
PLEONASTIC *TET* IN THE LAPSCHEURE DIALECT*

LILIANE HAEGEMAN  UNIVERSITÉ CHARLES DE GAULLE, LILLE III

DANIÈLE VAN DE VELDE  STL – UMR 8163 CNRS

1 AIM AND SCOPE OF THE PAPER

1.1 PRONOUN DOUBLING IN THE DIALECT OF LAPSCHEURE¹

It is well known that the Flemish dialect of Lapscheure displays subject doubling. For a fairly detailed description of the data we refer to Haegeman (1990, 1992, 2005). (1) illustrates the phenomenon. In (1a) the third person singular feminine subject is instantiated twice: once by *ze*, a weak pronominal form, once by *zie*, a strong form of the pronoun. As seen in (1b) and (1c), doubling is not obligatory: the weak form may survive by itself (1b), or the strong form may be used on its own, as shown by (1c), though the latter is a slightly marked variant of the sentence which requires strong emphatic stress on the subject.

- (1) a kpeinzen da-ze zieda we weet.
I think that-she sbethat well knows
b kpeinzen da-ze da we weet.
c kpeinzen da ZIE da we weet.

Among authors who have worked on subject doubling one fairly widespread assumption is that the role of the doubling pronoun *zie* in (1a) (Lapscheure) can be compared to that of the overt strong subject pronoun in a pro drop language. It is then also usually assumed that the strong pronoun *zie* in (1a) occupies the canonical subject position. Some support for this view will be presented below (see (12)). In (1b), a variant without doubling, the strong pronoun is absent and, adhering to the accounts for the pro drop phenomenon, one might, for instance, assume that the canonical subject position is occupied by *pro*, a null pronoun which is identified through agreement with the ϕ features of the weak form *ze* and of the inflected complementiser *da*.

- (1) d kpeinzen da-ze [pro] da weet.

Along these lines, the examples in (1a) and (1b) could be compared to Italian (2). Like *lei* ('she') in (2a), the doubling strong pronoun *zie* in (1a) induces a contrastive reading: 'she' is contrasted with some other background entity ('she and not I', for instance).

- (2) a Lei lo sa.
she it knows-3SG
b [pro] lo sa.

Note, however, that in the Lapscheure dialect described here doubling is restricted to pronouns: DP subjects cannot co-occur with a weak form of the pronoun, whatever the sentence type they occur in (1e). Note, for completeness sake, that DP subject also cannot be doubled by strong forms of the pronoun (1f,g):

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¹ This paper is based on Liliane Haegeman's intuitions, with additional help from 3 informants.

- (1) e *kpeinzen da-ze Marie komt.
I-think that-she Marie comes
 f *kpeinzen da zieMarie komt.
I-think that sheMarie comes
 g *kpeinzen da Marie zie komt.
I-think that she Mariecomes

The doubling pattern systematically consists of a combination of a weak form of a pronoun and a strong form of the pronoun. A terminological point should be made here. Though the weak form of the pronoun in the doubling patterns has often been referred to by means of the term ‘clitic’, many authors in fact use the term ‘clitic’ as a shorthand term to cover either what would technically be a syntactic clitic, i.e. an X° element, or what is syntactically a weak form of the pronoun, i.e. an XP element, which cliticizes at PF. For instance, in Haegeman (1990) the element *ze* in (2b) is referred to as a ‘clitic’ but it is patently clear from the discussion that the element is analysed as a syntactic XP, as shown by the following quotation: ‘The clitic *ze* retains its full phrasal status’ (1990: 352) (see also Haegeman (1992: 102-3) for a similar use of the term ‘clitic’). The same type of analysis is adopted by Shlonsky (1994: 370), we turn to his analysis in section 4.4. In the present paper we will avoid using the term clitic to refer to the weaker component of the doubling pattern and we will use the terms weak pronoun or weak form (of the pronoun). The latter terms are used in a pre-theoretical sense to designate the weaker element in the doubling pattern as opposed to the strong doubling pronoun. We want to underline here that we do not rule out that in some of its guises, what we call a weak form or weak pronoun here is an XP that undergoes PF cliticization while in others it must be analysed as a genuine syntactic clitic, i.e. an X° , and indeed in other cases it may be the spell out of agreement features on a functional head. (See Fuss 2004 for insightful discussion of the status of weak forms in Germanic).

From now on and for ease of exposition, we will refer to the Lapscheure dialect by means of the abbreviation ‘WF’ for ‘West Flemish’. We have chosen this abbreviation because we take the Lapscheure dialect to be a good representative of the West Flemish dialect in general, but we certainly do not want to exclude that there may be further variation among the West Flemish dialects. The claims we make here are therefore strictly based on the Lapscheure dialect and they should not be taken to imply that we assume that our generalisations apply cross-dialectally.

1.2 ■ THIRD PERSON NEUTER AND PRONOUN DOUBLING

At first sight, (3a) from the Lapscheure dialect, might be analysed as an instance of subject doubling in the third person singular neuter: the weak element *t* co-occurs with what looks like a strong pronominal counterpart *tet*. As can be seen in (3b), this doubling would be optional, as before (cf. (1b)).

- (3) a t’kost tettwintig euro.
it costs tet twenty euros
 b t’kost twintig euro.

Observe, however, that unlike was the case for the pair *ze/zie* in (1), *tet*, which would be taken to be the strong neuter pronoun, cannot occur all by itself:

- (3) c* Tet kost twintig euro.
it costs twenty euros

One might also be tempted to take (4a) and (5a)² as instantiations of doubling, with the non-doubled counterparts given in (4b) and (5b):

- (4) a T' is tet nu an 't regenen!
it is tet now on the rain
 'It is raining now.'
 b T' is nu an t regenen!
it is now on the rain
 'It is raining now.'
- (5) a T' goan tetvee studenten dienen boek kuopen!
it go tet many students that book buy
 'Many students will be buying that book.'
 b T' goan vee studenten dienen boek kuopen!
it goes many students that book buy
 'Many students will be buying that book.'

However, a doubling analysis for (4a) and (5a), would lead to the conclusion that these are cases in which a full pronoun (*tet*) doubles a pseudo-argumental weak element (*t*) (cf. also de Vogelaer 2005: 207). In terms of the pro drop analysis of doubling referred to above, this would mean that in the canonical subject position a non-argumental null pronoun alternates with a non-argumental overt pronoun. This is unexpected: pro drop languages typically do not use (overt) pseudo-argumental or non-argumental strong pronouns. Italian weather verbs, for instance, are incompatible with an overt subject pronoun, whether it be strong or weak (6a), and in advanced varieties of French (Zribi Hertz 1994), for which subject clitics have been argued to have reanalysed as the spell out of agreement features licensing a pro subject and giving rise to a doubling pattern (6b), a pseudo-argument subject could never give rise to doubling (6c).

- (6) a (*Lui/*Eso) piove.
 (*it) rains
 b (Lui) il ne ferait pas cela.
he he notdo.FUT not that
 '(He,) he would not do that.'
 c (*Lui) il pleut.
 (*it) it rains

If WF *tet* doubles a non-argument subject in (4a/5a), the basis for postulating a parallelism between doubling and *pro* drop becomes considerably weakened.

Moreover, the contrastive effect associated with the doubling pattern in (1a) is no longer to be generalised. In (4a) and in (5a), *tet* cannot be associated with the contrastive reading typical of the other (subject) doubling pronouns, since the very nature of the non-argumental subjects involved excludes a contrastive reading.

1.3 ■ ORGANISATION OF THE PAPER

This paper deals with the distribution and function of *tet* in the WF dialect. We set out to achieve the following goals:

- (i) We will provide empirical arguments to the effect that *tet* is not a regular strong doubling pronoun and should be set apart from the WF pronominal system.

² De Vogelaer (2005: 170, note 16) seems explicitly to assume that *tet* doubles the expletive. He says: 'Daaruit blijkt dat het wel degelijk het expletief is dat verdubbeld wordt, en niet de lexicale NP' Translation: From this it appears that it is the expletive that is doubled and not the lexical NP'

- (ii) We propose that in the dialect examined *tet* is a pleonastic element that lexicalises a functional projection on the IP edge whose nature we further examine, taking into account comparative data.
- (iii) We show that the hypothesis elaborated allows one to test a number of hypotheses with respect to the distribution of constituents in the so called ‘Vorfeld’ - the domain to the left of the canonical subject position - in the Germanic V2 languages.

The paper is organised as follows. In the next section we show that *tet* is a pleonastic element with a status different from that of the regular doubling pronouns. While discussing the arguments against treating *tet* as a doubling pronoun, we will also provide information as to its distribution. In section 3, we formulate the hypothesis that *tet* lexicalises a functional projection (FP) located either on the lower edge of CP or on the higher edge of TP. We discuss the nature of this projection, exploring a number of alternative proposals. In doing so we will be comparing the distribution and interpretation of WF *tet* with pleonastic elements in a range of other languages. While section 3 is fairly general, section 4 is more specific and technical. This section explores the implications of our hypothesis that *tet* occupies a fixed position between CP and IP, and we will show how this hypothesis can serve as a tool for evaluating a number of concrete hypotheses concerning the analysis of the verb second phenomenon. This section concerns the distribution of the finite verb in subject initial V2 patterns, and it mainly focuses on a number of precise hypotheses in the literature (Shlonsky 1994, Branigan 1996, Platzack 2004) concerning the position of the definite DP subject in non subject initial verb second clauses and in embedded clauses in verb second languages. Section 5 is a brief conclusion.

2 ■ THE DISTRIBUTION OF *TET* IN THE LAPSCHEURE DIALECT (HAEGEMAN 1986, 1992)

2.1 ■ THE DISTRIBUTION OF *TET* IS UNLIKE THAT OF STRONG PRONOUNS

2.1.1 ■ STRONG PRONOUNS IN INITIAL POSITION

Formally, the pleonastic element *tet* seems to correspond to a strong form of the third person neuter singular pronoun. However, it is worth pointing out here that speakers of the WF dialect do not all use the same form of doubler, a point also made by De Vogelaer (2005: 170). The form *tet*, corresponding to the third person neuter pronoun, alternates with the forms *ie* and *hij* which are strong forms of the third person masculine. (7) is from De Vogelaer. This alternation suggests that *tet* should be aligned, at least formally, with a strong pronoun, rather than with a weak form of the pronoun.

- (7) a Heeftdr (t)et hier een man gewoond?
has there (t)et here a man lived
- b Heeftdr (h)ij / (h)ie / jij / em hier een man gewoond?
has there he/him here a man lived

However, the distribution of *tet* is not identical to that of other strong pronouns. In particular, as illustrated above (3c), while in WF all other strong pronouns may occur as subjects unaccompanied by a doubling element (1c), in which case they would be receiving contrastive stress, this is not the case for *tet*, which cannot be a referential strong subject. This point is also illustrated in the paradigm (8) in which the strong subject pronoun has initial position:

- (8) a 1SG Ik weten da.
I know that

- b 2SG Gie weet da.
 c 3SGFEM Zie weet da.
 3SGMASC Jij weet da.
 d 1PL Wunder weten da.
 e 2PL Gunder weet da.
 f 3PL Zunder weten da.
 g 3SGNEUT *Tet ligt doa.³
 it lies there

This contrast casts doubt on treating *tet* as a simple analogue of the other strong pronouns. Moreover, the very fact that *tet* cannot be used all by itself as a subject pronoun suggests that even in cases in which it doubles a weak third person neuter subject (3a), it may well not be an instantiation of an ‘ordinary’ doubling pronoun.

2.1.2 ■ SUBJECT DOUBLING AND MATCHING PERSON FEATURES

When we consider the distribution of *tet* in what might at first sight be taken to be ‘subject doubling’ patterns, it becomes immediately clear that it behaves quite differently from other doubling pronouns. For instance: in regular subject doubling patterns the weak form of the pronoun and the strong doubling pronoun systematically match in terms of person features, and in all cases mismatched person features lead to ungrammaticality. So, for instance, the second person weak form *ge* (‘you’) in the examples in (9) can only be doubled by the second person singular strong pronoun *gie* (‘you’) (9a) or by the second person plural strong pronoun *gunder* (‘you’) (9b), but not by a third person pronoun (9c).

- (9) a Ge kent gie da.
 you-2P know you-2SGLthat
 b Ge kent gunder da.
 you-2P know you-2PL that
 c *Ge kent zie da.
 you-2P know she-3SGLthat

But *tet*, which formally corresponds to the third person pronoun, actually co-occurs with non-matching weak forms: for instance in (10a) *ge* is second person and in (10b) *me* is first person:

- (10) a Ge kent tet da.
 you know tet da
 b Me kennen tet da.
 we know tet da

2.1.3 ■ TET CO-OCCURS WITH DOUBLING PATTERNS

Furthermore: in the regular doubling pattern, as mentioned, one weak form combines with one matching strong pronoun. Tripling is not possible in this dialect (11a,b). But, as shown in (11c) and (11d), *tet* can be added to any independently available doubling pattern. It is thus a pleonastic element which is added onto the regular doubling pattern.

- (11) a* Zekent ze zieda.
 sheknows sheshethat
 b* Zie kent ze zieda.
 she knows sheshethat

³ Initial *tet* is signalled by De Vogelaer (2005: 172) for the dialect of Sint Laureins (Sand 1156p), but this would not be grammatical in the WF dialect:

(i) Tet is a lang geleden!
 It is already long ago

- c Zekent tetzieda.
sheknows tet shethat
 ‘She does know that.’
- d da-se tetzieda kent
that-she tet shethat knows
 ‘that she does know that’

As can be seen from (11d), in embedded clauses *tet* is located between the weak form of the subject, *ze* (‘she’), and the strong pronoun, *zie* (‘she’). (12a) sums up the distribution of *tet* with respect to the subordinating conjunction *dat* and the two pronominal components of a doubling pattern:

- (12) a *dat* WP *tet* SP ...

Recall that it might appear as if *tet* in (3a) is a doubling pronoun for the weak form *t*. If this were correct, however, then one might expect to find this instance of *tet* co-occurring with the pleonastic instance that co-occurs with doubling patterns. In (11e) the first occurrence of *tet* would be the pleonastic variant and the second would be the pronominal doubler. This example is ungrammatical:⁴

- (11) e* *t* ligt *tet**tet* *da*.
it lies tet tet there

2.1.3 ■ TET CO-OCCURS WITH DP SUBJECTS

Recall that definite DP subjects (whether pre or postverbal) do not allow doubling with a weak pronoun.⁵ A DP-subject also cannot co-occur with a strong pronoun subject. Unlike the regular forms of the pronoun, *tet* can combine with DP subjects.

- (13) a da tet Marie dienen boek a kent
that tet Marie that book already knows
- b Dienen boek kent tet Marie a.
that book knows tet Marie already
- c Kent tet Marie dienen boek a?
knows tet Marie that book already

(12b) provides a summary of the relative order of the elements concerned.

- (12) b *dat tet* DP ...

The preceding discussion reveals that distributionally, *tet* is not to be assimilated to a strong pronoun, whether it be a doubling pronoun or one used independently. In the next section we will see that *tet* also does not have the distribution of the weak forms of the pronouns.⁶

⁴ Of course one might say that (11e) is ruled out because the same there is the occurrence of two identical adjacent morphemes, but note that other adjacent occurrences of the same pronominal form are not systematically banned in the dialect:

- (i) da ze ze zie gezien eet
 that she her she seen has
 ‘that she has seen her’
- (ii) k’een ze ze gegeven.
 I have her them given
 ‘I have given them to her.’

⁵ See De Vogelaer (2005) and van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002b) concerning other doubling patterns of DPs in other Flemish dialects.

⁶ The question arises why *tet* does not block complementiser agreement in the dialect. It has been proposed that CA is subject to a closest c-command requirement (Carstens 2003, 2005, also Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen 2002c). It would appear that *tet* is closer to C than the subject DP hence should either trigger agreement itself or block agreement with DP, but *tet* does not induce agreement and neither does it

2.2 ■ THE DISTRIBUTION OF *TET* IS UNLIKE THAT OF WEAK PRONOUNS

2.2.1 ■ IMPERATIVES IN THE LAPSCHURE DIALECT

As already pointed out, for some speakers *tet* alternates with the strong form of the third person pronoun (see De Vogelaer's examples in (7)). This is a first indication that it should probably not be assimilated to the weak forms of the subject pronouns. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that while weak forms of the subject pronoun are unavailable in imperatives, *tet* is available. As shown in (14), WF imperatives either lack an overt subject or they contain the strong form of the second person pronouns, *gie* ('you') for the singular or *gunder* ('you') for the plural. Whether or not there is such a pronoun present, the weak form of the second person subject, *je*, is not available, but *tet* can be inserted:

- (14) a Lees *dienen* boek eerst!
 read that book first
 b Lees gie *dienen* boek eerst!
 read you-SG (SP) that book first
 c* Lees je *dienen* boek eerst!
 read you (WP) that book first
 d* Lees je gie *dienen* boek eerst!
 read you (WP) you-SG (SP) that book first
 e Lees tet*dienen* boek eerst!
 read tet that book first
 f Lees tetgie *dienen* boek eerst!
 read tet you-SG (SP) that book first

The question arises why a strong pronoun is possible as the subject of an imperative, while the weak form is not licensed. For WF it can be argued that the imperative is a finite form of the verb. This can be shown because it co-occurs with the negative morpheme *en* which is strictly limited to finite forms (see Haegeman 2000a, 2002).

- (15) En-komt (tet) *doa* nie an.
 en come (tet) there not on
 'Don't touch that.'

Even though the imperative is finite, it does not display the usual person number variation, being essentially one form. Thus we might propose that imperatives are defective and lack the full array of ϕ features.

Haegeman (2005: 126) postulates that the obligatory association of weak subject pronouns with the position C in WF is related to the finiteness of the clause and in particular to the fact that the WF complementiser of finite clauses displays a full array of agreement features which match those of the subject. Van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2006) pursue the correlation between agreeing complementisers and weak forms of the subject pronouns from a comparative perspective in a range of Flemish dialects. They show that there are systematic differences between the syntactic properties of weak forms of the

block complementiser agreement:

- (i) a *da tet Valère* *dad a weet*
 that tet Valère that already knows
 b *dan tet Valère en Godelieve* *dat a weten*
 da-PL Valère and Godelieve that already know
 c* *da tet Valère en Godelieve* *dat a weten*
 da Valère and Godelieve that already know

See Haegeman (2006) for discussion.

subject in dialects with complementiser agreement and those of weak forms of the subject in dialects without such agreement. We may postulate that in WF weak subject pronouns are licensed by the ϕ features on C. If we assume that the same array of ϕ features is not available on imperatives, they will not license weak forms of the subject pronoun.

We have shown that *tet* does not have the distribution of weak subject pronouns. Note that *tet* does not have the distribution of non-subject weak pronouns or clitics either. (For discussion of weak object pronouns and object clitics see Haegeman (1996a)). For instance, in WF imperatives object clitics may either precede (14g) or follow (14h) the strong subject pronoun, but *tet* invariably must precede the strong subject (14i):

- (14) g Lees ze gie mor eerst.
 read them you-SG (SP) ‘mor’ first
 h Lees gie ze mor eerst.
 read you-SG (SP) them ‘mor’ first
 i Lees (tet) gie (*tet) dienen boek.
 read (tet) you-SG (SP) (* tet) that book

2.2.2 ■ TE INFINITIVAL CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY MEE (‘WITH’) AND DP SUBJECTS

In a subset of infinitival clauses in WF, an overt DP subject is possible (16a). When pronominal, this subject has the nominative case form (16b). In this context, weak forms of the subject are not available, regardless of whether they are doubled (16c) or not (16d). However, *tet* is available (16e,f):

- (16) a Mee Marie da niet te willen doen, moen-me ’t zelve doen.
 with Marie that not to want do must-we it self do
 ‘Since Marie does not want to do that, we have to do it ourselves.’
 b Mee zie da niet te willen doen, moen-me ’t zelve doen.
 with she-3SG (SP) that not to want do must-we it self do
 c* Mee ze zie da nie te willen doen...
 d* Mee ze da niet te willen doen...
 e Mee tet Marie da niet te willen doen, moen-me ’t zelve doen.
 with tet Marie that not to want do must-we it self do
 ‘Since Marie does not want to do that, we have to do it ourselves.’
 f Mee tet zie da niet te willen doen, moen-me ’t zelve doen.
 with tet she-3SG (SP) that not to want do must-we it self do
 ‘Since she does not want to do that, we have to do it ourselves.’

The occurrence of nominative subjects in infinitives is obviously of interest for the relation between case assignment and agreement (cf. Costa and Figueiredo Silva 2006) but it is beyond the scope of the present paper. We will only provide a sketch of an analysis here.

Following Haegeman (1986), we relate this phenomenon to the hybrid nature of these *mee*-infinitives, which, in spite of the presence of an infinitive, seem to have some properties of finite clauses. As shown in Haegeman (1986), such infinitival clauses are temporally independent: the temporal domain of the infinitival clause is not subordinated to that of the matrix tense. This is illustrated in the examples in (16), in which the infinitival *mee* clause denotes a past time occurrence (‘she did not want to do that’), while the main clause expresses a present time modality. On the other hand, the fact that the infinitival verb lacks overt manifestation of person and number agreement suggests that the infinitival T is defective in terms of *phi* features (Chomsky 2000). Arguably then, while T is *phi*-defective in that there is no person/number agreement, the Tense of such infinitives is not T-defective (Sitaridou 2006). Possibly, following proposals by Sitaridou (2006), T is non-defective because it is selected by *mee*, a prepositional complementiser, and ‘semantic tense

can license nominative subjects' (Sitaridou 2006: 257). The observations concerning *mee-* infinitives suggests strongly that while there is an overlap between the licensing of weak subjects and nominative case, the two phenomena should be dissociated.⁷ The appearance of nominative subjects in these infinitival constructions deserves further examination. We will return to this in future work. (See Landau (2004) for differences in temporal specifications of infinitives, Mensching and Remberger (2006), Sitaridou (2006) and the references cited there for further discussion of nominatives in infinitives).

Pursuing the hypothesis that the WF weak subject pronouns depend on the availability of a full array of *phi* features, the absence of weak subject pronouns in infinitives can again be accounted for by the fact that though their Tense may be non-defective, these infinitives are *phi* defective and thus cannot license the weak subject pronoun

Observe that the availability of *tet* in infinitival clauses correlates with the availability of an overt nominative subject in the infinitive: whenever an infinitive disallows an overt nominative subject, it will also disallow the presence of *tet*. For reasons of space we will merely illustrate the latter point by means of a few examples and we do not go into it in any detail. (17a) is an example of a control infinitive as the complement of *proberen* ('try'); in (17b) the same verb occurs in the infinitival form as a result of the so called I(nfinitive)P(ro) P(articípio) effect, suggesting that there has been some degree of reanalysis; in (17c) there is an infinitival subject clause; in (17d) the infinitival clause is the complement of a modal. In none of these infinitival contexts would a lexical subject be allowed and, likewise, in none of these is *tet* possible:

- (17) a M'een geprobeerd[(* tet)dienen tekst te lezen.]
*we-have try-PART (*tet) that text to read*
 'We have tried to read that text.'
- b M'een proberen [(* tet)dienen tekst te lezen].
we-have try-INF tet that text to read
 'We have tried to read that text.'
- c [(* Tet) Dienen tekst eerst lezen] was een misse.
tet that text first read was a mistake
 'It was a mistake to read that text first.'
- d M'oan moeten (* tet)dienen tekst eerst lezen.
we-had must tet that text first read
 'We should have read that text first.'

2.3 ■ THE EXPRESSIVE MEANING OF *TET*

So far we have not discussed the interpretation of *tet*. First observe that for all examples with *tet* listed above, the element can be deleted without loss of grammaticality. We will return to the contribution of *tet* to the interpretation of the clause in more detail below, suffice it to say at this point that *tet* does not have any 'descriptive' meaning, in that it does not contribute to the proposition expressed by the clause in which it occurs. Rather its contribution is 'expressive' in the sense of Kratzer (1999). Roughly, *tet* signals that the content of the proposition with which it occurs contrasts in some respect with assumptions in the background context. Thus, in terms of its interpretive role one might be tempted to assimilate *tet* to modal adverbs or particles or perhaps to interjections. But in spite of interpretive similarities, *tet* differs from these in distributional terms. WF adverbs, modal particles, or interjections cannot intervene between the subordinating conjunction and the

⁷ The same point can also be made with respect to imperatives, which while allowing overt nominative subjects disallow weak pronouns. See 2.2.1. Sitaridou (2006: 257) also points out that imperatives are temporally independent, being selected by an operator in C.

subject, while *tet* can intervene, and this is indeed its only position: (18) illustrates the distribution of the particle *toch* ‘yet’, which also signals a contrast between the proposition and its discourse context:

- (18) a da Marie toch goa kommen.
 that Marie yet goes come
 b* da toch Marie goa kommen.
 c da tet Marie goa kommen.
 d* da Marie tet goa kommen.

Note also that *tet* can co-occur with *toch*:

- (18) e dat tet Marie toch goa kommen

In (19) we illustrate the distribution of the interjections *begot* and *verdikke* (‘damn’), which signal the speaker’s surprise, irritation, *etc.*, shades of expressive meaning which can also be conveyed by *tet*. Once again, though, these interjections cannot separate the complementiser from the subject DP (19a,b). Once again, *tet* may co-occur with these interjections (19c):

- (19) a dat Marie begot/verdikke nie goa kommen
 that Marie begot/verdikke not goes come
 b* da begot/verdikke Marie nie goa kommen
 c da tet Marie begot/verdikke nie goa kommen

3 □ A POSITION FOR TET

In this section we address the syntactic position of *tet*. Starting from its interpretation we first examine the possibility that *tet* is associated with a projection in the left periphery (in the sense of Rizzi 1997). Because of its relative position with respect to other CP related constituents, we will discard this proposal. The most plausible alternative is that *tet* lexicalises a functional projection that demarcates CP and IP and which we provisionally label FP.

3.1 □ INTERPRETATION

As mentioned above, *tet* has a restricted distribution: it is found in clause types that are compatible with a nominative subject. It is basically optional, though adding *tet* to a sentence contributes to its expressive meaning in that the presence of *tet* signals that the content of the sentence contrasts with the discourse context. We first illustrate the latter point by means of some examples. (20a) is a *wh*-question asking for identification of a constituent. The unmarked answer will be (20b), in which the DP *Valère* is the focus, providing the required information. (20c) is not just an informative answer to (20a): the addition of *tet* has the effect of signalling that there is something unexpected about the information given in the answer. Put differently, (20c) answers (20a), but it adds additional information over and above that answer and the additional overtones are central to the speaker’s message. For instance, (20c) would be an appropriate answer to (20a) if the speaker had not expected *Valère* to be there. It is important to signal that in the absence of *tet* the speaker may still achieve the same effect, for instance by stressing *Valère* (20d). But when *tet* is present the utterance cannot be interpreted simply as the answer to a question. (20c) is not equivalent to (20b), rather (20c) conveys (20b) plus some additional effect.

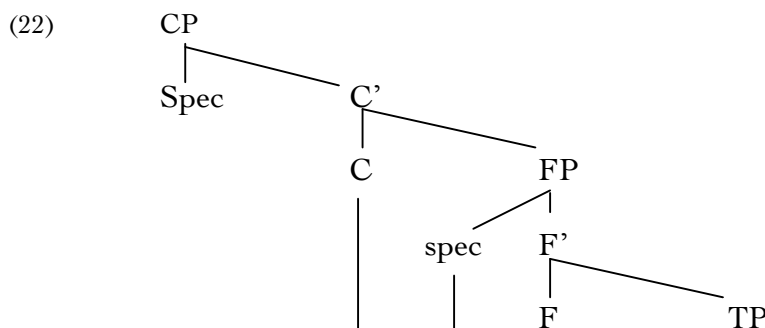
- (20) a Wien is dadde?
 who is that
 b Dat is Valère.
 that is Valère

- c Dat is tet VALÈRE!
that is tet Valère (speaker did not expect this state of affairs)
- d Dat is VALÈRE!
that is Valère

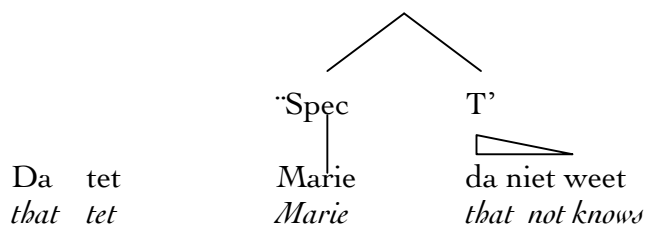
At first sight one might conclude from the emphasis associated with such examples that *tet* should be associated with a focus position in the left periphery, but observe that *tet* can occur in *wh*-questions such as (21a) and (21b). It is usually assumed that fronted *wh* phrases - here *hoevele flassen* ‘how many bottles’, and *hoe* (‘how’) - themselves target SpecFocP, the focus position in the left periphery. This leads to the conclusion that *tet* must occupy a lower position.

- (21) a Hoevele flassen ee-j tet (gie) gekocht?
how many bottles have tet (you) bought
 ‘How many bottles did you buy?’ (You shouldn’t have bought that many/any.)
- b Hoe ee ze tet (zie) da gedoan?
how has shetet (she) that done
 ‘How did she do that?’ (She should not have done it (that way).)

Indeed when we consider the distribution of *tet* as indicated provisionally in the patterns in (12) above, it seems to occupy a position between the core TP domain and the left periphery. Adopting and adapting a proposal by van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002a,b), van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (to appear) propose that *tet* is associated with a functional projection, FP, which is located between CP and IP. The projection FP was originally postulated by Uriagereka (1992, 1995b, 2004), who invokes it, among other things, for locating expletive elements in Western Iberian (see Carrilho 2005: 45-51 for a survey of Uriagereka’s implementations of this proposal). It is not quite clear whether FP could be seen to belong to the TP domain or to the CP domain⁸, but below we will provide some arguments that favour associating FP with TP.



⁸ Recall that *tet* seems to be associated with finiteness (though in a broad sense). This might lead one to propose that *tet* lexicalises FinP, the lowest functional projection in the CP domain. Though very attractive, the implementation of this proposal interacts with the analysis of V-movement in V2 and subject cliticisation and it would take us too far here. We will examine the consequences of this hypothesis in future work.



A similar projection is postulated by Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Vulchanov (forthcoming) as the location for peripheral discourse markers in old Bulgarian.

3.2 ■ SPECULATIONS ON THE NATURE OF FP

As suggested by the label ‘FP’, we have yet to determine with more precision the nature of the projection lexicalised by *tet*. On the one hand, as described above, *tet* conveys expressive meaning: the presence of *tet* signals that the content of the clause is in contrast with what the discourse context would lead us to expect. The expressive function of *tet* is similar to that of discourse related modal particles (Kratzer 1999) and it might be used in support of the hypothesis that FP is a modal or discourse related projection. In the literature there have been a number of proposals for postulating a discourse-related FP on the left edge of IP and we will discuss some of these below.

On the other hand, given the licensing conditions for *tet*, and in particular taking into account the fact that *tet* is licensed in environments in which nominative case is licensed, *tet* seems to be a kind of pleonastic ‘subject’ element. On this basis, the projection FP might be identified as the highest subject projection in the Subject Field (in the sense of Cardinaletti 2004, Cardinaletti and Repetti 2005, Chinellato 2005). In the next section we discuss both of these options.

As we will also show throughout the discussion, pronominal kinds of elements with a discourse related function are found, among others, in Quebec French, in Finnish, in a range of Italian dialects, and in Portuguese dialects. In the literature, these various elements are at the moment all being given slightly different analyses. Obviously, such a diversity of analyses for what look like similar elements may be missing a generalisation, and it is to be hoped that eventually some (or all) of the phenomena can be given a unified analysis. We hope that our paper can contribute to this issue.

3.2.1 ■ FP IS A FUNCTIONAL PROJECTION ENCODING EXPRESSIVE MEANING

3.2.1.1 ■ FP AS A MODAL PROJECTION

At first sight, the semantic contribution of *tet* could be compared to that of German modal particles such as *ja* (‘yes’), *doch* (‘but’), *aber* (‘but’), *wohl* (‘well’) (cf. Kratzer 1999).⁹ Concerning the meaning of *ja*, illustrated in (23) below, Kratzer says:

Ja α is appropriate in a context c if the proposition expressed by α in c is a fact of W_c which –for all the speaker knows – might already be known to the addressee. (Kratzer 1999: 1)

- (23) Du hast ja ’n Loch im Ärmel.
 you have ja a hole in-the sleeve.
 ‘There’s a hole in your sleeve’ (Kratzer 1999:1, her (1))

Both German *ja* and WF *tet* relate the proposition they are associated with to the context. Differently from *ja*, as described above, *tet* signals that the information in the clause it associates with contrasts with what the speaker knows and with what he or she may expect

⁹ Thanks to Shin-Sook Kim and to Günther Grewendorf for discussing this with us.

on the basis of the discourse background. The fact that *tet* is associated with some unexpected content in the following clause is reminiscent of the pragmatic function of the invariable particle *a* in the Northern Italian dialects as described by Benincà (1994) and Poletto (2000). We return to these elements in section 3.2.1.3. below.

3.2.1.2 ■ FP AS A POLARITY RELATED PROJECTION

In some of its uses, *tet* seems to be used as a polarity reinforcer. This is illustrated in (24). In (24a) the insertion of *tet* indicates that the speaker had not expected it to rain; *tet* contradicts the expectations he or she may have; likewise in (24b) *tet* signals a contradiction, for instance with something that has just been said.

- (24) a T' goa tetregenem.
it goes tet rain
 'It's going to rain.'
 b T' goa tetnie regenem.
it goes tet not rain
 'It isn't going to rain.'

The impact of *tet* as a polarity reinforcer resembles to some extent that of the form *tu/ti* in some variants of French, as illustrated in (25):

- (25) Elle vient-tu à Montréal?
she comes-tu to Montréal
 'Is she coming to Montreal?'

Vinet (2002) paraphrases the semantic contribution of *tu* in examples like Quebec French (25) in terms of polarity marking:¹⁰

The question in (25) sets up a contrastive set consisting of the affirmed predicate and the negated predicate. The answer selects freely one of these two. It can then be claimed that the context with TU in (25) includes such a contrastive set and chooses the affirmative option of the question. As mentioned by Nomi Erteschik-Shir (p.c.), the function of *-tu* would be twofold:

- 1) to signal the existence of such a context
 and 2) to choose the affirmative option. (Vinet 2002: 9)

We could provide an analogous paraphrase for the contribution of *tet* as used in (24a). Adopting Vinet's wording we might characterise the use of *tet* in (24a) as follows. In (24a) the use of *tet* serves to set up a contrastive set consisting of the affirmed predicate ('it is going to rain') expressed in the sentence and the negated predicate ('it is not going to rain'), which is part of the background context. The function of *tet* would be:

- 1) to signal the existence of such the contrastive context (\neg 'rain'),
 2) to set off the affirmative option against that context.

In (24b) the use of *tet* serves to set up a contrastive set consisting of the negated predicate ('it is not going to rain') expressed in the sentence and the affirmed predicate ('it is going to rain') which is part of the background context. The function of *tet* would be:

- 1) to signal the existence of such the contrastive context (+ 'rain'),
 2) to set off the negative option against that context.

However, WF *tet* cannot be fully assimilated to French *tu* both in terms of distribution and in terms of interpretation. Among other differences, French *-tu* is (i) directly dependent on V-movement to C, (ii) the occurrence of *-tu* is a root phenomenon, (iii) *-tu* is incompatible

¹⁰ For a slightly different account see also Vinet (2000).

with *wh*-question operators (Vinet 2000: 396)¹¹ and (iv) *-tu* is incompatible with subjectless imperatives (Vinet 2000: 388). On all these scores WF *tet* is different: WF *tet* does not depend on V to C, it is not restricted to root clauses. We have shown that *tet* can occur in infinitival temporal clauses (cf. 2.2.2.). In addition *tet* is compatible with conditional or temporal clauses, which are typically not root environments.¹²

- (26) a Oa-t tetregent, moe-j de blommen geen wouter geven.
if-it tet rains mus-you theflowers no water give
 ‘If it does rain, you needn’t give water to the flowers.’
 b Nog beinst da ze tetan’t veruzen woaren, een-ze ingebroken.
yet while that they tet on the removing were have-theybroken in
 ‘At the very time when they were moving house, their house was burgled.’

WF *tet* is also compatible with *wh*-operators (see (21)) and it can occur in subjectless imperatives ((14e) and (15)). For additional restrictions on the distribution of *tu* see Vinet (2000, 2002).

If we consider FP to be a polarity encoding projection then an obvious analogue is the projection Σ P, located between CP and IP, and postulated by Laka (1990) to encode the polarity of the sentence. Observe that often the use of *tet* in WF can be paraphrased by means of emphatic *do* in English (as in the gloss for (26) above). Laka herself proposed that in English emphatic *do* lexicalises Σ P.

Fischer and Alexiadou (2001) make use of the projection Σ P for their analysis of Stylistic Fronting in Old Catalan: they take stylistic fronting to be head movement to Σ . As can be seen from the extended citation below, in their analysis the projection Σ P encodes sentential polarity, with emphasis being achieved by V to Σ movement.

Fischer (2000) proposes that there is a further projection between C and I in old Catalan. ...Building on Laka (1990), Fischer proposed that the additional functional category Σ P hosts different sentence operators: negation, ‘emphatic’ and ‘neutral’ affirmation. In her analysis different realisations for Σ were available in Old Catalan always depending on what is expressed: negation vs. affirmation vs. emphasis.

- (27) a Σ [-V] ‘neutral’ affirmation,
 b Σ [+V] ‘emphatic’ affirmation,
 c Σ [no] negation.

Under Fischer’s analysis, the difference between verb-clitic vs. clitic-verb sequence results in a difference in interpretation...The clitic-verb sequence represents a ‘neutral’ affirmation, whereas the verb-clitic sequence emphasises something that interrupts the routine of what has been told, i.e. something unexpected, unusual or outstanding. (Fischer and Alexiadou 2001: 126-7)

Fischer and Alexiadou’s description of the effect of verb-clitic sequences corresponds rather neatly to the expressive effect achieved by the insertion of *tet*. We might therefore propose that whereas in Old Catalan Σ P is lexicalised by V movement to Σ , in WF *tet* lexicalizes Σ P.

3.2.1.3 □ FP AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE: FOCUS OR TOPIC

¹¹ There may be speaker variation, though. Vecchiato (2000: 143-4) reports that some speakers accept *tu* with some *wh*-operators. Similarly she reports on the *ti*-marker in questions in French of the beginning of the 20th century. This too was compatible with *wh*-operators. See Vecchiato (2000: 142 note 2) for examples and some discussion. See also Taraldsen (2001: 171, 2002: 32-3).

¹² Thanks to Marie Thérèse Vinet for help with this section.

3.2.1.3.1 ▣ Tet and focus scrambling

If a projection analogous to the one we labelled FP may, in some languages, serve as a landing site for moved constituents, as proposed by Uriagereka (1995b) for Western Iberian, and given the focusing effect induced by the presence of *tet* in WF, one might also interpret FP as a focus projection in the upper layer of IP. The existence of a high IP-internal focus projection has independently been postulated by Grewendorf (2005) for German. Among other things, postulating such a projection would also enable one to account for a phenomenon that is referred to as ‘focus scrambling’ (Neeleman 1994), in which a non-subject argument precedes a subject. Focus scrambling is illustrated for Dutch in (28a). The effect of moving the object DP *zulke boeken* (‘such books’) to the left of the subject DP *zelfs Jan* (‘even Jan’) means that both the object and the subject receive additional focus. Now, differently from standard Dutch, WF does not allow focus scrambling as shown by the ungrammaticality of (28b):

- (28) a StD dat ZULKE boeken zelfs JAN niet leest.
 that such books even Jan not reads
 b WF *da ZUKKE boeken zelfs VALÈRenie kuopt.
 that such books even Valère not buys

One might then propose that *tet* is an expletive like element in the specifier of FP which agrees with a focused constituent in its c-command domain. Inserting the expletive in the spec of FP would pre-empt the movement of another constituent, and create a form of ‘focus scrambling’ *in situ*.

- (28) c da [_{FocP} *tet*_{FOC} [_{TP} VALÈRE [_{DPFOC} *zulke boeken*] niet kuopt]]
- $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1.5cm}}$
that tet Valère such books not buys

Note that, as such, a polarity related function of FP and a focus related function are not intrinsically incompatible or contradictory. Negation and focusing are closely related, as seen, for instance, in the case of Hungarian where negative constituents move to the specifier of FocP (Puskas 2000) and as also illustrated by negative inversion in the CP domain in English (Haegeman 2000b).

3.2.1.3.1 ▣ Invariable clitics (a and e) in the Northern Italian dialects (Benincà 1994, Poletto 2000)

Fundamentally, as discussed above, *tet* opposes the content of the clause it introduces to its background. Consequently, *tet* signals that the content of the associated clause is to some extent novel and, as already pointed out above, it resembles the invariable clitics *a* and *e* in the Northern Italian dialects as described by Benincà (1994) and Poletto (2000). Like *tet*, the vocalic clitics *a* or *e* are invariable. Concerning the vocalic clitic Poletto says: ‘[it] is not marked for person, gender or number. This type of vocalic clitic (generally *a* or *e*) appears with all persons ...’ (Poletto 2000: 36)

According to Poletto (2000), invariable clitics ‘do not encode any semantic features of the subject, only signalling that there is a subject’ (Poletto: 2000: 180 note 27). The function of *a* in the dialect of Padua is discourse-related, as described by Benincà (1994) and Poletto (2000):

a compare in base a condizioni che si direbbero pragmatiche, legate all’intonatioze della frase, in sostanza per dare la frase come tutta nuova (intonazione di sorpresa or enfasi) (Benincà 1994: 18, our underlining)

Invariable SCLs ... express a theme/rheme distinction. Benincà (1983) first noted that invariable clitics are found in sentences that convey new information or in

exclamative contexts. More precisely, she reports that invariable clitics may be used to indicate that the whole sentence is new information; hence the whole sentence is a rheme. (Poletto 2000: 23)

However, there are distributional differences between the invariable clitics described by Poletto (2000) and Benincà (1994) and WF *tet*: one is that the invariable clitic cannot co-occur with a focalized element or with *wh*-items, though it is compatible with *yes/no* questions. The following are from Poletto (2000:23)¹³:

- (29) a A ve-to via?
SCL go -you away
 ‘Are you going away?’
 b* Dovea zelo ndà?
where SCL is-he gone
 ‘Where has he gone?’
 c* EL GATO a go visto.
the cat SCL (I) have seen
 ‘I have seen the cat’.

As we have shown, WF *tet* is compatible with *wh* fronted elements (see (20)).

In addition, the invariable clitics are not compatible with left-dislocated items:

- (30) a* Co ti, a no voio ndare.
with you SCL notwant to go
 ‘I do not want to go with you.’ (Poletto 2000: 23)

This restriction does not apply to *tet*:

- (30) b No GENT, do goa ze tet nie willen noatoe goan!
to Ghent there goes shetet not want to go

A further difference is that *tet* can occur in imperatives (14,15), while the Italian invariable clitic *a* does not occur in (real)¹⁴ imperatives:

- (31) (*A) Scriveghe.
 (*A) *write to her*
 ‘Do write to her’ (C. Poletto pc)

This difference may relate to the fact that *tet* is a strong pronoun while *a* is a clitic, i.e. a defective element: weak subject pronouns are also disallowed in WF imperatives.

Given the incompatibility with focused constituents, Poletto proposes that invariable clitics are in CP: ‘Invariable clitics move to a LD position from a focus position, saturating both projections.’ (Poletto 2000: 36)

- (32) [_{LDP} inv Scl_i [_{CP} deic SCL [_{whP} t_i [_{IP} [_{NegP} [_{NumP} [_{HearerP} [_{SpeakerP} V_{fin}]]]]]]]]]]
 (Poletto 2000: 139, her (1))

However, as we have shown, the distribution of *tet* suggests that it must occupy a lower position than the position occupied by Poletto’s invariable clitics; in particular *tet* seems to be at the very low edge of CP or (more likely) on the left edge of IP.

3.2.1.3.1 ■ The presupposition domain in Finnish

¹³ Though we should signal that there may be cross-dialectal variation, see Cardinaletti and Repetti (2005: 25, note 31)

¹⁴ They would occur in suppletive subjunctives. (Cecilia Poletto, pc).

In their analysis of the distribution of Finnish expletives, Holmberg and Nikanne (2002) postulate that there is a functional projection FP that demarcates CP and IP. Inspired by Diesing (1992), they assume that the clause ‘is divided into three domains: the focus domain, the presupposition domain, and the operator domain. In Diesing (1992) the focus domain is VP. We assume it is TP, the maximal projection of the predicate... the presupposition domain is then FP, while the operator domain is CP.’ (Holmberg and Nikanne 2002: 79)

Holmberg and Nikanne assume that F has an EPP feature, and attracts constituents with the feature [-foc]. If the EPP feature of F is weak, movement will be covert.

Given that *tet* signals that the discourse context contrasts with the content of TP we might propose that the projection FP which it lexicalises corresponds to the presupposition domain of the clause. We might further propose that the presupposition domain is lexicalised by *tet* exactly in the contexts in which the content of the propositions contrasts with the discourse background. Observe, though, that unlike is the case in Finnish, WF FP does not attract any constituents. If F has an EPP feature, it is always checked by merging the pleonastic *tet*.

3.2.1.4 ■ EVALP AND PORTUGUESE ELE (CARRILHO 2005)

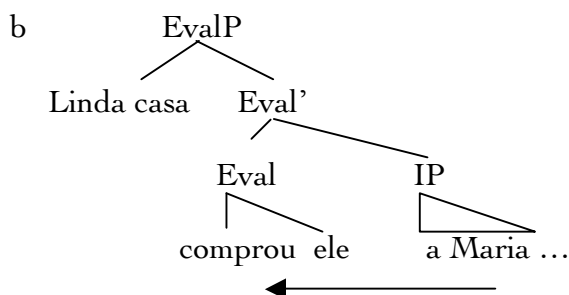
Carrilho (2005) studies the distribution of pleonastic *ele* in European Portuguese dialects. Based on distributional criteria, she distinguishes a higher occurrence of *ele* from a lower one, the latter is postverbal. The fact that the two instances of *ele* may actually co-occur (33) is evidence for postulating two positions for this element:

- (33) Ele aqui debaixo tenho ele assim uma pias para os pequeninos, para là comeerm.
 ‘Here, under this, I have some sinks for the small ones, for them to eat here’.
 (Carrilho 2005: 246, ex (217))

Concerning the lower occurrence of *ele* Carrilho says that it ‘appears exclusively related to sentences involving a certain evaluative/expressive value.’ (2005: 245) Typically *ele* appears in exclamative sentences, in which the exclamative force may also be signalled by prosodic means. In other cases, *ele* has an evaluative meaning which may also be signalled by lexical means such as the adverb *bem* (‘well’) or by the indefinite *cada* (‘such’) (Carrilho 2005: 167-8). Carrilho also points out that the exclamative value of utterances with *ele* does not depend on this element since it is preserved even if *ele* is absent. She does not discuss the distinction, if there is any, between the discourse functions of the higher and the lower *ele*.

Carrilho proposes that the higher *ele* occupies the specifier of ForceP. Since the lower *ele* follows fronted constituents with topic reading and it also follows higher *ele* (2005: 245) it cannot occupy the same high position and she proposes that it is situated in the head position of EvalP (in the sense of Ambar 1999), a projection between CP and IP. Thus (34a) has the structure in (34b):

- (34) a Linda casa comprou elea Maria!
 beautiful house bought ele theMaria



One might then propose that the WF FP which *tet* lexicalises is a speaker-related functional projection high in the IP domain, along the lines of Carrilho's EvalP proposal for the lower occurrence of Portuguese *ele*. Significantly, though, WF EvalP cannot host any other material in its specifier. We might say that inserting *tet* in EvalP pre-empts movement of any other constituent to that position.¹⁵¹⁶

3.2.1.5 □ SUMMARY

The overview of the literature in this section has brought to the fore a number of proposals in which a projection is postulated that encodes some kind of expressive meaning or that signals the novelty of the content of the clause. Though in some of the languages discussed (Finnish, Portuguese) the relevant position may be lexicalized by a pronoun-like constituent, this particular fact remains as such relatively undiscussed.

3.2.2 □ FP IS A FUNCTIONAL POSITION IN THE SUBJECT FIELD

The discussion in section 3.2.1 starts from the various shades of expressive meaning associated with WF *tet* and introduces comparable elements in other languages which have been discussed in the literature. However, at least some of these elements discussed above also share the property that they are pronominal and more in particular that formally they seem to correspond to subject pronouns: this is notably true for French *tu/ti*, Portuguese *ele* and the invariable (subject) clitics in the Italian dialects. The link with subjecthood /subject pronouns is not explored in the papers cited above.

An alternative line that one might explore is to zoom in on the subject-like properties of *tet* and to propose that the functional projection FP which *tet* lexicalises belongs to the so called Subject field (Cardinaletti 2004): FP is a functional projection whose specifier is a subject position. Arguments in favour of the latter idea are that WF *tet* formally looks like a

¹⁵ Vinet (2000) associates one of the uses of *tu* in Quebec French also with the feature Eval. (2000:389)

¹⁶ Since *tet* often seems to induce an exclamative reading for the clause it is associated with (as suggested by the exclamation marks in many of our examples) one might suggest that it encodes exclamative force. However, note that exclamatives are typically incompatible with sentential negation, while *tet* sentences are easily compatible with sentential negation:

- (i) a What an interesting proposal the students have come up with!
- b *What an interesting proposal none of the students have thought of!
- (ii) a How beautiful the bride was!
- b *How nervous the bride wasn't/was not!
- (iii) a T'(en) -eet tet dienen boek niemand gekocht!
- it (en) has *tet* that book no one bought
- 'No one bought that book.'
- b Z'en ee tet da nie gedoan!
- She *en* has *tet* that not done

Furthermore, according to some authors, concepts such as Force do not have a place in the formal syntactic representation. For instance, Zanuttini and Portner (2003) say explicitly: 'We argue there is no particular element in syntax responsible for introducing force'. (2003: 39, abstract).

As suggested by Norbert Corver and Gertjan Postma, an alternative label to EvalP might be the label 'DegP', postulating that *tet* encodes 'degree' of truth, i.e. emphasises truth (or polarity).

strong pronoun, that it may even alterate with a strong subject pronoun, and that it is licensed exclusively in contexts in which a nominative subject is licensed. Such specific licensing conditions cannot obviously be made to follow from proposals according to which *tet* lexicalises a pure discourse related (or modal) projection. In the latter case the licensing properties of *tet* would be a mere coincidence. Moreover, since case properties are traditionally associated with the TP domain rather than with the CP domain, the fact that *tet* is somehow related to nominative case suggests that the relevant projection FP is part of the TP domain. If FP also hosts object clitics (as originally proposed by van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002ab)), this may again suggest that FP belongs to the TP domain: object clitics typically are taken to be licensed within the TP domain.

In the dialect we are describing here, *tet* seems to be occupying a fairly unique position. Apart from non-subject clitics, *tet* is the only element to be able to separate the complementiser or the fronted inflected verb in C from a definite subject. This is illustrated in (35). Other elements such as adjuncts, or fronted objects, cannot intervene between the definite subject and the C domain.

- (35) a* da dienen boek Marie a kent.
 that that book Marie already knows
 b* da morgen Marie komt.
 that tomorrow Marie comes
 c* da woarschynlyk Marie da weet.
 that probably Marie that knows
 d* da toch Marie da weet.
 that yet Marie that knows

The fact that only *tet* can intervene between the inflected conjunction and the canonical subject may also be taken to indicate that it belongs to the subject-related area of the clause.

3.2.2.1 ■ AN ARTICULATED SUBJECT DOMAIN

The hypothesis that *tet* lexicalises a functional projection in the subject field is inspired by proposals due to Cardinaletti (1997, 2004). In the same way that the CP domain can be re-articulated in terms of a hierarchically organised set of projections, and that what was originally a unique position, SpecCP, has become decomposed into a sequence of specifiers associated with specialised heads, Cardinaletti argues that what had originally been seen as the unique ‘canonical subject position’, ‘SpecIP’, should in fact be reinterpreted in terms of an articulated array of projections each of which encodes a specialised subject-related property.

Let us apply this in our account of the distribution of *tet*. Roughly, the idea would be that *tet* occupies the specifier of the highest subject projection on the TP edge, which we label SubjP here. On the TP edge, Cardinaletti identifies a number of distinct subject positions which together constitute the subject field, as shown in (36):

- (36) SpecSubjP SpecEPP-P Spec AgrsP ...

She says:

each subject position hosts different types of subjects. There are language-specific restrictions on the distribution of strong subjects. ... Expletive subject pronouns occur in either Spec AgrSP or specEPP according to whether or not they check nominative case and ϕ -features.. (Cardinaletti 2004: 154).

SpecSubj hosts the ‘subject of predication’, that is, the prominent argument that the sentence is about. Sentences in which the subject moves to SpecSubjP are categorical

sentences. They differ fromthetic sentences in which the subject remains in a lower position and is part of the novel information of the clause, the rheme. We refer to Cardinaletti's own paper for more discussion and for illustration from Italian (Cardinaletti 2004: 33 ff).

Cardinaletti and Repetti (2005) and Chinellato (2005) further explore the idea of split subject positions to account for the distribution of subject clitics in a number of Italian dialects. Specifically, they discuss a vocalic element (\emptyset) in the Donceto dialect which precedes the inflected verb:

- (37) a \emptyset be:v 'I drink'
 b \emptyset bu'vum 'we drink'
 c \emptyset bu'vi 'you:pl drink'

(Donceto, Cardinaletti and Repetti 2005: (3))

They say that:

although some of its properties are similar to those of vocalic subject clitics, the Donceto vocalic segment in (37) does not fit into Poletto's (2000) typology of subject clitics in NIDs (Cardinaletti and Repetti 2005: 16)

According to their discussion the vowel 'does not express any theme/rheme distinction, but is fully optional', 'the sentences with or without the schwa have the same meaning and are used in the same contexts' (Cardinaletti and Repetti 2005: 18) To account for the appearance of such elements they propose that:

the preverbal schwa in [39] is, what we call, a subject field vowel', realising a functional head of the INFL layer. (2005: 6, 19)... the (optional) realization of the functional head that hosts the features of 1sg, 1pl and 2pl:

(Cardinaletti and Repetti 2005: 18)

- (38) $[_{XP} \emptyset] [_{TP} \text{pro}_k \text{be:vi} \dots [_{VP} t_k t_i]]$ '(I) drink'

3.2.2.2 \square INVARIABLE CLITICS AND SUBJP

Chinellato (2005) pursues the analysis outlined above and proposes that the invariable α -morpheme of the Paduan, Eastern Vicentino and Basso Polesano dialects

lexicalises the functional head Subject. The morpheme is in a spec-head relation with an empty operator which checks the 'subject of predication' features. ... This Spec head relation blocks the movement of the DP subject to SpecSubjectP:

- (39) [a] $[_{\text{SubjP}} [_{\text{Subj}^\circ} \alpha] [_{\text{YP}} [_{\text{XP}}]]]$

However, Subject $^\circ$ is not the syntactic position in which the α -morpheme is merged. Benincà (1983) claims that the morpheme expresses that the clause is new information. Thus, the morpheme moves to Subj $^\circ$ via Rheme $^\circ$, the functional head in which it can check the [+rheme] feature.

- (39) [b] $[_{\text{SubjP}} [_{\text{Subj}^\circ} \alpha] [_{\text{RhemeP}} [_{\text{Rheme}^\circ} \text{---}] [_{\text{XIP}} [_{\text{X1}^\circ} \text{----}]]]]$

(Chinellato 2005: 33-34)

For the sake of the discussion, we could assume that Chinellato's RhemeP corresponds to Cardinaletti's EPPPhrase. Clearly, Chinellato postulates a lower position for the invariable clitic than the position adopted by Poletto (2000), even though for both, the invariable

clitic has the pragmatic function of signalling that the clause gives new information. We omit further details here which would take us too far afield.

Based on these proposals and taking into account that *tet* is licensed in contexts in which a nominative subject is licensed, we might postulate that *tet* is a subject element and is inserted in one of the articulated subject positions in the subject field. Inserting *tet* in the highest subject position, SpecSubj, would have the effect of blocking this position for a DP subject and hence would keep a DP subject in a lower domain (Chinellato's Rheme P). The novelty effect created by *tet* would then have to derive from the fact that the subject of predication is filled by a pleonastic element.

3.2.2.3 ■ PLEONASTIC SE AND NE IN FINNISH (HOLMBERG 2006)

The analysis of *tet* as belonging to the subject field also resembles that proposed for the Finnish expletives *se/ne* in (40) by Holmberg (2006).

- (40) a Se on Jari lopettanut tupakoinnin.
se has Jari quit smoking
 'He's quit smoking, Jari.'
- b Ne saikaikki lapset samat oireet.
Ne got all children same symptoms
 'All the children got the same symptoms.'

Holmberg says:

The pragmatic effect of the doubling is not very specific. It is typically an all new sentence but about a familiar subject, often with a subtle 'believe it or not' effect. Quite often the doubled subject is focus-marked by the clitic- *kin* 'too/even'.

(Abstract 2006)

Formally, *se/ne* are 'neutral' third person pronouns, which can refer either to humans or non humans. *Se* can also double first or second person pronouns.

Once again the similarities with *tet* are striking: in particular note that Finnish also uses neutral pronouns. One difference seems to be that the Finnish doubling pronouns co occur with a focused subject, while in WF there is no requirement that the subject be focused and a weak subject can also co occur with *tet*.

3.2.2.4 ■ EXPLETIVE -I IN ROMANCE (TARALDSEN 2001, 2002)

Postulating a pleonastic element in the subject field is also reminiscent of Taraldsen's (2001, 2002) account of the *quel/qui* alternation in French, where the complementiser is realised as *qui* with subject extraction (41a) and as *que* otherwise (41b). He proposes that the form *qui* in (41a) should be decomposed into *que*, the complementiser, and *-i*, an expletive like element.

- (41) a lesfilles qui sont venues
thegirls qui are come
- b lesfilles que nous avons invitées
thegirls que we have invited

For a similar proposal that *qui* corresponds to *que + il*, see also Rooryck (1997, 2000, 2001).

3.3 ■ CONCLUSION

In section 3.1. we sketched a number of accounts for the nature of FP which all relate to the expressive function of *tet*. According to such accounts *tet* lexicalises a Polarity projection, or a Topic projection, or a Focus projection, or it instantiates EvalP, which is related to exclamative force. Though accounts along these lines would capture the

expressive meaning of *tet*, they none of them provide a way of accounting for the fact that formally *tet* looks like a pronominal element and that it depends on nominative case licensing.

Section 3.2. pursues the observation that *tet* depends on the licensing of nominative case and explores an alternative account according to which *tet* lexicalises a position in the subject field in the sense of Cardinaletti (1997, 2004).

At this point we are not able to decide which of these accounts is preferable. We hope to return to this issue in future work. One point that will play a role in the ultimate choice of an analysis is to what extent an analysis proposed for the syntax of *tet* can be made to capture the distribution and interpretation of the various similar elements found cross-linguistically and discussed in the preceding sections. Another issue is to determine to what extent the projection FP can be shown to interact with other aspects of the syntax of WF.

Finally, as a third possibility it might be that the nature of FP is ‘mixed’ and that FP is a hybrid projection combining properties of CP and of IP. The idea that there is a functional field dedicated to the subject is also explored in Rizzi and Shlonsky (2005), who describe the relevant layer as follows:

The Subj layer defines a structural zone connecting the CP and the IP systems. As such, it may be assumed to share properties with both systems. The CP zone is specialised in creating dedicated positions to express scope-discourse properties, topicality, focus, scope of different kinds of sentential operators; such positions are formally optional, in the sense that they are activated in a structure when the discourse conditions and communicative intentions require them. Otherwise, they remain inert. On the other hand, a notable characteristic of the IP zone is obligatoriness, at least the obligatoriness of the heads forming the backbone of the ‘functional’ IP hierarchy, tense in the first place (Cinque 1999). So, we may think of the Subj layer as sharing properties of the two systems it connects: on a par with the CP system, it is dedicated to a scope –discourse property and on a par with the IP system, it is obligatorily expressed. (Rizzi and Shlonsky 2005: 12-13).

Observe that the dual characterization of the pleonastic elements that we are concerned with here in terms of discourse structural properties (section 3.1.) and in terms of subject related properties (section 3.2.) would fit in well with Rizzi and Shlonsky’s characterization of the Subj layer as a kind of CP/IP hybrid. If we take their approach literally, FP would have to be taken to be obligatorily instantiated. What would be ‘optional’ is then the type of filler for its specifier. (For further discussion of *tet* and its relation to the subject layer see also Haegeman (2006)).

4 ■ TET AS A GUIDE FOR PLOTTING POSITIONS AND EVALUATING ANALYSES

Regardless of the nature of the projection FP, the distribution of *tet* in WF provides some empirical support for the hypothesis that there is a functional projection on the left edge of IP. This projection, FP, instantiated by *tet*, can be used as a kind of a milestone in the analysis of the elements appearing to the left of the canonical subject position, the area often referred to as the ‘Vorfeld’. The distribution of *tet* in relation to other constituents of the ‘Vorfeld’ will allow us to plot the position of syntactic constituents in the Vorfeld with more precision.¹⁷

¹⁷ See also Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Vulchanov (to appear) for a similar approach to the syntax of Old Bulgarian.

In the next section we show how the position of *tet* allows us to evaluate a number of analysis proposed with respect to the syntax of Verb second and related areas of West Flemish syntax.

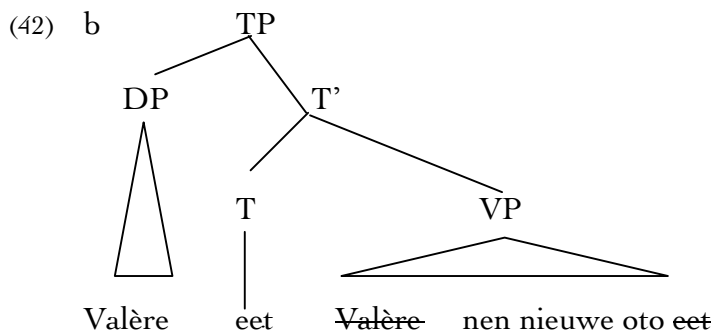
4.1 ■ THE DERIVATION OF SUBJECT INITIAL V2: VAN CRAENENBROECK AND HAEGEMAN (TO APPEAR)

With respect to the Germanic verb second patterns, there is a long standing debate as to the position of the subject and the finite verb in subject initial sentences such as (42a):

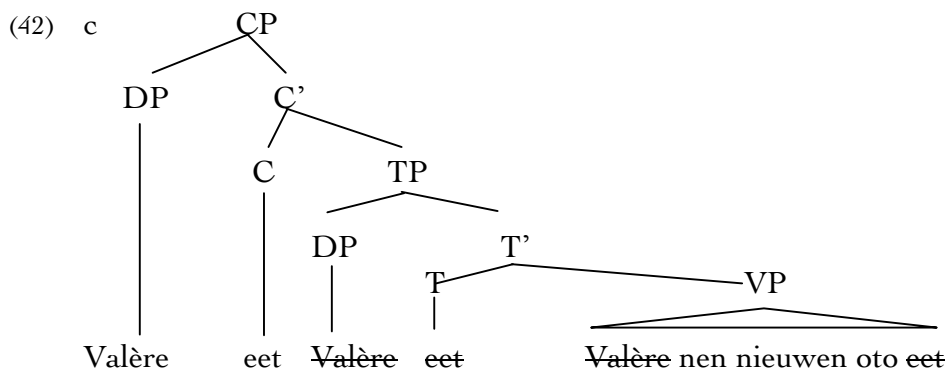
- (42) a Valère eet nen nieuwenoto.
Valère has a new car
 ‘Valère has a new car.’

According to some, both subject and finite verb remain in TP, for others they have moved into the CP domain. As discussed in van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (to appear) one can rely on the distribution of *tet* to identify the location of the subject and of the finite verb with respect to the CP and IP domains. We briefly summarise the argumentation here and refer the interested reader to the paper for further details.

Following Travis (1984) a number of authors (among others, Zwart 1997, van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002a) propose that subject-initial V2 clauses in Germanic are to be identified as TP with the subject in the specifier of T and the finite verb in T. According to these analyses, CP is not activated in subject-initial Verb Second.



Others propose that even when the subject is initial, the CP domain is activated in a V2 clause (Schwartz and Vikner 1989, 1996; Branigan 1996; Haegeman 1996b; Platzack 1998; Mohr 2005): the idea is that the subject moves to SpecCP and the finite verb moves to C. .



For a comparison of the two proposals see, among others, Schwartz and Vikner (1989), Zwart (1993), Branigan (1996).

If *tet* occupies the specifier of a projection FP which demarcates TP from CP, then the fact that subject initial V2 clauses are fully compatible with the occurrence of *tet* leads one to the conclusion that representation (42c) is preferable to (42b). (42c) allows one to straightforwardly predict the sequence subject-finite verb-*tet* illustrated in (42d), as shown

schematically in (42e). Without auxiliary assumptions, (42b) does not allow us to predict the grammaticality of (42d) and leads us to expect patterns like (42f) (cf. (42g)).

- (42) d Valère eet tet nen nieuwenoto.
Valère has tet a new car
 e [_{CP} Valère [_C ee] [_{FP} tet [_{TP} ...
 f *Tet Valère ee nen nieuwen oto.
 g * [_{CP} [_{FP} tet [_{TP} Valère [_T ee] ...

In both types of accounts non subject initial verb second implicates the CP domain, and the correct prediction for both is that such structures are compatible with *tet*:

- (42) h [_{CP} Morgen [_C gao] [_{FP} tet [_{TP} Valère nen nieuwenoto een]]]
tomorrow will tet Valère a new car have

4.2 ■ SUBJECT INITIAL V2 AND SUBJECT DOUBLING

In subject initial V2 patterns, WF displays subject doubling. The doubling strong pronoun is optional: (1a); repeated here as (43a), alternates with (1b), repeated as (43b):

- (43) a Zeweeet zieda.
sheknows shethat
 b Zeweeet da.
sheknows that

According to some authors, there is a fundamental structural difference between a sentence with doubling (43a) and one without doubling (43b). For instance, adopting the TP account for subject initial V2 (42b), van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002b) argue that (43b) corresponds to TP (46a), while (43a) implicates the CP domain (46c):

In subject-initial main clauses, *the CP domain (including FinP, [see below for FinP]) is absent*. As a result subject clitics are not licensed and subject clitic doubling is not allowed. (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002b: 293), our italics)

According to these authors, subject initial V2 with doubling is to be analysed as Topic doubling, with V in C-domain as in (44b,c). They do not distinguish the doubling in the Wambeek dialect, in which a strong pronoun *zaai* ('she') doubles a topicalized DP subject *Marie*, from the doubling in WF in which a strong pronoun (*zie*) always must double a weak element (*ze*), and in which the equivalent of (44b) would be ungrammatical (cf.(44d):

- (44) a [_{TP} ze/Marie [_T komt] morgen]
 b [_{CP} Marie [_C komt [_{TP} zaai ...]]] (Wambeek dialect)
 c [_{CP} ze [_C komt [_{TP} zie ...]]] (Lapscheure dialect)
 d* [_{CP} Marie [_C komt [_{TP} zie ...]]] (Lapscheure dialect)

Observe, though, that at least with respect to the Lapscheure dialect, the position of *tet* suggests that both with and without doubling the verb has moved to the C domain in subject initial V2:

- (45) a Zekomt tet ziemorgen.
shecomes tet shetomorrow
 a' [_{CP} Ze komt [_{FP} tet [_{TP} zie...
 b Ze komt tet morgen.
 b' [_{CP} Ze [_C komt] [_{FP} tet [_{TP} ...

4.3 ■ V2 AND THE SPLIT CP (BRANIGAN 1996, HAEGEMAN 1996B, VAN CRAENENBROECK AND HAEGEMAN 2005)

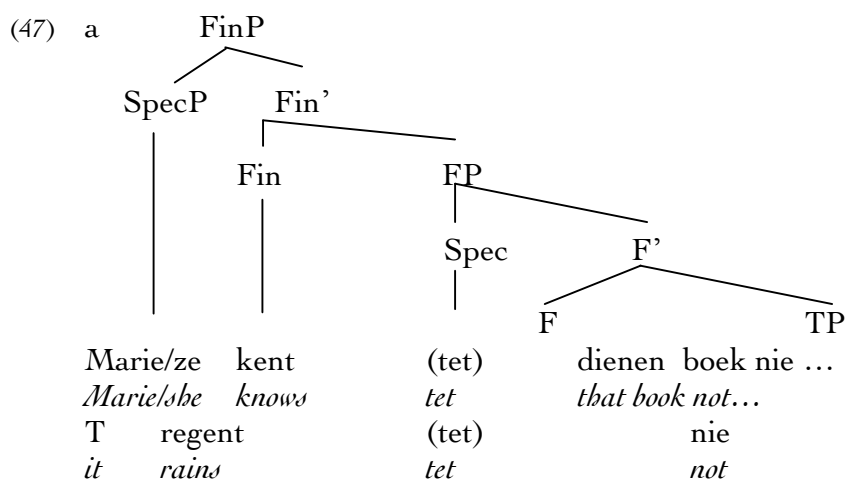
In section 4.1., we adopted a unitary account of the CP system, with one head and one specifier. However, following work by Rizzi (1997), it has become clear that CP can be broken down into a hierarchically organised set of functional projections, thus making available more than one position in the C domain. This obviously has ramifications for the analysis of Verb Second.

Independently of the Split CP hypothesis, double agreement patterns in Dutch had led to the proposal that Verb Second is not a unitary phenomenon and that the finite verb in a subject initial V2 clause has a different position from that in a non subject initial V2 clause. The relevant data are given in (46) from East Netherlandic (Zwart 1997: 195)

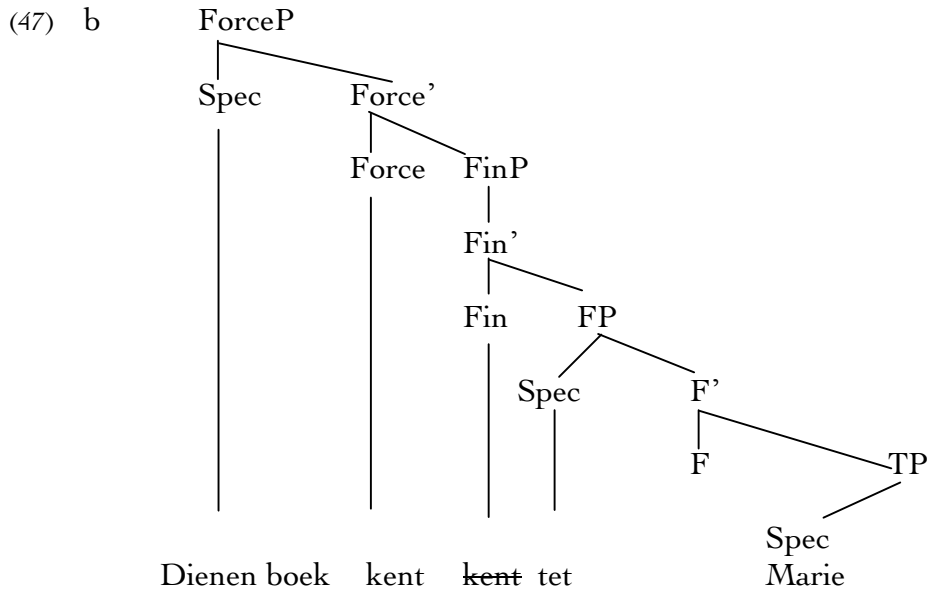
- (46) a Wy speult.
we play
 b Speule wy?
play we
 c datte wy speult
that we play

The account according to which subject initial V2 sentences implicate TP and non subject initial clauses are an instantiation of CP obviously has no problem with these data since in such an account the verb occupies two distinct positions: *speult* in (46a) would be in T and *speule* in (46b) would be in C, the position also occupied by the conjunction *dat* in (46c). The differentiation of the agreement can then be related to the different positions: in C the verb has the *-e* ending, in T it has *-t*.

In order to capture the contrasts in (46), accounts according to which all V2 patterns activate the CP level might make use of the articulated CP and relate the different inflections of the verb in (46) to different C-related positions. Unmarked subject initial V2 sentences (46a) could be argued to implicate FinP, the lower functional projection of the CP domain whose head encodes finiteness. In (46a) the subject *wy* ('we') would be in SpecFin and the verb *speult* would be in Fin. Haegeman (1996) proposes that Fin has an EPP requirement which is satisfied by the subject. Non subject initial V2 (46b) could be taken to implicate ForceP, the higher clause typing projection in the CP domain: the finite verb *speule* ('play') could be in Force. (47) provides the corresponding representations for some WF V2 sentences. Assuming that Fin encodes ϕ -features, then arguably SpecFinP will qualify as an A position (cf. Cardinaletti 1991, Branigan 1996, Haegeman 1996b, van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2005, to appear)) while SpecForceP is an A' position. That the subject position in subject initial V2 is an A-position has been argued, among others, by Cardinaletti (1991) and Zwart (1997). Evidence for this is that the initial subject may be an expletive, as shown in the examples in (47a).



t Kuopen (tet) dienen boek nie vee studenten
 it buy tet that book not many students



Observe that we assume that in the unmarked case, in subject initial V2 sentences, the subject occupies the specifier of Fin, the lower projection in the CP domain (48a). However, it may well be that the subject can also be moved to a higher position, to achieve some focussing effect or for topic marking. Along these lines, the topic doubling cases discussed in van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen for the Wambeek dialect might perhaps be assigned the structure in (48b), where the topicalised subject *Marie* or *zaai* ('she') is in the specifier of a higher projection (which we label ForceP), and the doubling subject *zaai* is in the canonical subject position. Tripling could then be analysed as in (48c).

- (48) a *Marie* wenj-t al (van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman to appear, their (7))
Marie knows-it already
 [_{FinP} Marie wenj-t [_{TP} al]]
 b [_{ForceP} Marie/zaai [_{Force} komt [_{FinP} ~~komt~~ [_{TP} zaai ...]]]]
 c [_{ForceP} Marie/zaai [_{Force} komt [_{FinP} ze ~~komt~~ [_{TP} zaai ...]]]]

Branigan's (1996) account of V2 pre-dates¹⁸ the analysis proposed above in terms of the role of finiteness: specifically Branigan proposes there are two CP-type projections, a lower 'primary' C, C π , and an upper 'non-primary' C. In subject initial V2 clauses, the finite verb moves to C π , in non-subject initial V2 clauses the finite verb moves to C, and subsequently C π (with the incorporated verb) moves to the upper C. Branigan assumes that the subject is attracted to the C domain by the finiteness feature of C π .

Branigan assumes that in non subject initial V2 clauses the subject DP also moves into the specifier of C π . The relevant representations for subject initial V2 clauses is (49a), that for non-subject initial V2 clauses is (49b) and that for non V2 clauses is (49c), where C π -C = *dat*:¹⁹

¹⁸ Branigan (1996) is based on his Ph.D. thesis, which dates back to 1992.

¹⁹ One of the motivations for Branigan's proposal is the subject deletion data given in (i):

- (i) Dutch a Toen reed de trein verder en stopte pas weer in Assen. (Zwart 1993: 263)
 then rode the train on and stopped only again in Assen
 'Then the train went on and did not stop again until Assen.'
 German b Gestern ist Margot krank gewesen und hat deshalb den ganzen Tag
 Yesterday is Margot ill been and has therefore the whole day

- (49) a $[_{CP} DP_i [_{C\pi} V-C\pi] [_{AgrP} t_i] [_{Agr'} \dots]]$
 b $[_{CP} XP_j; [_C V-C\pi-C] [_{C\pi P} DP_i; [_{C\pi} t_{C\pi}] [_{AgrP} t_i] [_{Agr'} \dots t_j] \dots]]$
 c $[_{CP} [_C C\pi-C] [_{C\pi P} DP_i; [_{C\pi} t_{C\pi}] [_{AgrP} t_i] [_{Agr'} \dots]]]$

The proposal that in V2 languages the subject DP always moves to the C-domain is also argued for by Shlonsky (1994); we discuss the problems that arise for such accounts in the next section.

4.4 ■ DP SUBJECTS AND THE ARTICULATED CP

According to the representations in (42h) and (47b) in non-subject initial V2 sentences, the DP subject remains TP-internal.²⁰ (50) summarises these analyses: (50a) has the unitary CP, (50b) has the split CP:

- (50) a $[_{CP} \text{Morgen} [_C \text{gao}] [_{TP} \text{Valère nen nieuwenoto een}]]$
tomorrow goes Valère a new car have
 ‘Valère is getting a new car tomorrow.’
 b $[_{ForceP} \text{Morgen} [_{Force} \text{gao}] [_{FinP} [_{Fin} \text{gao}] [_{TP} \text{Valère nen nieuwen oto een}]]]]]$

Similarly, these accounts would propose that in embedded clauses the subject remains TP internal. (50c) has a unitary CP representation, (50d) has the split CP representation. For the latter we assume *da* is merged in Fin and moves to Force. Other variants on this can be envisaged. They are not central for the point made here.

- (50) c $[_{CP} [_C \text{da}] [_{TP} \text{Valère nen nieuwenoto goat een}]]$
that Valère a new car goes have
 ‘that Valère is getting a new car.’
 d $[_{ForceP} [_{Force} \text{da}] [_{FinP} [_{Fin} \text{da}] [_{TP} \text{Valère nen nieuwen oto goat een}]]]]]$

Using the articulated CP, though, some authors (Shlonsky 1994, Branigan 1996, Platzack 2004) have explored alternative analyses according to which the subject DP in the Germanic clause always leaves TP and always targets a position in the CP domain, including in non subject initial V2 clauses and in embedded clauses. (51) is a first representation:

- (51) a $[_{ForceP} \text{Morgen} [_{Force} \text{gao}] [_{FinP} \text{Valère} [_{Fin} \text{gao}] [_{TP} \text{Valère nen nieuwen oto een}]]]]]$
 b $[_{ForceP} [_{Force} \text{da}] [_{FinP} \text{Valère} [_{Fin} \text{da}] [_{TP} \text{Valère nen nieuwen oto goat een}]]]]]$

im Bett verbracht.
 in bed spent
 ‘Yesterday Margot became ill and hence spent all day in bed.’

(Branigan 1996: 55, his (15a), from Heycock and Kroch 1993)

In the second conjunct clause a subject is deleted, under identity with a subject in the first conjunct. If deletion requires identity of positions then we would have to assume that in the first conjunct the subject is in the same position as in the second conjunct. In accounts of V2 in which the subject occupies different positions depending on whether the clause is subject initial or not, these data are problematic. For an account see Zwart (1993: 265-7).

Observe that subject ellipsis in the second conjunct in the WF equivalents of (i) is ungrammatical:

- (ii) a Toen ryd de trein deure en *(je) stopt mo were in Assen.
 then rides the train on and *(he) stops only again in Assen
 ‘Then the train continues and only stops again at Assen.’
 b Gisteren is Valère ziek geworden en *(j’) heet heel den dag in zen bedde gezeten.
 Yesterday is Valère ill become and *(he) has the whole day in his bed stayed
 ‘Yesterday Valère became ill and he spent the whole day in bed.’

²⁰ We are only concerned with definite subjects. Indefinite subjects may remain lower in the structure.

The distribution of WF *tet* in relation to post verbal or post conjunction subject DP is obviously relevant for such proposals. Below we discuss one such account in detail: that by Shlonsky (1994).

We will show that at first sight Shlonsky's proposal that, in addition to weak pronoun subjects, DPs subject and strong pronoun subject also move to the CP domain is incompatible with the observed distribution of *tet*. We then show that adopting an account for *tet* in terms of a subject related functional position (as proposed in section 3.2. above) might at first sight seem to allow a reformulation of Shlonsky's original proposal which can be made compatible with the distribution of *tet*. However, in section 4.3.3. we show that there remain serious problems for this analysis and we reject Shlonsky's – and Branigan's (see section 4.3.) - hypothesis that in the Germanic V2 languages the subject always leaves TP.

4.4.1 ■ THE POSITION OF DP/ SP SUBJECTS IN EMBEDDED CLAUSES

In his discussion of WF subject positions and their interaction with V2, Shlonsky (1994) decomposes CP into a number of projections, the lower of which, AgrCP, encodes subject related agreement features. He says: 'φ- features on *da* are base-generated as the affixal head on AgrCP.' (Shlonsky 1994: 354) We can plausibly equate Shlonsky's AgrCP with Branigan's CπP, and with Rizzi's FinP. With respect to the licensing of the features on the agreement head in C, Shlonsky says:

Since the contents of AgrC [= the φ- features on Fin, lh&dvd] must be licensed by coindexation with Spec of AgrCP [=Spec,Fin, lh&dvd], some other element must fill that position. I propose that in the absence of a clitic in Spec of AgrCP [=Spec,Fin], the actual subject, whether pronominal or not, moves into SpecAgrCP [=Spec,Fin]. (Shlonsky 1994: 358)

Thus, according to Shlonsky, and adopting Rizzi's labels for the CP projections, an embedded clause with a weak pronoun subject would have the structure in (52a), one with a doubled subject would have the structure in (52b), and clauses with a DP subject or with just a strong pronoun subject would be structured as in (52c) and in (52d). Shlonsky assumes that the ending of the complementiser (*t* in (52)) is generated in Fin and moves to *da* in Force. In this respect too his analysis is similar to Branigan's (1996) analysis in which it is assumed that the lower C (Cπ) adjoins to the upper C. (cf. (49c))

- (52) a [ForceP dat [FinP ze [t] [TP dienen boek kent]]]
 that she that book knows
 b [ForceP dat [FinP ze [t] [TP zie dienen boek kent]]]
 c [ForceP dat [FinP Marie [t] [TP Marie dienen boek kent]]]
 d [ForceP dat [FinP zie [-t] [TP zie dienen boek kent]]]

Shlonsky's hypothesis that the subject always leaves TP at first sight makes incorrect predictions for the distribution of *tet* in WF. Based on representations (52c) and (52d), and assuming that *tet* lexicalises the FP that demarcates CP and TP, we incorrectly predict that *tet* will follow the DP subject or the strong pronoun subject.

- (53) a* [ForceP dat [FinP Marie [t] [FP tet [TP Marie dienen boek kent]]]]
 b* [ForceP dat [FinP zie [-t] [FP tet [TP zie dienen boek kent]]]]

Rather, as shown above (see (12a, 12b)), *tet* precedes a DP subject or a pronominal subject, suggesting that the latter remains in the TP domain.²¹

²¹ Observe that Shlonsky's account straightforwardly captures the coordination data discussed briefly in note 14.

- (54) a $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{dat } [_{\text{FinP}} [\text{t}] [_{\text{FP}} \text{tet } [_{\text{TP}} \text{Marie dienen boek kent}]]]]]$
 b $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{dat } [_{\text{FinP}} [-\text{t}] [_{\text{FP}} \text{tet } [_{\text{TP}} \text{zie dienen boek kent}]]]]]$

One way of preserving Shlonsky's analysis would be to argue that *tet* precedes the DP subject because when pleonastic *tet* is available, it itself, rather than the DP subject, moves to SpecFinP to check the ϕ -features of Fin. Such an account would probably lead us to choose the analysis in which *tet* lexicalises a subject related functional projection (section 3.2.). If movement of *tet* to SpecFinP can check the ϕ -features, this leads to the following representations:

- (55) a $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{dat } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{tet } [\text{t}] [_{\text{FP}} \text{tet } [_{\text{EPPP}} \text{Marie dienen boek kent}]]]]]$
 b $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{dat } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{tet } [-\text{t}] [_{\text{FP}} \text{tet } [_{\text{EPPP}} \text{zie dienen boek kent}]]]]]$

Pursuing Shlonsky's analysis, it could then be argued that in the absence of *tet* the subject DP itself moves to SpecFin to check Fin's ϕ -features.

- (56) a $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{dat } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{Marie } [\text{t}] [_{\text{FP}} \text{Marie } [_{\text{EPPP}} \text{Marie dienen boek kent}]]]]]$
 b $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{dat } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{zie } [-\text{t}] [_{\text{FP}} \text{zie } [_{\text{EPPP}} \text{zie dienen boek kent}]]]]]$

4.4.2 ■ THE DEFINITE SUBJECT IN NON SUBJECT INITIAL V2

Shlonsky extends his analysis to non-subject initial V2 sentences, for which he assumes that the subject DP is external to TP:

I assume, then, that in non subject-initial V2 clauses, an XP preceding the verb is moved to Spec of CP and the inflected verb is raised to C via AgrC. If a subject clitic is present it occupies Spec of AgrCP. (Shlonsky 1994: 365)
 when a clitic is not present in the structure the subject itself raises up to Spec of AgrCP, as in embedded clauses. (Shlonsky 1994: 366)

According to his analysis we end up with the structures in (57):

- (57) a $[_{\text{FORCEP}} \text{Meschien kent } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{ze } [\text{kent}] [_{\text{TP}} \text{dienen boek kent}]]]$
maybe knows she that book
 b $[_{\text{FORCEP}} \text{Meschien kent } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{ze } [\text{kent}] [_{\text{TP}} \text{zie dienen boek kent}]]]$
 c $[_{\text{FORCEP}} \text{Meschien kent } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{Marie } [\text{kent}] [_{\text{TP}} \text{Marie dienen boek kent}]]]$
 d $[_{\text{FORCEP}} \text{Meschien kent } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{zie } [\text{kent}] [_{\text{TP}} \text{zie dienen boek kent}]]]$

Once again, this seems to lead to the incorrect prediction that the subject DP or a subject strong pronoun will precede *tet*:

- (58) a* $[_{\text{FORCEP}} \text{Meschien kent } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{Marie } [\text{kent}] [_{\text{FP}} \text{tet } [_{\text{TP}} \text{Marie dienen boek kent}]]]]]$
 b* $[_{\text{FORCEP}} \text{Meschien kent } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{zie } [\text{kent}] [_{\text{FP}} \text{tet } [_{\text{TP}} \text{zie dienen boek kent}]]]]]$

As shown in (59) *tet* precedes the subject DP / strong pronoun, suggesting that the latter remains in TP.

- (59) a OK: $[_{\text{FORCEP}} \text{Meschien kent } [_{\text{FinP}} [\text{kent}] [_{\text{FP}} \text{tet } [_{\text{TP}} \text{Marie dienen boek kent}]]]]]$
 b OK: $[_{\text{FORCEP}} \text{Meschien kent } [_{\text{FinP}} [\text{kent}] [_{\text{FP}} \text{tet } [_{\text{TP}} \text{zie dienen boek kent}]]]]]$

Once again, one way of salvaging Shlonsky's account is to argue that as a subject, *tet* itself moves to SpecFinP to satisfy the ϕ -features of Fin. This analysis would lead to the following representations:

- (60) a $[_{\text{FORCEP}} \text{Meschien kent } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{tet } [\text{kent}] [_{\text{FP}} \text{tet } [_{\text{EPPP}} \text{Marie dienen boek kent}]]]]]$
 b $[_{\text{FORCEP}} \text{Meschien kent } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{tet } [\text{kent}] [_{\text{FP}} \text{tet } [_{\text{EPPP}} \text{zie dienen boek kent}]]]]]$

In the absence of pleonastic *tet*, the subject DP itself could be said to move to SpecFP and it then moves on to SpecFin to check Fin's ϕ -features :

- (61) a [_{FORCEP} Meschien kent [_{FinP} Marie [~~kent~~] [_{FP} Marie [_{EPPP} Marie dienen boek ~~kent~~]]]]
 b [_{FORCEP} Meschien kent [_{FinP} zie [~~kent~~] [_{FP} zie [_{EPPP} zie dienen boek ~~kent~~]]]]

4.4.3 ▣ A PROBLEM: SUBJECT INITIAL V2

For subject initial V2 patterns Shlonsky proposes that the landing site of the subject is SpecAgrCP, a position which can only host subjects. Following Haegeman's account (1990, 1992), Shlonsky assumes that in the syntax *ze* is a weak pronoun (i.e. XP) that cliticizes at PF (1994: 370). Again replacing SpecAgrCP by FinP we would have the following representations.

- (62) a [_{FinP} Marie [~~kent~~] [_{TP} Marie dienen boek ~~kent~~]]
Marie knows that book
 b [_{FinP} zie [~~kent~~] [_{TP} zie dienen boek ~~kent~~]]
 c [_{FinP} ze [~~kent~~] [_{TP} ze dienen boek ~~kent~~]]

Shlonsky's analysis correctly predicts that the initial subject, as well as the finite verb, will precede *tet* in FP.

- (63) a [_{FinP} Marie [~~kent~~] [_{FP} tet [_{EPPP} Marie dienen boek ~~kent~~]]]
Marie knows tet that book
 b [_{FinP} zie [~~kent~~] [_{FP} tet [_{EPPP} zie dienen boek ~~kent~~]]]
sheknows tet that book
 c [_{FinP} ze [~~kent~~] [_{FP} tet [_{EPPP} ze dienen boek ~~kent~~]]]
sheknows tet that book

However, in order to be able to maintain Shlonsky's account of embedded clauses and non-subject initial V2 sentences, we postulated in the preceding sections that, as a subject element, *tet* itself might be taken to move to Spec FinP to check the ϕ -features of Fin. If such a move is possible in embedded clauses and in non subject initial V2, *tet* should also be able to satisfy the EPP requirements of Fin in subject initial V2 clauses. This leads to the prediction that the following sentences with initial *tet* should be grammatical, contrary to fact.

- (64) a* [_{FinP} tet [~~kent~~] [_{FP} ~~tet~~ [_{EPPP} Marie dienen boek ~~kent~~]]]
tet knows Marie that book
 b* [_{FinP} tet [~~kent~~] [_{FP} ~~tet~~ [_{EPPP} ziedienen boek ~~kent~~]]]
tet knows shethat book
 c* [_{FinP} tet [~~kent~~] [_{FP} ~~tet~~ [_{EPPP} ze dienen boek ~~kent~~]]]
tet knows shethat book

There is an additional problem for the derivation in (63): if *tet* can satisfy the features of Fin, it is not clear how it could be crossed by a subject in (63), since *tet* in FP will always be closer to Fin than subjects in SpecTP.

The fact that the examples in (64), which follow from our reworking of Shlonsky's analysis, are ungrammatical suggests that *tet* does not move out of FP. This means that we must reject the salvaging strategy elaborated to rescue Shlonsky's account and we cannot adopt his proposal that in V2 languages the subject in V2 languages always leaves TP. We provisionally conclude that while in subject initial V2 the subject has indeed moved into the CP domain, in embedded clauses and in non subject initial V2 clauses the DP subject remains TP internal.

As discussed above, Branigan (1996) also assumes an analysis according to which the subject DP invariably moves to the C domain and hence the problem raised for Shlonsky's analysis would also arise for his analysis.

5 ■ CONCLUSION

In this paper we have described the distribution and interpretation of *tet*, a pleonastic element in the WF dialect of Lapscheure. Formally *tet* looks like a strong third person neuter pronoun. It also seems to be able to be a double for a weak subject pronoun. We have first shown in section 2 that *tet* must be assigned a different status from the regular doubling pronouns. In section 3 we propose that *tet* lexicalises a functional projection (FP) which demarcates CP and TP. This section also examines the nature of this projection, exploring a number of alternative proposals and comparing the function and distribution of *tet* with that of similar pleonastic elements in other languages. Section 4 shows how the hypothesis that *tet* occupies a fixed position between CP and IP can be used as a way of evaluating analyses that have been put forward to account for various aspects of the verb second phenomenon.

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