RESIDUAL TOBLER-MUSSAFIA IN FRENCH DIALECTS

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1. Introduction

Roberge & Cummins (1994) study the position of object clitics (henceforth, clitics) in 21 Romance dialects of Southern France and Northern Italy. They observe that while clitics are always to the left of the verb (henceforth, V) in simple finite tenses, there is a wide variation in the position of clitics with respect to V in compound tenses, imperatives, gerunds, and infinitives. They find no cross-linguistic correlation regarding clitic position in the various constructions. Table (1) represents a small sample (5/21) of their data.

(1) Position of clitics in various dialects (from Roberge & Cummins 1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive imperatives</th>
<th>Negative imperatives</th>
<th>Infinitives</th>
<th>Gerunds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vendéen</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Saintongeais</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Valdôtain</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>Piedmontese</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valais</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(+ = cl-V ; – = V-cl ; +/- = both orders possible.)
Roberge & Cummins' analysis treats this data as a case of trivial morphological variation: bundles of (clitic) features are associated presyntactically to the verb and are spelled-out postsyntactically as prefixes or suffixes according to language particular morphological templates.

Focusing on imperatives in French dialects, we show that, from an historical perspective, the variation receives a coherent and explanatory account. Sections 2 to 4 show the workings of a NONINITIAL constraint resulting in a residual Tobler-Mussafia effect. Section 5 outlines a syntactic analysis deriving most of the facts from the possibility of V movement to the left of clitics.

### 2. Residual Tobler-Mussafia effects

In Old Romance, including early Old French, clitics are excluded from clause initial position in all types of clauses (declaratives, imperatives, questions), a generalization known as the Tobler-Mussafia “law” (TM): they are preverbal everywhere except in (absolute) V1 contexts, where they are postverbal (2) (clitics are in bold, verbs are underlined). In other words, clitics, which were not affixes (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2001), were positioned not according to verb morphology but according to the syntactic position or environment of the verb.
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(2)  a. **Pursiu les**, senz dute **les prendras**, sis **ociras**. (QLR I, XXX,8)

   ‘Chase them, without doubt you will catch them, and kill them.’

   b. **Vint s’en** al tabernacle; (QLR I, I,9)

   ‘[She] went to the tabernacle’

   c. **As l’oïd?** (QLR III, XXII,18)

   ‘Did you hear this?’

Assuming that the V2 character of Old French requires V to be in C⁰, Hirschbühler & Labelle (2000) express the TM “law” as the NONINITIAL constraint on clitics in (3b), which finds its place in a series of Optimality Theory (OT) ranked violable constraints, an analysis inspired by Anderson (1996, 2000) and Legendre (1996, and many subsequent articles):

(3)  a. **{cl, [+T]}**  (clitics adjoined to finite V)

   b. **NONINITIAL (cl, CP)**  (clitics noninitial in CP)

   c. **LEFTMOST (cl, CP)**  (clitics as far left as possible)

   Ranking: (a) >> (b) >> (c)  (‘>>’ = dominates)

We retain this general analysis here, though we show in section 5 that an account in terms of V movement accounts for most of the facts, at least up to and including standard contemporary French.

The grammar started to change around 1170. First, while in early Old French the order in main clauses was *et V-cl*, towards 1170, clitics started to
appear preverbally following *et* (4) (Hirschbühl & Labelle 2001). This change affected all clause types, including declaratives and questions.

(4)  

*Donne le* dont tout quitement./ *Et le fai* debonnairement

‘Give it totally and do it willingly’  

(Lorris, Rose 2259-60)

Second, after 1230, clitics are preverbal in clause initial position in declaratives and yes-no questions, but imperatives and volitives manifest a residual TM (RTM) effect (see (4)). V2 imperatives disappear with the V2 grammar during the 16th century. By the 17th c. the alternation between preverbal and postverbal position remains only in coordinations and in a few residual V2 constructions (in particular after *or* ‘now’, ‘well’).

(5)  

a.  

*Dis-le.*

‘Say it’

b.  

*Prépare-toi et le dis.*

‘Get ready and say it’

c.  

*Ne le dis pas.*

‘Don’t say it’

d.  

*Or le dis.*

‘Now, say it’

With this background we discuss the case of coordination in positive imperatives in section 3 and of negative imperatives in section 4.

### 3. Coordinated imperatives
Roberge & Cummins’s data (R&C) on positive imperatives reveal the existence of two types of dialects.

3.1. Type I dialects

In some dialects (type I), clitics are postverbal in V1 positive imperatives, and preverbal in a second conjunct after *et* or *pi*. This type is found in Savoyard (6a) and Vendéen (6b), and can be seen as a direct continuation of the grammar of clitics that existed in (the dialects of) French from 1230 until Classical French.

(6)  

a. móezi e  tì  kizò  

   eat     and REFL be quiet  

   (Ratel 1958, in R&C 1994: 243)

b. Va ché li  pi  yi  di...

   ‘Go to him and tell-him...’  

   (Rézeau 1976:67)

Consider a morphological approach to (6). A verb like *dire* ‘say’ with features [+imp, +3sACC] would be spelled out *dis-le* in V1 contexts and *le-dis* after *et/pi*. This is not a trivial case of morphological spell-out, as the morphology would have to access the syntactic environment of the verb.

The influence of a coordinator on the position of clitics is attested in various languages. As in Old French, Bulgarian verbal clitics are postverbal in V initial sentences (7a) but preverbal after *i* (7b). They precede the verb after a
parenthetical (7c), showing that they are not phonological enclitics (see also Legendre 2001: 446).

(7)  

a. **Dade ti go** Vera včera. (Franks 2000: 30)

gave you it Vera yesterday

‘Vera gave it to you yesterday.’

b. **i ti go** dade Vera včera. (Franks 2000: 37.)

and you it gave Vera yesterday

‘and Vera gave it to you yesterday.’

c. Az, tvojta majka, **ti dadox edna igračka.** (Arnaudova, p.c.)

I, your mother, you gave a toy

‘I, your mother, gave you a toy.’

In Serbo-Croatian, clitics are second-position phonological enclitics (8a-b), but immediately follow the coordinator *i* (8c) (Franks 2000):

(8) Serbo-Croatian (second position clitics):

a. **Kupio mi je** zeleno auto.  

bought me.DAT AUX.SG green car

‘He bought me a green car.’

b. **Ja, tvoja mama, obočala sam ti igračku.**  

I, your mother, promised AUX you a toy

(Frans 2000:7)
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‘I, your mother, promised you a toy.’

c.  *I ti go* dade Vera vēera  
(Traks 2000:37)

and you. **DAT** it. **ACC** gave Vera yesterday

‘And Vera gave it to you yesterday.’

In Megleno-Romance, the reduced form of pronominal clitics may not be initial, but it is preverbal after a coordinator (Campos 1995:253). In Medieval Portuguese main clauses, clitics are postverbal V is in absolute initial position, but preverbal after a coordinator (Martins 1994:49-50). In all those cases, the preverbal position of clitics after a coordinator follows from the particular syntactic configuration associated to coordinators, not from language-specific exceptions to a morphological rule.

The **NONINITIAL** constraint in (3) accounts for (4), (5) and (6) if, after 1170, clitics preceded by a coordinator are no longer initial in CP. Observing that the change from *et V-cl* to *et cl-V* occurred when *V1 declaratives came to be disfavored, Skårup (1975) suggests that *et* was reanalyzed as occupying the position of the initial XPs in V2 clauses, SpecCP in modern terms:

(9)  \[
\text{[CP \text{ et } [C V] \text{ [IP...]]]}
\]

More attractive is an unbalanced coordination approach where the second conjunct introduces some projection lower than CP (FP in (10); see section 5). This type of approach is proposed by Benincà (1995) for Old French,
and by Kiparsky (1995), where it accounts for alternative positions of the verb in a second conjunct in Old German.

(10) \([CP \ldots] \&P et \[FP \ldots]\)\]

We suggest that the NONINITIAL constraint did not change, but that speakers came to avoid V-to-C movement where possible, which would explain the ban against V1 declaratives: V started to occupy a position lower than C in coordinations. The OT grammar in (3) yields preverbal clitics in the second conjunct of (8), provided that (3) refers strictly to clitics in the CP layer. If avoidance of V-to-C movement generalized to all V-initial declaratives and questions, the systematic clause initial position of clitics after 1230 there is also explained without recourse to a change in the grammar of clitics.

3.2. Type II dialects

In Type II dialects, *et* does not affect the position of clitics (11).

(11) \(\text{Prépare-}\text{toi } et \text{ dis-le.}\)

‘Get ready and say it’

In a NONINITIAL constraint approach, the switch from *et le dis* to *et dis-le* results from loss of coordination at a level lower than CP. In a morphological template approach, one might say that once they are postverbal only in positive imperatives, clitics are morphologized. A morphological template approach
would spell out clitic features as suffixes in positive imperatives and as prefixes elsewhere, in particular in negative imperatives:

(12) \[ V[+\text{imp}, -\text{neg}, +3\text{sACC}] \Rightarrow \text{dis-le} \]

\[ V[+\text{imp}, +\text{neg}, +3\text{sACC}] \Rightarrow \text{ne le dis} \]

\[ V[-\text{imp}, ..., +3\text{sACC}] \Rightarrow \text{le dis} \]

This approach requires the imperative verb to have a [+/-neg] feature. The [+neg] feature could inherited from ne, assuming that it is part of verb morphology; in the absence of ne, V would be [–neg].

To conclude, we have shown that a NONINITIAL constraint accounts for the differences between type I and type II dialects as well as for their historical filiation, if one takes into account changes in the syntax of V and of the conjunction. A morphological approach should address the question of why the morphological templates change over time, going from V-cl to cl-V in clause initial position and after et, or when there is a switch from a rule-governed system to a purely morphological system of clitic positioning. The morphological rules would not be trivial spell-out rules, as they would have to take into account the syntactic environment of V.

4. The case of ne: negative imperatives
In normative French, negative imperatives are as in (13), with a preverbal clitic. The clitic position follows from the NONINITIAL constraint in (3): \textit{ne} protects object clitics from clause initial position.

(13) \textit{ne le fais pas} (‘don’t do it’)

Given that \textit{ne} has disappeared from many dialects and is largely omitted in spoken French, we can ask what happens when \textit{ne} is absent from negative imperatives. Basically, dialects split along the lines schematized in (14). We first discuss the case of type A, then that of type B.

(14) Negative imperatives without \textit{ne}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Type A} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Type B (closer to norm)} \hspace{1cm} Two complementary patterns
\item Clitic postverbal everywhere
\item with \textit{pas} \hspace{1cm} with negative quantifier
\item with \textit{pas} \hspace{1cm} CL postverbal
\item CL preverbal... except \textit{en}/\textit{y}
\item le fais pas \hspace{1cm} *en mange pas \hspace{1cm} dis-le à personne
\item vous en faites pas \hspace{1cm} *y vas pas
\item *fais-le pas \hspace{1cm} (manges-en pas)
\item *faites-vous-en pas \hspace{1cm} (vas-y pas)
\end{itemize}

4.1. Type A

Type A is typical of Québécois and of various dialects of France spoken mostly along the Atlantic coast and along a west-east line in central France. As shown in (15), object clitics are postverbal in negative imperatives without \textit{ne}.
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(15) a. Québécois (as far back as the end of the 19th. c.):

   Dis-moi pas ça, j’vas t’embrasser encore…  (Larose 1898:180)
   ‘Don’t tell me that, I’m going to kiss you again...’

b. Picard (some varieties; see also Dupas 1980:33):

   Gênez-vous pons! (‘Ne vous gênez pas.’)  (Joly 1998: 76)
   ‘Don’t be shy’

c. Perche:

   Attends-moi pas. (‘Ne m’attends pas.’)  (Laurence Labrune, p.c.)
   ‘Don’t wait for me’

d. Gallo (Bretagne romane):

   Fâche-toi pas pour ça (pronounced: fachtèpa pourèla)
   ‘Don’t get angry because of that’  (Hervé 1973)

e. Vendée (see also Svenson 1959:93):

   Argard mol pa. (‘Ne me regarde pas.’)  (Rézeau 1976: 67)
   ‘Don’t look at me’

f. Marais poitevin:

   Fouès-ou pas. (‘Ne le fais pas.’)  (Gachignard 1983)
   ‘Don’t do it’

g. Bourbonnais:
... les curés je les aime point. Aime-les point, mon gars, ....

‘... priests I don’t like them. Don’t like them, boy, ...’


h. Saint-Etienne (still in use – Eric Mathieu (p.c.)):

D’accord, mais enviens-toi pas trop tard

‘OK, but don’t come back too late.’

i. Valais (Franco-provencal):

Dì me pa dè hlè tchyòrne !

‘Don’t tell me this nonsense’

Roberge and Cummins also document it for Valdôtain (Franco-provencal) and it is reported for the Brie region, in Seine-et-Marne (Yves-Charles Morin, p.c.).

The fact that Canadian French features the word order observed in the areas which provided the bulk of settlers during the 17th c. suggests that this feature of the Québec pattern is an importation. This follows if ne started being omitted in the relevant dialects during the 17th century or before and if a NONINITIAL constraint was active at the time ne started being omitted.

The dialect of Vendée described by Rézeau (1976) is particularly interesting in that, while clitics are postverbal in negative imperatives without ne (16a), they are preverbal after the conjunction pi, the local equivalent of et.

(16) a. Argard moe pa. (‘Ne me regarde pas.’) (=15e)
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‘Don’t look at me’

b. Va ché li pi yi di… (‘Va chez lui et dis-lui’) (=6b)

‘Go to him and tell him...’

This follows from a NONINITIAL constraint with domain CP, assuming unbalanced coordination. In (16a) clitics are postverbal in order to avoid the CP initial position. They are preverbal following pi because pi does not introduce a full CP. This predicts that this dialect (as well as Savoyard, given (6a)) should have coordinated negative imperatives with preverbal clitics (pis yi di pa). A simple morphological template does not account for (16), given that the relevant factor is the syntactic environment, not the polarity of the imperative clause.

In those dialects of type A where the coordinator does not play a role in clitic placement, while the NONINITIAL constraint straightforwardly accounts for the facts, a morphological template as in (17) also describes the facts.

(17) [V-cl] if V is [+imp]

[cl-V] elsewhere.

For those dialects, it is possible that the order of verb and clitic has become morphologized some time after the loss of ne and the establishment of a rigid order of clitic placement according to verb morphology.
4.2. Type B

In Type B, typical of mainstream contemporary spoken French, clitics are pre-verbal in negative imperatives and post-verbal in positive imperatives.

(18) a. dis-le b. le dis pas.

‘say it’ ‘don’t say it’

This word order is attested as early as 1607 in the speech of the child who would become Louis XIII (Héroard 1601-1628) (19) and it is well-documented as a feature of popular language from the beginning of the second quarter of the 19th c, starting with the work of Monnier (20):

(19) Je vous pie (prie) vous en allé(és) pa. (age 5;10; Héroard :1251)

‘I beg you, don’t leave.’

(20) T’nez, la laissez pas tomber. (Monnier:14)

‘Here, don’t drop it’

There are, at first sight, three possible analyses for the cl-V order in negative imperatives:

• Analysis A. A phonologically null but syntactically present ne in these clauses prevent clitics from being clause-initial (Hulk 1996).

• Analysis B. A morphological template accounts for the facts. A verb with clitic features is spelled-out: [V-cl] if V is [+imp, –neg]; [cl-V] elsewhere. The [–neg] feature on V in the first template should follow from the fact that V
is not marked [+neg]. This requires some mechanism ensuring that V has a [+neg] feature in the absence of *ne. We can assume, for example, that *pas is in SpecNegP and that V stops in Neg^0 on its way to T. In Neg^0, V is marked [+neg] by Spec-Head agreement with *pas.

\[(21) \ [TP T [NegP Neg [VP V ...]]]\]

- *Analysis C.* The NONINITIAL constraint is limited to positive imperatives in this variant of French: NONINITIAL (cl, CP[+imp,–neg])

Here again, some mechanism of the type spelled-out above is required to ensure that CP is marked [+imp, –neg]. We assume that the features percolate from the verb in C^0.

In the following sections we present some support in favor of a constraint approach of type C. We first discuss the case of negative imperatives with *pas*, then that of imperatives with negative quantifiers.

4.2.1. Negative imperatives with *pas*

For many (perhaps most) speakers producing negative imperatives of type *le dis pas*, clitics *en* and *y* are excluded from the initial position of imperatives:

\[(22) \ a. \ *En \ parole \ pas. \ ‘Don’t \ say \ anything \ about \ it.’\]
\[b. \ *Y \ goûte \ pas. \ ‘Don’t \ taste \ it.’\]

The preverbal position of these clitics in negative imperatives without *ne* is fine
when preceded by another clitic (23). There is also no across-the-board constraint against clause-initial *en* and *y*. They can be clause initial in questions and in declaratives (24).

(23) a. **Vous en faites** pas. ‘Don’t worry about it.

b. **Vous y fiez** pas. ‘Don’t trust it’

(24) a. **En voulez-vous? Y allez-vous?**

‘Do you want some? Are you going there?’

b. **En acheter** serait inutile. **Y aller** serait inutile.

‘To buy some would be useless. To go there would be useless.’

Speakers who reject (22) divide into two groups. Some reestablish *ne* (25); they have a gap in the paradigm of negative imperatives without *ne*. Other allow the V-cl order in that specific case (26). Anecdotally, in the movie *La guerre des boutons* there are four negative imperatives without *ne*, two with a preverbal clitic (*vous* and *te*) and two with a postverbal clitic (*y*).

(25) a. **N’en parle** pas. b. **N’y va** pas.

‘Don’t talk about it’ ‘Don’t go (there)’

(26) a. **Parles-en** pas. b. **Vas-y** pas.

‘Don’t talk about it’ ‘Don’t go (there)’

These data allow us to argue against an analysis of type A. If there was an implicit *ne*, one might expect it to count as initial with *en* and *y* as well as
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with the other clitics. The facts in (22) reflect a Residual TM (RTM) effect in
imperatives: *en* and *y* reject the absolute initial position of negative imperatives,
while that position is fine for the other clitics. A morphological approach would
encode this RTM effect by listing the possible patterns:

(27)  le faites pas: faire[+imp, ..., neg, 3acc] => le_faites
faites-en pas: faire[+imp, ..., +en] => faites-en
vous en faites pas: faire[+imp, ..., neg, +2pl, +en] => vous_en_faites

An optimality-type approach is preferable to a list approach. Starting
with the constraints in (28), which adjoin clitics to the left of finite verbs in the
unmarked case, we simply have to assume that there are two distinct
NONINITIAL constraints, as in (29).

(28)  a. {cl, [+T]} (clitics adjoined to finite V)
    b. LEFTMOST (cl, V) (clitics to the left of V)

(29)  a. NONINITIAL (cl, CP[+imp, –neg]) (cl non initial in positive imp.)
    b. NONINITIAL (en/y, CP[+imp]) (en, y non initial in all imp.)

The first constraint (29a) is general, excluding all clitics from the initial position
of positive imperatives. The second (29b), excluding *en/y* from the initial posi-
tion of all imperative clauses, amounts to constraint (3b) limited to *en/y* (assu-
m that it is only in imperatives that V is under C, the feature [+imp] being
redundant). We also assume the ranking in (30), stating that it is more important
for the clitics to be NONINITIAL in their relevant domain than to be preverbal. The ranking between the two noninitial constraints is indifferent.

(30) Ranking: \[ \{\text{cl}, [+T]\} \gg \text{NONINITIAL} \gg \text{LEFTMOST} \]

To account for the difference between speakers requiring *ne*, and speakers placing *en/y* postverbally, we need another constraint, favoring the avoidance of *ne*. Assuming that for modern-day speakers *ne* has no semantic content, the negative import being provided by *pas* and negative quantifiers, we can use the economy constraint (31), a specific instantiation of an input-output faithfulness constraint (“do not spell out more than is required”). The different speakers are then considered as having different rankings of (31) in the constraint hierarchy, as shown in (32) and (33).

(31) AVOID EXPLETIVE HEAD

(32) Speakers of type A: ‘N’en mange pas’

Ranking: \[ \text{NONINITIAL}(en/y) \gg \text{LEFTMOST} \gg \text{AVOID EXPL.} \]

(more important to avoid initial *en/y* than to avoid *ne*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input</th>
<th>NONINITIAL(en,y)</th>
<th>LEFTMOST(cl,V)</th>
<th>AVOID EXPL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mange+en+neg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en mange pas</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manges-en pas</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≠ en mange pas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne manges-en pas</td>
<td></td>
<td>**</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(33) Speakers of type B: ‘Mange-en pas’

Ranking: AVOID EXPL. >> NONINITIAL(en/y) >> LEFTMOST

(more important to avoid ne & noninitial en/y than for cl to be preverbal)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input</th>
<th>AVOID EXPL.</th>
<th>NONINITIAL(en,y)</th>
<th>LEFTMOST(cl,V)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mange+en+neg</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en mange pas</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’ en mange pas</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne manges-en pas</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>**</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Postulating that en and y are subject to a more conservative constraint than the other clitics is consistent with the fact they displayed a conservative character by appearing to the left of pas in infinitival clauses (n’en pas être étonné ‘not be surprised by it’; n’y pas aller ‘not go there’) much longer than the other clitics (cf. Hirschbühler & Labelle 1994). Also, Restaut (1766: 241, in de Kok 1985: 315) states that clitics are placed before or after the verb after et in imperatives, but he prefers the postverbal position for en and y in the same context, these clitics displaying at that time a more ‘modern’ grammar.

(34) “il est plus ordinaire de dire, écoutez ma proposition, et réfléchissez-y; recevez ma remontrance, & profitez-en; que y réfléchissez, en profitez”.

‘it is more normal to say écoutez ma proposition, et réfléchissez-y; recevez ma remontrance, & profitez-en than to say y réfléchissez, en profitez.’
4.2.2 Negative imperatives with a negative quantifier.

All speakers reject the preverbal position for the clitic in negative imperatives without *ne* when the negative element is a quantifier is contained in a DP (35). Crucially, this is true even of our informants who produce *le dis pas* ‘don’t say it’ and forcefully reject *dis-le pas*.

(35) a. *montrez-les à personne!*  a’. *les montrez à personne!* ‘Don’t show them to anybody!’

b. *donnes-en à personne.*  b’. *en donne à personne.* ‘Don’t give any to anybody!’

The data in (35) show, first, that there is no implicit *ne* in these clauses (arguing against Analysis A), second, that negative quantifiers in a DP do not imply a NegP in syntax. If there is no NegP in (35), V is not marked [+neg], and the clitics follow the pattern of positive imperatives.

5. Syntactic account

We have shown that the dialectal facts receive an explanatory account if consi-
ordered in a historical perspective and that a constraint approach accounts for the facts better than a morphological template approach.

It might be felt that a constraint approach is not truly explanatory and that a more syntactic approach is preferable, as it accounts for other phenomena (see Kiparsky 1995). In this section, we show that a syntactic approach can indeed account for most of the facts discussed above, except for the case of *en/y* in Type B dialects of Modern spoken French. The account is merely sketched here; see Labelle & Hirschbühler 2002 for more details.

We assume a split CP system (Rizzi 1997) with two layers: FinP dominated by a discourse-related ZP, Z akin to Laka’s Σ. In contemporary imperative clauses, V moves to Fin, and clitics adjoin to Fin. In positive imperatives, V further moves to Z, possibly to check an illocutionary feature.

(36) Post-verbal clitics:

```
    ZP
     \  /   \\
   Z   FinP
     |     |
    V_i Fin  IP
      |     |
    cl  t_i
```

For Old French, we assume that V-to-Fin occurred in all clause types, with some XP in Spec,ZP in V2 clauses. In V1 clauses, V moved to Z, to the left of clitics. This V-to-Z movement was later abandoned in declaratives and questions. For coordinated positive imperatives, the V-cl order results from a
balanced coordination, that is, a structure where \( et \) introduces a full ZP (37a).

The \( et \ cl-V \) order appearing in French around 1170 follows if \( et \) started to introduce an unbalanced coordination, i.e. FinP instead of a full CP (37b). In (37b), there is no Z head for the verb to move to. In that case the illocutionary feature of the clause is obtained from the first conjunct.

(37) a. 
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{et} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Z} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Vi} \\
\text{cl} \\
\text{ti}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ZP} \\
\text{FinP} \\
\Rightarrow \\
\text{Fin} \\
\text{IP}
\end{array}
\]

b. 
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{et} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{FinP} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{VI} \\
\text{cl} \\
\text{ti}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\Rightarrow \\
\text{Fin} \\
\text{IP}
\end{array}
\]

In negative imperatives, the standard French order follows if \( ne \) fills the Z head (or an intermediate negative head), preventing V from moving there:

(38) \([zp \text{ ne } [\text{le dis } [\text{sp...pas...}]]]\) \( ne \) under Z, V under Fin.

This general approach accounts for the historical facts. However, it does not account straightforwardly for the difference between \( en/\overline{y} \) and other clitics in Type B modern spoken French. Assuming that \( \text{le dis pas} \) has an abstract \( ne \) preventing V from moving to Z, how are we to derive \( \text{parles-en pas} \)? By an absence of null \( ne \) in that specific case (as in the first line of (39b))? Or by a late linearization rule in the case of \( en/\overline{y} \)? Neither solution is very attractive.

(39) Type B dialects (Modern spoken French):
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a. le dis pas $[\text{ZP} \, \varnothing \, [\text{FinP} \, \text{le dis} \,[\text{IP} \ldots \text{pas} \ldots]]]]$

b. parles-en pas $[\text{ZP} \, \text{parles} \, [\text{FinP} \, \text{en} \,[\text{IP} \ldots \text{pas} \ldots]]]]$

$[\text{ZP} \, \varnothing \, [\text{FinP} \, \text{parles-en} \,[\text{IP} \ldots \text{pas} \ldots]]]]$

This approach faces a similar problem accounting for Restaut’s judgements.

6. Conclusion

We have shown that the variation observed by Roberge and Cummins (1994) in clitic position in various French dialects receives a coherent account if seen from a diachronic perspective. We have then argued that a constraint approach to clitic placement (in interaction with changes in syntactic structure across time) accounts neatly for the facts and sheds some light on them, while this is not the case for a morphological template account.

Work on many languages and on language change points to strong connections between phrase structure and clitic placement. The syntactic account sketched at the end of the talk explains most of the facts and takes into account clausal organisation and the special role of the various heads within the split-CP layer. At this point, however, it covers less ground than a constraint approach when it comes to accounting for the special behavior of en and y.
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**Texts**


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