THE *TI/TU* INTERROGATIVE MORPHEME IN QUÉBEC FRENCH [*]

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1. INTRODUCTION

Standard French (henceforth SF) enjoys several forms of interrogative sentence – clitic subject inversion (1), complex inversion (2a.), "stylistic" inversion (2b.). The *est-ce que* strategy (2c.) and the *in situ* option (2d.) belong to a rather informal subvariety of SF.

(1)   A qui téléphone-t-elle?
          To whom telephones she
          'Who does she phone?'

(2)   a. A qui ton amie téléphone-t-elle?
              To whom your friend phones she
          b. A qui téléphone ton amie?
              To whom phones your friend
          c. A qui est-ce que ton amie téléphone?
              To whom is it that your friend phones
          d. Ton amie téléphone à qui?
              Your friend phones to whom
              'Who does your friend phone?'

This paper examines an alternative form of interrogative sentence, which is characteristic of Québec French and other varieties of non-standard French (among others, the *patois* of Paris and Normandy[1]), and of Franco-provençal (see par. 3.4). It consists of an invariable interrogative marker *ti* or *tu* which cliticises on the tensed verb. In France the only attested form (in my knowledge) is *ti*, whereas Québec French (henceforth QF) prefers *tu*. The form *ti*, when accepted, is felt as more "popular".

(3)   A qui elle téléphone-*tu/ti?*

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[1] Cf. Foulet (1921) for the *patois* of Paris. He also cites M. Joret (*Romania* 6, 1878), as the first to signal the *ti* morpheme in Normandy. Guy de Maupassant's novels and short stories also offer several examples of it.
(i.)   T'avais-*ti* perdu le sens?   (Guy de Maupassant, *Boule de suif*, 1880)
          you had-INTERR lost the sense
          'Had you lost your wits?'

To whom she phones– INTERR.

'Who does she phone?'

The data presented here (par. 2) are partial counter-examples to usual claims in literature upon this subject. In order to explain the behaviour of the *ti/tu* morpheme, I will examine (par. 3) different theoretical models of interrogative sentence – namely, the *Wh*-Criterion of *Rizzi* (1992), the theory of double [Spec, CP] of *Rizzi & Roberts* (1992) and the distinction between [*Q*] and [*op*] features of *Friedemann* (1997). Other proposals linked to particular linguistic varieties will also be considered – that is, *Poletto* (1993), *Roberts* (1993) and *Munaro* (1995). Then (par. 4), I will present an alternative proposal, which starts from *Cardinaletti*'s (1997) Split-AGRP hypothesis. Finally (par.5), I will mention some opaque points in the analysis. The theoretical framework is *Kayne* (1994).

2.   THE DATA

Noonan (1992), and Vinet (2000) – among others – state that *ti/tu* in QF is restricted to *yes/no* questions. In this paper, however, I report data which seem to squib a relatively homogeneous variety of QF spoken in a geographical area between Montréal and Québec City. In this variety, the interrogative marker is used indeed in *yes/no* questions (4a), but also in *wh*-questions (4b.), whereas it cannot be used in indirect interrogative sentences (i.e. subordinate clauses, see (4c.)) [2].

(4)   a. Je suis-*tu* obligé de manger ma soupe? [3]
           I am-INTERR obliged to eat my soup
           'Am I obliged to eat my soup?'
       b. A qui elle téléphone-*tu?*   (= 3)
           To whom she phones– INTERR.
           'Who does she phone?'
       c. *Marie ne savait pas qui elle avait-*tu* vu.
           Marie not$_{cl}$ knew not who she had– INTERR seen

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[2] More precisely, this variety refers to Montréal Nord (M.-J. Hamel) and Nicolet (R. Boucher and P. Le May-Boucher). Instead, the zone of Montréal (A. Rochette) respects the pattern drawn by Noonan (1992) and Vinet (2000).

It is perhaps useful to recall that the data I am treating here are not the only examples of a *-ti* marker used with *wh*- questions. Foulet (1921, p. 280) reports (ii) as a sentence currently used in the *patois* of Paris in the '20s. He also gives (iii) and (iv), although he judges them as *gauches et contournées* 'awkward and twisted' sentences.

(ii.)   *Où* j'ai *ti* vu ce nom-là?
         Where I have INTERR seen that name-there
         'Where did I see that name?'
(iii.)   *Comment* tu as *ti* fait?
         How you have INTERR done
         'How did you do it?'
(iv.)   *Pourquoi* elle y va *ti*?
         Why she there goes INTERR
         'Why does she go there?'

Further on (idem, p. 332), he reports the form (v), attested in the *Atlas linguistique de la France* by J. Gilliéron & E. Edmont (1902) for the Franco-provençal of Savoy.

(v)   *Comment* il crie-*ti?*
         How he shouts-INTERR
         'How does he shout?'

[3] The pronunciation of QF presents some peculiarities, which have not been reported because they would have probably made the picture blurry. For example, *je suis* 'I am' assimilates in [Syi]; the pronouns *il* 'he' and *elle* 'she' become [i] and [a] respectively. –*Tu* is pronounced [tsy].

The interrogative marker cliticises on the tensed verb, whatever its person and number is. However, since the marker is almost always used in informal contexts and in these contexts the impersonal pronoun *on* 'one' is preferred to the 1st p.pl. pronoun *nous* 'we', *nous* is slightly marginal with *ti/tu* (5c.). *Ti/tu* is also possible with 'full' NPs (5d.).

(5)   a.   T'es-*tu* en forme?
            You are-INTERR. in form
            'Are you fit?'
      b.   On est-*tu* chanceux?
            One is-INTERR. lucky
            'Are we lucky?'
      c.   ? Nous sommes-*tu* en guerre?
            We are-INTERR in war
            'Are we at war?'
      d.   Rose a-*tu* grossi?
            Rose has-INTERR fattened
            'Has Rose fattened?'

It is impossible to use *ti/tu* together with subject-clitic inversion (6a.)[4], while judgements disagree about the *est-ce que* strategy (6b)[5]. The *wh*-operator must move to [Spec, CP] (6c.) – the *in situ* option is unavailable.

(6)   a.   *Vois-tu-*tu* des solutions?
            See-you-INTERR some solutions
      b.   */ok Est-ce qu'on va-*tu* au cinéma?
            Is it that one goes-INTERR to the cinema
      c.   *Elle rencontre-*tu* qui?
            She meets-INTERR who

As to *wh*-phrases, the interrogative marker is incompatible with a subject *wh*-operator, whatever its form is: interrogative pronoun (7a.), interrogative adjective modifying a NP (7b.), quantifier (7c.).

(7)   a.   *Qui a-*tu* tapé à la porte?
            Who has-INTERR knocked at the door
      b.   *Quelle fille joue-*tu*?
            What girl plays-INTERR
      c.   *Combien d'enfants mangent-*tu?*
            How many of children eat-INTERR

On the contrary, the *wh*-operator can be an object NP (8a. - c.), or a PP (8d. - e.).

(8)   a.   Qui elle rencontre-*tu* tous les matins?

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[4] The speakers show doubts about (vi), probably because it tends to be a 'fixed' expression, and is difficult to be analysed in terms of subject-clitic inversion.
(vi.)   Parlez-vous-*tu* anglais?
         Speak-you_pl–INTERR English
         'Do you speak English?'
[5] M.-J. Hamel admits (6b.), whereas the other speakers do not.

        Who she meets-INTERR all the mornings
        'Who does she meet every morning?'
   b. Quelle remarque il a-*tu* fait?
        What remark he has-INTERR made
        'What remark did he make?'
   c. Combien de livres elle a-*tu* lus?
        How many of books she has-inter read
        'How many books did she read?'
   d. Avec qui elle veut-*tu* parler?
        With whom she wants-INTERR to speak
        'Who does she want to speak to?'
   e. Avec quel garçon il a-*tu* parlé?
        With what boy he has-INTERR spoken
        'What boy did he speak to?'

No speakers admit *quoi* and *que* 'what' in [Spec, CP] together with *ti/tu* (9a., b.). Instead, the structures *quoi c'est que* (9c.) and *qu'est-ce que* (9d.) are always accepted, in contrast with the simple *est-ce que* structure (6b). The *in situ* strategy is impossible (9e.).

(9)   a. *Quoi t'as-*tu* mangé?
        What you have-INTERR eaten
     b. *Que t'as-*tu* mangé?
        What you have-INTERR eaten
     c. Quoi c'est que t'as-*tu* mangé?
        What it is that you have-INTERR eaten
        'What's what you ate?'
     d. Qu'est-ce que t'as-*tu* mangé?
        What is it that you have-INTERR eaten
        'What's what you ate?'
     e. *T'as-tu mangé quoi?
        You have-INTERR eaten what

Some *wh*-operators derived from adjuncts are also possible. Judgements disagree on *pourquoi* 'why', *où* 'where' and *comment* 'how' (10a.-c.). Most interestingly, the speakers seem to accept either all or none of them[6]. *Combien* 'how much' (10d.) is (marginally) accepted, while *quand* 'when' is not (10e.).

(10) a. */ok Pourquoi on existe-*tu*?
        Why one exists-INTERR
        'Why do we exist?'
     b. */ok Où il va-*tu*?
        Where he goes-INTERR
        'Where is he going?'
     c. */ok Comment il est-*tu*?
        How he is-INTERR
        'How is he?'
     d. ? Combien ça coûte-*tu*?

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[6] P.Le May-Boucher and R.Boucher accept all, whereas M.-J. Hamel accepts none.

How much this costs-INTERR
'How much is it?'
e. *Quand elle aura-*tu* fini?
When she will-have-INTERR finished

All the accepted combinations are also possible if the complementiser *que* 'that' occupies C°, even when the *wh*-operator is the subject of the verb (11a.) [7]. Moreover, the insertion of *que* 'that' rescues the sentences judged impossible – namely, sentences having *quoi* 'what' (but not *que* 'what') and adjuncts in [Spec, CP] can be possible:

(11) a. Qui *qu*'a tapé à la porte? [8]
      b. Qui *qu*'elle rencontre-*tu* tous les matins?
      c. Quelle remarque *qu*'il a-*tu* fait?
      d. Avec qui *qu*'elle veut-*tu* parler?
      e. Avec quel garçon *qu*'il a-*tu* parlé?
      f. Quoi *que* t'as-*tu* mangé? [9]
      g. *Que *que* t'as-*tu* mangé?
      h. Pourquoi *qu*'on existe-*tu*?
      i. Où *qu*'il va-*tu*?
      j. Comment *qu*'il est-*tu*?
      k. Combien *que* ça co⌡te-*tu*?
      l. */ᵒᵏ Quand *qu*'elle aura-*tu* fini?

3. THE ANALYSIS

3.1   Rizzi's (1992) hypothesis: the *Wh*-Criterion

Rizzi (1992) establishes the general principle ruling interrogative sentences:

(12) The *Wh*-Criterion:
      A. A *wh*-operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with $X°$ [+*wh*];
      B. An $X°$ [+*wh*] must be in a Spec-head configuration with a *wh*-operator.

This principle describes the configuration universally needed for an interrogative sentence to be accepted: since the [+*wh*] feature on a clausal head (typically C°) designates that its CP is a question, at the appropriate level of representation interrogative operators must be in the SPECs of CPs interpreted as questions and, reciprocally, CPs interpreted as questions must have interrogative operators as specifiers. This condition must be satisfied at LF in any case. If the interrogative CP is embedded, the [+*wh*] feature of C° is selected by the verb of the main clause:

(13) I wonder [$_{CP}$ who$_i$ C°$_{[+wh]}$ [Mary has seen t$_i$]]

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[7] Obviously, (11a.) is impossible if the marker *ti/tu* is added (cf. 7a.):

(vii.)   *Qui qu'a-*tu* tapé à la porte?

[8] Anne Rochette (p.c.) informs me that in her dialect the current form of (11a.) is *Qui* qui *a tapé à la porte?* [ki̱kjatapea̱lapo̱Rt].

[9] Cf. Noonan (1992) and (viii), in Haegeman (1994).

(viii.)   *Quoi que* tu as fait?
          What that you have done
          'What have you done?'

On the contrary, if the CP is a direct question, the starting point for the chain of licensing is the inflection head INFL, which also contains the tense specifications of the whole sentence. This postulate allows us to explain subject-auxiliary inversion: I°→C° movement moves the [+*wh*] feature in the right position to satisfy the *Wh*-Criterion.

(14)   a. [C [Mary has$_{[+wh]}$ seen who]]
       b. [Who has$_{[+wh]}$ [Mary t seen t]]

When the *wh*-operator is the subject of the sentence, a *chain* of co-indexed positions is formed, which blocks the I°-to-C° movement. In fact, in English, I° and the inflection containing [+*wh*], lowered to V°, are co-indexed; the subject moved to [Spec, CP] triggers agreement in C°; the trace of the subject in [Spec, IP] is co-indexed with I°; hence, by transitivity, C° is co-indexed with I°. C° forms a chain with I° and with the lower inflection containing [+*wh*]. Then, the *Wh*-Criterion is met in syntax.

(15) [Who$_i$ C°$_i$ [t$_i$ I°$_i$ love-s$_{[+wh]}$ Mary]]

Rizzi (1992) mentions the interrogative marker *ti* as the morphological realisation of [+*wh*] on I°. Noonan (1992) and Friedemann (1997) agree with him on this point, while Roberts (1993) and Poletto (1993) claim that [+*wh*] can also be base-generated in C° (cf. section 3.3). In order to explain how French can leave a *wh*-operator *in situ* (16a.) and/or avoid I-to-C movement, (16b.), Rizzi exploits a partially functional definition of *wh*-operator (17):

(16)   a. Elle a rencontré qui?
           She has met whom
       b. Qui elle a rencontré?
           Whom she has met
           'Who did she meet?'

(17)   A. *wh*-operator = a *wh*-phrase in a scope position
       B. scope position = a left-peripheral A-bar position

When an interrogative sentence has a *wh*-operator *in situ*, this *wh*-phrase does not qualifies as an operator; hence it needs not to be in a Spec-head relation with a X° [+*wh*]. In order to meet the *Wh*-Criterion, French exploits an option called *dynamic agreement*: in (16a.), the *wh*-phrase must move in a scope position at LF, and it endows C° of the [+*wh*] feature under dynamic agreement. This phenomenon takes place in syntax in the case of (16b.). However, the fact that this option is peculiar to French makes it look like an *ad hoc* solution.

(18)   *wh*-op X° ⇒ *wh*-op X° [+*wh*]

3.2   Rizzi & Roberts (1992): double [Spec, CP]

Alternatively, Rizzi & Roberts (1992) suggest that I° can move to C° and check [+*wh*] at the appropriate level of representation, but, as C° can be occupied by COMP, I° adjoins to C°. The typically French asymmetry between NP and clitic subject (20a. -b.) is explained by the postulate that, after I-to-C movement, the clitic subject incorporates in C°. Its incorporation is required because of the visibility condition of NPs in syntax. As in French a NP is endowed with Nominative Case only by Spec-head agreement, I-to-C movement destroys the configuration needed for Case-marking. On the contrary, a clitic subject can be 'saved' by incorporation.

(19)   a. Is John in Paris?
      b. Is he in Paris?

(20)   a. *Est Jean a Paris?
         Is Jean in Paris
      b. Est-il à Paris?
         'Is he in Paris?'

(21)   a. *Quand est Jean venu?
         When is Jean come
      b. Quand est-il venu?
         When is he come
         'When did he come?'

Since adjunction of I° to C° needs not only two heads, but also two specifiers, French complex inversion can be explained:

(22)   Quand Jean est-il venu?
      When Jean is-he come
      'When did Jean come?'

In (22), *quand* 'when' is in the higher SPEC, which is an A-bar position, whereas *Jean* is in the lower SPEC, an A position. The two specifiers are hierarchically ordered because the subject must be adjacent to the head that endows it with Nominative Case, namely I°:

(23) $[_{CP}$ Quand $[_{CP}$ Jean$_i$ $[_{C'}$ [est-il]$_k$ [t$_i$ t$_k$ venu]]]]

Rizzi & Roberts claim that the two subjects are base-generated in the sentence; the full NP is generated in [Spec, VP], while [Spec, IP] is occupied by an expletive item. When the CP level is activated, I° moves to C° and the expletive incorporates.
  This hypothesis has been contested[10] for various reasons. Among others, it is doubtful that the clitic pronoun is an expletive, since it agrees with the subject NP in gender and number; it is not clear why I-to-C movement should destroy the context of Case-marking; inversion in normal declarative sentences has not been excluded.

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[10] Cf. Noonan (1992), Kayne (1994) and Friedemann (1997).

3.3 Poletto (1993) and Roberts (1993): inversion takes place in syntax.

Poletto (1993) states that clitic subjects in north-eastern Italian dialects are not NP subjects, but heads adjoined to Agr° which bear φ-features. Spec-head agreement with [Spec, AgrP] licenses a *pro*; in fact, these varieties are null subject languages (NSLs).

A piece of evidence for this conclusion is the fact that the series of preverbal clitic subjects (SCL1) are different from those of postverbal clitic subjects (SCL2) used in interrogative sentences, both in their morphological form and quantity – the series of SCL1s is incomplete. The examples are in Padouan dialect.

(24)a. Go da fare na roba.   (Padouan)
        pro have to do something
        'I have to do something.'
    b. Cossa go*i* da fare?
        What have-I$_{cl}$ to do
        'What do I have to do?'

(25) a. *Te* ghè da fare na roba
        'You have to do something'
    b. Cossa ghè*to* da fare?
        What have-you$_{cl}$ to do?
        'What do you have to do?'

(26) a. 1   2   3   4   5   6
          -     te   el/la   -   -   i/le
      b. 1   2   3   4   5   6
          i   to   lo/la   i   o   li/le

However, SCL1s are in complementary distribution with phonetically realised subject NPs: they cannot co-occur with another thematic subject in an argumental position, nor can they occur if a θ-role has not been assigned to the subject, as with weather verbs. Hence, they must absorb a θ-role:

(27) a. Nisun (*el) vien
        Nobody he$_{cl}$ comes
    b. Personne (*il) n'a rien dit
        Nobody he$_{cl}$ not$_{cl}$ has nothing said
        'Nobody said anything'

(28) a. *El pare che…
        He$_{cl}$ seems that…
    b. Il semble que…
        It$_{cl}$ seems that…
        'It seems that…'

Poletto (1993) shares Rizzi & Roberts' (1992) hypothesis that I-to-C movement destroys the context of Case-marking. In Padouan, like in French, an NP subject cannot remain in [Spec, AgrP] with I-to-C movement (29), while a clitic subject can (30). Contrary to French, though, *wh*-questions do not allow clitic subject to follow the subject NP (31).

(29) a. *Quand est Jean venu?
          When is Jean come
      b. *Quando ze Nane vegnúo?
          When is Nane come

(30) a. Quand est-il venu?
          When is-he_cl come
      b. Quando ze*lo* vegnuo?
          When is-he_cl come
          'When did he come?'
(31) a. Quand Jean vient-il?
          When Jean comes-he_cl
          'When did Jean come?'
      b. *Quando Nane vien*lo*?
          Quand Nane comes he_cl

Hence, Poletto suggests that in north-eastern Italian dialects SCL2s are true NPs, which can occupy [Spec, AgrP]. They have a complete morphological series, differently from SCL1s, because they have to licence *pro* after I-to-C movement.

Roberts (1993) adopts a parallel analysis for Valdôtain, as he distinguishes SCL1s – agreement markers – from SCL2s – real subject pronouns. He also sketches the diachronic origin of the *ti/teu* interrogative marker in Valdôtain. The *ti* form derives from *t-il* '(does) he', while *teu* corresponds to 'you' 2nd p.s. pronoun[11]; both of them were used in subject clitic inversion. The structural ambiguity of the interrogative form SCL-V-SCL allowed the evolution of SCL2 from a clitic subject agreeing in gender and number into an invariable interrogative marker. Speakers just re-analyse and simplify the structure.

The examples are drawn from Châtillon (32a.), where the *ti* marker has already settled, and Ayas (32b.), while the re-analysis is still going on. The structure in (33a) is the starting point: I°, with the preverbal clitic subject, has moved to C°. The postverbal clitic subject occupies [Spec, AgrP]. (33b) is the re-analysed structure: I° does not move, and the postverbal clitic is invariable.

(32) a. Me minjo *ty* ina poma?   *ty*: invariable marker
          pro I_cl eat-INTERR an apple
          'Will I eat an apple?'
      b. L'a *teu* mïndja?   *teu*: 2nd p.s. pronoun
          pro he_cl has-PRON eaten
          'Did he eat?'

(33) a. [_CP cl + aux_k # ti_i [_IP t_i [_I' t_k VP]]]
      b. [_IP *pro* [_I' cl + aux # ti VP]]]

As to the general theory about interrogatives, Poletto (1993) suggests that Rizzi's (1992) *Wh-* Criterion presents a parameter about the choice of the head bearing the [*wh*] feature.

(34)   A. INFL is marked [+*wh*]
       B. COMP is marked [+*wh*]

While English, French and Padouan are examples of languages choosing I° as the head bearing the [+*wh*] feature, Venetian has both opportunities open.

If INFL is marked [+*wh*], the inflected verb has to move to C°, and a cleft structure is obligatorily realised, in which the verb moving to C° is the copula. According to Poletto (1993), this is due to the Venetian tendency not to use SCL2s and to the fact that I-to-C movement destroys the context of Nominative case assignement. Hence, the only element that can occupy [Spec, AgrP] is an expletive null subject.

(35)   Cossa ze che la magna?   (Venetian)
       What is that she eats
       'What does she eat?'

(36) $[_{CP} Cossa_x [_{C°} ze_j [_{AGRP} pro\ t_j [_{VP} [_{CP} t´_x [_{C°} che [_{AGRP} la\ magna\ t_x]]]]]]]$

Instead, if C° is marked [+*wh*], a complementiser occupies C° and the resulting structure is a sentence like (37).

(37)   Cossa che la magna?
       What that she eats
       'What does she eat?'

A third possibility is that of a language which chooses only the B option of (34). Triestino seems to be such a language.

In Triestino the inflected verb never moves to C°, because it is not [+*wh*] marked; hence it has no feature to check through head movement. The *Wh-* Criterion is satisfied only by the movement of the *wh-* operator to [Spec, CP], because the Spec-head relation is established with the head C°, and not with the inflected verb.

(38)   Cossa la dise?   (Triestino)
       What she says
       'What does she say?'

3.4   Friedemann (1997): distinction between [*Q*] and [*op*] features

Friedemann (1997) suggests that I-to-C movement is covert in French, and that postverbal clitics are not pronominal subjects, but mode and tense markers, which also bear φ-features. This characteristic allows them to identify a null subject in clitic subject and complex inversion

(39)   [Où [Jacques/*pro* a-t-il mangé]]
          Where Jacques/pro has-INTERR 3rd p.s.m. eaten
          'Where did Jacques/he eat?'

This analysis permits fruitful parallelisms with English and north-eastern Italian dialects. In fact, in the contexts where French (40a.-b.) presents an interrogative marker, English uses the auxiliary *do* (41a. -b.).

(40)   a.   Qui aime Marie?   *Qui*: subject
              Who loves Marie
              'Who loves Marie?'
        b.   Qui (Marie) aime-t-*elle*?   *Qui*: object
              Who Marie loves-INTERR 3rd p.s.f.
              'Who does Marie love?'

(41)   a.   Who loves Fiona?   *Who*: subject
        b.   Who *does* Fiona love?   *Who*: object

Hence, *do* is a free flexional morpheme, which differs from French interrogative markers in the fact that it is not an affix. It moves to C° in syntax because it does not have any relevant semantic content, then it is invisible to LF processes.

Consequently, Rizzi's (1992) *Wh*-Criterion is re-interpreted – instead of one [*wh*] feature, two distinct features are to be checked, namely [*Q*], generated in I°, and [*op*], generated in [Spec, CP]. If these features are strong, they require overt movement. I° must raise to C°, while an interrogative operator must move to [Spec, CP]. Then, the Spec-head configuration required by Rizzi's Wh-Criterion is preserved. If the features are weak, they delay movement to LF.

The crucial point is that these two features are independent. For example, interrogative sentences in Bellunese dialect (Munaro 1995) present overt I-to-C movement, but *wh*-phrases *in situ*. Hence, Bellunese has a strong [*Q*] feature and a weak [*op*] feature.

(42)   A-tu fat che?   (Munaro 1995)
          Have you done what
          'What have you done?'

Manifestly, in French [*Q*] is weak and [*op*] is strong, except in the varieties which exploit the *in situ* option, where [*Q*] and [*op*] are weak.

According to Friedemann, when the question bears on the subject, the [*Q*] features have to be checked in an A position – namely, [Spec, IP] – through spec-head relation with I° (43a. -c.). When the question does not bear on the subject, the [*Q*] features have to be checked in an A-bar position – namely, [Spec, CP] – through I-to-C movement (44a. -c.). The interrogative marker in French and *do* in English correspond to [*Q*] to be checked in [Spec, CP]. I-to-C movement is covert in French.

(43) a. *Qui aime-t-*il* Claire?
          Who loves-INTERR 3rd p.s.m. Claire
      b. *Who *does* love Claire?

(44) a. Qui Claire a-t-*elle* vu?
          Who Claire has-INTERR 3rd p.s.f. seen
          'Who did Claire see?'
      b. Who *did* Claire see?

The grammaticality of (45) shows that in colloquial French the interrogative marker is not morphologically realised.

(45) Qui tu as$_{[wh]}$ vu?
      Who you have seen
      'Who did you see?'

Thus, Friedemann eliminates Rizzi's (1992) partially functional definition of operator and the option of dynamic agreement, and Rizzi & Roberts' (1992) adjunction of I° to C°.

However, Friedemann's (1997) theory presents opaque points as well. First, I would express some doubts about the possibility for a language to be *pro*-drop only in interrogative sentences. Second, Friedemann (1997) does not account for the main piece of evidence of I-to-C movement in French – that is, the fact that it is complementary to COMP. In fact, Rizzi & Roberts (1992) offer examples of QF (46a-c), where inversion is impossible if C° is taken by *que* 'that'; SF (47a-c), where adverbs requiring subject-auxiliary inversion can, as an alternative, insert the complementiser; and informal SF (48a-c), where the if-clause of a conditional sentence can be expressed either by the complementiser *si* 'if' in C°, or by subject-auxiliary inversion, with the verb in the conditional mode.

(46) a. Qui as-tu vu?
          Who have you seen?
      b. Qui que tu as vu?
          Who that you have seen
      c. *Qui qu'as-tu vu?
           Who that have you seen
          'Who did you see?'

(47) a. Peut-être a-t-il fait…
          Perhaps has he done
      b. Peut-être qu'il a fait…
          Perhaps that he has done
      c. *Peut-être qu'a-t-il fait…
          Perhaps that has he done
          'Perhaps he did…'

(48) a. Si tu étais parti, je t'aurais accompagné.
          If you had left, I you$_{cl}$ would-have accompanied
      b. Serais-tu parti, je t'aurais accompagné.
          Had-you left, I you$_{cl}$ would-have accompanied
      c. *Si serais-tu parti, je t'aurais accompagné.
          If had you left, I you$_{cl}$ would-have accompanied

'If you had left, I would have accompanied you'

Third, Friedemann claims that, when the question bears on the subject, the [Q] feature is to be verified in [Spec, IP] through Spec-head relation with I°. However, in QF the complementiser can follow the *wh*-operator even when it is the subject. Hence, *qui* 'who' must have moved to [Spec, CP].

(49) Qui *qu*'a tapé à la porte?   (=10a.)
      Who that has knocked at the door
      'Who knocked at the door?'

Finally, the interrogative pronoun *que* 'what' is problematic. There are two hypothesis concerning it; the first one[12] is that *que* is the phonetic realisation of COMP, and that [Spec, CP] is occupied by an abstract *wh*-operator; the second one (Friedemann 1990) is that *que* is the weak form of *quoi*, just like the personal pronoun *me* is the atonic equivalent of the tonic pronoun *moi* 'me'. *Que* would be a 'full' pronoun which cliticises on C°, where the verb has moved.

(50) a. Que cherchez-vous?
          What look-for you
          'What are you looking for?'
      b. *Que vous cherchez?
          What you look-for

(51) a. Que cherche Rose?
          What looks-for Rose
          'What is Rose looking for?'
      b. *Que Rose cherche-t-elle?
          What Rose looks-for-she

Since Friedemann (1997) excludes overt inversion in French, he is obliged to postulate that an adjacency relation is required between *que* and INFL at PF, although he admits that this is an *ad hoc* solution.

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[12] Obenauer (1977): "Syntaxe et interprétation: *que* interrogatif", *Le français moderne* 45, 305-41, and Bellier ('89) "Mouvement et interprétation: les interrogatives indirectes en français", *Langage*.

4.   THE *SPLIT*-AGrP HYPOTHESIS

Picoche & Marchello-Nizia (1991) explain that the *ti* morpheme originates from *–t-il*, which is the verbal interrogative form of the third person singular (52). In "popular" French, since the end of the 18th century, *–ti* becomes an interrogative suffix for all persons, either preserving the SVO order (53a.), or cliticising on the inverted structure (53b.) [13].

(52)   L'aime-t-il?
          Her$_{cl}$ loves he$_{cl}$
          'Does he love her?'

(53)   a. Je l'aime-*ti*?
           I her$_{cl}$ love-INTERR
           Do I love her?
       b. Veux-tu-*ti*?
           Want-you-INTERR
           'Do you want (it)?'

        Friedemann's (1997) approach would lead us to claim that in (53b.) an invariable interrogative marker (*ti*) is added to the interrogative marker agreeing with *pro* (*tu*).
        I would like to suggest an alternative model, starting from Cardinaletti's (1997) *split*-AgrP hypothesis. This theory states that, in a sentence, a higher AgrSP position – let us call it **SubjP** – is reserved to 'full' NPs and strong pronouns, while a lower position – **AgrSP** – is reserved to weak pronouns. In SubjP the "Subject-of-Predication" property of (strong) subjects is checked, and in AgrSP nominative case and φ-features are checked[14].
        In fact, it is commonly accepted that in syntax the subject of a sentence occupies [Spec, AgrP] and that the tensed verb takes Agr°. However, 'full' NPs and strong pronouns (French *lui*, English *he*, German *er* [+human]) admit the insertion of a parenthetical, while weak pronouns (French *il*, English *it*, German *er* [- human]) [15] do not.

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[13] Foulet (1921) also reports (ix) from E. Rolland (1878), *Romania* 7, p. 599; (x-xi) from G. Paris (1906), *Mélanges linguistiques publiés par M. Roques*, p. 280, (xii-xiii) from Nyrop (1903), *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, t. II, p. 168.
(ix.)   Voulez-vous-*t'y*?
          Want you$_{pl}$ INTERR
          'Do you want (it) ?'
(x.)   As-tu-*ti* bu?
          Have you INTERR drunk
          'Did you drink?'
(xi.)   Viendrez-vous-*ti* me voir?
          Will-come you$_{pl}$ INTERR me$_{cl}$ see
          'Will you come and see me?'
(xii.)   Suis-je-*ti* ?
          Am I INTERR
          'Am I ?'
(xiii.)   Sommes-nous-*ti*?
          Are we INTERR
          'Are we?'
[14] This dichotomy is taken from Cardinaletti (1999). In Cardinaletti (1997) SubjP and AgrP were called Agr1P and Agr2p respectively.
[15] Italian presents a peculiar situation, since *egli* 'he' admits the insertion of a parenthetical, although it belongs to the same pronominal class as *il/it/es,* whereas *pro* and *tu* 'you' are weak pronouns:
(xiv.)   [$_{SubJP}$ Gianni/Lui/Egli Subj° [$_{FP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ *pro*/tu V$_{fin}$ […]]]]

(54) a. Jean/Lui, je crois, aime beaucoup la musique.
          Jean/He_strong, I think, loves a-lot the music
          'Jean/He, I think, loves music a lot.'
      b. *Il, je crois, aime beaucoup la musique.
          He_weak, I think, loves a-lot the music

(55) a. John/He, as you know, is a nice guy.
      b. *It, as you know, rained the whole day.

(56) a. Er, soweit ich weiss, spricht nur English.   *Er = der Mann* 'the man'
          'He, as far as I know, speaks only English'
      b. *Er/Es, soweit ich weiss, kostet zuviel.   *Er = der Tish* 'the table'
          It, as far as I know, costs too much

As in Kayne's (1994) theoretical framework adjunction to X-bar is impossible, full NPs and strong pronouns must occupy a higher projection than the one taken by weak pronouns and the tensed verb. The higher projection, however, is not left dislocated[16]. Parenthetical sentences take a functional projection in the middle.

(57) a. [_SubjP Jean/lui Subj° [_FP je crois [_AgrSP SPEC aime [_XP beaucoup la musique]]]]
      b. [_SubjP John/he Subj° [_FP as you know [_AgrSP SPEC is [_XP a nice guy]]]]
      c. [_SubjP Er Subj° [_FP soweit ich weiss [_AgrSP SPEC spricht [_XP nur English]]]]

(58) a. [_SubjP Subj° [_FP [_AgrSP il aime [_XP beaucoup la musique]]]]
      b. [_SubjP Subj° [_FP [_AgrSP it Agr2° [_XP rained the whole day]]]]
      c. [_SubjP Subj° [_FP [_AgrSP Er/Es kostet [_XP zuviel]]]]

This model can also account for complex inversion in SF[17]. In a way, it restates Rizzi & Roberts' (1992) idea, but the double [Spec, CP] hypothesis is eliminated, thus making analysis more straightforward. In SF, contrary to English, subject-auxiliary inversion is impossible with a 'full' NP subject. It seems that C° cannot be used [18]:

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[16] See the discussion upon this point in Cardinaletti (1997, p. 42-45).

[17] Cardinaletti (1999) has developed this idea as well. She also points out the following contrasts, which prove that in French complex inversion the subject NP is usually left-dislocated (xv.a). Instead, with the *wh*P *diable* '*wh*- the hell' form (xv.b) the subject cannot be dislocated - adjacency effects are explained (xv.c). This point is particularly clear in the case of *personne* 'nobody', which cannot be left-dislocated either (xvi). It is not clear whether QF shares this pattern or not.
(xv.)   a. Qui Jean, selon toi, a-t-il invité?
            Whom John, according to you, has-he invited?
        b. Qui diable Jean a-t-il invité?
            Whom the hell John has-he invited
        c. *Qui diable Jean, selon toi, a-t-il invité?
            Whom the hell John, according to you, has-he invited
            'Who the hell has John invited, according to you?'
(xvi.) a. *Personne il a invité Jean.
            Nobody he has invited Jean
        b. Qui (diable) personne a-t-il invité?
            Whom the hell nobody has-he invited?
        c. *Qui (diable) personne, selon toi, a-t-il invité?
            Whom (the hell) nobody, according to you, has-he invited?

[18] Beside Rizzi & Roberts' (1992) hypothesis, Kayne (1994, p. 44) claims that V°→ C° movement is not available at all in French, but he also cites Sportiche (n.d.), who thinks that V°→C° is available at LF.

(59) a. Is John in Paris?   (=19)
      b. Is he in Paris?

(60) a. *Est Jean a Paris?   (=20)
          Is Jean in Paris
      b. Est-il à Paris?
          'Is he in Paris?'

(61) a. *Combien de livres a Jean lus?
          How many of books has Jean read
      b. Combien de livres Jean a-t-il lus?
          How many of books Jean has-he read
          'How many books did Jean read?'

Complex inversion simply calls the two AgrSP layers into play. (62) is an indicative representation of (61b.):

(62) [CP [Combien de livres]x C° [SUBJP Jean [a-t-il]j [AgrSP tj lus tx]]]?

My hypothesis holds Friedemann's (1997) distinction between [*Q*] and [*op*] features to be valid, and takes the *ti/tu* marker as the overt realisation of [*Q*]. *Contra* Friedemann, however, I would claim that postverbal clitic subjects are not realisations of [*Q*] and that whenever they appear, I-to-C movement has taken place.
    In (63a-b) the interrogative feature is abstract, contrasting with (63c-d).

(63) a. Tu veux de l'eau?
          You want of the water
      b. Veux-tu de l'eau?
          Want-you of the water
      c. Tu veux-*ti* de l'eau?
          You want-INTERR of the water
      d. Veux-tu-*ti* de l'eau?
          Want-you-INTERR of the water
          'Do you want any water?'

Since Kayne (1994, p. 20) refuses multiple head adjunctions, cyclic adjunction is necessary. The sentences in (63) should be represented as in (64):

(64) a. [CP C° [SubjP Subj° [AgrSP **tu veux** [TP de l'eau]]]]
      b. [CP [**veux-tu**]i [SubjP ti [AgrSP t t [TP de l'eau]]]]
      c. [CP C° [SubjP Subj° [AgrSP **tu veux**i-*ti* [TP ti de l'eau]]]]
      d. [CP [[**veux-tu-*ti***]j [SubjP tj [AgrSP t t [TP de l'eau]]]]

In (64a.) AgrS° is [*Q*]-marked, although the interrogative feature is not phonetically realised. I-to-C movement takes place at LF, because [*Q*] is weak.
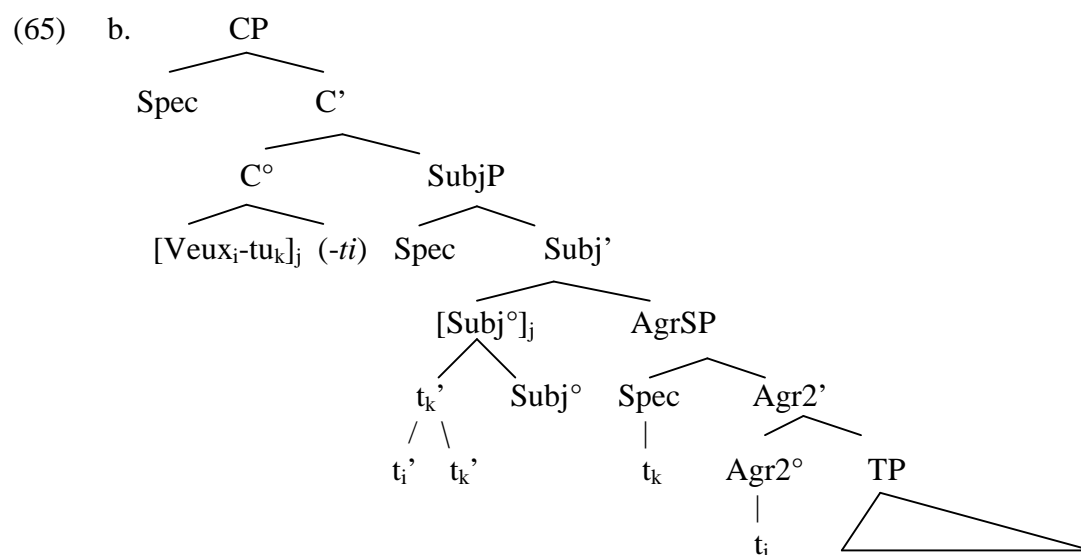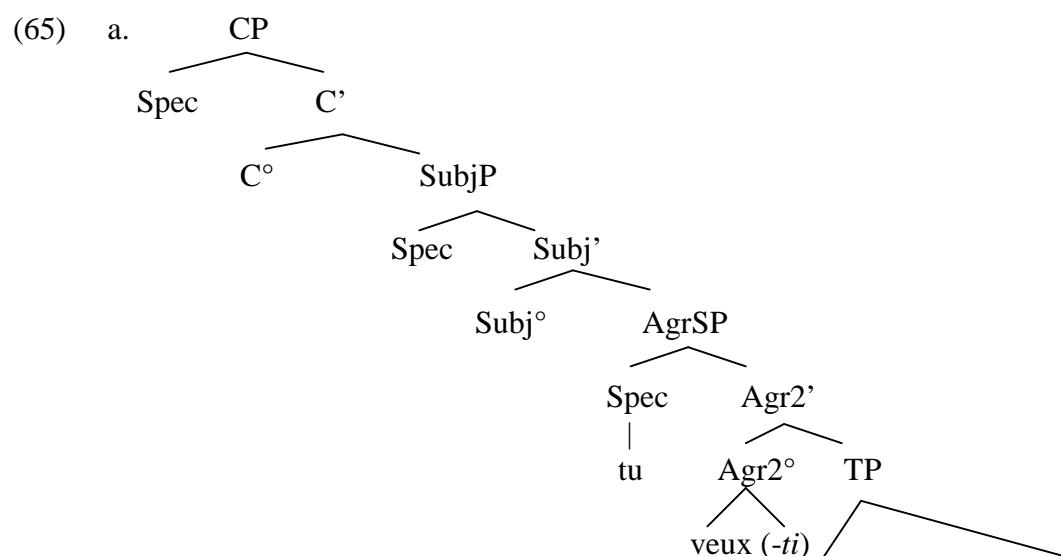   In (64b.) the pronoun *tu* 'you' adjoins to a functional head on its left, let us say Subj°. The tensed verb, in its turn, cliticises on this complex head. Despite it is not phonetically realised, the [*Q*] feature is strong and must be checked on C° in syntax. Hence, the complex head *[veux-tu]* moves to C°.

(64c.) is structurally parallel to (64a.) with a difference: the weak [*Q*] feature is phonetically realised. Then, the verb adjoins to AgrS° where *ti* has been either generated, or moved.

(64d.) is parallel to (64b.), but it has an overtly realised [*Q*] feature. The *ti/tu* marker is generated (or moved) in a functional head, let us say Subj°, and the pronoun *tu* 'you' leaves [Spec, AgrSP] to adjoins to it. Then, the tensed verb would cliticise on the complex [–*tu-ti*] yielding [*veux-tu-ti*], which would move to C° in order to check the [*Q*] feature. Another possibility is that *ti/tu* is directly generated on C° as the overt realisation of the strong [*Q*]. In this case, the pronoun *tu* would cliticise on Subj°, then the verb would cliticise on *tu*, and finally the complex [*veux-tu*] head would rise to cliticise on C°, where *ti* is found.

(65a) is the representation of (64a., c.), whereas (65b.) represents (64b., d.).

(65)   a.

```
                    CP
               ┌────┴────┐
            Spec         C'
                   ┌─────┴─────┐
                  C°          SubjP
                         ┌──────┴──────┐
                       Spec          Subj'
                              ┌────────┴────────┐
                            Subj°             AgrSP
                                         ┌──────┴──────┐
                                       Spec          Agr2'
                                        │        ┌─────┴─────┐
                                       tu      Agr2°         TP
                                              veux (-ti)   ◁────
```

(65)   b.

```
                 CP
            ┌────┴────┐
         Spec         C'
                ┌─────┴─────┐
               C°          SubjP
          ┌────┴────┐   ┌────┴────┐
   [Veuxi-tuk]j (-ti) Spec      Subj'
                        ┌────────┴────────┐
                     [Subj°]j            AgrSP
                    ┌────┴────┐      ┌─────┴─────┐
                  tk'       Subj°  Spec        Agr2'
                 / \               │       ┌────┴────┐
               ti'  tk'           tk     Agr2°       TP
                                          │        ◁────
                                          ti
```

The contrast in (54) is found also in QF – in declarative sentences with a 'full' NP subject, the tensed verb remains in AgrS°.

(66)   a. Jean, je crois, aime beaucoup la musique.
        b. *Il, je crois, aime beaucoup la musique.

Moreover (and most interestingly), the asymmetry in (67) shows that the same structure is respected also in interrogative sentences. Hence, it can be said that in the examined variety of QF *ti/tu* is always in Agr°.

(67)   a. Pierre, selon toi, parle-*tu* anglais?
            Pierre, according-to you, speaks-INTERR English
            'Does Pierre speak English, according to you?'
       b. *Il, selon toi, parle-*tu* anglais?
             He, according-to you speaks-INTERR English

The structure of (67) is given in (68).

(68)   a. [CP C° [SubjP Pierre Subj° [XP [AgrSP parle-*tu* anglais]]]]
       b. [CP C° [SubjP Subj° [XP [AgrSP parle-*tu* anglais]]]]

In the case of null subject languages using the *ti/tu* morpheme, the relevant configuration should be (69), supposing that *pro* occupies [Spec, AgrSP][19]. Here is the structure of (32a.), the Châtillon example:

(69)   [CP C° [SubjP Subj° [AgrSP *pro* me minjo-*ty* [TP ina poma]]]]?   (= 32a.)

The asymmetry between subject and non-subject *wh*-operator as to the distribution of *ti/tu* proves that the interrogative marker coincides with the [*Q*] feature on verbal flexion.

(70)   a. *Qui a-*tu* tapé à la porte?   (= 7a.)
       b. Qui elle rencontre-*tu* tous les matins?   (= 8a.)

In fact, Rizzi's (1992) *Wh*-Criterion states that a subject *wh*-operator triggers a chain of co-indexations by transitivity. I° and the inflection containing [+*wh*] are co-indexed; the subject moved to [Spec, CP] agrees with C°; the trace of the subject in [Spec, IP] is co-indexed with I°; hence, by transitivity, C° is co-indexed with I°. C° forms a chain with I° and with the lower inflection containing [+*wh*]. Then, the *Wh*-Criterion already is met in syntax.

(71)   [Who$_i$ C°$_i$ [t$_i$ I°$_i$ love-s$_{[+wh]}$ Mary]]   (= 15)

This makes I-to-C inversion unavailable, since it would mark C° for the feature [+*wh*] twice. If we take Friedemann's distinction between [*op*] and [*Q*] features as valid, we can simply state that the *ti/tu* morpheme is the overt realisation of the [*Q*] feature which needs to be checked by movement to C°, either in syntax (if [*Q*] is strong) or at LF (if [*Q*] is weak). Then, the presence of *ti/tu* rules out a sentence in which I° is already marked for the feature [*Q*] through to a chain of co-indexations.

In the variety of QF examined here, the [*op*] features in [Spec, CP] are strong. In fact, we noticed that the *in situ* option is unavailable.

(72)   *Elle rencontre-*tu* qui?   (= 6c.)
        She meets-INTERR who

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[19] Cf. ftn. 13.

Contrary to Friedemann's (1997) claim that a subject *wh-* operator remains in [Spec, IP], the presence of the complementiser *que* 'that' in questions bearing on the subject proves that *qui* 'who' moves to [Spec, CP].

(73) Qui *qu'*a tapé à la porte?   (=11a.)
     Who that has knocked at the door
     'Who knocked at the door?'

A priori, however, nothing keeps the variety of French exploiting the *in situ* option from leaving the subject *wh*-operator in [Spec, IP], since its [*op*] feature is weak. In any case, the presence of *que* 'that' in C° should never block the checking of [*Q*] and [*op*] features, because at LF elements without semantic content – like *que* - must disappear.

We observed in section 2 that sentences focussing on a direct object pronoun are possible only in cleft structures.

(74) a. Quoi c'est que t'as-*tu* mangé?   (=9c.)
       What that is that you have-INTERR eaten
     b. Qu'est-ce que t'as-*tu* mangé?   (=9d.)
       What is that that you have-INTERR eaten
       'What did you eat?'

Obenauer (1981) states that, in comparison with "simple" interrogative sentences (75), cleft interrogatives focus on the *wh*-operator of the question, and have two variables at LF level (76a.), whereas simple interrogatives have one (76b.)[20].

(75) Qu'as-tu mangé?
     What have you eaten
     'Who would she like to meet again?'

(76) a. WH *y* it is *y* the *x* such as you have eaten *x*.
     b. WH *x* you have eaten *x*.

The derivation of cleft interrogatives should be the following. (77a) is the starting structure, where the *wh*-operator has not moved yet. (77b) is produced through *wh*-movement; however, without further modification, the sentence is ruled out. The only possible way for it to be accepted is that the *wh*-operator is "stressed" (i.e. clefted).

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[20] Actually, Obenauer's (1981) also makes the distinction between complex (xvii.a) from cleft interrogative sentences (xvii.b). Both have the *est-ce que* form, but only cleft interrogatives focus on the *wh*-operator and have two variables at LF level (xviii.b), while complex interrogatives have one, just like simple interrogatives (xviii.a). Cleft interrogatives also have a different phonological interpretation.
(xvii.) a. Qui est-ce que tu voudrais revoir?
     b. Qui EST-CE que tu voudrais revoir?
(xviii.)a. WH *x* you would like to meet *x* again.
     b. WH *y* it is *y* the *x* such as you would like to meet *x* again.
Obenauer (1981) suggests that complex interrogatives are produced through an option of cancelling the variable of the focussed interrogative operator (*y*), thus cancelling focus itself. Then the *est-ce que* structure becomes an (inanalysable) unity. I would dare say that, if correct, the dichotomy between cleft and complex interrogatives could have something to say about the asymmetry of judgements on the *est-ce que* strategy. I leave the question open.
(xix.) */^{ok} Est-ce qu'on va-*tu* au cinéma?   (=6b.)
     Is that that one goes-INTERR to the cinema

(77c) is a cleft in the assertive form, while (77d) has undergone *wh*-movement. Clitic subject inversion is only possible if *que* 'what' is the *wh*-operator (77e.).

(77) a. T'as-*tu* mangé quoi?
          You have-INTERR eaten what
      b. (*)Quoi t'as-*tu* mangé?
           What you have-INTERR eaten
      c. C'est quoi que t'as-*tu* mangé?
          It is what that you have-INTERR eaten
      d. Quoi c'est que t'as-*tu* mangé?
          What it is that you have-INTERR eaten
      e. *Quoi est-ce que t'as-*tu* mangé?
          What is it that you have-INTERR eaten
          'What have you eaten?'

On the contrary, *que* seems to admit an uninverted form of clefting. Noonan (1992) reports (78a.) – which she assumes to be the phonetic form of (78b.)

(78) a. Qu'sek c'est ça?
      b. Que c'est que c'est ça?
          What it is that it is this
          'What's that there?'

(79) offers an indicative representation of cleft interrogatives, following Obenauer's (1981) approach. The FocP node is occupied by the "stressed" *wh*- operator.

(79) a. [$_{IP}$ c'est [$_{FOCP}$ quoi$_x$ [$_{CP}$ t´$_x$ que t'as–*tu* mangé t$_x$]]]
      b. [$_{CP}$ quoi/que$_x$ [$_{FOCP}$ t´´$_x$ c'est que [$_{CP}$ t´$_x$ t'as–*tu* mangé t$_x$]]]
      c. [$_{CP}$ qu'$_x$ est-ce [$_{FOCP}$ t´´$_x$ que [$_{CP}$ t´$_x$ t'as–*tu* mangé t$_x$]]]

Noonan (1992) considers the structures realising *que* 'that' in COMP as "hidden clefts", meaning that the copula is missing. This claim implies that *que*-insertion should rescue sentences focussing on a direct object pronoun, and this is actually the case for *quoi* 'what', although not for *que* 'what'. The speakers also generally find a sensible improvement if *que* 'that' is added to questions bearing on adjuncts.

(80) a. * Quoi t'as-*tu* mangé?   (=10)
      b. */^{ok} Pourquoi on existe-*tu*?
      c. */^{ok} Où il va-*tu*?
      d. */^{ok} Comment il est-*tu*?
      e. ? Combien ça co∫ te-*tu*?
      f. *Quand elle aura-*tu* fini?

(81) a. Quoi *que* t'as-*tu* mangé?   (=11)
      b. Pourquoi *qu*'on existe-*tu*?
      c. Où *qu*'il va-*tu*?
      d. Comment *qu*'il est-*tu*?
      e. Combien *que* ça co∫ te-*tu*?
      f. */^{ok} Quand *qu*'elle aura-*tu* fini?

However, this leaves the question open of the unacceptability of a *que que* 'what that' structure.

(82) *Que *que* t'as-tu mangé?
      What that you have-INTERR

The attested form (83a.) instead of (83b.)[21] also goes in this direction. (83a.) would presuppose a starting structure like (83c.).

(83) a. Qui qui a tapé à la porte?
          Who who has knocked at the door
      b. Qui qu'a tapé à la porte?
          Who that has knocked at the door
      c. Qui est-ce qui a tapé à la porte?
          Who is it who has knocked at the door
          'Who knocked at the door?'

(84b.) offers the structure of a hidden cleft, starting from a cleft interrogative ((79c.), repeated as (84a.)).

(84) a. [$_{CP}$ qui$_x$ est-ce [$_{FOCP}$ t´$_x$ que [$_{CP}$ t$_x$ a tapé à la porte]]]
      b. [$_{CP}$ qui$_x$ [$_{FOCP}$ t´$_x$ que [$_{CP}$ t$_x$ a tapé à la porte]]]

5.   CONCLUSION

This piece of research upon the *ti/tu* interrogative marker in QF offered some counter-examples to current claims in the literature. In a geographical area between Montréal and Québec City, the *ti/tu* morpheme is compatible with *wh*-questions, except if the *wh*-operator is the subject. *Quoi* and *que* 'what' are accepted only in cleft structures. Adjuncts have different behaviours; c*ombien* 'how much' is accepted, while *quand* 'when' is not. P*ourquoi* 'why', *où* 'where' and *comment* 'how' are either accepted or not, depending on the speakers. However, the insertion of *que* 'that' in C° rescues sentences having *quoi* 'what' and adjuncts in [Spec, CP]. The *in situ* strategy, which is typical of colloquial SF, is not compatible with the *ti/tu* marker. Instad, the *est-ce que* 'is it that' structure is either accepted or refused.

Five theories on interrogative sentences were examined: Rizzi (1992); Rizzi & Roberts (1992); Poletto (1993) and Roberts (1993); Friedemann (1997). Then I suggested an alternative proposal, starting from Cardinaletti's (1997) *split*-AgrP hypothesis.

Cardinaletti (1997) shows that full NPs and strong pronouns occupy the specifier of SubjP, where the properties of subject are checked, while weak pronouns take [Spec, AgrSP], the projection where NOM Case and φ-features are checked. Since the insertion of a parenthetical sentence between a subject and its verb is possible with strong subjects but not with weak subjects, it can be stated that the verb remains in AgrS° in French. Two AgrP layers – SubjP and AgrSP – can account straightforwardly for complex inversion. In fact, if the full subject occupies [Spec, SubjP] while the agreeing clitic subject takes [Spec, AgrSP], complex inversion is simply generated by AgrS°-to-Subj° movement of the inflected verb.

The different combinations of subject-auxiliary inversion and the presence of *ti/tu* are also explained more easily, since a further functional projection is available. When the inter-rogative morpheme preserves the SVO order, the structure of the sentence is that of a declarative; *ti/tu* occupies Agr°, where the inflected verb adjoins. If *ti/tu* cliticises on the

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[21] Anne Rochette, see ftn. 8.

inverted structure, on the contrary, it is generated on another functional head – probably C° – and the complex verb-clitic subject adjoins on it. Since Kayne (1994) rejects multiple head adjunction, cyclic adjunction is required.

The examined variety of QF respects Cardinaletti's (1997) asymmetry between strong and weak subjects, not only in declarative sentences, but also in interrogative sentences. Then, I would claim that the *ti/tu* interrogative morpheme always occupies AgrS°.

I keep Friedemann's (1997) distinction between [*Q*] and [*op*] features as valid. I propose that the *ti/tu* marker is the overt realisation of [*Q*], whereas postverbal clitic subjects are not. However, the overt realisation of [*Q*] does not depend on its strength. C° and [Spec, CP] are the relevant positions for feature checking, which takes place in syntax if the interrogative features are strong, and is delayed to LF if the features are weak.

For some reason, questions bearing on object pronouns – *quoi* and *que* 'what' - are possible only if the pronoun is clefted. This asymmetry is mirrored in *que*-insertion, which is most likely a "hidden cleft" (Noonan 1992). In fact, the realisation of *que* 'that' in COMP rescues otherwise unaccepted sentences bearing on *quoi* 'what' and adjuncts.

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