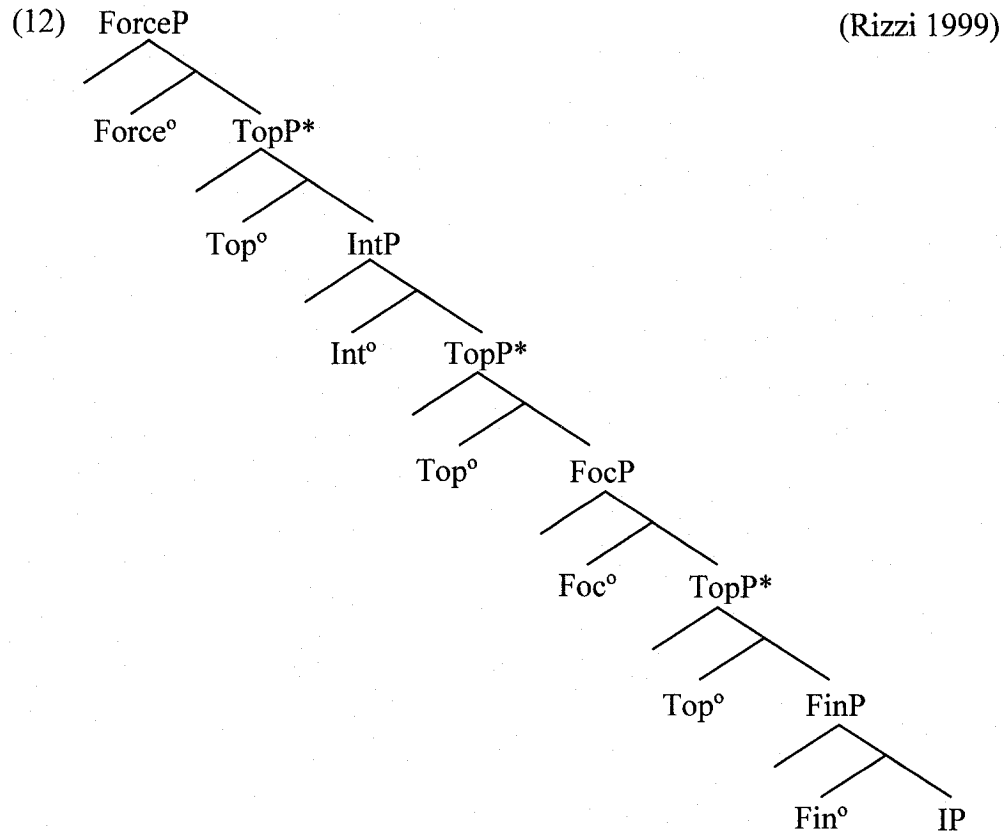
Laka (1994) provides evidence for another potential projection in the left periphery: ΣP (Polarity Projection). In her analysis of negation in Basque and English, Laka notes a syntactic similarity between negation and affirmation. For instance, she shows that, in Basque, negative and affirmative markers are mutually exclusive. The examples are given in (13).

(13) a. *Jon ez da etorri.*　　　　　　　　　　　　(Basque, Laka 1994)
　　　　 Jon **NEG** has arrived
　　　　 'Jon has not arrived.'

b. *Jon **ba** da etorri.*   (*ibid.*)
   Jon EMPH has arrived
   'Jon *has* arrived.'

c. *Irune **[aff]** da etorri.*   (*ibid.*)
   Irune [AFF] has arrived
   'Irune has arrived.'

Hence, the negative marker *ez* in (13a) and the emphatic marker *ba* in (13b) show the same distribution, that is, they follow the subject and precede the finite verb. Since, as Laka argues, the Affirmative ([aff]) feature cannot co-occur with negation, it is assumed that the Affirmative feature occupies the same position as *ez* and *ba*, as shown in (13c).

Parallel examples are found for English. They are given in (14).

(14) A: *Peter left early.*   (*ibid.*)
      B: *Peter did**n't** leave early.*
      C: *Peter did **so** leave early.*
      Where A, B and C stand for different speakers.

As we can see, and as argued by Laka, English negative marker *n't* and emphatic marker *so* also have the same distribution. However, examples in (14) show that in English, unlike in Basque, the negative and emphatic markers *n't* and *so* do not precede the finite verb but rather follow it.

To capture the syntactic similarity between negation and affirmation, Laka argues for a single Σ (Polarity) projection, which can be headed by *ez*, *ba* or [aff] for Basque, or by *n't*, *so* or [aff] for English. The placement of the Σ projection with respect to IP is, according to Laka, subject to parametric variation across languages: higher than IP for Basque (since, as we have seen, the markers precede the finite verb), lower than IP for

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English (since the markers follow the finite verb). The possible structures, according to Laka, are given in (15).

(15)   a. **Basque**   b. **English**   (Laka 1994)

```
   ΣP                         IP
     \                          \
      Σ'                         ΣP
     / \                          \
    Σ°   IP                        Σ'
    ez                            /
    [aff]                        Σ°
    ba                           not
                                 [aff]
                                 so
```
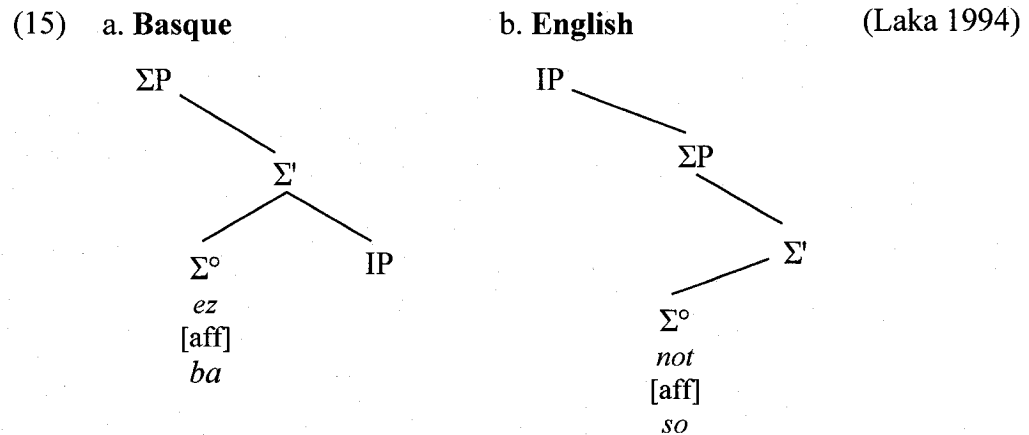
Zanuttini (1997) makes a distinction between pre-verbal and post-verbal negative markers, and a further one between pre-verbal negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves and pre-verbal negative markers that must co-occur with another negative element. Gascon pre-verbal negative marker belongs to the latter type. For pre-verbal negative markers that must co-occur with another negative element, Zanuttini follows Pollock's (1989) proposal that these markers are adjoined to an independently existing functional head.

Pollock (1989) furthermore argues that these markers are generated in a projection lower than Infl, and that they raise to adjoin to one of Infl's functional projections. Whether these markers are generated lower than Infl does not bear on the present research, and the fact that the Gascon clause type particles and pre-verbal

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negative marker are mutually exclusive indicates that this marker must raise to a position higher than Infl.

1.5 PREVIOUS ANALYSES

Few analyses of the Gascon enunciative particles have been proposed in the generative framework. Campos suggests that the particles are generated in Infl. He does not identify them as clause type particles, but rather simply as "a mark which appears with the finite forms of the verb, which ought to be generated in Infl along with modals and clitics" (Campos 1986).

Field (1989) argues for an obligatorily filled Aux, which includes Tense and Modality, the latter being marked by the enunciative particle.

> *L'élément T[empus] entre dans la construction d'un syntagme de phrase propre [...] Quant à l'énonciatif, il est clair qu'il est dans une relation de dépendance étroite avec ce T 'autonome' [...] En proposant leur participation commune au sein d'un syntagme AUX nous rendons compte de ces relations.* (Field 1989, cited in Pusch 2001)

While Campos and Field seem to agree on associating the particles with Modality and placing them in Infl/Aux, Poletto (2000) diverges from them in placing the Gascon particle *que* (which she calls the lower complementizer) in the CP domain. In response to Campos, she argues:

> *He notes that enunciative* que *is sensitive to the finiteness of Infl and therefore concludes that it is an Infl element. [...] The fact that in many languages the complementizer is sensitive to tense restrictions does not show that it is an Infl element. On the contrary, it shows that CP is sensitive to tense (as already proposed by Rizzi 1997).* (Poletto 2000: 150)

Poletto furthermore proposes that, in Northern Italian dialects, all pre-verbal subjects move to the left periphery, one of her arguments being that in some constructions – including Gascon ones as well as a few sentences given by her Piedmontese and Ligurian informants – the subject precedes the complementizer. As she includes Gascon data in her examples, I take her generalization to apply to Gascon as well.

I did not find any generative analysis of the Innu interrogative particle *â*. As for the Quebec French interrogative particle *tu*, Vinet (2001) proposes that it is associated with an uninterpretable feature on T, and that this feature can be checked in a position of the left periphery.

> *L'affixe* -tu *et la tête verbale sont vérifiés dans la tête syntaxique d'une des projections de la périphérie gauche. À travers une série de mouvements multiples sur la gauche, le verbe et l'enclitique apparaissent alors dans une des positions du CP éclaté. Un trait non interprétable de Nombre et de Personne est vérifié sur T. Un trait [±déterminé] est également vérifié.* (Vinet 2001: 24)

1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is organized as follows: In chapter 2, I give my sources of data and address some issues that are raised when doing field linguistics in the perspective of I-language. In chapter 3, I propose my analysis of clause type particles in Gascon. I first give the distribution of the particles in main and embedded clauses; then I address the interactions between the particles and Force and Top. I intend to show that in Gascon there is a peculiar dependency of the particles to Top and Force in embedded clauses: the particles can only be pronounced in Fin if Top and Force are overt. I will give an account

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of this dependency. Then I present the distribution of the negative marker in Gascon and discuss the interaction of the clause type particles with Neg. I intend to show that, although the negative marker and the clause type particles occupy the same syntactic position, they have different syntactic properties, and I will give an account of this contrast. In chapter 4, I present the distribution of the interrogative particle *â* in Innu, as well as a tentative analysis. As we will see, the data suggests that the existence of an interrogative particle in a language does not necessarily exclude verb movement. In chapter 5, I first give the distribution of the interrogative particle *tu* in Quebec French. Then I sketch an analysis along the lines of the analysis for Gascon presented in chapter 3. Chapter 6 gives some directions for future research. Finally, chapter 7 presents the conclusions.

CHAPTER 2

DATA SOURCES

Unless otherwise indicated, all the data in this thesis comes from my field notes. I have three Bearnese (Gascon) informants and one Innu informant. As for Quebec French, it is my native language. As I have been focussing primarily on Gascon for this research, my Gascon corpus is much greater than my Innu one. Before providing some details about my Gascon and Innu informants, and about my methodology, I will address certain issues that are raised when doing fieldwork in the generative, I-Language, perspective.

2.1 DOING FIELD LINGUISTICS IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF I-LANGUAGE

Chomsky (1986) defines three different concepts of language: socio-political, externalized language and internalized language. The socio-political concept is the one I am using when saying that my research focusses on Gascon. Although a useful everyday notion of language, it is not a scientific one, and hence no scientific study of language has ever been made using that concept. Externalized language, or E-Language, refers to the set of utterances that can be made in a speech community (Bloomfield 1926). This notion of language therefore refers to the data, not the speakers. Under the E-Language approach, then, the corpus is the object of study, and, therefore, any description that will generate the data is equally valid, since the *data* is the language. One problem with this approach is that corpora are necessarily finite, while the number of utterances that a human grammar can generate is unbounded. Internalized language, or I-Language, refers

to the mental grammar of the speaker-hearer. Under the I-Language approach, only one description, the one corresponding to the grammar of the speaker-hearer, is valid, since the *grammar* is the language. Generative linguistics is concerned with the grammar, not its output, and therefore only I-Language is a coherent object of scientific study.

In the perspective of I-Language, the object of study being the grammar, how should the linguist approach the data provided by native speaker informants?

Since no one, unfortunately, can have direct access to the native speakers' grammar, linguists must rely on "external", imperfect, evidence like grammaticality judgements, spontaneous utterances and the speakers' conscious knowledge of their language. Such a body of evidence is imperfect for many reasons:

- Grammaticality judgements can vary from day to day;

- The corpus will necessarily be a small subset of the number of possible utterances that the grammar can generate;

- The speaker can modify his/her speech, consciously or not (for example, in the case of a stigmatized or encouraged form or word order);

- The linguist can misparse the utterance.

Moreover, a speaker will accept as grammatical many more variants than s/he will actually utter.

Under these conditions, the linguist has no other choice but to try to abstract from all such grammar-external facts or accidents and to constitute a coherent set of utterances for analysis purposes, that set of utterances (the corpus), however, *not* being the object of study.

2.2 GASCON

My Gascon fieldwork has been conducted in the Orthez region, in Béarn, France, in May and December 2005. Prior to my first field trip, I had collected a small corpus of sentences from oral tale books (Bladèr, Boisgontier & Darrigrand), which was useful to get familiar with the language and come up with a set of sentences to obtain grammaticality judgements about. In order to improve my comprehension of the language and my ability to form sentences, as well as to facilitate the contact with my informants, I also took Gascon courses in Béarn.

I have three informants, aged between 65 and 80, from three villages in the Orthez region: Castètner, Balansun (Valensun) and L'Hôpital d'Orion (Espitau d'Orion). These villages are shown by the arrows (added) on Figure 2.

Native speakers of Gascon are not so easy to find, and the 250,000 population mentioned in chapter 1 has probably shrunk dramatically since 1990. Like other dialects of France, Gascon was forbidden in schools for a long period in the 20th century, and highly stigmatized, which had as a consequence that parents would not allow themselves to talk to their children in Gascon. (Even today, some older speakers are unwilling to pronounce certain features of the language, like the apical [r], that were more especially targeted by the stigma.)
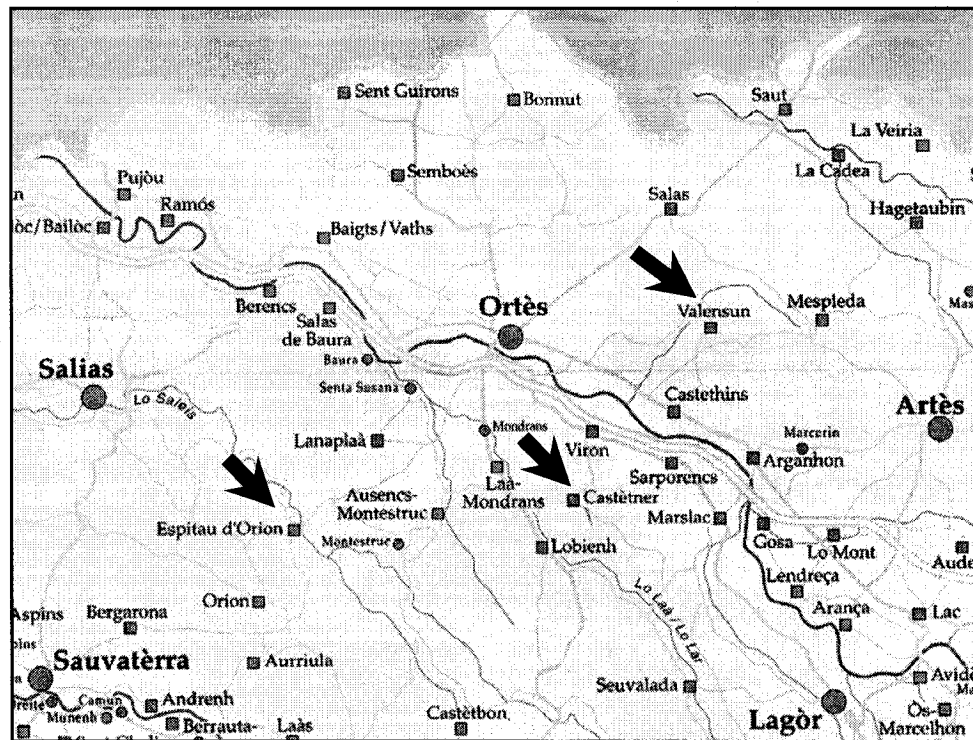
Figure 2 The Orthez region.[4]

I typically present my informants, separately, with the same set of sentences and ask them for a graded grammaticality judgement, that is which, among the sentences they identify as grammatical, are "preferred", which, among the sentences they identify as ungrammatical, are "worse", and note their hesitations. I also collect spontaneous speech, as I often chat with them in Gascon between two sentences I ask them to assess, and in anecdotes and stories they tell me.

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[4] Source: *Mapa deu Biarn* by Joan Francés Dutilh. Orthez: Per Noste.

2.3 INNU

I have one Innu native speaker informant, who comes from Waswanipi, Quebec, and speaks a dialect that is often referred to as "East Cree", "East James Bay Cree" or "Western Montagnais".[5] Waswanipi is indicated by the arrow (added) on Figure 3. I began working with this informant, an undergraduate student at Concordia University, in January 2006. As he is studying linguistics as his minor subject, he has a sense of what I expect from him as an informant.
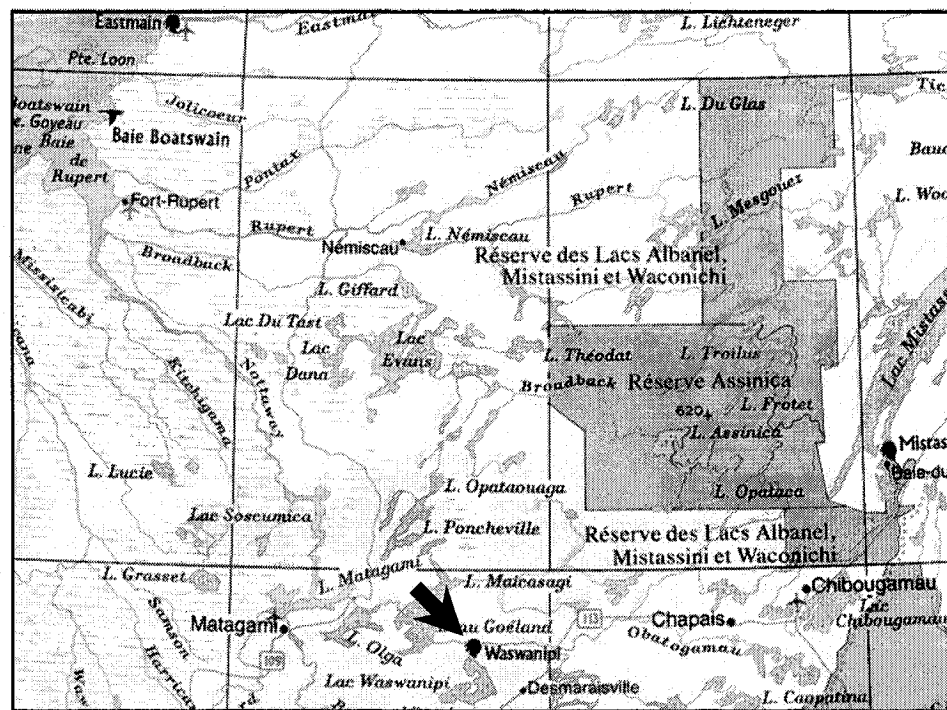
Figure 3   The East James Bay Region.[6]

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[5] As pointed out by my informant, the names Cree and Montagnais were given to Innu people – and to the Innu language – by anglophones and francophones, respectively. This is also reflected in the writing system, as "Cree" people use an orthography that is based on English, while "Montagnais" people use one that is based on french. The Innu examples in this thesis are written in the James Bay Cree's standard orthography (based on English), as used by my informant

[6] Source: *Close-up: Canada. Quebec and Newfoundland.* Washington: National Geographic Society, 1980.

I generally start by giving him sentences in English, asking him to come up with something equivalent in Innu. Innu being a polysynthetic language and being unrelated to English (it has, among other things, a different determiner system), the 'equivalent' is in fact, more often than not, 'equivalent' in a very approximate way. Then, when I think I have grasped the pattern (which often proves *not* to be the case!), I try constructing Innu sentences and ask him (1) whether they are grammatical, and (2) to correct them or tell me what is wrong with them.

CHAPTER 3

THE SYNTAX OF GASCON CLAUSE TYPE PARTICLES

In this chapter, I propose a syntactic analysis of Gascon clause type particles. As mentioned in chapter 1, these particles are *que* for declarative, *e* for interrogative and *be* for exclamative clauses. I will show that the declarative, interrogative and exclamative particles are mutually exclusive and that they occupy a position in the left periphery. More specifically, I intend to show that they occupy the position identified by Rizzi (1997) as Fin(iteness).

Then I will address the interactions between the particles and Force and Top(ic). I will show that in Gascon there is a peculiar dependency of the particles to Top and Force in embedded clauses: the particles can only be pronounced in Fin if Top and Force are overt. I will give an account of this dependency. Then I will give the distribution of the negative marker in Gascon and discuss the interaction of the enunciative particles with Neg(ation). I will show that the enunciative particles and the negative marker are also mutually exclusive and thus must compete for the same syntactic position. However, although they compete for the same syntactic position, they have different syntactic properties, and I will give an account of this contrast.

3.1 DISTRIBUTION OF THE PARTICLES

In this section I give the distribution of the Gascon clause type particles in main clauses and in embedded clauses. As we will see, although the distribution is the same in

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both main and embedded clauses, the particles seem to occur only in the presence of a topic in embedded clauses, whereas, in main clauses, they appear systematically, regardless of the presence or absence of a topic.

3.1.1 IN MAIN CLAUSES

In Bearnese Gascon declarative affirmative main clauses, the verb must be preceded by the particle *que*, as shown in (16).

(16) **Declarative clauses**
    a. ***Que*** *parli*   *gascon.*
       DECL speak:1SG Gascon
       'I speak Gascon.'

    b. *Maria* **que**   *parla gascon.*
       Mary   DECL   speaks Gascon
       'Mary speaks Gascon.'

    c. ***Que*** *Maria parla*   *gascon.*
       DECL Mary   speaks Gascon
       'Mary speaks Gascon.'

    d. **Parli*   *gascon.*
       speak:1SG   Gascon
       'I speak Gascon.'

    e. **Maria parla*   *gascon.*
       Mary   speaks Gascon
       'Mary speaks Gascon.'

    f. *Maria* **que**   *l'*   *a*   *legut.*   *(lo*   *libe)*
       Mary   DECL it   has   read   (the   book)
       'Mary has read it.'

In (16a), we see that the particle *que* precedes the verb, *parli*. In (16b), it also precedes the verb, *parla*, but follows the subject, *Maria*. Example (16c) shows that the

particle is not allowed to immediately precede the subject, and examples (16d) and (16e)

indicate that omission of the particle leads to ungrammaticality in Bearnese Gascon.[7] In

(16f), we see that the particle *que* precedes the object clitic, *l'*. Thus, examples in (16)

show that the particle *que* must occur before the clitic and the verb, but after the subject.

In (17), we can see that the distribution is the same for the interrogative particle, *e*.

(17) **Interrogative clauses**
    a. *E parlatz   gascon?*
       Q speak:2PL Gascon
      'Do you speak Gascon?'

    b. *Maria e parla gascon?*
      Mary   Q   speaks Gascon
      'Does Mary speak Gascon?'

    c. **E Maria parla gascon?*
      Q   Mary speak Gascon
      'Does Mary speak Gascon?'

    d. **Parlatz   gascon?*
      speak:2PL Gascon
      'Do you speak Gascon?'

    e. **Maria parla gascon?*
      Mary   speaks Gascon
      'Does Mary speak Gascon?'

    f. *Maria e l' a   legut? (lo libe)*
      Mary Q it has read   (the book)
      'Has Mary read it?'

Examples (17a) and (17b) show that the particle *e* also precedes the verb and

follows the subject, when there is a pre-verbal one. In (17c), we see that the particle *e*,

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[7] See my comment on this matter in chapter 1.

like the particle *que*, may not immediately precede the subject, and (17d) and (17e) show

that it may not be omitted; (17f) shows that the particle *e* also precedes the object clitic.

Examples in (18) show that the same holds for the exclamative particle, *be*.

(18) **Exclamative clauses**
    a. ***Be***   *cantes*   *plan!*
       EXCL sing:2SG well
       'How beautifully you sing!'

    b. *Maria* ***be***   *canta plan!*
       Mary   EXCL sings well
       'How beautifully Mary sings!'

    c. ****Be*** *Maria canta plan!*
       EXCL Mary sings   well
       'How beautifully Mary sings!'

    d. **Cantes* plan!*
       sing:2SG well
       'How beautifully you sing!'

    e. **Maria canta plan!*
       Mary   sings well
       'How beautifully Mary sings!'

    f. *La toa pelha **be***   *m' agrada!*
       the your dress   EXCL   me please
       'How I like your dress!'

Thus, we see that the particles *que*, *e* and *be* always precede the clitic and the verb

and follow a pre-verbal subject.

Since it has been established that clitics mark the upper boundary of the IP

domain (Kayne 1991, Sportiche 1998), the fact that the enunciative particles precede the

object clitic leads me to assume, like Poletto (2000), that they head a projection in the left periphery as in (19).

(19) [$_{CP}$ ... *que* / *e* / *be* [$_{IP}$ clitic + verb ...]]

In (16b), (17b) and (18b), we have seen that the subject can precede the enunciative particle, but the examples (16c), (17c) and (18c) show that it cannot immediately follow it. Moreover, examples like (20b) below show that other constituents than subjects can occupy such a position. (Example (16b) is repeated in (20a) for convenience.)

(20) a. *Maria* **que** *parla gascon.*
Mary **DECL** speaks Gascon
'Mary speaks Gascon.'

b. *Ier* **que** *hesteièm* *l'* *aniversari deu* *pair.*
yesterday **DECL** celebrated:1PL the birthday of.the father
'Yesterday we celebrated my father's birthday.'

In (20b), there is no pre-verbal subject, but an adverb, *ier* ('yesterday'), precedes the enunciative particle *que*, as the subject does in (20a).

Given our assumption on the position of enunciative particles, and given that the subject precedes these particles, it is clear that the subject in (20a) and the adverb in (20b) occupy a position in the CP domain. I assume that they occupy the specifier of a Top projection, as in (21). Therefore, the projection headed by the enunciative particle must be in the CP domain, but lower than Top.

(21) [cp ... [TopP topic ... *que / e / be* [IP clitic + verb ...]]]

The fact that the particles *que*, *e* and *be* have the same distribution seems to indicate that they occupy the same syntactic position. Another indication that they might occupy the same syntactic position comes from the fact that they are mutually exclusive, as Bouzet (1932) had observed. This is shown in (22).

(22) a. **Que** -m entenes.   (Bouzet 1932: 42)
        DECL me hear:2SG
        'You hear me.'

    b. **E** -m entenes?   (*ibid.*)
        Q   me hear:2SG
        'Do you hear me?'

    c. **Be** -m entenes.   (*ibid.*)
        EXCL me hear:2SG
        'You hear me (don't you?).'

    d. ***E que** -m entenes?
        Q DECL me hear:2SG

    e. ***Be que** -m entenes.
        EXCL DECL me hear:2SG

    f. ***Que be** -m entenes.
        DECL EXCL me hear:2SG

As we see in (22), co-occurrence of two enunciative particles leads to ungrammaticality.

To sum up: In main clauses, the enunciative particles are obligatory, they precede the [clitic + verb] sequence, they follow a topicalized constituent, and they are mutually exclusive.

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3.1.2 IN EMBEDDED CLAUSES

In embedded clauses, the particles have the same distribution as in main clauses,

that is, they precede the clitic and they follow the topic. Thus, in (23a), the enunciative

particle, *e*, follows the topicalized subject, *lo gat*. (The topic is indicated in small caps,

and the embedded clause is between square brackets.) In (23b), the enunciative particle

que follows the topic, *la setmana que vien*, and precedes the clitic, *la*. In (23c), the

particle *que* also follows the topic, *las arhagas*, and precedes the verb, *son*.

(23) a. *Que   'm demandi* [*se* LO GAT *e drom*].
        DECL me ask   if   the cat Q sleeps
        'I wonder if the cat sleeps.'

     b. *Que   pensi* [*que,* LA SETMANA QUE VIEN, **que**   *la vederèi*].
        DECL think   that the week   that comes **DECL** her see:FUT
        'I think that, next week, I will see her.'

     c. *Que   soi segur* [LAS ARHAGAS   **que** *son maduras*].
        DECL am sure   the   strawberries **DECL** are   ripe
        'I am sure the strawberries are ripe.'

However, we see in (23a) and (23b) that, unlike in main clauses, the particles in

embedded clauses can co-occur with a complementizer, that is, with *se* and *que*,

respectively, and it seems that the topic is obligatory, as can be seen by comparing (23a)

with (24a) and (23b) with (24b). (24a) is just like (23a) except that there is no topic, and

it is ungrammatical; in (24b), we see that the enunciative particle *que* following the

complementizer *que*, with no topic in between, is also ruled out.

(24) a. *Que 'm demandi [se e drom lo gat].
DECL me ask if Q sleeps the cat
'I wonder if the cat sleeps.'

b. *Que convienem [que que m' apèras].
DECL agree:1PL that DECL me call:2SG
'We agree that you call me.'

Example (25), however, seems to show that the topic can be missing, but then only one *que* must be present.

(25) Que soi segur [que son maduras las arhagas].
DECL am sure (*que*) are ripe the strawberries
'I am sure that the strawberries are ripe.'

To sum up: The enunciative particles and everything that precedes them are in the left periphery. In main clauses, the verb is preceded by a particle, and this is independent of the presence of a topic; in subordinate clauses, it seems that the particle is spelled out only if the topic is spelled out.

In the next section, I propose a solution to the "Topic" puzzle raised by the contrast between (23) and (24), where the occurrence of the enunciative particle seems to depend on the presence of a topic.

3.2 INTERACTION OF THE PARTICLES WITH TOPIC

I will assume that the enunciative particles are in the position identified by Rizzi (1997) as Fin. As proposed by Rizzi, I assume that Fin is lower than Force and Top, but higher than IP, as in (26).

(26) [$_{ForceP}$ [$_{TopP}$ topic [$_{FinP}$ *que / e / be* [$_{IP}$ clitic + verb ...]]]]

The intuition concerning the dependency between the topic constituent and the enunciative particle is that the presence of a Top projection makes it necessary for both Force and Fin to be spelled out. Technically, this can be implemented by assuming the following:

i) The Force head has an uninterpretable strong Force feature;

ii) The Top head has, in addition to a Topic feature, an uninterpretable ClauseType feature;

iii) The Fin head has an interpretable Force feature and an interpretable ClauseType feature.

The consequence of this is that the Fin head will be attracted by the uninterpretable ClauseType feature on Top and, as I will show, will be prevented from further raising to Force. Therefore, another element will be needed to satisfy the strong Force feature on Force.

I will first look at cases like (25), where there is no topic, and then come back to the contrast presented in (23) and (24).

3.2.1 EMBEDDED CLAUSES WITHOUT A TOPIC

An example of an embedded clause without a (fronted) topic was given in (25), and is repeated here in (27). Given the existence of examples like (23b), repeated in (28), the *que* in (27) could be either the higher *que* or the lower one.

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(27) *Que soi segur* [*que   son   maduras las arhagas*].
     DECL am sure   (*que*)   are   ripe   the strawberries
     'I am sure that the strawberries are ripe.'

(28) *Que pensi* [*que, LA SETMANA QUE VIEN,   que la vederèi*].
     DECL think   that the week   that comes DECLher see:FUT
     'I think that, next week, I will see her.'

I propose that the *que* in (27) is the declarative particle *que* and that *que* raises to

Force to check a strong Force feature, as in (29).

(29)
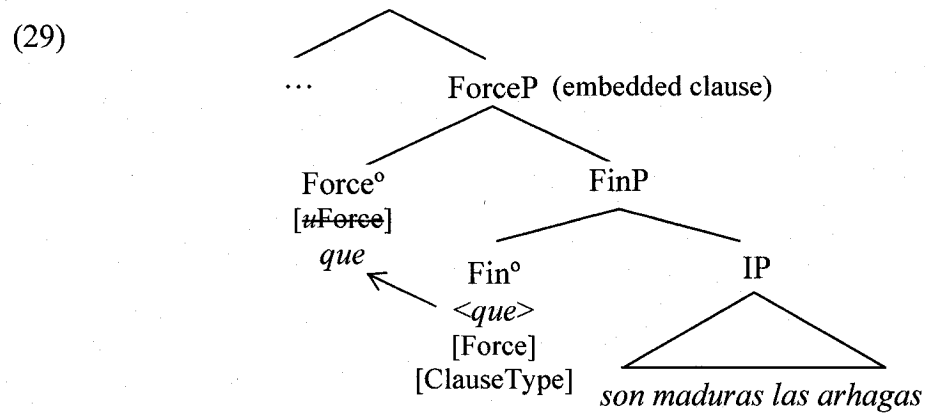
In (29), we see that the declarative particle *que*, which has merged in Fin, is

attracted by the strong uninterpretable Force feature on Force and therefore raises to

Force.

Thus, I propose that the enunciative particle *que* can actually occur without a

topic in embedded clauses, provided it has raised to Force. This sheds some light on the

contrast between (27) and (28). Movement of *que* to Force in (28) is obviously not

possible, since another complementizer is merged in Force.

If this is on the right track, we expect that in corresponding interrogative clauses it would be the lower interrogative particle that would introduce embedded clauses without topics. However, it is not, as can be seen in (30).

(30) *Que 'm demandi* [*se drom   lo   gat*].
     DECL me ask   **if** sleeps the cat
     'I wonder if the cat sleeps.'

Following Rizzi (2001), I assume that embedded interrogative clauses have an Int(errogative) projection, which is lower than Force but higher than Fin, and that in Gascon embedded interrogative clauses the Int head is always filled by *se*. Furthermore, I propose that *se* bears the necessary Force feature to check the uninterpretable Force feature on Force, as shown in (31).

(31)

```
   ...        ForceP
            /        \
       Force°        IntP
       [uForce]    /      \
         se      Int°      FinP
                <se>      /     \
               [Force]  Fin°     IP
                         e      /  \
                      [Force]  drom lo gat
                      [ClauseType]
```
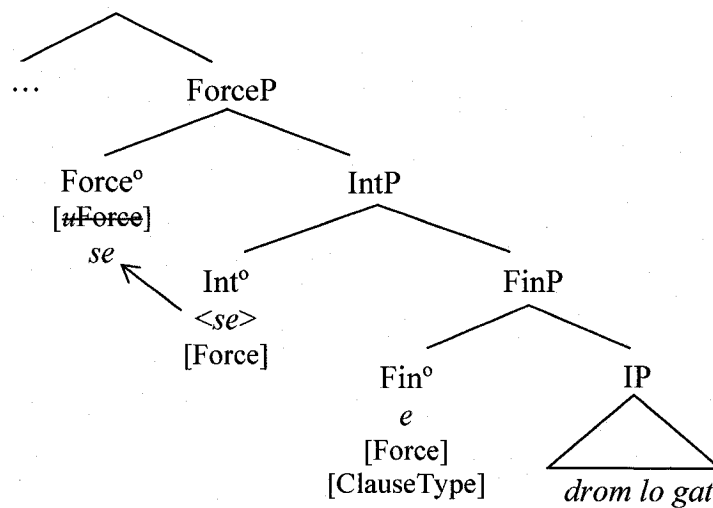
Here it is *se*, not *e*, that raises to Force, given the Minimal Link Condition, defined in (32).

(32) **Minimal Link Condition** (Chomsky 1995:311)
K attracts α only if there is no β, β closer to K than α, such that K attracts β.

Thus, since both Int and Fin bear the Force feature and Int is closer to Force than Fin, it is Int that is attracted by Force, not Fin.

I assume, then, that in (31) the interrogative particle *e* really is in Fin, and that a phonological rule deletes one of the two /e/'s of the sequence /se+e/.[8] This explains straightforwardly why sequences like (24a), repeated here in (33), are ungrammatical.

(33) **Que   'm demandi* [*se e   drom   lo   gat*].
     DECL   me ask   if Q   sleeps the cat
     'I wonder if the cat sleeps.'

No examples of embedded exclamatives are provided, since the particle *be* never occurs in embedded clauses.

3.2.2 EMBEDDED CLAUSES WITH A TOPIC

In embedded clauses with a topic like the one in (34), the intuition is that the head of the intervening TopP blocks direct movement of the particle *que* from Fin to Force.

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[8] Given sequences like (i), I assume that it is the first /e/ that gets deleted.

(i)   *S'   as   acabat, ...* ([sazakabat]; *[sezakabat])
     if   have:2SG   finished
     'If you are finished, ...'

The particle then stays in a position lower than Force, and the Force head is filled with an independent complementizer *que*. Merging an independent complementizer is the only available option for checking the uninterpretable Force feature. This is illustrated in (35).

(34) *Que soi segur* [*que* LAS ARHAGAS **que** son maduras].
DECL am sure   that the   strawberries DECL are ripe
'I am sure that the strawberries are ripe.'

(35)
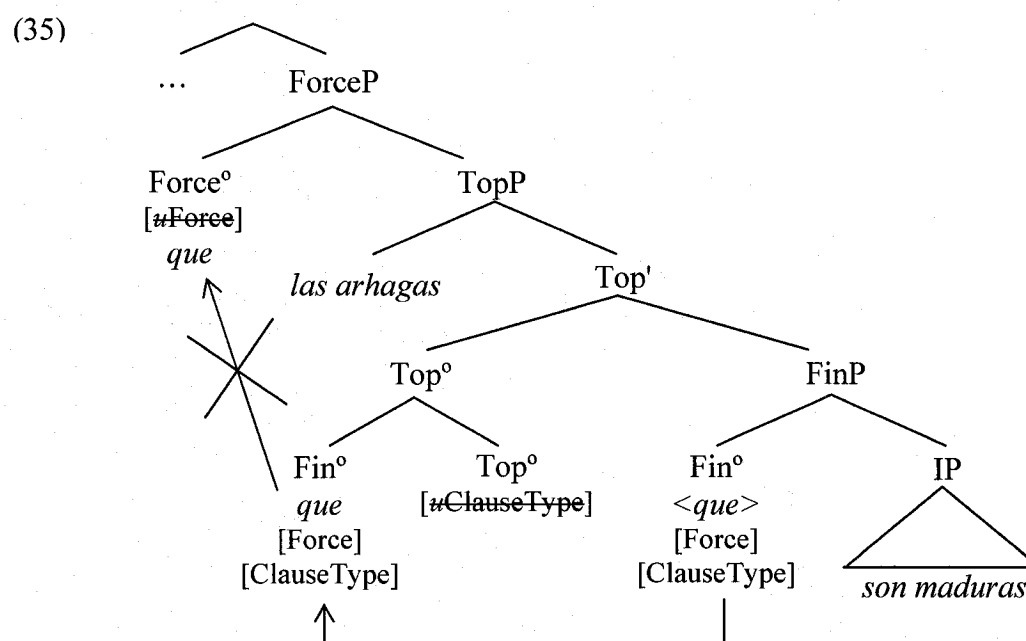
In order to capture the intuition that Top blocks movement of Fin to Force, I propose that Top has the right features to induce a relativized minimality effect, as defined by Rizzi (1990, 2004) and given in (36).

(36) ***Relativized Minimality*** (Rizzi 2004):
[...] local relations [e.g. feature checking] must be satisfied in a minimal configuration [...]
Y is in a Minimal Configuration (MC) with X iff there is no Z such that
(i) Z is of the same structural type as X, and
(ii) Z intervenes between X and Y.

In other words, I propose that Top has an uninterpretable ClauseType feature. This means that the tree in (35) will contain two uninterpretable features: one in Force, and one in Top. The Fin head has the potential of checking both of them, since it contains both an interpretable Force feature and an interpretable ClauseType feature. However, it will check the one on Top because of locality.

Assuming that head movement results in an adjunction configuration as proposed by Chomsky (1995) and as illustrated in (35), Fin is now adjoined to Top, so the Force head can no longer 'see' the features of Fin. Hence, I propose that under head adjunction, the features of the adjunction site, in this case, Top°, are still visible by the higher head, but the features of the adjoined node are not.[9] Therefore, Fin stays in the head of TopP, and an element must be drawn from the numeration to satisfy the strong Force feature on Force.

Let us now move to embedded interrogative clauses with a topic. An example of such a clause is given in (37). Here again, as shown in (38), I propose that the Fin head moves to Top to check the uninterpretable ClauseType feature on Top just as in embedded declarative clauses with a Top. Crucially, I assume that Top is lower than Int. The Fin head containing the particle *e* is now adjoined to Top and thus not visible by

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[9] In the case of I to C movement, for instance, the features on I are still visible after adjunction of another head like *v* or Aux, since I is the adjunction site.

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Force. Instead, an independent lexical head, *se*, will check the strong uninterpretable Force feature on Force. Unlike in embedded declaratives, where an independent complementizer is merged directly in Force, in interrogative clauses I propose that the strong feature on Force is checked by *se*, which is merged in a lower position, in Int, and then raises to Force.

(37) *Que   'm demandi* [*se lo   gat e drom*].
     DECL me ask   if the cat Q sleeps
     'I wonder if the cat sleeps.'

(38)

```
...         ForceP
         ┌────┴─────┐
      Force°       IntP
      [uForce]   ┌──┴────┐
       se ↖   Int°      TopP
          <se>       ┌───┴────┐
          [Force]  lo gat    Top'
                        ┌──────┴───────┐
                      Top°            FinP
                   ┌───┴────┐      ┌───┴───┐
                 Fin°      Top°   Fin°     IP
                  e    [uClauseType] <e>   △
               [Force]            [Force]  drom
             [ClauseType]       [ClauseType]
                  ↑_____|
```
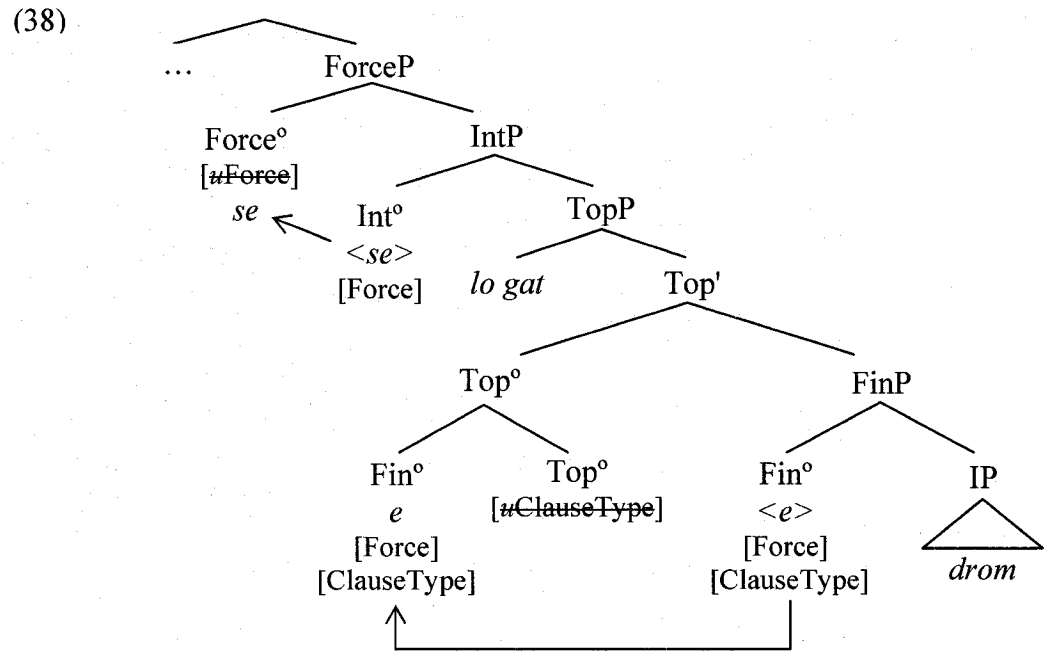
To sum up: The presence of Top blocks movement of the enunciative particle to Force. Blocking occurs because Top induces a relativized minimality effect and because of the adjunction created by head movement.

Now we still have to account for the ungrammaticality of sentences like (39), that

are introduced by a complementizer, but where no topic is present.

(39) *Que convienem   [que **que**   m' apèras].
     DECL agree:1PL   that **DECL**   me call:2SG
     'We agree that you call me.'

In order to account for (39), I am assuming a preference for Move over Merge,

following Richards (2002). Once we reach the point in the derivation where the Force head

is merged, we have a choice: Move or Merge. Assuming a preference of Move over Merge

means that in the tree in (40) Fin will raise to Force in order to check the strong

uninterpretable Force feature, instead of an element being merged in Force. This explains

why the sequence *que que* in (39) is ungrammatical, since the derivation in (40) rather

yields the sentence in (41).

(40)
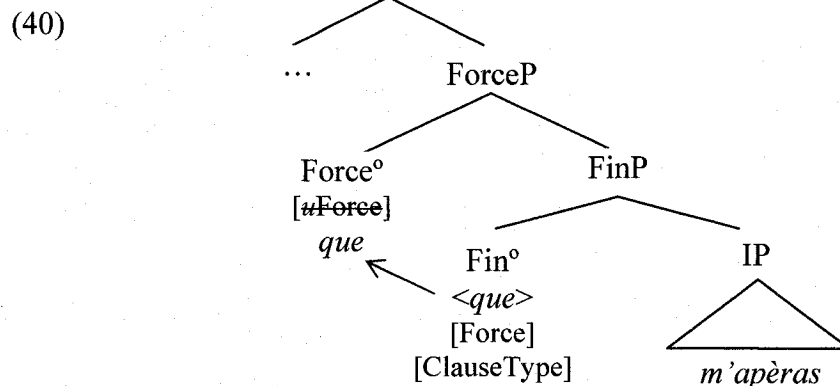
(41) *Que convienem   [que m' apèras].*
     DECL agree:1PL   DECL me call:2SG
     'We agree that you call me.'

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To sum up: In embedded clauses, the declarative particle must co-occur with a complementizer and with a topic, unless it can move to Force. Whenever movement can take place, it will, and the strong Force feature on Force will be satisfied. Only when a topic is present, since, as we have seen, the Top head blocks movement, will an independent complementizer, *que*, show up in the Force head of embedded declarative clauses. In embedded interrogative clauses, it is always the complementizer *se*, which merges in the Int head, that checks the uninterpretable Force feature on Force.

However, there are two potential problems with this analysis. The first case is the one given in (42a). (42a) seems to be problematic in that it apparently lacks a complementizer, in spite of the uninterpretable Force feature we posited in Force. Remember however that Gascon has two *que*'s: a complementizer and a particle. In principle, the *que* in (42a) could be either the declarative particle or the complementizer. However, sentences like (42b) indicate that we are not dealing with a particle, but with a complementizer (what shows up is *se* and not *e*).

(42) a. *Que soi segur* [LAS ARHAGAS   *que son maduras*].
      DECL am sure   the strawberries DECL are ripe
      'I am sure the strawberries are ripe.'

   b. *Que vau véder* [LAS ARHAGAS   *se son maduras*].
      DECL go:1SG see   the strawberries if are ripe
      'I am going to see if the strawberries are ripe.'

In the case of the sentences in (42), I propose that the topic position is not the same as the one illustrated in (35) and (38), but a different one. The topic in these cases is in Spec of ForceP. This is illustrated in (43) for (42a).

(43)

```
        ╱‾‾‾‾╲
      ...      ForceP
              ╱‾‾‾‾╲
       las arhagas    Force'
                     ╱‾‾‾‾╲
                  Force°        FinP
                  [uForce]     ╱‾‾‾╲
                    que      Fin°      IP
                          ↖  <que>    ╱‾╲
                             [Force]  son maduras
                             [Clause
                             Type]
```
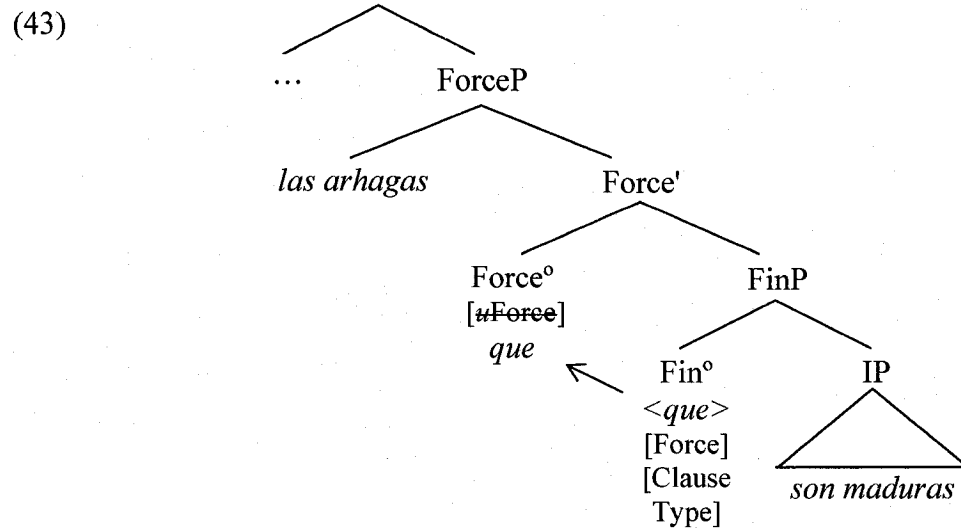
Since, in (43), the topic is in the head of ForceP, nothing intervenes between Force and Fin, and therefore Fin can raise to Force to check the strong uninterpretable Force feature on Force. This correctly yields the sentence in (42a).

The complementizer *se* in (42b), just like we have seen before, is generated in Int, and raises to Force to check the strong uninterpretable Force feature on Force. (42b) is illustrated in (44).

(44)

```
              ...        ForceP
                        /      \
              las arhagas      Force'
                              /      \
                        Force°        IntP
                        [uForce]     /    \
                        se      Int°      FinP
                               <se>      /    \
                               [Force]  Fin°   IP
                                        e      /\
                                     [Force]  son maduras
                                     [Clause
                                      Type]
```

The tree in (44) shows that the Int head raises to Force to check the uninterpretable Force feature and that, therefore, the interrogative particle *e* is not pronounced since the phonological rule deletes it.

Positing two topic positions for Gascon is not without parallel; as seen in chapter 1, examples with more than one topic position can be found in Rizzi (1997). Some sort of confirmation for proposing that this topic is higher than the topic in (35) and (38) comes from the fact that sequences like (45) are ungrammatical.

(45) *Que vau*   *véder*   [*LAS ARHAGAS*   *e*   *son*   *maduras*].
     DECL go-1SG   see   the   strawberries Q   are   ripe
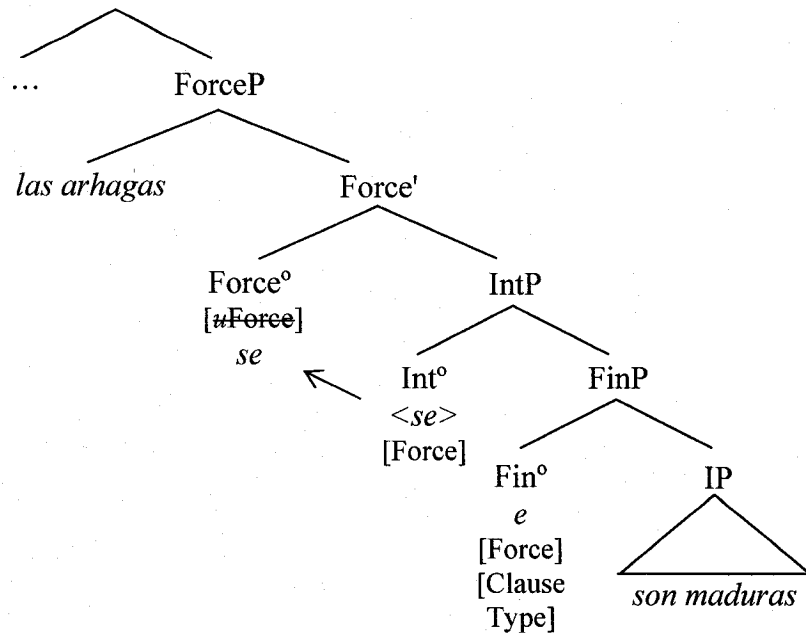   'I am going to see if the strawberries are ripe.'

Thus, if the topic in (42a) were the same as the one in (35) or (38), and the *que* were actually an enunciative particle, there is no reason why (45) would be

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ungrammatical, since both sentences would have the same structure, that is, an

enunciative particle in Fin, which would raise to Top, and therefore become invisible to

Force, and thus both sentences would be missing a complementizer.

The second apparent problem that I will discuss is illustrated in (46), where there

seem to be a complementizer and a topic, but no particle. These examples are problematic

because the ClauseType feature on Top seems to remain unchecked in the absence of an

enunciative particle.

(46) a. *Que soi segur [que las arhagas   son maduras]*.
      DECL am sure   that the   strawberries are ripe
      'I am sure the strawberries are ripe.'
   b. *?Que 'm demandi [se lo gat drom]*.
      DECL me ask   if the cat sleeps
      'I wonder if the cat sleeps.'

However, the preverbal position of the subject does not necessarily coincide with

the Top position. It could in principle be Spec of TP. In fact, I propose that it is. Example

(46a) is illustrated in (47).

(47)

las arhagas son maduras

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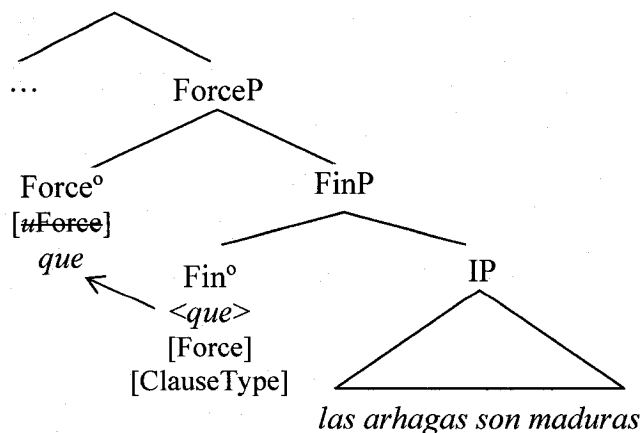
In (47), we see that the enunciative particle *que*, in Fin, can raise to Force to check the strong uninterpretable Force feature, since there is no intervening topic, the subject remaining in the IP domain (which I have simplified in this tree).

An indication that this proposal is on the right track comes from the fact that only subjects can occur in a context like (46). A Top position should be able to accommodate any type of constituent (subject, object, adjunct). However, (48a) shows that a topicalized indirect object, *aus mainatges*, in the same position leads to ungrammaticality. But, it can, like in (48b), occupy the same position as the subject does in (34), repeated here in (48c), that is, a Top position.

(48) a. *Que pensi [*qu'* AUS   MAINATGES,   *va*   *parlar Maria*].[10]
         DECL think   that to.the children   will   talk   Mary
         'I think that, to the children, Mary will talk.'

    b. *Que   pensi* [*qu'* AUS   MAINATGES, **que** *va*   *parlar Maria*].
         DECL think   that to.the children   DECL will   talk   Mary
         'I think that, to the children, Mary will talk.'

    c. *Que   soi segur* [*que* LAS   ARHAGAS   **que**   *son   maduras*].
         DECL am sure   that the   strawberries DECL   are   ripe
         'I am sure that the strawberries are ripe.'

To sum up: The presence of Top blocks movement of the enunciative particle from Fin to Force. In embedded declarative clauses, the particle *que* must co-occur with a complementizer and with a topic, unless it can move to Force. In embedded interrogative clauses, it is always the complementizer *se* that checks the strong Force feature on Force. Whenever movement can take place, it will, and that Force feature will be satisfied.

---

[10] For some speakers it is a question mark instead of a star, but even those speakers get a contrast between the version with *que* and the version without *que*.

3.3 DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGATIVE MARKER

Let us now see what happens in negative clauses. Negation does not mark a type of clause; rather, it brings a distinction on top of clause type, but it interacts with clause type particles in an interesting way.

(49a) is an example of a negative declarative matrix clause, and we see that the particle *que* does not show up. Not only is the enunciative particle not required in negative clauses like (49a), but its presence leads to ungrammaticality, as we can see in (49b) to (49d).

(49) a. *Maria* **ne** *l' a pas legut. (lo libe)*
      Mary   NEG it has NEG read   (the book)
      'Mary has not read it.'

    b. **Maria* **que** **ne** *l' a pas legut.*
       Mary DECL NEG it has NEG read
       'Mary has not read it.'

    c. **Maria* **ne** **que** *l' a pas legut.*
       Mary NEG DECL it has NEG read
       'Mary has not read it.'

    d. **Maria* **e** **ne** *l' a pas legut?*
       Mary Q NEG it has NEG read
       'Has Mary not read it?'

The fact that the negative particle *ne* cannot co-occur with an enunciative particle indicates that those particles may occupy the same syntactic position, as in (50).

(50) [$_{CP}$ ... *que / e / be / ne* [$_{IP}$ clitic + verb ...]]

Similarly, in embedded clauses, the enunciative particles do not surface under negation, as illustrated in (51). This indicates that *ne, que* and *e* occupy the same syntactic position.

(51) a. **Que 'm demandi* [*se* LO GAT *e* **ne** *drom pas*].
   DECL 1SG ask   if the cat **Q** **NEG** sleeps NEG
   'I wonder if the cat doesn't sleep.'

  b. *Que 'm demandi* [*se* LO GAT **ne** *drom pas*].
   DECL 1SG ask   if the cat **NEG** sleeps NEG
   'I wonder if the cat doesn't sleep.'

  c. **Que soi segur* [*que* LAS ARHAGAS   **que ne** *son pas maduras*].
   DECL am sure   that the strawberries **DECL NEG** are NEG ripe
   'I am sure that the strawberries are not ripe.'

  d. *Que soi segur* [*que* LAS ARHAGAS   **ne** *son pas maduras*].
   DECL am sure   that the strawberries **NEG** are NEG ripe
   'I am sure that the strawberries are not ripe.'

Examples (51a) and (51b) show that the presence of the enunciative particle *e* leads to ungrammaticality, which we expected since the enunciative particles and the negative marker are mutually exclusive. Note that (51a) would also be ungrammatical if the enunciative particle were after the negative marker *ne*. (51c) and (51d) show that the presence of the particle *que* also leads to ungrammaticality.

However, the marker *ne* seems to have a different syntactic behaviour than *que* and *e*; in particular, *ne* is not dependent on the presence of a topic in embedded clauses, as we can see in (52).

(52) a. *_Que soi segur_ [_que **que**   son   maduras las arhagas_].
      DECL am sure   that **DECL** are   ripe   the strawberries
      'I am sure that the strawberries are ripe.'

   b. _Que   soi segur_ [_que **ne**   son   pas   maduras las arhagas_].
      DECL am sure   that **NEG** are   NEG   ripe   the strawberries
      'I am sure that the strawberries are not ripe.'

This creates a problem: Although the enunciative particles and the negative marker are mutually exclusive, the negative marker can appear without a topic, as in (52b), while the enunciative particle _que_ cannot, as we see in (52a). This means that if the enunciative particles and the negative marker compete for the same syntactic position, their syntactic behaviour must differ in some way so that the grammar generates (52b) but not (52a).

Notice that nothing tells us that the _que_ which is present in (52b) is a complementizer and not an enunciative particle. However, comparing (52b) with (52a) gives us the intuition that it is indeed a complementizer. I will show that it is the case.
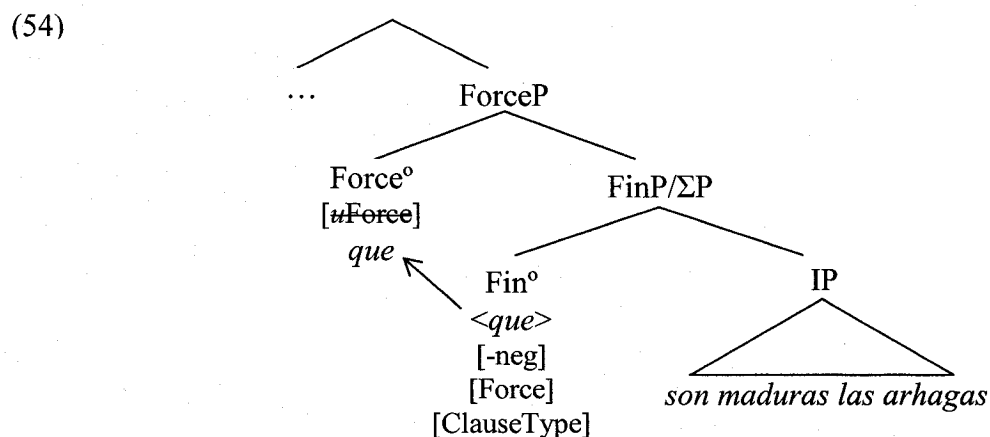
To sum up: In (52b), the negative marker _ne_ is between the complementizer _que_ and the verb _son_, and the sentence is grammatical. In (52a), the enunciative particle _que_ is also between the complementizer _que_ and the verb _son_, and the sentence is ungrammatical. In the next section I will give an account of this asymmetry.

3.4 INTERACTION OF THE PARTICLES WITH NEGATION

In order to solve the "Negation" puzzle, I propose that the Fin head has Polarity features in addition to clause type features.[11] In other words, I propose that it plays the role of a Σ (Polarity) projection, along the lines defined by Laka (1994) and sketched in chapter 1. Moreover, I propose that the enunciative particle *que* marks affirmative in addition to marking declarative clauses. That is, it has a Polarity feature set as [–neg].

In the tree in (54), which illustrates example (53), we see that the enunciative particle *que* moves to Force. Since it bears the interpretable Force feature, it checks the strong uninterpretable Force feature on Force.

(53) *Que soi segur [que son maduras las arhagas].*
     DECL am sure   that are   ripe   the strawberries
     'I am sure that the strawberries are ripe.'

(54)

```
                        ╱╲
                    ╱         ╲
                  ···        ForceP
                             ╱    ╲
                       Force°      FinP/ΣP
                       [uForce]    ╱    ╲
                        que ╲     ╱         ╲
                             ╲  Fin°          IP
                              ╲ <que>        ╱╲
                                [–neg]      ╱    ╲
                                [Force]   son maduras las arhagas
                                [ClauseType]
```
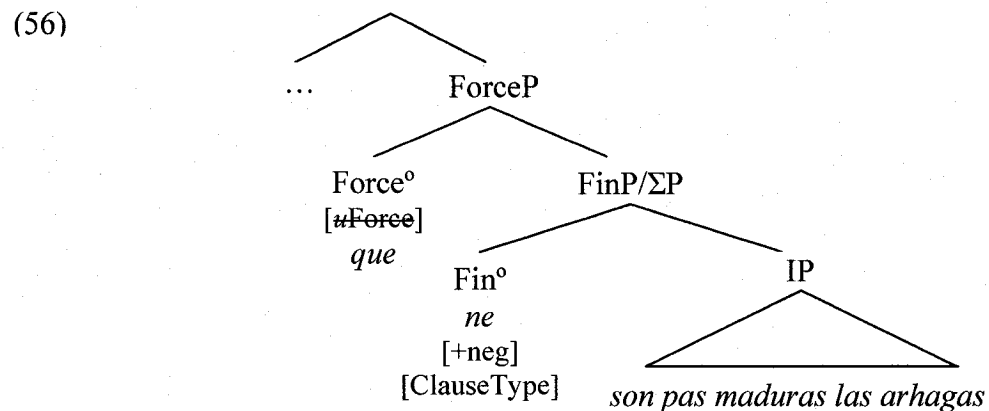
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[11] Note that positing a Polarity feature on Fin makes sense, since all the lexical items that show up in Fin can reasonably be assumed to have a Polarity feature (*que*: [–neg]; *e*: [+neg]; *ne*: [+neg]; *be*: [–neg]).

To account for the asymmetry shown in (52a) and (52b), I propose that *ne* does not have an interpretable Force feature, and therefore cannot raise to Force, while *que*, as we just saw, has such a feature.

Example (55) is illustrated in (56). We see that *ne*, in the head of Fin, has its Polarity feature set as [+neg]. Force has to check its strong uninterpretable Force feature, but since *ne* does not bear an interpretable Force feature, it cannot move to Force. Therefore, the complementizer *que* merges in Force to check the strong Force feature required by the higher embedding head.

(55) *Que soi segur* [*que **ne** son pas maduras las arhagas*].
     DECL am sure   that **NEG** are   NEG ripe   the strawberries
     'I am sure that the strawberries are not ripe.'

(56)

```
                          /\
                   /            \
          ...              ForceP
                        /        \
                  /                \
           Force°              FinP/ΣP
           [uForce]          /        \
             que      /                  \
                   Fin°                     IP
                    ne                    /    \
                  [+neg]              /          \
               [ClauseType]    son pas maduras las arhagas
```

Thus, we have seen that, although they compete for the same syntactic position, namely the head of the FinP/ΣP projection, *que* and *ne* have a different syntactic behaviour because they have different inherent features: *que* bears an interpretable Force feature, while *ne* does not.

In this chapter I have provided a syntactic analysis of Gascon clause type particles. I have shown that those particles are in the left periphery and that they interact with Force, Top and Neg. In particular, there is a peculiar dependency of the particles to Top and Force in embedded clauses: The particles can only be pronounced in Fin if Top and Force are overt. To account for the interaction between clause type particles and Force and Top, I proposed that the Top head has blocking effects because it has the relevant feature to attract the Fin head and that the adjunction configuration created by head movement prevents Fin from further raising to Force.

To account for the interaction of the particles with negation, I proposed that the negative marker and the enunciative particles occupy the same syntactic position, but have a different syntactic behaviour because they have different inherent features.

CHAPTER 4

THE SYNTAX OF THE INNU
INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE *Â*

In this chapter, I present a highly tentative analysis of the Innu interrogative

particle *â*. As I mentioned in chapter 1, I have begun collecting data and working on that

language only recently, and therefore I am basically indicating here the lines of further

research.

I will begin this chapter with the distribution of the interrogative particle; then I

will show how this particle seems to interact with Top and with Neg.

4.1 DISTRIBUTION OF THE PARTICLE

In Innu, yes/no interrogative main clauses are marked by the interrogative particle

â. Examples are given in (57).

(57) a. *wâpam – eu*   *â*   *chwân atim?*
     see:TR.A– 3P.OBJ;3SG.SBJ   Q   John   dog
     'Does John see the dog?'

   b. *nipâ – u*   *â*   *chwân?*
     sleep – 3SG   Q   John
     'Is John sleeping?'

   c. *chi – chî – ayimihtâ*   *– n*   *â*   *ni*   *– masinahîkan?*
     2P   – PST– read:3SG.I.OBJ – 2SG.SBJ   Q   1SG – book
     'Did you read my book?'

In (57a), the interrogative particle *â* follows the verb, *wâpameu* ('see'), and pre-

cedes the subject, *chwân*. In (57b), it also follows the verb, *nipâu* ('sleep'), and precedes

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the subject, *chwân*. In (57c), where there is no lexical subject, but the second person prefix, *chi*, the interrogative marker still follows the verb, *ayimihtân* ('read'), and it precedes the object, *nimasinahîkan* ('my book').

However, when there is an adverb like *shash* ('already') that precedes the verb, that adverb is followed by the interrogative marker *â*. The interrogative marker then does not follow the verb anymore, but precedes it. Examples are given in (58).

(58) a. *shash   â   nipâ – u   chwân?*
       already Q   sleep – 3SG John
       'Is John already sleeping?'

    b. *shash   â chi – chî – ayimihtâ   – n   ni   – masinahîkan?*
       already Q 2P – PST – read:3SG.I.OBJ – 2SG.SBJ 1SG – book
       'Did you already read my book?'

    c. **shash chi – chî – ayimihtâ   – n   â   ni   – masinahîkan?*
       already 2P   – PST – read:3SG.I.OBJ – 2SG.SBJ Q   1SG – book
       'Did you already read my book?'

Sentence (58a) is just sentence (57b), to which the adverb *shash* ('already') was added; the particle *â* follows that adverb and precedes the verb it was following in (57b). Similarly, (58b) is (57c) to which the adverb *shash* was added and, again, the interrogative marker immediately follows the sentence-initial adverb *shash*. Example (58c) shows that the particle *â* cannot follow the verb if there is a sentence-initial adverb.

Unlike Gascon *e*, Innu *â* does not occur in embedded clauses, as shown in (59).

(59) a. *chi – chisch – ey   – iht   – en   â [Meri e   sâch –*
 2P – know – think – 3SG.I.OBJ– 2SG.SBJ Q Mary PRS.SBJV love –
 ihâ   – kw   – e chwân]?
 3SG.A.OBJ – 3SG.SBJ – if John
 'Do you know if Mary loves John?'

 b. **chi – chisch – ey   – iht   – en   â [Meri â   e*
 2P – know   – think – 3SG.I.OBJ– 2SG.SBJ Q Mary Q PRS.SBJV
 sâch – ihâ   – kw   – e chwân]?
 love – 3SG.A.OBJ – 3SG.SBJ – if John
 'Do you know if Mary loves John?'

In (59a), we see the interrogative marker in the main clause following the verb, but not in the embedded clause. (59b) shows that the presence of *â* in embedded clauses leads to ungrammaticality.

Note that in the embedded interrogative clause in (59a) the verb does not precede the subject as it is the case in main interrogative clauses. And examples in (60) show that, in Innu, the canonical constituent order is SVO.

(60) a. *anhe nâpeu wâpam – eu   an – yû iskeu*
 that man   see:TR.A – 3P.OBJ;3SG.SBJ that – OBV woman
 'The man sees the woman.'

 b. **wâpam – eu   anhe nâpeu an – yû iskeu*
 see:TR.A – 3P.OBJ;3SG.SBJ that man   that – OBV woman
 'The man sees the woman.'

In (60a), we see the normal constituent order for Innu declarative clauses, SVO; (60b) shows that the order VSO, found in main interrogatives clauses so far, is ungrammatical in declarative clauses.

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4.2 INTERACTION OF THE PARTICLE WITH TOPIC

Examples in (57) and (58) seem to show that the interrogative marker in Innu must occupy the second position of the clause. A similar observation has already been made, for another dialect of Innu, by Clarke (1982), who states that *â* is "normally affixed to the first word of the sentence".

As can be seen in Hale (1996), second-position clitics are found that follow the first *constituent* of the clause, others, that follow the first *word*. In the first case, Hale proposes that the first constituent is a topicalized constituent; in the second case, he argues that the clitic undergoes a prosodic "flip" with the first word of the clause.
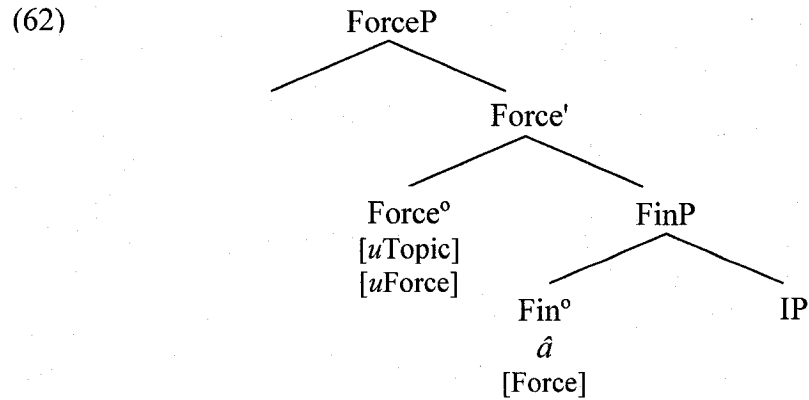
In the case of the dialect I am looking at, examples like the ones in (61) seem to show that the first position in Innu interrogatives is a constituent instead of a word.

(61) a. *chî – michisû kaye chî – minihkweu â?*
      PST – eat:3SG and PST – drink:3SG Q
      'Did he eat and drink?'

   b. *chî – michisû kaye chî – minihkweu â chwân?*
      PST – eat:3SG and PST – drink:3SG Q John
      'Did John eat and drink?'

In (61), we see that the particle *â* follows the two conjoined verbs, not just the first one.

How can the behaviour of the particle *â* be accounted for? One possibility, in the spirit of Hale's analysis of clitics following the first constituent of the clause, would be that in Innu interrogative clauses the presence of a topic is obligatory. In order for the Force head to check its uninterpretable Force feature with the interpretable Force feature

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in Fin, where the interrogative particle *â* sits, I would suggest that this obligatory topic is in Force. This is sketched in (62).

(62)
```
                    ForceP
                   /      \
                         Force'
                        /      \
                   Force°       FinP
                  [uTopic]     /    \
                  [uForce]  Fin°     IP
                             â
                          [Force]
```

To account for the VSO order in Innu interrogative main clauses, I would assume that the verb raises to Fin. Then Fin must raise to Force to check the uninterpretable Force feature. There is, however, a problem with this analysis: although it accounts for cases where an adverb occupies the first position of the clause (assuming that the order [particle + verb] is obtained somehow), when the first position is occupied by the verb, the uninterpretable Topic feature on Force seems to remain unchecked. Hence, although the verb might be endowed with a Topic feature, it is "hidden" in the adjunction configuration, since it has undergone movement, and therefore cannot check the uninterpretable Topic feature on Force.

So it could be that the topic is not obligatory. Then, the analysis I just sketched would account straightforwardly for cases where the verb is in first position. A topic in

the Spec of Force would be possible, though, and Fin head would then be rearranged for some reason that still needs to be determined.

4.3 INTERACTION OF THE PARTICLE WITH NEGATION

Interestingly, unlike Gascon's interrogative marker *e*, Innu's interrogative marker *â* **does** co-occur with the negative marker *namui* to form negative interrogatives. Examples are given in (63).

(63) a. ***namui â nipâ – u   chwân?***
      NEG   Q   sleep – 3SG John
      'Isn't John sleeping?'

    b. ***namui â chi– chî – ayimiht***   ***– ân***   ***ni***   ***– masinahîkan?***
      NEG   Q 2P – PST – read:3SG.I.OBJ – 2SG.SBJ 1SG   – book
      'Didn't you read my book?'

    c. ***namui â eskw   nipâ – u   chwân?***
      NEG   Q yet   sleep – 3SG John
      'Isn't John sleeping yet?'

In (63), the interrogative marker *â* now follows the negative marker *namui*, thus still appearing in second position.

I propose that *namui*, unlike *ne* in Gascon (and perhaps like *pas* in Quebec French – see chapter 5) is a specifier, not a head. I suggest that it is generated in a lower NegP and that it is always topicalized in the Spec of Force.

CHAPTER 5

THE SYNTAX OF THE QUEBEC FRENCH
INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE *TU*

Vinet (2001) proposes an analysis where *tu* occupies the head of a projection of the left periphery, OperatorP. In this chapter, I present a tentative analysis of the interrogative particle *tu* in Quebec French which also places *tu* in the left periphery, along the lines of the analysis that I proposed for Gascon. I will present the distribution of the particle, then I will give a summary account of this distribution. Finally, I will show how the particle interacts with Neg.

5.1 DISTRIBUTION OF THE PARTICLE

In Quebec French, yes/no interrogative main clauses are marked by the interrogative particle *tu*. An example is given in (64).

> (64) *Marie elle vient -tu au   cinéma?*
>   Mary   she   comes Q to.the movies
>   'Is Mary coming to the movies?'

As we can see in (64), the Quebec French interrogative particle *tu* is post-verbal, while, as we saw in chapter 3, the Gascon interrogative particle *e* is pre-verbal. More precisely, *tu* occurs after the finite verb, but before any non-finite one, as shown in (65).

> (65) *Marie elle a   -tu   appelé?*
>   Mary   she   has   Q   called
>   'Did Mary call?'

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In (65), the interrogative particle follows the auxiliary *a*, but precedes the past participle *appelé*.

While Gascon's clause type particles are present in both main and embedded clauses, Quebec French *tu* is only used in main clauses, as shown in (66).

(66) a. *Je sais   pas   [si   Marie elle   va   venir].*
        I know NEG if   Mary she   will   come
        'I don't know if Mary will come.'

    b. **Je   sais   pas   [si   Marie elle   va   -tu venir].*
        I   know NEG if   Mary she   will   Q come
        'I don't know if Mary will come.'

    c. *Ne   sèi   pas   [se Maria e   va   viéner].*   (Gascon)
        NEG know NEG if   Mary   Q   will   come
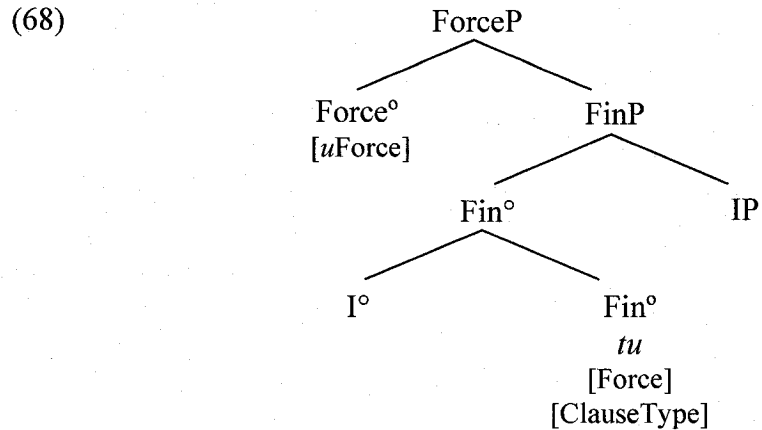   'I don't know if Mary will come.'

Examples (66a) and (66b) show that the presence of the interrogative marker in a subordinate clause is ungrammatical in Quebec French, whereas in (66c) the Gascon interrogative particle *e* is present in the embedded clause and the sentence is grammatical.

5.2 PRE-VERBAL VS. POST-VERBAL INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES

At first glance, the distribution of the Gascon interrogative particle *e* and the Quebec French interrogative particle *tu* seems to suggest that these two particles occupy different syntactic positions, since *e* is pre-verbal and *tu* is post-verbal. Examples are given in (67).

(67) a. *Maria   e   parla   gascon?*   (Gascon)
      Mary   Q   speaks   Gascon
      'Does Mary speak Gascon?'

     b. *Marie   elle   parle   -tu   gascon?*   (Quebec French)
       Mary   she   speaks Q   Gascon
       'Does Mary speak Gascon?'

I propose that this difference is rather due to verb movement to the left periphery, which takes place in Quebec French but not in Gascon, and that the particle *tu*, just like Gascon *e*, is merged in Fin. This is shown in (68).

(68)

ForceP

Force° [*u*Force]   FinP

       Fin°   IP

     I°   Fin°
          tu
         [Force]
        [ClauseType]

Eventually, Fin moves to Force to check the uninterpretable Force feature. To account for the fact that the subject is preverbal, I suggest that the subject is topicalized in the Spec of Force.

5.3 INTERACTION OF THE PARTICLE WITH NEGATION

Like Gascon *e*, Quebec French *tu* interacts with negation. However, while Gascon

has a pre-verbal negative marker, Quebec French has only a post-verbal one. Examples

are given in (69). As can be seen, the distribution of the negative marker *pas* seems to

parallel that of the interrogative particle *tu*.

(69) a. *Marie   elle   vient   **pas**   au   cinéma.*
        Mary   she   comes   NEG   to.the   movies
        'Mary is not coming to the movies.'

    b. *Marie   elle   a   **pas**   appelé.*
       Mary   she   has   NEG   called
       'Mary has not called.'

In (69a), we see that the negative marker *pas* appears after the finite verb *vient*,

like the interrogative particle *tu* in (64). In (69b), the negative marker follows the

auxiliary, *a*, but precedes the past participle, *appelé*, just as did *tu* in (65).

In Quebec French, as in Gascon, the negative marker can never co-occur with the

interrogative marker to form negative interrogatives.[12] This is shown in (70).

---

[12] Note that in Quebec French there are actually cases where the negative marker co-occurs with the interrogative marker, as in (i).

(i)   *Pis   là,*   *je   le   vois   **tu**   **pas**   arriver.*
       and at.that.moment I   him see   ***tu*** **not** arrive
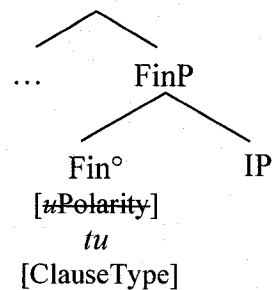   'At that moment, surprisingly, I see him arrive.'

Thus, the sentence in (i) has both the interrogative marker, *tu*, and the negative marker, *pas*. Interestingly enough, though, this does not express an interrogation *nor* does it have negative interpretation at all. Co-occurrence of *tu* and *pas* as in (i) rather expresses surprise, as noted by Vinet (2001).

(70) a. *Jean il   est -tu   pas   venu   hier?
        John he   is   INT   NEG come yesterday
        'Didn't John come yesterday?'

   b. *Joan e   n'   ei   pas   viengut   ier?   (Gascon)
        John INT NEG is   NEG come   yesterday
        'Didn't John come yesterday?'

To account for the fact that *tu* and *pas* are mutually exclusive in Quebec French, I

suggest, in keeping with the analysis I proposed for Gascon, that both *tu* and *pas* check

the Polarity feature on Fin, *tu* being generated in the Fin head and *pas* moving to the Spec

of Fin, as shown in (71).

(71)   a. **Interrogative Clause**   b. **Negative Clause**
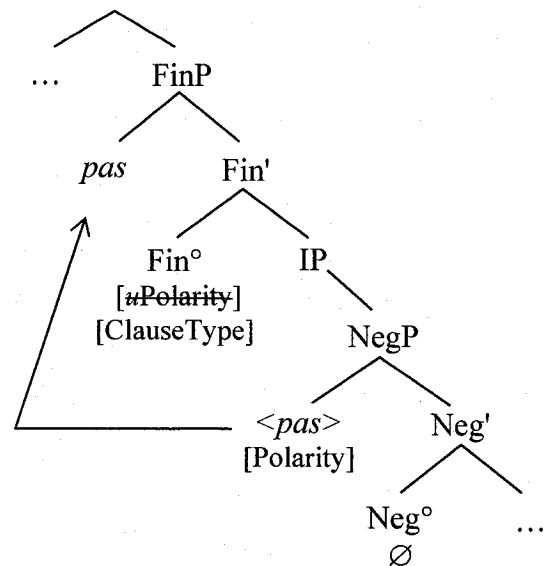
Since Quebec French, unlike Gascon and Standard French, does not have a pre-

verbal negative marker, *pas* could also have been reinterpreted as the head of NegP.

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Then, the pre-verbal negative marker *ne* of Gascon, which, as we saw in chapter 3, shows up in Fin at some point of the derivation, would actually merge in Neg as French *ne* does according to Pollock's (1989) proposal and raise to Fin to check the Polarity feature. This provides additional evidence that *ne* does not raise to Force, given the adjunction configuration it enters in by moving to the Fin head. This is illustrated in (72).

(72) a. **Declarative Affirmative Clause**   b. **Negative Clause**   (Gascon)
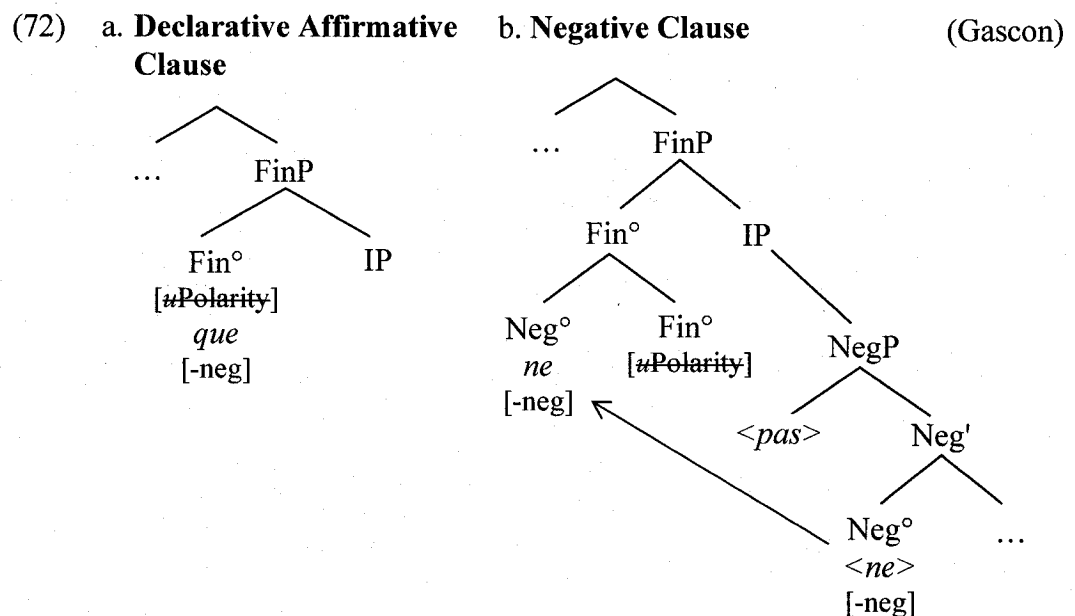
In this chapter, I presented a tentative analysis of the interrogative particle *tu* in Quebec French, along the lines of the analysis that I proposed for Gascon. Of course, this is only a sketch, and many issues still need to be addressed.

CHAPTER 6

FURTHER RESEARCH

In addition to the clause type particles in Gascon, Innu and Quebec French, on which there is still a lot of research to be done, there are certain issues that I would like to investigate. For example, we saw that some languages allow co-occurrence of the interrogative marker and the negative marker, while others do not, and this led me to note an apparent parallel between interrogative and negative markers. Moreover, data from Quebec French show interesting interactions between clause types.

As we saw in chapter 5, the negative marker and the interrogative particle can never co-occur to form negative interrogatives in Quebec French and in Gascon. However, inversion does occur under negation in English and Standard French to form negative interrogatives. Examples are given in (73).

(73) a. *Didn't John come yesterday?*

    b. *Jean **n'** est -il pas venu hier?*   (Standard French)
       John NEG is he NEG come yesterday
       'Didn't John come yesterday?'

    c. **Jean il est -**tu** **pas** venu hier?*   (Quebec French)
       John he is INT NEG come yesterday
       'Didn't John come yesterday?'

    d. **Joan e **n'** ei pas viengut ier?*   (Gascon)
       John INT NEG is NEG come yesterday
       'Didn't John come yesterday?'

One hypothesis to explore would be whether this difference matches a difference in the syntactic status of the negative marker (clitic vs. non-clitic) and/or a difference in the syntactic position of the negative marker and the interrogative marker (pre-verbal vs. post-verbal).

The cross-linguistic variation with respect to interrogative markers suggests a parallel between interrogative and negative markers. Zanuttini (1997) makes a typological distinction between languages whose negative marker is pre-verbal and languages whose negative marker is post-verbal, and notes a variation as to the structural position and syntactic properties of those markers. Although negative markers are not clause type markers, but rather bring a distinction on top of clause type, it will be interesting to see whether there is a similar range of cross-linguistic variation as to the structural position of interrogative markers as was noted by Zanuttini for negative markers.

There are also interesting interactions between clause types in Quebec French. In certain cases, the same clause type marker has two different interpretations or two overlapping interpretations. Examples are given in (74).

(74) a. *Tu   veux -tu   t'   asseoir?*
       2SG want **INT/IMP** yourself sit
       'Do you want to sit down?' / 'Will you sit down?!'

   b. *Il fait -tu   assez   beau?*
       it does **INT/EXCL** enough nice
       'Isn't the weather nice?'

c. *La soupe elle est -tu assez salée à ton goût?*
   the soup 3SG.F is INT/EXCL enough salted to your taste
   'Is there enough salt in the soup, to your taste?' /
   'Is there a lot of salt in that soup, or what!'

In (74a), two interpretations are possible (with intonational differences): interrogative or imperative, but not both at the same time. In (74b), there are also two possible interpretations, but they overlap: (74b) can be interpreted as a question *and* as an exclamation at the same time, as an "exclamative interrogative". (74c) can be interpreted either as a question or as an "exclamative interrogative" (again with intonational differences) like (74b). The question is, then, what makes it possible for some clause types to overlap and not for others. Is this restriction syntactic or semantic? Is it universal?

These are only a few of the fascinating issues related to clause typing that I would like to investigate. Clearly, there is still a lot of work to be done on the subject.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis I have examined the clause type particles in Bearnese Gascon and, more superficially, in Innu and in Quebec French, in an attempt to shed some light on how clause typing is done in human language. Since, as long as we assume that there is a universal grammar, all languages have the same basic underlying structure, studying languages like Gascon, that overtly mark declarative, interrogative and exclamative clauses, gives us insight about languages that do not have overt markers for these types of clause. In other words, each type of clause must be somehow encoded in the grammar of any language, even a language that does not show overt marking.

In the first chapter I presented the three languages under study, Gascon, Innu and Quebec French, and their clause type particles. Then I gave an overview of the theoretical background. I explained the operation of feature checking and the difference between strong and weak features. I also explained the projections of the left periphery according to Rizzi, as well as Laka's Σ (Polarity) projection. Then I reported on the few analyses that were proposed in the generative framework. According to Campos and Field the Gascon particles were located in Infl; Poletto argued that they rather occupied a position in the CP domain. Vinet also placed the Quebec French interrogative particle in the left periphery.

In chapter 2 I presented my data sources in Gascon and Innu, as well as my methodology. I also went over some issues that are essential to keep in mind when doing

fieldwork. It is worth stressing that although generative linguists have to work with data, the object of study is not the data, but the grammar generating the data.

In chapter 3 I provided a syntactic analysis of Gascon clause type particles. I have shown that these particles are obligatory in main clauses, that they precede the [clitic + verb] sequence and follow a topicalized constituent, and that they are mutually exclusive. In embedded clauses, unlike in main clauses, the particles seemed to be spelled out only if the topic was spelled out.

I have argued that the Gascon clause type particles are in the left periphery and that they interact with Force, Top and Neg. My analysis showed that the particles can only be pronounced in Fin if Top and Force are overt. To account for the interaction between clause type particles and Force and Top, I proposed that the Top head has blocking effects because it has the relevant feature to attract the Fin head and thus creates a relativized minimality effect.

Moreover, I proposed that in an adjunction configuration resulting from head movement (as described by Chomsky 1995), the features of the adjoined head cannot be "seen" by the head of the higher projection and therefore cannot check a feature on that head, unlike the features of the adjunction site, which are still visible by the higher head. This is illustrated in (75).

(75)
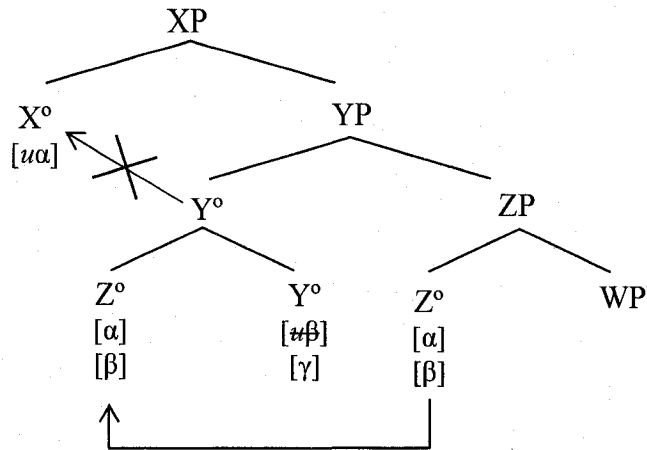
In (75), Z° raises to Y° to check the uninterpretable [β] feature. Z° is therefore adjoined to Y°. X° has an uninterpretable [α] feature that needs to be checked, but although Z° bears that feature, X° cannot "see" Z°, because Z° is adjoined to Y°. The only feature that X° would have access to is the interpretable [γ] feature on Y°.

I then examined the Gascon negative marker and showed that the clause type particles and the negative marker are mutually exclusive. However, the distribution of the negative marker in embedded clauses presented a puzzle: Since the clause type particles never immediately follow a complementizer in Gascon, and since the clause type particles and the negative marker are mutually exclusive, we would expect the restriction to also apply to the negative marker and, therefore, the sentence in (76) to be ungrammatical. However, it is perfectly fine.

(76) *Que soi segur* [*que ne son pas maduras las arhagas*].
DECL am sure   that NEG are NEG ripe   the strawberries
'I am sure that the strawberries are not ripe.'

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To account for the interaction of the particles with negation, I proposed that the negative marker and the enunciative particles occupy the same syntactic position, but have a different syntactic behaviour because they have different inherent features. More specifically, I proposed that while *que* has an interpretable Force feature, *ne* does not have that feature and therefore cannot raise to Force.

In chapter 4 I presented the distribution of the interrogative particle *â* in Innu as well as an attempt at an analysis. In chapter 5 I gave the distribution of the interrogative particle *tu* in Quebec French and presented a tentative analysis along the lines developed in chapter 3 for Gascon.

The topic of clause typing is far from being exhausted, and thus there are plenty of ideas for future research, some of which I presented in chapter 6. I noted an apparent parallel between interrogative and negative markers, suggested by cross-linguistic variation with respect to interrogative markers, and intend to investigate further in order to see whether there is a similar range of cross-linguistic variation as to the structural position of interrogative markers as was noted by Zanuttini for negative markers. In any event, investigating interrogative markers in parallel with negative markers will give us insight as to the features on the functional heads hosting those markers, the interaction between them, as well as the parameters allowing the observed variations.

Moreover, I remarked that the interrogative and negative markers can co-occur in some languages but not in others. I proposed the hypothesis that this difference may have to do with the syntactic status of the negative marker (clitic vs. non-clitic) or with the syntactic position of the negative marker and the interrogative marker (pre-verbal vs. post-verbal).

I also showed that clause types not only interact with negation, but they can also interact with each other. I presented examples in Quebec French where more than one interpretation was possible (i) either interrogative or imperative; (ii) "exclamative interrogative"; (iii) either interrogative or "exclamative interrogative". It will be interesting to see what makes it possible for some clause types to overlap and not for others.

Furthermore, there are other regions of Gascony that are worth investigating, especially those where the use of the enunciative particles is said to be 'optional'. The grammar of a language (the cognitive system) being composed of a lexicon and a computational system (Chomsky 1995), it is unlikely that real optionality could be possible, and therefore something must condition the use vs. non-use of the enunciative particles for the speakers living in those regions.

In the perspective of Universal Grammar, the observable syntactic behaviour of the Gascon clause type particles tells us something about how clause typing is dealt with in human language and what syntactic positions are responsible for it. My future research on clause typing will involve analysing data from other languages, in light of what I learned (and what I still have to learn) from Gascon, Innu and Quebec French.

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