How do you double your C? Evidence from a Gallo-Romance dialect

This paper aims at getting a better insight into the analysis and typology of Double Complementizer Constructions (henceforth DCC), by focusing on a new instance of these structures, found in Ternois, an under-described and endangered Gallo-Romance dialect spoken in Northern France (West of Arras).

• Double Complementizer Constructions.

DCCs correspond to the structure in (2), illustrated for Ternois in (4-8), that may appear when one or more XP stand at the left of a clause that would otherwise have the structure in (1):

(1) that TP (2) that $_1 XP$ that $_2 TP$

DCCs have been studied in a relatively small number of dialects and (non-standard) varieties so far. While the Germanic cases have generally been analyzed in terms of CP-recursion and XP-adjunction (see e.g. McCloskey 2006 for an Irish variety of English), Romance cases have served both as a diagnostic and an exploration tool for the fine tuning of the enriched left peripheral C-domain advocated for by Rizzi (1997), of the general form (3):

(3) [Force P [TopP* [FocP [TopP* [FinP [...TP...]]]]]]

In this perspective, two proposals have been made. Authors working on Western Romance varieties (a.o. Uriagereka 1995 for Galician and neighboring varieties, Mascarenhas 2005 for Portuguese) argue that *que2* heads a Topic projection, which it serves to activate, since it appears only when XP is a fronted topic. For some Italian (Paoli 2007) and in particular some Southern Italian dialects (Ledgeway 2005, D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010), on the other hand, evidence suggests that *que2* is merged in Fin°. We show here how Ternois crucially patterns with the Southern Italian varieties and brings additional evidence to Ledgeway's proposal that in this case *que* then moves up to Force, *que1* and *que2* being the highest and lowest ends of the same chain.

• Ternois: contexts and patterns.

At first sight, Ternois resembles Portuguese in that it does not only display DCC in complement clauses, but in a full range of (embedded) clauses, irrespective of their mood (vs Turinese & Ligurian, Paoli 2007). In fact, DCC's distribution is even wider since most embedded clauses display *que* in that dialect, including *if*- and *when*-clauses (5), clefts (6), relatives (7), embedded interrogatives (8), etc.:

- (4) Rappell'-ti **qu'**(...)ch' l'éclusier, des carpe' et d's inguilles, plein t'n' épuigett' **qu**'i t'in mettra Remember *that* the lock keeper, carps and eels, your net full, *that* he to-you of-them will put
- (5) Et si **qu**'edman **qu'** j'épreuv' seul'mint (...) l'sintimint...(Ecl, 3) And if *that* tomorrow *that* I have only the feeling...
- (6) Ch'est toudis aveucque émotion **qu**'tes incienn's fortifications, **que** j'les ardrèch'... (Rac, 15) It is always with emotion *that* your ancient ramparts *that* I them rebuild...
- (7)Sur chés rimparts, édù **que** ch'l'herp' **qu**'all' poussaut drue (Rac, 30) On these ramparts, where *that* the grass *that* it grew thick
- (8) Il a pu souvint apprécier/ Comint **qu'**à li **qu'**in pouvaut s'fier (Rac, 72) He could often judge how that to him that one could confide

Though for some speakers *que2* is optional, for others it is absolutely systematic, as shown by L. Lemaire's writings, which provided these examples and feature several DCC per page.

Yet, Ternois also differs from Portuguese (and from all the other Iberian varieties) wrt the kind of XPs that can be sandwiched between the two que. As usual, several varieties of topics can show up: scenic adverbials (5), left-dislocated subjects or objects (7, 6), or a combination of them (4). But, in the latter case, no more than two que are required. More crucially yet: XP can also be a Focus, as shown by (8) and by plein t'n' épuigett' in (4). This fact has important consequences.

• Fin° vs Top°. First, the main argument to analyze que2 as a Topic head in the Western Romance varieties is lost for Ternois. Second, the idea that it serves to activate the Topic field cannot been maintained either, since it runs into a series of problems. One may consider that activating the higher Topic projection may activate the lower intermediate projections above Fin, and thus license a Focus position. But this would fail to account for the position of que2 in (4), and for the fact that the order que1-Focus-Topic-que2 is also possible in Ternois. Besides, to account for (8), one would anyway have to admit that in Ternois, que2 can also activate its own FocusP. But this assumption would worsen the point already made by Ledgeway & D'Alessandro (2010): we are left with no explanation why three different yet homophonous instances of que may serve as a complementizer, and a topic and focus licenser. Their proposal for the Southern Italian dialects (that also admit both topics and, to some extent, foci, between the two complementizers) is that que is merged in Fin°, marking the finite property of the clause, then raises to Force° to mark its illocutionary force, probably checking on its way the Topic and Focus items. Under this view, the identity of que1 & que2 in Ternois is captured straightforwardly, as well as the various combinations of foci and topics in-between.

But Ternois also provides an additional argument in favor of this analysis. If *que2* were merged in an information structure position, nothing would prevent it from appearing in infinitive clauses with preposed Topics, contrary to facts. If *que2* is the lower copy of the finite complementizer in Fin°, on the contrary, this fact is correctly predicted. Besides, the non-finite complementizer, *de/ed*, cannot be doubled: this is expected too, if *de* is and stays in Fin°, whether preceded by a Topic or not, as assumed in Rizzi (1997).

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