How do you double your C? Evidence from an Oïl dialect

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1. Introduction

   This paper aims at extending the empirical coverage and typology of *double complementizer constructions*[1] (henceforth DCC), by looking at a dialect, undescribed so far, where they are extensively used. DCC are structures where two instances of a complementizer[2] frame a left-peripheral XP. In (1a), for instance, the argument clause takes the form *that1 XP that2 TP,* where XP stands for the temporal adjunct, while in standard English only the first instance of the complementizer *that* would be present (*that XP _ TP*), as in (1b), where I bold the relevant difference:

(1)   a. It is useful to know **that** once you have mastered the chosen dialect **that** you will be able to pick up a newspaper and read it. (McCloskey 2006:(69d))
       b. It is useful to know **that** once you have mastered the chosen dialect _ you will be able to pick up a newspaper and read it.

   DCC have been identified in various languages, mostly for non-standard varieties (among others: Irish English, medieval and spoken Castillan, Galician, Portuguese, Flemish, Gothic, some medieval or modern Southern Italian dialects, medieval French, Old English) and provide precious material for investigating the cross-linguistic structure of the left-periphery of embedded clauses. Two paths have been more widely explored to account for them. First, Fontana (1993) and McCloskey (2006), for instance, analyze them in terms of CP recursion and XP adjunction; I will not investigate this possibility here. The second kind of analysis has been developed in line with cartographic approaches based on Rizzi 1997. In this framework, the first complementizer, which I call *que1* here, is generally argued to head Rizzi's ForceP or its equivalent in the author's specific terminology, while the second one (*que2*) heads a lower projection in the split-CP domain. Authors differ, however, as to the precise location and role they ascribe to *que2*.[3]

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   [1]The term is borrowed from Wanner (1995).
   [2]In Germanic languages in particular, the projection hosting the lower instance of C has also been argued to be the landing site of (V-to-)T-to-C in embedded V2 contexts. I leave a thorough comparison with these cases for further research, and will focus on cases where a second lexical instance of C is documented.
   [3]For a detailed picture of the different proposals regarding the location of *que2*, see Villa-García 2010.

In this paper, I show that a dialect of Picard, which I will loosely call 'Ternois',[4] exhibits a species of DCC whose properties differ from those documented in most DCC-licensing languages: the data from Ternois are particularly interesting in that they seem to represent one of the most extensive and productive cases of DCC among (European) languages and can thus serve as a testing ground to investigate what DCC can tell us about the left periphery of clauses. In §2, I will concentrate on the kinds of clauses where DCC are found in Ternois and show that they are much less restricted than in most other languages. In §3, I will focus on the kind of XPs that can be placed between the two *que* and reach the same conclusion. In §4, I will show that the data found in Ternois argue against the idea that *que2* is a licensing Topic Head and give additional support to the proposal made by Ledgeway (2005) for some Southern Italian dialects that the second instance of C appears in Fin°.

2. Some properties of DCC in Ternois: contexts

Picard is a (dying?) Oïl language spoken in northern France which displays dialectal variation. Ternois is one of its dialects, spoken between Arras and Saint-Pol-sur-Ternoise (roughly, the light gray circled area in figure 2 below).
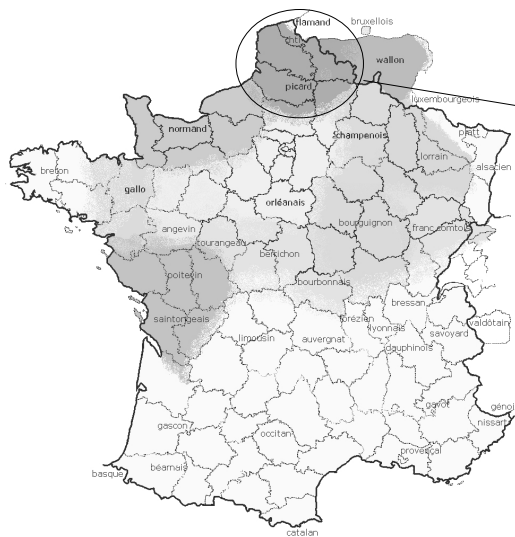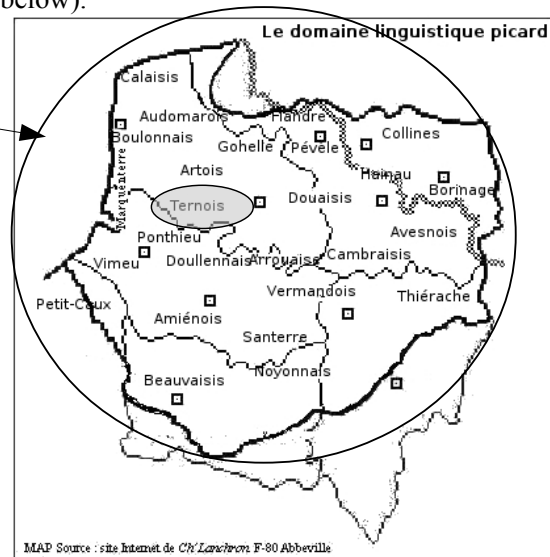

Figure 1: Oïl dialects (apart from French)   Figure 2: Picard dialects

The syntax of Ternois lacks any detailed description thus far (as is the case for the syntax of most Picard dialects). It shares with the Vimeu dialect (cf. Auger 2003) – and most other Picard dialects – at least one property that interferes with DCC: it displays both subject clitic left dislocation and subject doubling of the Friulan type (type 4) in the typology of Poletto (2000). In languages belonging to this type, all instances of subjects (strong pronouns, DPs, quantifiers and variables in relatives) can be doubled. In Ternois, though very frequent, subject doubling is nevertheless not compulsory, except for subject strong pronouns, which are always doubled by clitic. We will consider here that subjects that appear in DCC are clitic-left-dislocated (cf. Dagnac 2011b).

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[4]The data I am considering must be taken with caution, since access to documents in and speakers of these dialects is limited: cross-cutting is still needed to try to define the chronological, geographical, and maybe sociological frontiers of this dialect, for which the name Ternois is just a handy short-cut. Henceforth, it refers to the dialect of this region as written and plausibly spoken between 1900 and 1950.

Converging sources, such as the relevant maps of the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (Edmont & Gilléron 1902-1910) and localized written corpora,[5] show that Ternois displays extensive DCC, or at least did so in the first half of the 20th century. Both writers and informants of the survey spontaneously and consistently produce, in various contexts, structures featuring two instances of *que*. In most languages where DCC have been studied, except maybe some Southern Italian dialects, ancient or modern (Ledgeway 2005 and Ledgeway & d'Alessandro 2010)[6], some restrictions bear on the embedded clauses that may host a doubled C, or on the properties of the XPs that can be placed in-between. In Ternois, none of these restrictions applies: though DCC is to some extent optional, it occurs in all embedded contexts allowing for *que*.

2.1. None of the usual restrictions applies

DCC has been shown to be restricted to a subset of embedded finite clauses in most other languages. None of these restrictions holds for Ternois: any embedded clauses that can be introduced by *que* allows for a second *que* when any XP is placed in its left periphery.[7]

2.1.1. Argument clauses: subjunctive and indicative

In Turinese and Ligurian (Paoli 2007), the availability of DCC depends on the mood of the embedded verb: it must be in the subjunctive mood, and *che2* cannot appear if it is in the present indicative, future, or conditional. (2), corresponding to Paoli's Turinese examples (2a) and (3a), illustrates the contrast between the present indicative (2a) and subjunctive (2b):

(2)　a.　*A　dis **che**　Marìa e Gioann **ch'** a　　**mangio**　nen ëd rane
　　　　 SCL　say that　Mary and John　that SCL　eat.IND　　not of frogs[8]
　　　　 'S/He says that Mary and John do not eat frogs'
　　 b.　I　　veno volonté,　basta mach **che** Gioann **ch**' a　　**staga**　　nen solo
　　　　 SCL　come willingly　as long as　that John　　that SCL　stay. SUBJ not alone
　　　　 'I will come willingly as long as John is not on his own'

In Ternois, this is not the case: DCC appears both in indicative and subjunctive embedded clauses, as illustrated in (3) and (4) respectively:

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[5]Published texts from this area are few. I thoroughly checked the complete (known) works of Léon Lemaire (suburbs of Arras, 1875–1955), who resorts to DCC systematically (87% of the clauses that can display DCC do so), and Edmond Edmont (Saint-Pol, 1849–1926), who does so more optionally (24% of the relevant contexts, with much variation depending on the text) – see appendix. These texts include prose and poetry; in the latter case, the presence of a doubled *que* seldom affects the metrics, which, as in French, is based on a fixed number of syllables: a large number of *que* appear before vowels, where they elide and form a single syllable with the following vowel, or are elided even before a consonant, as (3) shows. Authors from the Ternois region writing in the 1980s–2000s do not resort to DCC, but my informant accepts sentences with DCC as 'natural' or 'current': field work is planned, as well as corpus work on (recent) non-literary texts, to assess to what extent DCC is still productive.

[6]These studies do not explicitly list the contexts in which DCC may occur. Judging from the examples, however, contexts for DCC seem to be rather unconstrained in these dialects, too.

[7]McCloskey (2006) focuses on embedded T-to-C, which, he shows, is only possible in arguments of Question Predicates (versus Resolutive Predicates). In Ternois, where T-to-C is ruled out in WH-questions, the same contexts would yield doubled *que*. Embedded WH-questions are too rare in my corpus for me to make a serious comparison. I leave this point open.

[8]SCL stands for 'Subject Clitic', IND For 'Indicative', SUBJ. for 'Subjunctive', ∅ for an exceptionally missing item.

(3)   […] argretter, **qu**'dins ch' pat'lin d' nou z'aïeux, / **Qu**' on euch   laiché sombrer
       […] regret,   that in the city   of our ancestors, that we have.SUBJ let   sink
       si bell's   accoutumances (R25)
       so beautiful habits
       '… regret that in the city of our ancestors (that) one may have lost such beautiful habits'
(4)   [i']   s'rappellent […] / **Qué** ch' bos   d' Wailly **qui**   les appelle' (R84)[9]
       [they] remember   […]   that the forest of Wailly that-it   them calls
       'They remember that the Wailly forest (that it) calls them'

2.1.2. Factive and volitional predicates

In Spanish, only a subset of clauses introduced by *que* 'that' allows for DCC: in particular, it is excluded from complements of factive and volitional predicates (Demonte & Fernandez-Soriano 2005, Villa-García 2010). In Ternois, complements of factive predicates, as in (3) above, and volitional predicates, as in (5), can equally host DCC:

(5)   [i] faut s'ouaiter pour cha / **Equ** l'Etat   **qu**i   reuv'   sin pied d' bas (R104)
       it must wish   for this   that the state that=it reopen.SUBJ its purse
       'To that effect, one must wish that the state (that it) reopens its purse'

2.1.3. Beyond arguments of verbs

In Spanish, *que*-clauses complements to nouns, as well as adjunct clauses, relative clauses and subject clauses, ban DCC (Demonte & Fernandez-Soriano 2005, Villa-García 2010). In Ternois, complements of nominals (6a), adjunct clauses (6b), (extraposed) subject clauses (6c),[10] and relatives (6d) all allow for DCC:

(6)   a.   l' preuf' **qué** l' fèmn' Lagueumelle / **Qu**'a'   n'lav' pon souvint ch' tiot salon ! (R53)
            the proof that the lady Lagueumelle that she washes not often   the little room
            'the proof that Lady L. (that she) doesn't wash her toilets often'
       b.   pour **qu'** à l'   prochain' ducasse, **qu**' in lich' moins d' tristess' sur … (R115)
            so   that at the next   fair,   that we read less of sadness on …
            'So that at the next fair (that) one may see less sadness on …'
       c.   il ad'v'naut **qu'** ein' mam'zelle, […], **Qu**' all' quéïau, (R91)
            it happened that a   miss,   […], that she fell
            'It sometimes happened that a Miss, […], (that she) fell'
       d.   Deux œuf's (…) / **Que** s'tant'   **qu**' alle a   dénichés (R70)
            Two eggs (…)   that her aunt that she has found t$_i$
            'Two eggs that her aunt (that she) found'

In this respect, Ternois patterns only with Portuguese (Mascarenhas 2005) and possibly with Southern Italian dialects (Ledgeway 2005, Ledgeway & d'Alessandro 2010).[11]

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[9]Picard has complex phonological rules, and no spelling norm, so *que* can be written *que, qu', qué, équ, equ, eq* … corresponding to the phonetic forms [kə], [k], [ke], [ɛk],[ək]. *Que* followed by the third person masculine clitic [i]/[il] yields [ki]: it can be spelt *qu'i* or *qui* – in the latter case, it is homonymous with the relative subject pronoun *qui,* though, unlike the latter, it cannot be separated from the verb.

[10]Preposed subject *that*-clauses are not productive in Ternois, independently of DCC.

[11]See footnote 6: the authors give no explicit list of contexts or restrictions of occurrence for these dialects.

2.2. More eligible contexts in Ternois

But Ternois provides more potential contexts for DCC than the other languages mentioned. Independently of DCC, Doubly Filled Comps are indeed frequent:[12] any WH-P is commonly followed by *que*. This is the case for relatives and embedded interrogatives, whatever the WH-P may be, as shown in (7a-b). Furthermore, *si* 'if/whether', introducing hypotheticals and embedded polar questions and *quand* 'when' introducing temporal adverbial clauses behave as WH-expressions in that they are followed by *que*, as in (8a-c).[13]

(7)   a.   Ein homm' **dont** **qu**' in sait   l' grandeur   d'âm'   (Relative clause)
            A   man   of-whom that we know   the greatness   of soul'
            'A man whose greatness of soul we know'
       b.   Nous savons **qu'mint qu**' il   est joïeux (R46)   (Embedded question)
            We   know   how   that he is   joyful
            'We know how happy he is'

(8)   a.   **quand qu'** j'arpinse à l'familièr' cité / J'ai   moins cair chés boul'vards d'acht'heure (R25)
            when   that I rethink to the old   city   I have less   dear the   boulevards of now
            'When I remember the familiar city, I like the present boulevards less'
       b.   **si** **qu**' t'   as   du guignon, … (R49)
            if   that you have of luck, …
            'if you are lucky, …'
       c.   Jé n' sus pon, […], in m'sure / D' dir' **si** **qu**' i'   met d' l'argint   d' côté (R52)
            I   am not, […], able   / to say whether that he puts of the money aside
            'I am not able to tell whether he saves money'

When this instance of *que* is followed by a left-peripheral XP, it can also be doubled. (9) illustrates the structure with a doubled complementizer that corresponds to (7) and (8) for relatives, embedded questions, embedded exclamations, and adjunct clauses respectively:

(9)   a.   l'   pemièr' ducasse, **dont**   **qu**' nou populace, **Qu'**   all' va   profiter (R150)
            the first   fair   of-which that our people$_{fem}$ that   she will enjoy
            'the first fair that our people (that it) will enjoy'
       b.   Sur chés   rimparts, **édù** **que** ch'l'herp' **qu**' all' poussaut drue (R30)
            On   these   ramparts where that the   grass that she grew   thick
       c.   V'là   **commint qu'** à   Verdun, «l'Chinquième» **qu**' il a   pris s'   part (R125)
            Here's how   that in   Verdun   the Fifth   that it has taken   its   part …
            'That's how in Verdun the Fifth regiment (that it) took its part'
       d.   Et,   **quand qu**'   la   guerre' **qu**' all' s'ra   passée,
            And, when   that   the war   that she be.FUT   past
            'And, when (that) the war (that it) is over'
       e.   **si qu**' edman   **qu**' j'épreuv' seul'mint l'   sintimint que … (Ec3)
            if that tomorrow that I feel   only   the feeling   that …
            'if (that) tomorrow (that) I just have the feeling that …'

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[12]A doubly filled complementizer seems to be optional in Ternois – compare. (ia) and (ib) –, but the presence of *que* is clearly the most frequent case.
   i.   a. quand qu' j'arpinse à l'familièr' cité (R25) (lit.: 'when that I think at the familiar city')
       b. Quand ej s'rai, pour toudis, … indormi (R1) (lit.:'When I will be, for ever, …, asleep')
[13]See Dagnac (2011a and 2012, respectively) for direct questions and WH-clauses in general.

2.3. Are there any restrictions on DCC in Ternois?

The variety of contexts that license DCC is such, in particular for speakers that make an extensive use of it, that one may wonder whether any context excludes it. Judging from the data available so far, root declarative clauses host no *que*: unsurprisingly, they display no DCC. Root WH-questions and exclamations, which also exhibit a doubly filled complementizer in Ternois, are potential candidates for DCC: I have found no case in corpora so far with a left-peripheral XP following *que*: XPs that are not clause-internal are either to the left of the WH-P or to the right of the VP.[14] The root-status of the few cases that may qualify for DCC is notoriously unclear: this includes quotation clauses, and clauses headed by a modal adverb followed by *que* ('maybe that', 'hopefully that'), where in standard French subject clitic inversion occurs. Moreover, non-finite clauses do not allow for *que* nor for a doubled *de*, the infinitive complementizer. So far, the right generalization is the following: DCC can occur in all embedded clause licensing the complementizer *que* – which, in Ternois, amounts to: DCC can occur in all embedded tensed clauses (but see §4 for two striking exceptions).

3. The range of 'sandwiched XPs'

In a parallel way, most languages in which some sort of DCC has been described so far impose restrictions on the XP that may occur between the two instances of the complementizer. These constraints are not found in Ternois.

3.1. Heaviness

For Irish English, McCloskey (2006) only discusses high adjuncts, which seem to be the only kind of XP occurring between the two C positions, and which are preferentially required to be 'heavy' in order to trigger DCC. In Ternois, doubled Cs can frame a rich set of items, among which are adjuncts. Heaviness is irrelevant: 'sandwiched' XPs can be monosyllabic, as is the case for the (doubled) subject *l'heur* in (10a) or for the adjunct *d'man* in (10b):

(10) a. dù   qu' nous irons / Tertous, **quand q**u' l' heur' **qu**' all' s'ra   sonnée (R122)
          where that we   go.FUT / all,   when that the hour that she be.FUT rung
          'where we will all go when the time (that it) has come'
      b. Qui sait   **si**,   d'man,   **qu**' a' n' mettront pon / Ein couverque (R94)
          Who knows whether,   tomorrow,   that they put.FUT NOT / a   lid
          'Who knows whether, tomorrow, they won't wear a lid'

3.2. 'Fronting' versus clitic left dislocation

The Dutch data analyzed by Hoekstra (1993) show that only objects that are not echoed by a clitic can stand before *dat*, as in (11a), while clitic left dislocated XPs, as in (11b), cannot:

(11) a. Ik denk [**dat** Jan **dat** ik niet ga feliciteren]   (Hoeksema's 27a)
          I   think that Jan that I   not go congratulate
      b. *Ik denk [**dat** Jan **dat** ik **die** niet ga feliciteren]   (Hoeksema's 26a)
           I   think that Jan that I   him not go congratulate

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[14]Fieldwork and additional corpus work are planned to check whether the data are fully representative.

Ternois allows objects to be sandwiched in DCC. They can be 'fronted' (preposed but not doubled by a clitic), but they can also be clitic left dislocated, as shown by (12a-b) respectively:

(12) a. Il a pu souvint apprécier / **Commint qu'** à   li **qu'** in pouvaut s'fier (R72)
         He could often assess / how   that on him that we could   rely
         'He often witnessed how totally on him one could rely'

    b. […] **qu'** chés affreux nazis / **Qu'** in **l's** a   eus jusqu'à leur zi-zi (R151)
         […] that these awful nazis / that we them have got up to   their balls
              'that these awful nazis, we got them up to their balls'

3.3. Topics only?

Most of the Romance varieties that allow for DCC require that the XP preceding *que2* be in a topic position and be interpreted accordingly: what is assumed to be foci are either to its right or clause-internal. Again, this does not hold for Ternois.

3.3.1. Contrastively focused preposed arguments

In Spanish, Villa-Garcia (2010) shows that contrastively focused preposed arguments remain to the right of *que2*: in (13), his (20), *dos coches*, which bears contrastive stress, yields a good sentence only if it is not framed by the two instances of *que*:

(13) a. Me   dijeron **que** a tu   primo **que** DOS COCHES le   robaron(, no uno)
         to.me. said   that to your cousin that TWO CARS   to.him stole   (, not one)

    b. *Me   dijeron **que** DOS COCHES **que** le   robaron a tu   primo(, no uno)
         to.me. said   that TWO CARS   that to.him stole   to your cousin(, not one)
         'They told me that it was two cars that your cousin got stolen, not one.'

It is not the case in Ternois: preposed items with a contrastive focused intonation such as in (14) and (15) can precede *que2*:

(14) [Context: Talking to a fisherman out to catch carp]: Fisherman, if at the end of the day
        you have caught only little fish …
        Rappell'-ti **qu'** in mettant l'prix / Ch' l'éclusier, des carpe' et d's inguilles$_i$, PLEIN T'N'
        ÉPUIGETT' **qu'**i t'in$_i$ mettra
        Remember that, paying the price / the lock keeper, carps and eels, your net full, that he
        to-you=of-them= put.FUT
        'Remember that, if you pay the price, the lock keeper will give you carps and eels your
        net full' (= 'not just a few')
(15) Il a pu souvint apprécier / **Commint qu'** à   li **qu'** in pouvaut s'fier (R72)
        He could often assess / how   that on him that we could   rely
        'He (the colonel) often witnessed how on him (= 'not the other soldiers') one could rely
        [in order to carry out a reputedly dangerous mission through]'

3.3.2. Fronted quantificational adverbs

Benincà and Poletto (2004) argue that fronted (temporal) quantificational adverbs belong to the focus field (more specifically, that they stand in their lower Contrastive Focus position). Demonte and Fernandez Soriano (2009) note that the (focused) temporal adverb in (16) can

stand to the right of *que2*, which, according to them, reveals that *que2* does not stand in the lowest position of the CP-field.

(16) Me   aseguró que esa tontería_i   que NUNCA la_i diría   (Benincà & Poletto's 46b)
to.me assured that that nonsense_i that never   her_i say.COND
'He promised that, such nonsense, never would he say it.'

These adverbials appear to the left of *que2* in Ternois:

(17) a.   J'ai voulu, in mêm' temps, aussi, fournir el preuve/ **Equ toudis**, dins ch'parlache ed
           nou taïons, **qu'**in treuve/ Des mots tout juste à point (R154)
           'I wanted, at the same time, too, to give the proof that always, in the language of our
           grand-parents, (that) one finds well-done words'
      b.   leu espérance/ Ch 'est **qu' pu jamais,** sur nou qu'min d' fer,/ **Qu'**in r'voëch des
           ojeux d' Luchifer / Ardéclaver, (…) /Leus démolicheusés … pralines (R137)
           'their hope is that never more, on our railway, (that) one sees again birds of Lucifer
           send their devastating bombs'

3.3.3. A generalization

In Ternois, the proper generalization is that any item that, in a root declarative sentence, may show up to the left of the subject clitic can be 'sandwiched' between *que1* and *que2*. This item may, but does not have to, be 'substantial' or 'heavy'. The most frequent types of XP that show up between the two instances of *que* are doubled or clitic left dislocated subjects, and adjuncts of all kinds (scene-setting, causal, conditional, modal, etc.). These cases are illustrated in (18a) and (18b), respectively.

(18) a.   Et, quand **qu' la guerre qu'** all' s'ra   passée, …
           and, when that the war   that she be.FUT past, …
           'And, when the war (that it) is over, …'
      b.   pindant qu' in   est dins les tranches, **Qu' à cause ed li   qu'** in   a l' firchon (R27)
           while   that we are in   the agonies, that because of him that we have the creeps
           'And while we suffer agonies, while because of him (that) we have the creeps'

Preposed objects are less frequent, yet possible too – either fronted or clitic left dislocated (see above),[15] and so are various kinds of verbal modifiers in the scope of negation (among which are preposed quantificational adverbs as seen above).

(19) a.   Car v'là **qu' tout près d' nous qu'**all' s'avanche (R89)
           For here's that all   close to us   that she steps forward
           'Because suddenly she comes next to us'
      b.   l'jalouss'té, telle qu'ein méchant moustique, Ch'est   dins tous chés milieux
           the jealousy, such as a   wicked mosquito,   it is   in   all   the   milieus
           qu'   profondémint   qu' alle pique. (R63)
           that   deeply   that she stings
           'Jealousy, as a wicked mosquito, among all social backgrounds deeply stings.'

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[15]Clitic left dislocated objects are generally interpreted as a given, contrastive or shifted topic; fronted objects are generally interpreted as focused within the sentence, even when their referent has been mentioned in the previous discourse. The latter are marked in Ternois, independantly of DCC.

Furthermore, no specific, discourse-linked interpretation of the left-peripheral XP seems to be required or excluded.

3.3.4. The number of fronted XP is not limited to one

Left-peripheral XPs combine freely: when multiple XPs are framed by *que*, most frequently, a DP subject is combined to one or more complements or adjuncts, as in (20):

(20) a. d'armarquer **qu'** cha voësin' vit'   **qu'**all' s'apprête à quitter ch'wagon (R71)
       to notice   that his neighbor quickly that she gets ready to leave the car
    b. V'là commint, **qu'** à Verdun, 'l'Chinquième' **qu'** il a pris s' part … (R125)
       Here's how   that at Verdun, 'the Fifth'   that it has taken its part

But other combinations are also possible. Thus, (14) in §3.3.1 combines, between the two instances of *que*, an adverbial, a clitic left dislocated subject, a clitic left dislocated direct object, and a focused verbal modifier. Note that contrary to what happens in Portuguese (Mascarenhas 2007), in this case, having more than two occurrences of *que* is marginal: there is only one example in the whole corpus, cited in (21):

(21) Il arrivaut, à m'sure, **equ** dehors, dins l' courette,/ **Qu'**ein mèr' **qu'**alle artreuvaut, couqué dins ein' carette …
     'It happened, often, that outside in the ward (that) a mother (that she) discovered, lying in a cart …'

Ternois differs from Ligurian and Turinese in that DCC is not correlated to the subjunctive mood of the embedded sentence. In differs from Spanish and Galician in that any subordinated clause normally headed by *que* can host a second *que* following any XP that can precede TP in a root clause. And it also differs from Portuguese both in that it does not rule out preposed non-topics, and that the presence of multiple XPs in the left periphery does not induce the presence of multiple instances of *que*. The languages Ternois comes closest to in this respect are the Southern Italian dialects studied by Ledgeway (2005) and Ledgeway and D'Alessandro (2010), with the provision that, as Ternois is a (quasi-)systematic doubly-filled COMP language, DCC is also extensively found in WH-clauses. In the next section, I propose an analysis of DCC that accounts for the empirical properties presented in §2 and §3, and for a few additional properties as well.

4. *Que2* heads FinP

In the Romance languages that allow for it, DCC has generally been dealt with within a cartographic approach, based on Rizzi's (1997) hierarchy of projections inside the CP-field (stars indicate the possibility of recursivity):

$$\text{ForceP/CP} > \text{Top*} > \text{FocP} > \text{TopP*} > \text{FinP}$$

In this framework, the second instance of *que* has received two main analyses. The most frequent claim is that *que2* heads a left-peripheral (high) Topic Phrase, (see for instance Mascarenhas 2007, Paoli 2006, and – with qualifications – Uriegareka 1995, Demonte & Fernandez Soriano 2009, and Villa-García 2010), while some authors propose instead that it

heads FinP (Bovetto 2002, López 2009, Ledgeway 2005). I show here that the second approach best captures the properties of Ternois's DCC, while in §5, I will argue that *que1* is the head of ForceP.

The fact that in several languages only topics can precede *que2* (as seen in §3.3) has been a major argument to view *que2* as heading a high Topic phrase, which in some analyses it serves to license: XPs that stand in FocP are then correctly predicted to remain to its right. In addition, viewing *que2* as a head that licenses the projection of TopicP in (some) embedded clauses aims at capturing the fact that DCC does not occur when no TopicP is present. I show here that the ordering argument does not hold in Ternois, and that this approach meets problems that can be solved if *que2* stands in Fin.

4.1. *Que2* is not the head of a TopicP
4.1.1. Position

As shown in §3, in Ternois no preposable XP has to remain to the right of *que2*. XPs that qualify for a left-peripheral Focus position, such as preposed quantificational adverbs or contrasted fronted objects, can (immediately) precede *que2*. If *que2* were the head of a TopP, one should assume that in these cases it heads a low TopicP. But, unless one can associate it to a particular discourse contribution I fail to see, this would not explain its presence in (15), repeated here as (22), where *li* 'him', a contrastively focused preposed argument, though refering to a given referent (a soldier called 'Pon-Froussard'), is no more the sentence topic (the colonel is), than the fronted items in (19), which are not even given:

(22) Il a pu souvint apprécier / **Commint qu**' à li **qu** ' in pouvaut s'fier (R72)
      He could often assess / how that on him that one could rely
      'He (the colonel) often witnessed how on him (= 'not the other soldiers') one could rely
      [in order to carry out a reputedly dangerous mission through]'

If one wants to maintain that *que2* serves to license the projection of an extended CP in some clauses, in order to capture the fact that DCC only happens when some preposed XP stands in the left periphery, the only possibility is either to adopt Uriegareka's (1995) proposal that *que2* is the head of an unspecified functional projection linked to information structure, or to consider that in Ternois, unlike other languages, the discourse-linked projections are always licensed as a whole by the head of a lower TopicP.

4.1.2. Licensing

The intuition that some clauses need a special mechanism to license their informational structural left-peripheral projections is interesting, yet it needs to be examined more closely both the general idea and for Ternois in particular. First, if *que2* is the head licensing the TopP projection, when is TopP required to be licensed this way? Topics indeed occur in various kinds of clauses. In root clauses, they need no *que* to license them. So, *que2*'s presence may be linked to the special status of embedded clauses with respect to information structure. In most dialects that display DCC, *que2* is optional: XPs in high topic position can stand to the right of *que1* whether *que2* is present or not; if *que2* is a TopicP licensor, it should be covert in that case. Since *que1*, which is supposedly the complementizer introducing all embedded clauses (Kayne 76), may also be covert, we must assume a topic-licensing *que2* homophonous to the complementizer *que1*, a silent version of both *que1* and *que2* − plus an explanation for their distribution. Furthermore, the (optional) presence of this licensing topic-head just in the

contexts where DCC is possible in each language still needs a principled explanation. I will not try to find an answer to these questions, and I will rather concentrate on an analysis that seems more promising for Ternois.

In Ternois, what are the exact contexts where *que2* is licensed? DCC is found in all embedded clauses introduced by a *que*. Kayne (1976) argues that, in French, *que* is the (explicit or covert) complementizer that introduces all embedded tensed clauses. This holds even more straightforwardly for Ternois, where it is usually overt. And in all embedded tensed clauses, DCC can obtain. This suggests that *que2* is closely linked to nature of the tensed complementizer. This is confirmed by the following observation: DCC appears only in tensed clauses. Embedded infinitive clauses do license left-peripheral topics, to the left of the non-finite complementizer, *de/dé/ed*; but they rule out any *que* linked to the presence of this topic, as (23) shows:

(23) a. T' as raison Colas, faut tacher / Ech temps perdu[i] **dé** l'[i] rattraper (R104)
          You have reason Colas, ∅ must try /   the time lost   C° it catch up
      b. *T'as raison Colas, faut tacher / Ech temps perdu[i] **que dé** l'[i] rattraper
      c. *T'as raison Colas, faut tacher / **dé** ch' temps perdu[i] **qué** l'[i] rattraper
          'You're right, Colas, one must try, the time gone by, to catch it up'

The presence of *que2* is then linked to the presence of a tensed embedded clause, but not to that of a topic.

4.2. *Que2* is merged as head of FinP

If the second *que* is the usual [+finite] complementizer, then the whole set of data in Ternois is accounted for straightforwardly.

4.2.1. Licensing and order solved

A natural consequence is indeed that *que2* is merged in the Fin head of all tensed embedded clauses. This corresponds to the distribution of DCC in Ternois: the lower *que* is found in any tensed embedded clause. Furthermore, it predicts that *que2* is not merged in the Fin head of infinitives, where the [-finite] complementizer *de* is overtly merged. This explains why in (23), *que* is ruled out. Assuming that clauses that do not project a subordinating CP domain do not have a Fin projection, the absence of *que* after preposed XPs in root clauses also follows. *Que2* in Fin also explains why any left-peripheral XP can precede *que2*: Fin being the lowest projection of the CP domain, any XP moved or first-merged within the CP domain is predicted to precede it. This clear-cut picture has two exceptions, though: DCC, surprisingly, fails to occur when the subject of the embedded clause is a non-doubled DP, or when it is relativized. I will argue that these exceptions can also be accounted for if *que2* is the finite complementizer standing in Fin.

4.2.2. Non-doubled subject DPs

The very systematic use of DCC by writers like Léon Lemaire has one striking exception: no DCC occurs in clauses where the subject is a non-doubled DP: the usual structure is then the French-like one in (24a), whereas (24b) would be expected:[16]

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[16]There are only a few exceptions, such as (i). See footnote 20 for a possible explanation.
  i. Pourtant, paraît **qué** d'pu la guerre, Dins certain's régions d'nou païs, **Qu'** des parints ont chopé

(24) a. j'prétinds **qu'**à l'heur' d'aujourd'hui / Nou gins n'profit'nt-té pu d'agrémints in série (R25)

b. %j'prétinds **qu'à** l'heur' d'aujourd'hui, **qu'** nou gins n'profit'nt-té pu d'agrémints in série

'I claim that nowadays our people enjoy no longer pleasures by the dozen'

Under a topic head analysis, this fact seems hard to capture: why should the nature of the subject interfere with the licensing of the preceding adjunct? But if *que2* is in Fin, it can find an explanation. Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) propose indeed that finite C bears an uninterpretable tense feature that needs to be checked. This can be done in three ways:

- by attracting T to C in a classical way (Ternois has only marginal T-to-C, even in classical contexts such as root questions: see Dagnac 2011);
- by attracting a nominative DP: in their view, nominative case is actually a tense feature on D;
- by inserting/attracting a finite complementizer, since it also bears a tense feature.

If we assume this view, not only does the presence of *que* in Fin find a principled explanation (it checks the tense feature of C), but the absence of DCC in clauses like (24a) is no longer puzzling: non-doubled DP subjects bearing nominative case are attracted to SpecFinP to check its tense feature; as a consequence, no *que* is inserted in Fin.

4.2.3 Subject relatives

Under Kayne's (1976) influential analysis of French *qui/que,* which affirms that *qui* is a special version of the complementizer *que* – which could be extended to Ternois – the fact that *qui*-relatives do not give way to DCC is unexpected. If the 'normal' form *que* can be doubled, however this doubling occurs, we expect, contrary to facts, *qui* to be doubled as well, either as in (25b) or as in (25c), while the only possible form is actually (25a):

(25) a. Et ch'foot-ball' **qui**, l'diminche, atténu' leu innui, N'contint' pon, dins l'sémain', Batiche et ni Marie (R25)

b. *Et ch'foot-ball' **qui**, l'diminche, **qui** atténu' leu innui, N'contint' pon, dins l'sémain', Batiche et ni Marie

c. *Et ch'foot-ball' **que**, l'diminche, **qui** atténu' leu innui, N'contint' pon, dins l'sémain', Batiche et ni Marie

Lit. 'And football, which, on Sundays, tempers their boredom, satisfies not, during the week, Batiche nor Mary'

Though influential, Kayne's analysis runs into some long-standing problems, and alternative analyses have been put forward. Sportiche (2011), in particular, argues that relative *qui* is a 'regular' WH-P, and that the French WH-paradigm can been analyzed as involving both strong and weak WH-forms. Considering relative (versus interrogative) *qui* as a nominative weak version of the WH-P can accommodate the facts discussed in Kayne 1976. His arguments and conclusions can very convincingly be extended to Ternois (cf. Dagnac 2012b).[17] On this

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l'manière / Pour êt', sans réplique, obéis. (R98)

'Yet, it seems that since the war, in some regions of our country, that some parents have found a way to be obeyed at once.'

[17]This mirrors the traditional analysis of French (and Picard) grammars: relative *qui* is a nominative WH-P, differing from interrogative *qui,* which does not encode case but animacy. In Ternois, the weak (relative) versus

view, since *qui* is morphologically nominative, the absence of *que* in Fin is no longer a surprise: just as a non-doubled subject DP, *qui* moves to SpecFinP and checks its tense feature, hence the absence of *que*.

5. The relationship between *que1* and *que2*

I have just shown that positing *que2* in Fin can explain its distribution, its ordering with respect to the whole range of preposed XPs, and the link between the presence of some forms of subjects and the absence of *que2*. Claiming that *que2* is a complementizer in Fin nevertheless leaves two questions open:

i. What is the relationship between the lower complentizer, *que2*, and the higher one, *que1*, and to what extent does it explain that *que2* only shows up in clauses that allow for *que1*?
ii. How can the optionality of DCC for some speakers be accounted for, and what are the exact patterns found?

Two answers have been given to question (i). To my knowledge, most analyses of Romance DCC, viewing *que2* as a topic head, assume that the co-occurrence of two similar forms is a coincidence: *que1* and *que2* are homophonous, and the optionality of *que2* is not paid much attention to. On the contrary, Ledgeway (2005) claims that it is not a coincidence. According to him, *que1* and *que2* are two instances of the same item, merged twice: DCC is an instance of head movement within the CP field, and *que2* is the spelled out lower copy of *que1*. I will capitalize on the latter analysis and show how it may be implemented, and how it can account for the optionality of DCC in Ternois.

5.1. Two copies in a head-movement chain

Que is a finite complementizer: it plays a role in the process of embedding a clause (it marks a clause as embedded or allows it to be embedded), and it selects a finite clause. In the cartographic approach, the relationship between the embedded clause and the embedding structure relies on the upper projection of the CP domain, ForceP in Rizzi's terms; the relationship between embedding and the tense status of the embedded clauses is mediated by FinP. A finite complementizer de facto assumes both functions. A natural reflex of this double function would be to merge it twice, once in order to take care of the finite specification, a second time to take care of embedding. Assuming further, following Pesetsky and Torrego (2001), that head movement is a way to check features, and that a head can check several features on its way up during the same phase, DCC would naturally be grounded in the need for *que* to check first the tense/finite feature of Fin, and then the subordinate specification of Force.

An indirect argument in favor of this view comes from the behavior of infinitives. We saw in §4.1 that no *que* follows preposed XPs in infinitives, a natural consequence of the [+finite] feature of *que* if *que2* stands in Fin. But the present analysis also accounts for the fact that the non-finite complementizer *de* cannot be doubled either: next to the correct (26a), (26b) is indeed ruled out, too:

(26) a. T'   as   raison Colas,   faut   tacher / Ech temps perdu$_i$ **dé** l'$_i$ rattraper (Ra104)
       You have reason Colas, ∅ must   try /   the time   lost   C° it catch up

b. *T'as   raison Colas,   faut tacher **d'** ech temps perdu **dé** l'rattraper
   You have reason Colas, ∅ must try / C° the time lost   C° it catch up
   'One must try to catch up the times gone by'

This is predicted under Rizzi's (1997) analysis of the extended CP: infinitives lack the higher C position, so *de* would have no higher position to go to.

Another contrast can also be captured. Relative *qui* is nominative hence [+finite], but it is also plausibly [+sub] since it can only head embedded clauses.[18] It is then able to check the Force specification through WH-movement. This may be the reason why *qui* can be followed by *que* neither in Fin (it checks the tense feature itself), nor in Force (it does not require it to check [+sub]).[19]

(27) a. *ch'foot-ball' **qui**, l'diminche, **qui/qu'** atténu' leu innui, …
      b. *ch'foot-ball' **que**, l'diminche, **qui** atténu' leu innui, …
      c. *ch'foot-ball' **qui que**, l'diminche, **qui/qu'** atténu' leu innui, …

On the contrary, there is no reason why the non-doubled DP subjects that check the tense feature in Fin would be [+sub]. In this case, the higher *que* is then expected to be inserted, which is borne out, as seen in (28):[20]

(28) j'prétinds **qu**'à l'heur' d'aujourd'hui / Nou gins n'profit'nt-té pu d'agrémints in série (=24a)
      'I claim that nowadays our people enjoy no longer pleasures by the dozen'

5.2. Optionality

An analysis of DCC in terms of multiple copies in Ternois as well as in Southern Italian dialects (as advocated in Ledgeway 2005) has a welcome consequence: it offers us a way to account for its inter- and intra-speaker variation. Other doubling phenomena have indeed been intensively investigated in European dialects, in particular within the Edisyn project (`http://www.dialectsyntax.org`). A general feature is that the syntax of dialects commonly allows the spell out of multiple copies, while standard varieties tend to favor the spell out of a single copy (in general, the higher one), and that dialects display variation with respect to which copy is pronounced (Barbiers et al. 2008a, 2008b). This pattern fits with the Ternois data. The standard language of the Oïl group is French, which, on a par with other Picard dialects, does not allow for DCC: in corresponding examples, only *que1* is present in French. Data from the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (Edmont & Gilliéron 1902–1910) further

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[18]The strong, interrogative version of French *qui, tchièche/tchèche,* is neither nominative nor, plausibly, [+sub] since it can appear in root questions; it also may bear an interrogative feature. DCC is then predicted to occur in embedded *qui*-interrogatives. No embedded *qui*-interrogative is present in our corpora at all (with or without DCC), so this prediction remains to be checked.

[19]This does not extend to other weak (relative) WH-Ps, such as *dont*, which should also bear a [+sub] feature hindering *que* in Force. In fact, *dont que ... que ...* is allowed. This may follow from the fact that when Force is merged, *que*, which has been merged in Fin, is the closest candidate available to check [+sub].

[20]This difference in the featural content of *qui* and DP subjects, and the consequences it has on the way to check the Force, may play a role in the asymmetry pointed in footnote 16: the absence of DCC meets exceptions with non-doubled DP subjects but never with *qui*. As *qui* checks features on both Fin and Force, it is actually more economical than inserting *que*. DP subjects can only check Fin, so *que*-insertion will be required in Force; in this case, inserting *que* in Fin, though locally less economical, is 'a good investment' as it will also check Force: the fact that both strategies are equally costly though at different points may entail the variation in the actual choice of speakers.

suggest that some dialects neighboring Ternois (survey points 273, 275, 276) may allow, in some contexts, a construction akin to the DCC: in some embedded WH-clauses, no higher *que* is present but a *que* follows preposed XPs:

(29)   Quand _ mon fiu **qu'**i   sro grand
        When _ my son that he is   older

A more thorough look at Ternois shows that this latter construction can appear there too, as a variant, after WH-Phrases. Besides, DCC is optional, more or less so depending on the speaker: even Léon Lemaire, the writer who, in our corpus, most steadily produces DCC, does, from time to time, resort to 'French-like structures'. The general picture is then actually as follows:

(30)   **DCC: WH-P *que1* XP *que2* TP**
        a.   quand **qu**' la guerre'**qu**'all'   s'ra passée, …
              when that the war   that she   will be over
        b.   ech couvert ed commoditè qu' Titisse qu'il   o arporté … (B449)
              the lid   of toilets   that Titisse that he has brought back

(31)   **Variant 1: WH-P ~~que1~~ XP *que2* TP**
        a.   Quand m' pinsée   **qu**'alle y vacabonde (R54)
              When my thought   that it   there wanders
        b.   « el balayeusse » ∅   actuell'mint **qu**'in   voët […] broucher ch' boul'vard (R81)
              « the sweeper »   presently   that we see […] weeping the boulevard
        c.   el malheureusse âme in peine   dont   l' complaint' **qu**' alle est acoufté' (R113)
              the poor   soul in mourn of-whom the lament   that she is muffled
        d.   Et si, d'man,   qu' in   mettaut d'sur pied ein jouli' fête … (R96)
              And if, tomorrow, that we settled up   a   nice party
        e.   Qui sait   si,   d'man,   qu' a' n' mettront pon / Ein couverque (R94)
              Who knows whether, tomorrow, that they won't wear   a   lid
(30)   **Variant 2 – absence of DCC: *que1* XP ~~que2~~ TP**
        l' couvert ed commoditè, **qu**'min scélérat d' fius li avoèt mis in place ed sin doré (B436)
        'the toilet bowl that my scoundrel of a son had given him instead of his cake'

This variation across speakers and dialects could then rely on the same mechanism as argued for in other doubling phenomena, with the provision that, in Ternois, it applies to head movement and not to WH-movement: the three patterns above rely on which copy is allowed to be spelled out – only the higher one, as in standard dialects, a mixed system (higher *que* when SpecForceP is empty, or lower *que* when SpecForceP hosts a WH-element) for Ternois's neighbors and Ternois's variant 1, both ends for Ternois usual cases.[21] This option being restricted to heads in Ternois, it prevents *qui*-doubling, on a par with other WH-doubling: only the higher *qui* is spelled out.[22]

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[21]The fact that DCC occurs only when some XP is preposed may have two explanations: either it is due to a Haplology Filter ruling out *que que* at PF, as advocated for in McCloskey (2006), or, as suggested in Rizzi (1997), an extended CP is projected only when it is required to host an IS projection; in other cases, a simple CP conflates Force and Fin, where both [+tense] and [+sub] are checked by *que*.

[22]The question arises whether other head movement cases entail doubling in Ternois. The answer depends on what counts as a head, and needs further investigation. Candidates could be clitic objects, which happen to

6. Conclusion

This paper shows that Ternois exhibits probably the most radical set of DCC described so far, reminiscent of what happens in some southern Italian dialects: the DCC occurs with all kinds of left-peripheral XPs, and generalizes to (almost) all clauses headed by *que*, that is all embedded tensed clauses, including embedded WH-clauses, which in Ternois admit doubly filled complementizers. Conversely, it occurs only in clauses headed by *que*: it does not take place when an XP is preposed in main clauses or in infinitive clauses. Unlike Iberic recomplementation, it clearly cannot be captured by a topic head analysis. On the contrary, the assumption that *que2* is in Fin and that *que1* and *que2* are two spelled out copies of the same item moved from Fin to Force to check, respectively, Tense and Subordination features, accounts for all of its properties. Moreover, this proposal is in line with what has been proposed for other dialectal cases of syntactic doubling, which it extends to head movement, introducing a parameter as to which kind of movement may give way to multiple spelled-out copies in a given set of dialects, and which copies can be spelled out. It thus offers a way to replace the variation affecting DCC in a broader typology of doubling phenomena and to account for its optionality across speakers and dialects.

Extending Sportiche's (2011) analysis of *qui* to Ternois, and assuming Pesetsky and Torrego's (2001) view of nominative and head movement, it also captures the puzzling absence of DCC displayed by *qui*-relatives and by embedded clauses with a non-doubled DP subject: in both cases, the nominative item moves to SpecFinP in order to check Tense, hindering *que*-insertion in the lower position; the two cases differ, though, in that, since DP subjects cannot check [+sub] in Force, the higher *que* is inserted, while in relatives *qui* moves on to check it: as a consequence, no *que* occurs at all in *qui*-relatives. If this approach is correct, it adds ground to the necessity of head movement in the grammar, and may contribute to the debate on the proper way to account for it. The question whether this analysis may be extended to more constrained cases of DCC in other languages and if, for instance, Spanish recomplementation is a different phenomenon remains open.

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be sometimes doubled in Ternois, and some subject clitics in direct yes/no-questions.

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Appendix

Frequency of DCC for embedded clauses of the form: XP + (YP) + (subject clitic) + V

The following tables detail, for each work of the corpus, the number and percentage of DCC according to the type of embedded clause involved:

Léon Lemaire (*Racontaches d'un boïeu rouche + Eclats … d'patois*: poetry):

	Relative clause	Argument clause	PP	Extraposed subjects	complement of N & Adj	when/if CPs	embedded questions	(Pseudo-) clefts	Σ
Total	74	54	29	3	11	29	9	14	223
DCC	49	34	15	2	9	27	7	10	153
no DCC of which: DP subject	25 15	20 10	14 14	1 1	2 2	2 2	2 0	4 4	70 48
genuine non DCC	10	10	0	0	0	0	2	0	22
% DCC	83%	77.3%	100%	100%	100%	100%	77.7%	100%	87.4%

Edmond Edmont (*A l'buée*: theater-like conversation in prose between laundresses)

	Relative clause	Argument clause	PP	Extraposed subjects	complement of N & Adj	When/ if CPs	embedded questions	clefts	Σ
Total	5	5	2	0	0	1	0	3	16
DCC	4	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	8
%									50%

Edmond Edmont (*Quatre Légendes*: narrative tales in verse with explicit narrator)

	Relevant contexts	DCC	%
Saint -Michè	0	0	0
Peumier	25	6	24 %
Chelle féé	18	3	16,6%
Chl' ermite	16	1	6,25%
Total:	59	10	17%

Relevant maps in *Atlas Linguistique de la France (ALF)*:

ALF includes four sentences where a DP subject (which is doubled/clitic left dislocated in Picard) occurs in an embedded clause. They are listed below: the map numbers correspond to the relevant parts of the sentence, which is not bracketed; they mean, respectively: 'When my son is older (I'll send him to Paris)', '(He used to drink less) when his wife was still alive', '(the cart) that the servant loaded (…)', '(you should have seen) how the trees were covered with them'

Quand mon fils sera grand (je l'enverrai à Paris): maps 573 + 517;

(Il buvait moins) quand sa femme vivait encore: maps 143 + 458 + 548 + 1109;

(La charrette) que le domestique a chargée (…): map 1537;

(Vous auriez dû voir) comme les arbres en étaient chargés: maps 310 + 52 + 513 + 240.

Only in the Ternois area do they show instances of DCC. The survey points showing the DCC are, consistently, 283, 284, 285 (the very heart of the Ternois area) and, with variation, 273, 275, 276, 278, 286, 287, 296 (mostly in the Ternois area, or on its border).