RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ACADIAN FRENCH

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Abstract: Restricted relatives in Acadian French display the following peculiarities: generalization of *que* 'that' as the relative complementizer; deletion of *que* 'that'; orphaned prepositions; failure of subject-verb agreement between the relative noun and the embedded verb. This paper argues that such peculiarities arise from the tendency of Acadian French to use a matching rather than a raising pattern of derivation in restrictive relatives, which further involves non-quantificational chains. This parametric setting contrasts with the systematically raising pattern in the restrictive relative of Standard French.

Keywords: Acadian French, restrictive relatives, raising and matching derivation

1. Introduction

Acadian French (henceforth, AF) is an umbrela term for several varieties of French spoken in Canada (in New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta) and in the USA (Louisiana, Maine). There is a slight variation in grammar according to the geographical area (especially in the lexicon and phonology), but most syntactic features are shared (see Wiesmath 2007 for comparative paradigms). New Brunswick has the highest number of AF speakers, so this paper relies on data collected from that region.

This paper aims to account for the peculiarities of restrictive relatives in AF from a formal perspective, a task that has not been undertaken so far. These peculiarities involve the generalization of *que* 'that' as the relative complementizer; deletion of *que* 'that'; orphaned prepositions; failure of subject-verb agreement between the relative noun and the embedded verb.

First, the analysis has to sort out the derivational pattern that underlies the restrictive relatives in AF. In this respect, starting from the observation that AF has a drastically reduced inventory of relative pronouns compared to Standard French (henceforth SF), the question is how this inventory is exploited to attain the entire range of relative clauses (i.e. relativization from any argumental or non-argumental positions). The answer we provide is that SF displays only a raising mechanism in restrictive relatives (as in Cecchetto and Donati 2015), whereas AF resorts to both raising and matching (as in Bhatt 2002) for the same purpose. In other words, AF provides a case study where raising and matching derivations can occur side by side in a language, as predicted in Hulsey and Sauerland (2006).

Second, we derive some of the AF peculiarities listed above from the matching option.

The inventory of relative pronouns is much reduced in AF compared to SF. The data and tests allow us to argue that the elimination of relative pronouns is compensated by the spreading of the complementizer *que* 'that' to relative C, and that this phenomenon

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has syntactic consequences, as, for example, the rise of agreement failure upon relativization (i.e. relativization from subject position may result in a phi-feature mismatch between the relative DP and the verb of the relative clause), which alternates with the equivalent full agreement option. Furthermore, the preferential option for *que* 'that' led to the bleaching of this element, with non-trivial syntactic consequences, such as "doubly filled Comp" and *que* 'that' deletion in relative CPs.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 introduces the main properties of AF restrictive relatives, which are analyzed within the theoretical framework presented in section 3 (i.e. the raising and the matching analyses). Section 4 provides an overview of relativization in SF, for a comparative angle. AF restrictive relatives are analyzed in section 5, where they are divided according to the spell out of the CP (i.e. *wh*-phrases or *que* 'that'). Relativization from the subject position is discussed in a separate sub-section. The conclusions follow in section 6, presenting the generalizations arising from our analysis.

2. Data and methodology

The AF data discussed in this paper come from the varieties spoken in New Brunswick, Canada. The main sources of examples are (i) the data in Wiesmath (2007) and (ii) a sample of the FANENB (1990-1991) corpus developed by Louise Beaulieu. These sources provide naturalistic data obtained from hundreds of speakers in the case of Wiesmath (2007). Beside these two main sources, we also use examples of naturalistic data from other previous studies on AF. The exact source is indicated in brackets on the last line of each example.

AF is compared to SF in this paper, so we must specify what we take to be the *standard* register of French. For this analysis, SF covers the language register described in teaching grammars. This register is relevant because it is taught in Canadian schools and colleges, to Acadian and English speakers alike, as being the second official language of the country. Educated AF speakers often opt for standard syntax even in informal contexts.

As this paper proposes a formal analysis, diagnostic tests are also needed, for which we elicited data from five speakers who have the same level of education (i.e. high school plus one or two years of vocational training). They come from different parts of New Brunswick, but work in the same health care institution in Fredericton. The age bracket is 25-40. The grammatical judgments I obtained from these speakers appear in the examples that have the AT label in brackets (standing for Authors' Tests).

As a point of methodology, we are not interested in how many speakers use one or another type of derivational patterns. In this respect, there are many variations in AF, depending on the language register (i.e. more educated speakers tend to use more SF constructions), or the geographical area. Crucially for us, as long as a certain pattern is routinely present in a speaker's grammar, that pattern qualifies as a valid option in AF and we must account for it.

The properties that stand out in AF restrictive relatives are as follow:

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- The tendency to generalize the relative *que* 'that' and disprefer *wh*-phrases. This is shown in (1), where the relative CP contains *que* 'that' instead of *où* 'where'.[1]

(1) comme la partie de la France **que** j'ai été j'ai trouvé
since the part of France that I have been I have found
que ç'avait l' air un peu pauvre
that it had the look a bit poor
'since the part of France where I was I found it looked a bit poor'
(Wiesmath 2007: 217/6, L164)

- Deletion of *que* 'that'. The data attest to the free alternation between constructions with and without *que* 'that', as shown in (2), in the pairs in (2a, b) and (2c, d), respectively. The deletion of *que* 'that' is indicated by a 0.

(2) a. c'est drôle d'entendre Zachary là, la manière
this=is funny to=hear Zachary there the way
qu*'i* *parle*
that=he speaks
'it is funny to hear Zachary, the way he speaks'
(Wiesmath 2007: 195/1, R1042)

b. la seule manière **0** tu vas pouvoir vivre
the only way you will.2SG be able live
'the only way in which you will be able to live'
(Wiesmath 2007:195/2, E712)

c. i y a pas way **que** je pourrais vivre aux États longtemps
it=here=has not way that I=could live in.the=States long
'there is no way that I could live long in the States'
(Wiesmath 2007: 195/2, F353)

d. la way **0** c'était fait
the way this=is done
'the way this is done'
(Wiesmath 2007: 195/3, D224)

- Preposition stranding. This occurs in the presence of *que* 'that', as in (3):

(3) j'avais tout le temps deux trois personnes **que** j'étais en
I=had all the=time two three people that I=was in
recherches avec
research with
'I always had two-three people with whom I was doing research'
(Wiesmath 2007: 207/13, H307)

[1] The use of *que* 'that' instead of *wh*-phrases in restrictive relatives is also a property of the spoken varieties of continental French (Guiraud 1966: 43 Auger 1993, a.o.), but in AF it became the default option and had more serious morphosyntactic consequences (see the agreement failure in section 5.3 below).

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- Agreement failure.[2] The relativization from the subject position may or may not maintain the subject-verb agreement inflection on the embedded verb, as shown in (4a) and (4b) respectively, in the presence of *qui/qu'*. When the agreement fails, an expletive *ça* 'this' may fill the subject position, as shown in (4c, d).

(4) a. **ceuses**-là **qui** runiont le factory aviont pas
those there who run.3PL the=factory had.3PL not
d'argent
of=money
'those who ran the factory did not have money'
(Wiesmath 2007: 192/3, D86)

b. la machine elle a produit **des zones** électromagnétiques
the engine she has=produced fields electromagnetic
qu' est transmis dans le fil
that=is transmitted in the wire
'the engine, it produced electromagnetic fields that were transmitted through the wire'
(Wiesmath 2007: 191/12, J159)

c. tu te dégrades, parce que t' as été entreprendre
you REFL.2SG degrade because that you=have been undertake
des choses **que** **c**'était pas pour toi
things that this=was not for you
'you degrade yourself because you've got to undertake tasks that are not for you'
(Wiesmath 2007: 190/10, X61)

d. [des figurines] j'**en** ai **que** ça fait rire
sculptures I=of.these=have that it makes laugh
'[sculptures], I have some that make you laugh'
(Wiesmath 2007: 190/3, D210)

The properties illustrated in (1) to (4) signal a different pattern of relativization in AF compared to SF (see section 4 for more details), where *que* 'that' relativization does not apply (Sportiche 2011 contra Kayne 1976), or is limited to extraction from the subject position (Kayne 1976). The immediate question is what happens in a grammar where *que* 'that' becomes the main means for spelling out relative C.

[2] Agreement also fails upon relativization from the direct object position. In (i) for example, the AF form *appris* 'learned' is uninflected for object agreement, while SF would have *apprises* 'learned.FEM.PL' for similar contexts. However, lack of object agreement is a general property of AF, so this is not informative regarding the relativization mechanism.

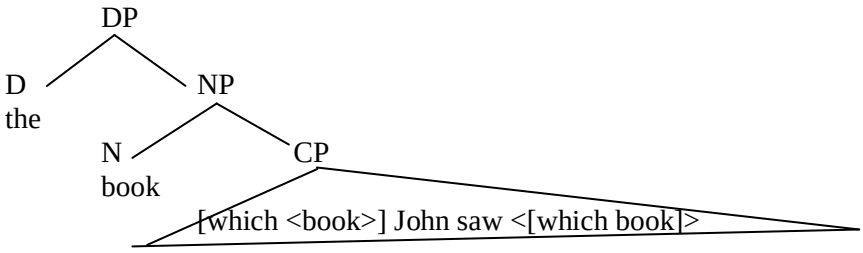
(i) i y a beacoup de choses que j' ai **appris**
it=here=has many of thingsFEM.PL that I=have learned
'there are many things I learned'
(Wiesmath 2007: 194/12, J131)

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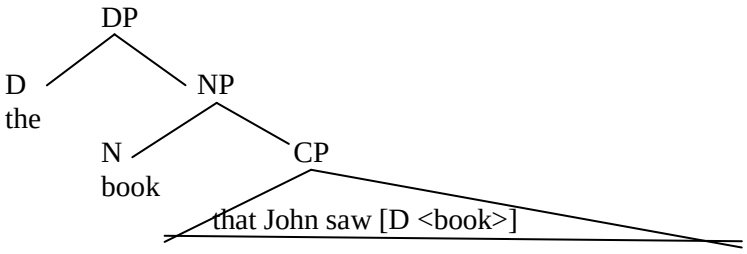
3. Theoretical framework

For the raising analysis of restrictive relatives, we adopt the derivational mechanism proposed in Donati and Cecchetto (2011: 530) and reproduced in (5)[3]:

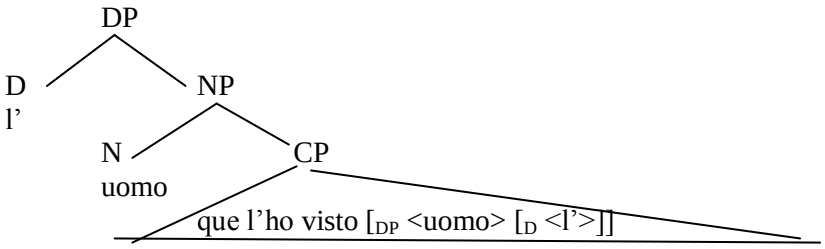
(5) a. *wh*-relative
The book which John saw.



b. *that*-relative
The book that John saw.



c. *that*-relative with resumptive pronouns
L'uomo che **l**'ho visto (Italian)
the=man that him=have.1SG seen
'The man I've seen…'



The derivational pattern in (5) relies on the idea initially developed in Kayne (1994: 87) that restrictive relatives are complements to D. The mechanism captured in (5) can be summed up as follows: a relative DP moves to an edge position within CP, from which the noun can move to the N position of a matrix DP. The trigger for this movement lies in the features of the selecting D that acts as a probe on the relevant DP in the relative

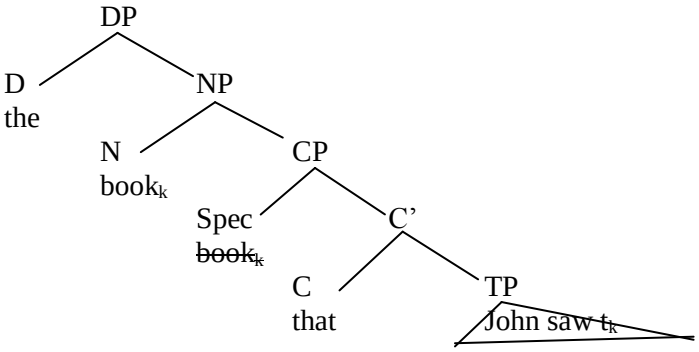
[3] We refer the reader to Donati and Cecchetto (2011), Cecchetto and Donati (2015) for clarifications on the relabeling of the CP and the possibility of moving N out of a DP already moved to a non-argumental position.

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clause. If the relative DP contains a *wh*-element, as in (5a), this element remains stranded in Spec, DP at the CP edge, only N undergoing further movement. If the relative DP contains an empty D, as in (5b), then C is spelled out as *that*, and N-movement follows on the same grounds as in (5a). Alternatively, D of the relative DP may be spelled out as a clitic pronoun/article, if that is available in the language, as shown in (5c). N-movement follows as predicted for (5b), by leaving the clitic in situ. As clitic pronouns are V-oriented in most Romance languages, clitic movement to a verb-adjacent position will follow.

In the alternative view, the relative DP is directly merged in the matrix clause, but it is identical to an elided DP within the relative clause, as in (6), adapted from Hulsey and Sauerland (2006). The elided DP moves to the edge position, Spec, CP, to be visible to matrix elements.[4] The strikethrough in (6) indicates ellipsis.

(6)



The same derivation applies to *wh*-phrases (e.g. *The book which John saw*), with the provision for the movement of the *which book* to Spec, CP and the deletion of *book* under identity with the matrix N. Bhatt (2002) and Hulsey and Sauerland (2006) point out that the derivational patterns in (5) and (6) may occur side by side in a given language.

When it comes to intra-linguistic variation, as is the case for our data, a more detailed configuration of the relative CP field in either approach is needed in order to capture certain peculiarities that cannot straightforwardly follow from (5) or (6), e.g. the grammaticality of the doubly filled Comp. In this sense, we adopt the articulation of the CP field over several functional projections, such as proposed in Rizzi (1997). That is, we consider that CP projects from Force to Fin and has the C features distributed as in (7).

(7) ForceP[clause typing] >TopP [topics]> FocusP[operator] > FinP[finite/modal] > TP

In Rizzi's (1997) system, the relative/interrogative operators merge in FocusP and trigger *wh*-movement of compatible phrases. A *wh*-phrase moved to Spec, FocusP for this purpose checks the [operator] feature. In view of Donati and Cecchetto (2011), the

[4] We refer the reader to Hulsey and Sauerland (2006) for clarifications on how the matching analysis avoids the violation of Principle C and why an ellipsis analysis yields better results for this structure than an (empty) operator analysis, such as proposed in Chomsky (1981).

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wh-phrase continues to move to Spec, ForceP, by responding to a higher probe, which is the nominal feature of the selecting D. In this way, the [clause typing] feature of Force is checked through free-ride. We can thus consider that Spec, ForceP is the edge position from which N-movement in (5) takes place (see also Sevcenco 2015), or where the *wh*-phrase/elided DP resides in (6). This analysis renders *que* 'that' redundant in the presence of *wh*-phrases, since *que* spells out [clause typing], a feature that is already checked by the *wh*-phrase in Spec, ForceP; this amounts to compliance with the ban on doubly filled Comp. Alternatively, *que* spells out Force[clause typing] and Fin[finite/modal], while DP/NP with no *wh*-element moves from Spec to Spec to Spec, ForceP, responding to the probes in Focus and D but being pre-emptied from checking Force [clause typing]. In such configurations, Fin features are checked through long distance Agree with the verb in T. This again amounts to compliance with the ban on doubly filled Comp. In the hierarchy in (7), *que* 'that' is in Force, which explains why topic constituents follow but do not precede this complementizer in restrictive relatives in standard French or standard Italian.

Basically, the analysis in (5) predicts that resumptive pronouns in restrictive relatives occur in complementary distribution with *wh*-phrases, and that they must be clitics or else they should remain stranded in the (post-verbal) in-situ position. Furthermore, when the relative DP moves from a subject position, subject-verb agreement is obligatory on the verb of the relative clause, due to the Spec-head local configuration in which the relative DP and the verb find themselves within TP (prior to extraction).

Some of these predictions are confirmed in AF, while others are not, and would rather indicate a derivational pattern as in (6).

4. Standard French

Sportiche (2011) argues that all the restrictive relatives of SF display *wh*-phrases and that relativization with *que* 'that' as proposed in Kayne (1976 and subsequent work) does not apply. The inventory of *wh*-phrases is provided in (8).

(8) The complex ones: *lequel* (*laquelle, lesquels, lesquelles*), lit. 'the.which'
The simple(r) ones: *qui, que, quoi*, 'which'

(Sportiche 2011: 85)

The difference between Kayne's and Sportiche's analyses concerns relativization from the subject position, as in (9):

(9) la table **qui** est tombée
the table which/that is fallen
'the table that fell'

In (9), *qui* is homophonous to the interrogative pronoun that is restricted for use with [+human] subjects. The fact that it appears with a [−human] subject in relatives such as (9) indicates, for Kayne, that we are dealing with an allomorph of the complementizer

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que 'that' specifically marked in order to by-pass the *that*-trace constraint arising upon subject extraction. Taraldsen (2001) identifies the source of the *qui* form as being an [agr] feature in C. However, for Sportiche, *qui* is just a relative pronoun endowed with different features than the interrogative counterpart (i.e. it can be either + or −human). The change in form reflects inflectional changes more generally observed in the French pronominal system: "much like what happens for *lui* in the pronominal system, the simple bare *wh*-forms are almost systematically ambiguous between a strong form and a weak form […]. Thus, *qui* for example can be either. Accordingly, the weak paradigm of relative pronouns shows neutralization in the [+/−human] property and is sensitive to Case (as traditional grammars have it): the strong forms *qui* [+human] and *quoi* [−human] (or perhaps unmarked) neutralize to *qui* in the nominative, the strong forms *qui* and *quoi* neutralize to *que* in the accusative, and the strong genitive and elative *de qui* and *d'où* neutralize to *dont*" (Sportiche 2011: 92).

Accordingly, the pattern of relativization in SF is limited to (5a), and variation arises mainly from the options for one *wh*-phrase or another in (8). As all relative clauses show strong island constraints (Kayne 1976), the inference is that the matching pattern in (6) is also unobtainable. An example of strong island in SF is shown in (10), translated through an equivalent strong island violation in English.

(10) *L'étudiant **avec lequel** je connaîs le professeur **qui** <qui> a parlé
the.student with which I=know the professor who has talked
<avec lequel étudiant>
with which student
*'The student with whom I know the professor who talked.'

(AT)

5. Acadian French

AF displays only the paradigm of simple pronouns in (8), to which the option for *que* 'that' in relative C is added.[5] In AF, *que* occurs not only upon relativization from direct object position (where it is ambiguous between the quantifier and the complementizer), but also upon relativization from any other syntactic position, as shown in (1), where it clearly functions as 'that' and replaces the *wh*-phrase *où* 'where'. Hence, we expect more variation in the underlying pattern of restrictive relatives in AF than in SF: as argued in the remainder of this paper, the AF system involves all the options in (5) and (6).

In particular, starting from the assumption that relative C involves three feature sets (i.e. [clause typing], [operator] and [finite/modal]; Rizzi 1997 – see section 3 above), this section argues that three types of C-elements must be distinguished in AF: (i) *wh*-phrases, which check Focus [operator] and Force [clause typing]; (ii) strong *que* 'that', which checks Force [clause typing] and Fin [finite/modal]; (iii) weak *que* 'that', which checks

[5] The option *quoi* 'which/what' is used in free relatives but not in restricted relatives.

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only Fin [finite/modal][6]. For any class of C mentioned above, AF allows for derivations either through raising or matching, mostly reflected through the possibility of having or not having a deictic XP at the relativization gap.

5.1 *Wh*-relatives

The *wh*-phrases that qualify for relativization in AF are also used in interrogatives (i.e. *qui* 'which/who', *que* 'which', *(i)où* 'where'), so they have quantificational properties. Hence, we expect them to behave as in SF: when these items undergo A' movement, they form licit operator-variable chains, which exclude double extraction or the presence of intervening resumptive pronouns. This prediction is borne out in AF, as we do not find any exception to this rule in our data[7]. Accordingly, it is safe to assume that restrictive relatives as in (11) have the underlying pattern in (5a).

(11) a. C'est des gens **qui** sont vraiment pas éduqués
it=is people who are really not educated
'These are people who are not really educated.'
(Péronnet 1989: 88, j43)

b. je suis sûr vous avez ça aussi, des puits d'eau-là, tu sais-là,
I=am sure you have this too wells of.water you=know
avec des roches-là **où** c'est creux
with stones where it=is hollow
'I'm sure you also have this, water wells, you know, with stones where there's a hollow space'
(Wiesmath 2007: 216/1, B394)

Confirmation for the raising analysis comes from the strong island effect that, as shown in (12a, b), arises when the relative DP originates in a relative clause (headed by *qui* 'who') but not when it originates in a complement clause (headed by *que* 'that'). More precisely, *où* 'where' can be construed with *travaillait* 'worked' in (12b), but not in (12a). However, the AF pattern diverges from the SF one insofar as the strong island effect can be avoided by the insertion of *là* 'there' in (12c).

(12) a. *La maison$_k$ **où** je t'ai montré la fille **qui**
the house where I to.you=have shown the girl who
travaillait e$_k$
worked
Intended: 'The house where the girl I showed you was working…'
(AT)

[6] Note that *que* 'that' can never be in the Focus head because the [focus/op] feature is checked by the *wh*-phrase in raising configurations, so it cannot also probe *que*; whereas in matching configurations, there is no [focus/op] probe at all.

[7] This restriction may not hold for other languages: Sevcenco (2015) points out that *wh*-relatives display resumptive clitics in Romanian, contrary to the prediction in (5).

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b. La maison$_k$ **où** je t'ai dis **que** la fille travaillait $\underline{e_k}$
the house where I to.you=have told that the girl worked
'The house in which I told you the girl was working…'
(AT)

c. La maison$_k$ **où** je t'ai montré la fille **qui**
the house where I to.you=have shown the girl who
travaillait $\underline{là_k}$
worked there
'The house where the girl I showed you was working...'
(AT)

The ungrammaticality of (12a) indicates competition between two *wh*-phrases for binding the post-verbal variable, which is an effect arising from movement. Hence, the pattern in (5a) is at work here, as well as in (11b). The strong island effect does not arise in (12b), where extraction is possible across the CP with a non-quantifier *que* 'that'. Furthermore, (12a) can be rescued by inserting a resumptive adverb at the gap site, as in (12c). Here, *qui* is accepted in the CP relative (it has no competition), while referential identity applies between the highest relative DP and the deictic adverb *là*. Lack of strong island effects indicates that the relative DP in this construction is merged directly in the matrix clause, not moved across *qui* 'who'. Therefore, this is a matching structure as in (6).

Accordingly, we conclude that relativization through *wh*-phrases may proceed in two ways in AF: through DP raising and quantificational chains, as in (11), or through a matching structure, where the relative gap is spelled out by a deictic phrase, as in (12c).

5.2 *Que* relatives

In AF, *wh*-relatives alternate with *que* 'that' relatives as in example (1). Notably, there is variation in the way *que* 'that' relatives are constructed, since, in the same context, some involve resumptive pronouns while others do not, or some display doubly filled Comp while others do not. The way we propose to tackle this variation is by focusing on the featural make-up of *que* 'that'. This is achieved within the framework of the articulated CP field provided in (7).

5.2.1 *Que* in Force

The derivation in (5b), showing the complementizer *que* 'that' in a restrictive relative, can be converted to the split representation in (7) as follows: *que* 'that' is in Force, where it checks [clause typing], in addition to the features of Fin [finite/modal]. The operator, in Focus, is checked by the relative DP on its way to Spec, ForceP (probed by matrix D). Alternatively, *wh*-phrases may check [operator] and [clause typing], on their way to Spec, ForceP, hence the complementary distribution between *wh*-phrases and the complementizer *que* 'that' in the CP of restrictive relatives.

Note that *wh*-phrases have no properties that would allow them to check Fin [finite/modal], this task being left to the embedded verb in T. Thus, the [+/−finite] values

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depends on the verbal mood in T, which can be indicative/subjunctive or infinitive. Evidence comes from the compatibility of *wh*-relatives with both finite and infinitive verbs (e.g. *pas d'endroit **où** se réfugier* 'not a place where to take refuge'). On the other hand, *que* 'that' brings an inherent [+finite] value, which triggers only finite verbs in the restrictive relative it heads, and makes it incompatible with infinitives in this context (e.g. **pas d'endroit **que** se réfugier*)[8].

Hence, we consider that, within the hierarchy in (7), *que* merges in Fin to check and value [finite/modal] and moves to Force to check [clause typing], so that *que* 'that' ends up in the highest functional head of the clause. This hierarchy is confirmed for AF by constructions as in (13), where the constituent *des fois* 'sometimes' fronted to Spec, TopP follows *que* instead of preceding it.

(13) I y a ben de choses **que** [des fois] je fais pas attention
it=there-has many of things that sometimes I=do not attention
'There are many things to which sometimes I do not pay attention.'
(AT)

Again, following the pattern in (5b), as justified in Donati and Cecchetto (2011), we expect that the relative DP raises to Spec, ForceP. A typical test for DP raising involves the binding relation between the raised DP and coreferential anaphors or variables. This is tested for AF in (14).

(14) a. Son$_k$ oncle **qu**'alle$_k$ aimait trouvat une belle maison.
her uncle that=she liked found a nice house
'The uncle she liked found a nice house.'
(AT)

b. Le partrait de sa mère$_k$ **que** tout étudiant$_k$ a mené
the picture of her/his mother that every student has=brought
fut usé pour le projet.
was used for the project
'The picture of his mother that every student brought was used for the project.'
(AT)

c. La maison de sa mère$_k$ **qu**'i$_k$ y passait son temps
the house of his mother that=he there spent his time
c'était c'là.
it=was that.one
'His mother's house in which he spent his time was that one.'
(AT)

In (14a), *son* 'her' receives its referential interpretation from the subject *alle* 'elle', linearized lower, which means that a copy of *son oncle* 'her uncle' is present in the c-

[8] The [modal] in Fin is not discussed here as it makes no difference to the tests. However, the assumption is that finite *que* 'that' does not value [modal], this feature being underspecified for realis or irrealis. Thus, although the embedded verb is always finite, it may come either in the indicative or in the subjunctive.

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command domain of *alle* ‘elle’, hence, lower in the relative clause. In (14b), the operator in ‘every student’ binds ‘his’ in ‘his mother’, which means that the variable has a copy in the c-command domain of the operator. The same is true for extraction from the adjunct position, in (14c). Accordingly, the underlying structure of (14) corresponds to (5b).

Further confirmation for the raising analysis comes from strong island effects, as shown in (15a). As with *wh*-relatives, the strong island effect can be avoided by spelling out the gap through a deictic element, as in (15b).

(15) a. *c’était une bébête$_k$ **que** je t’ai montré la fille qui
it=was a gismo that I to.you=have shown the girl who
en$_k$ avait peur
of.it= had fear
(AT)

b. ?c’était une bébête$_k$ **que** je t’ai montré la fille qui
it=was a gismo that I to.you=have shown the girl who
avait peur de ça$_k$.
had fear of it
‘it was a gismo of which the girl I showed you was scared’
(AT)

The examples in (15) indicate again that two derivational patterns are available for restrictive relatives: one involving a raising structure in (15a), and one involving a matching structure in (15b).

In the theoretical framework we adopt, (5b) entails the presence of (5c) in languages that have clitic pronouns, which is the case in AF. This pattern, already illustrated in (15b) is indeed possible but not very productive in AF (according to Wiesmath 2007), and it is limited to relativization from adjunct positions, as further shown in (16).

(16) alors s’i y a quelque chose$_k$ **qu**’on veut que
then if=it=there=has any thing that=we want that
le gouvernement s’**en**$_k$ occupe…
the government REFL=of.it take.care
‘then if there is anything we want the government to take care of’
(Wiesmath 2007: 211/14, Y28)

In (16), *en* rescues the partitive interpretation of the relative DP, which is otherwise lexically unmarked through the use of *que* ‘that’ instead of an inflected relative pronoun (i.e. SF *dont*, which was dropped from the paradigm of relative pronouns). Taking into account that constructions as in (14) and (16) occur in free alternation (i.e. the presence of *en* in (16) is optional), it means that the underlying structure of (16) is the one in (5c) in the absence of deictics at the gap site.

The conclusion of this sub-section is that *que* ‘that’in the restrictive relatives of AF checks two sets of features (i.e. [clause typing], [+finite/modal]), which account for its syntactic behavior. For that, *que* ‘that’ is merged in Fin and moves to Force, yielding the

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linearization in (13). Restrictive relatives with *que* 'that' may be derived either through DP raising or DP matching, the latter becoming visible when a deictic element appears at the relative gap.

5.2.2 *Que* in Fin

Peculiar to AF is the variation in the location of *que* 'that': while (13) indicates its location in Force, (17) shows that it can also be left in Fin. That is, in (17a) the topic item, [*moi*] precedes (instead of following) *que*. Furthermore, *wh*-phrases (i.e. *ioù* 'where'), considered to move to Spec, FocusP and further to Spec, ForcP, also precede *que* 'that', see (17b).

(17) a. c'est ça la vie [moi] **que** j'ai fait
it=is this the life I that I=have=made
'this is the life I personally lived'
(Wiesmath 2007: 194/4, M351)

b. la grande depression américaine [ioù] **que** douze photographes
the big depression American where that twelve photographers
avaient fait des milliers d'images
had made thousands images
'the big American depression in which twelve photographers had taken thousands of pictures…'
(Pusch 2012: 3)

In (17), *que* in Fin checks and values [+finite/modal]. Since *que* does not move to Force, [clause typing] may or may not be checked by *que* in Fin. The checking may be implemented through long distance Agree, in which case we have (17a). If the Agree relation weakend and disappeared, [clause typing] is checked by a *wh*-phrase, as in (17b).

One may relate the Fin reanalysis of *que* to its occurrence in conjunction with *wh*-idioms, e.g. *(i)où-ce que* in (18), where it occurs in free variation with single *que* 'that'.

(18) c'est les endroits **que** les enfants vont le plus dehors, c'est vraiment
it=is the places that the children go the most outside it=is really
là, les deux extrémités **où-ce que** les enfants
there the two extremities where that the children
sont le plus dehors
are the most outside
'these are the places where the children go outside, it is really there, the two extremities where the children go the most when outside'
(Pusch 2012: 6)

Où-ce que arises from the reanalysis of the clausal unit *où c'est que* 'where it is that', which can still be seen in more archaic registers, such as illustrated in Maillet's *La Sagouine* (1974: 60). In such formations, *que* is part and parcel of the reanalyzed complex that counts as one item for the spelling of C (i.e. it could be a complex head).

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However, in our data, *que* 'that' occurs in Fin independently of *wh*-idioms, as seen in (17a, b). Note that the *wh*-phrase in (17b) does not contain *ce* 'this', so the *wh*-phrase is not reanalyzed as a unit with *que*, as it is in (18). Hence, AF relatives display a bleached form of *que* 'that' in Fin, independently of *wh*-idioms.

In a strictly minimalist hierarchy, (17b) qualifies as a construction with doubly filled Comp. However, in cartography, that is not the case: in the hierarchy in (7), *ioù* and *que* are in different functional projections, that is, ForceP and FinP, respectively, so we do not have a local Spec-head relation (which would be problematic since it entails double feature checking).

The main point is that our investigation reveals variations in the status of *que* 'that' in the restrictive relatives of AF: there is a "strong" *que* (in Force) and a "weak" *que* (in Fin). The consequences are: (i) There is variation in the number of C features *que* has the (in)ability to check. (ii) *Que* in Fin becomes disconnected from Force[clause typing], which is unsurprising giving the long distance Agree for which the learners have no visible evidence. (iii) The checking of C features is assigned to the relative phrase (with or without a *wh*-element) in the presence of weak *que* in Fin[9].

5.2.3 The spreading of *que* 'that'

The use of *que* 'that' to spell out relative C is very productive in AF, and counteracts the reduced paradigm of relative pronouns and the absence of their derivatives (e.g. *dont* 'of.which.GEN'; *à/de qui* 'to.DAT/about who')[10]. The syntactic function indicated by inflection (such as possessive Genitives) or by prepositions is recovered at the semantic level (through the principle of compositionality), as in (1), or through the insertion of a resumptive pronoun like *en*, which makes up for the lack of inflectional information, as in (16), and further in (19).

(19) c'était une bébête **que** j'en avais presque peur
it=was a gismo that I=of.it had almost fear
'it was a gismo of which I was almost afraid'
(Wiesmath 2007: 212/6, L43)

The spreading of *que* 'that' is especially productive in contexts with what looks like preposition stranding (Roberge and Rosen 1999), as seen in (3) and further in (20):

[9] The cooccurrence of *wh*-phrases with *que* 'that' routinely arises in other types of relatives as well, where English borrowings may also appear, as in (i). For the use of *which que* in AF, see Petraş (2015) for the variety spoken in Nova Scotia, and King (1991) for the variety of Prince Edward Island.

(i) c'était tout fait à la main **which que** je l'ait fait itou
this=was all made by the hand which that I=it=have=made here
'what I made here was all made by hand'
(Wiesmath 2007: 201/1, B635)

[10] Note however that such *wh*-phrases are still used by speakers who prefer a more SF related register.

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(20) a. i aiment pas que tu dises des prières **que** le mot enfer
they=like not that you say prayers that the word hell
est dedans
is in
'they don't like you to say prayers that have the word "hell" in them'
(Wiesmath 2007: 207/7, O708)

b. alors i y a trois pôles, le pôle **qu**'on va axer dessus
so it=there=has three poles the pole that=we will focus on
c'est le pôle du marché libre
it=is the pole of market free
'so there are three poles, the pole we are going to focus on is the pole of the free market'
(Wiesmath 2007: 208/14, Y, not in the corpus)

One would be tempted to assume that the underlying structure of (20) corresponds to (5b), where the relative phrase is a PP instead of a DP. DP raising would then proceed through Spec, PP. However, complications arise from the observation that extraction from constructions as in (20) does not trigger strong island effects, as also observed in Bouchard (1982) and Vinet (1984) for Québec French, with cross-linguistic confirmation in Roberge and Rosen (1999). This is shown in (21) for AF:

(21) C'est la boule **qu**'elle t'a montré le fil qui va dedans.
it=is the ball that=she to.you=has shown the wire which goes in
'This is the ball for which she showed you the thread which goes inside it.'
(AT)

Bouchard (1982) and Vinet (1984) argue that what looks like stranded prepositions in such constructions are actually PP structures with a resumptive null *pro* DP; that is, French has "orphan" P, not "stranded" P. So there is a structural contrast between English and French, as the former strands the preposition upon extraction of the DP, whereas the latter has null *pro* as the object of P. Accordingly, the relative DP in (21) does not move out of PP, but it is base generated in the matrix clause and its referential properties are matched by *pro* in PP. Therefore, (21) relies on a matching structure as in (6), so the succession of two *wh*-phrases below the relative DP does not rule out the sentence.

Related to orphan PPs but deviating from their derivational pattern are constructions displaying stranded *de* and *à*, as in (22):

(22) a. pour expliquer aux gens un petit peu le PH **qu**'on parle
for explain to people a little bit the PH that=we talk
de aujourd'hui
of today
'to explain to people, a little bit, the PH of which we are talking today'
(Wiesmath 2007: 212/12, N24)

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b. c'est pas le même fer **qu**'on parle de à Moncton
it=is not the same iron that=they talk of in Moncton
'this is not the same iron of which they are talking in Moncton'
(Wiesmath 2007: 212/12, N113)

c. moi j'aime la musique **que** tu peux danser à pasque j'aime danser
I I=like the music that you can dance to because I=like dance
'I like the music to which you can dance because I like dancing'
(Wiesmath 2007: 213, Chiac variety)

De and *à* are not lexical prepositions but inflectional/Case markers, generated as D rather than P (the D/P in Kayne 1994). Hence, the examples in (22) give the false impression of orphan PPs, when in fact, the derivational mechanism is the one that works for resumptive pronouns, as in (16), and formally represented in (5c). That is, the relative D in (5c) is *de* or *à* instead of a clitic pronoun. The non-clitic property of these items forces their linearization in situ. Hence, (22) brings independent confirmation for the analysis in (5c), by actually realizing D in situ (versus the moved clitic pronouns).

Further evidence comes from the strong island constraint in (23), indicating that *de* and *à* are contained in constructions with DP raising, as in (5c), and thus, their underlying derivation is different from the matching structures with orphan PPs in (20).

(23) *c'est pour expliquer aux gens le PH **que** je connais un prof qui parle de.
it=is for explain to people the PH that I=know a professor who speaks of
Intended: 'This is to explain to people about the PH of which a professor I know is speaking.'
(AT)

It is probable that the position of *de* and *à* may lead the learners to a reanalysis in terms of orphan PPs, by analogy with the constructions in (20). In other words, *de* and *à* may eventually enrich their featural make-up and project a PP. However, at this time, the status of *de* and *à* is still functional (versus lexical), so their syntactic behavior is different from that of orphan PPs.

5.2.4 *Que* deletion

The unstable featural make-up of *que* 'that' and its bleaching coincides with the increasing tendency noticed in Wiesmath (2007) to drop this complementizer. There is no interpretive impact arising from the deletion of *que* 'that'. In fact, free alternation is available among four possible spellouts for CP in the same type of restrictive relative in AF, as shown in (24): *wh*-phrase only, as in (24a); *que* 'that' only, as in (24b); a combination of the above, as in (24c); and null CP, as in (24d), where the relative DP does not contain a *wh*-element.

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(24) a. l'endroit **où** avaient habité quelques familles acadiennes
the place where had lived some families Acadian
'the place where some Acadian families had lived'
(http://www.bouctouche.ca/visiteurs/)

b. pis i y a une place **qu**'on a sorti au bout du Cabot Trail
then it=there=has a place that=we has got at.the end of Cabot Trail
'then there is a place where we could come out at the end of Cabot Trail'
(Wiesmath 2007: 216/2, E116)

c. ça fait que le jour **où-ce que** j'ai compris ça…
it does that the day when I=have understood this
'it comes to the fact that the day when I understood this….'
(AT)

d. j'avais ben vingt-cinq ans la première fois **0** j'ai mangé….
I=had well twenty-five years the first time I=have eaten
'the first time I ate [this] I was twenty-five'
(Wiesmath 2007: 217/4, M228)

For all the constructions in (24), SF would have the relative *où* in CP. The variation we see in AF (24) reflect social register differences, which we did not quantify in this paper.

In terms of derivational patterns, *que* 'that' deletion (in the absence of orphan PP) involves DP raising, since strong island effects may arise. This is shown by the contrast between (25a) and (25b) for extractions from adjunct positions; and the contrast between (25c) and (25d) for extractions from the direct object position.

(25) a. la seule manière **0** tu vas pouvoir vivre
the only way you will be.able live
'the only way in which you will be able live'
(AT)

b. *la seule manière **0** je t'ai montré la fille
the only way I=to.you=have shown the girl
qui va pouvoir vivre
who will be.able live
Intended: 'The only way in which the girl I showed you will be able to live'
(AT)

c. le bâteau **0** vous voyez en arrière de lui
the boat you see in behind of him
'the boat (that) you see behind him`
(Wiesmath 2007: 195)

d. *le bâteau qu' il m'a dit **0** vous voyez en arrière
the boat which he to.me has said you see in behind
de lui
of him

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In (25a), the raising DP checks [operator] and [clause typing]. For [finite/modal], one may suppose that checking is implemented by long distance Agree with the verb in T. However, if that were the case, (25a) should have an infinitive version, as seen in the presence of *wh*-phrases (see discussion above example [13]), but that is not possible. Thus, a non-lexical counterpart of *que* holds Fin in (25a) and imposes a finite inflection on the embedded T. Incidentally, since part of C feature checking depends on the raising DP when *que* is deleted, it means that *que* deletion does not occur with orphan PPs in restrictive relatives (i.e. no DP raising), which is indeed what we found in the AF data[11].

5.3 Subjects

Relativization from the subject position is a sensitive issue, not only because of the contradicting analyses in Kayne (1976) and Sportiche (2011) (see section 4 above), but also because it may trigger subject-verb agreement failure in AF restrictive relatives. The main argument in this section is that relativization from the subject position in AF involves two patterns: either a *wh*-relative, in which the embedded verb obligatorily agrees with the relative DP; or a *que* 'that' relative, in which the embedded verb does not agree with the relative DP but with an expletive. The former involves DP raising, the latter DP matching.

Before focusing on restrictive relatives, we must point out that AF and SF share two parametric settings: they are both non-null subject languages (Beaulieu and Balcom [1998]) and they both observe the *that*-trace effect (i.e. extraction of subjects proceeds from Spec, TP, not from Spec, vP; Rizzi [1990]). Accordingly, relativization from the subject position must ensure the spell out of the subject and avoid short *wh*-movement across *que* 'that'.

Relativization of subjects in AF involves the alternation between *qui/qu'*, as in (26):

(26) j'ai mon frère **qu**'a une machine **qui** coupe le bois pis
I=have my brother that=has an engine which cuts the wood and
qu'enlève toutes les branches
that=removes all the branches
'I have a brother who has an engine that cuts the wood and removes all the branches'

(Wiesmath 2007:195/7, O243)

This alternation is not predictable under Kayne's analysis, but may be motivated by a language internal rule at PF: [i] is obligatorily dropped in front of a vowel initial word[12]. The unambiguous presence of *que* 'that' in contexts with *ça* subjects, as in (27), may further prove that the relative C is 'that'.

[11] Such constructions occur, however, in Quebec French (see Roberge and Rosen 1999), which means that long distance Agree between C and T takes place in that dialect.

[12] Phonological analyses indicate a systematic alternation according to whether the syllable following *qui/qu'* has a consonant onset (in which case the spell out is *qui*) or has only a vocalic nucleus (in which case the spell out is *qu*'; Wiesmath 2007: 188). For our analysis this is not helpful since *qu*' may arise from the loss of either [i] or [ə] in front of a vowel.

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(27) tu te dégrades, parce que t'as été entreprendre
you=REFL.2SG degrade because that you=have been undertake
des choses que c'<u>était</u> pas pour toi
things that this=was not for you
'you degrade yourself because you've got to undertake tasks that are not for you'
(Wiesmath 2007: 190/10, X61)

Note, however, that, in the literature, the segment [i] in the *qui* allomorph is justified in terms of agreement inflection in C (Taraldsen 2001 a.o.), so the transfer of this analysis to AF becomes problematic: in AF, *i* functions as an expletive subject pronoun that has the opposite effect: it cancels the subject-verb agreement with the relative DP.

Consider the overall pattern of subject-verb agreement in AF: This clitic *i* is used as a personal pronoun for masculine singular and plural, and for feminine plural, as well as an expletive (Motapanyane 1997, Beaulieu and Chichocki 2002). Verbs in 3rd person display a contrast between singular and plural, which is not the case in SF; for example: singular *i trouve* 'he finds' versus plural *i trouvont* 'they find' (Motapanyane 1997: 32). This contrast occurs in alternation with the SF option (i.e. lack of ending on the verb).

There is also the possibility of agreement failure in a declarative clause, but under strict conditions; namely, the fully-fledged DP has a topic reading, while a resumptive/expletive pronoun fills the subject position. The expletive can be either clitic (i.e. *i*) or non-clitic (i.e. *ça*), both coming with intrinsic features that result in 3rd person singular marking on the verb, as in (28):

(28) a. Les plus vieux **i** fait ça.
the more old it=does this
'The older men, they do this.'
(Beaulieu and Cichocki, 2002: 126)

b. Tous les enfants **ça** fait ça.
all the kids it does it
'The kids, they all to it.'
(Beaulieu and Cichocki, 2002: 124)

Crucially, both expletives merge in Spec, TP and are used in the presence of a generic reading on the topicalized constituent. Thus, subject-verb agreement involves the expletive, not the topicalized DP. Also, these examples do not allow for an analysis of *i* as an [agr] marker in C.

Restrictive relatives reproduce the use of *i/ça* on the pattern in (28): these expletives are in free alternation, as in (29) and (30), respectively, and the relative DP has a generic interpretation.

(29) a. I y a des affaires **qu[i]** est méchantes
it=there=has dealings which is nasty
'There are dealings that are nasty.'
(Beaulieu and Cichocki, 2002: 133)

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b. I y a des affaires **qu'** est méchantes
it=there=has dealings which is nasty
'There are dealings that are nasty.'
(Beaulieu and Cichocki, 2002: 133)

c. I y a ben des femmes **qu**' a déjà dis ça
it=there=has many women who has already said this
'There are many women who have already said this'
(Beaulieu and Cichocki 2002: 133)

d. Il y a certaines personnes, certaines femmes **qu[i]** va
it=there=has some persons some women who will
y aller pis **qu[i]** va dire
there go and who will say
'There are some persons, some women who will go and say….'
(FANENB 2: 578)

(30) nous a fait imaginer plein d'affaires **que** ça pourrait être
us=has made imagine many of=deals that it could be
'he made us imagine many deals that could have happened'
(AT)

Notably, the dropping of the segment [i] in front of vowels is optional in these contexts, as shown in (29), indicating that the morphosyntactic distinction between the complementizer and the pronominal *i* can override phonological rules. The obligatory loss of [i] in constructions as in (26) is thus another indication that in those contexts (i.e. with subject-verb agreement) *qui* is different from the *qui* of (29).

The important point is that *i* is an expletive that triggers agreement failure and occurs only in connection with a DP with generic reading[13]. The intrinsic [+/−human] or phi features of the relative DP are irrelevant. This is illustrated again in (31): when the antecedent DP is referential, the resumptive pronoun is referential *i*, so the verb agrees with the phi-features of the DP, as in (31a); when the antecedent DP has a generic reading, the resumptive is the expletive *i*, and the verb fails to agree with the DP, as in (31b)[14].

(31) a. Pis mes deux autres sœurs i prenionT un cours d'infirmière.
and my two other sisters they took a course of.nursing
'And my two other sisters took a nursing course.'
(FANENB 2: 089)

[13] The reverse is not obligatory: relative DPs with generic reading may also occur with *qui* 'who/which' and involve regular subject-verb agreement.

[14] For further clarification, the absence of agreement endings on the relevant verbs in (29) and (31b) does not concern the morphology. The verbs illustrated (i.e. 'be', 'go' and auxiliary 'have') are irregular and display person/number contrast even in SF. Thus, in AF, there is a possible double paradigm for 3rd person plural: *étiont/sont* 'they are'; *allont/vont* 'go'; *avont/ont* 'they have' (Beaulieu and Cichocki 2002: 124]).

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b. Il y a certaines personnes, certaines femmes **qu[i]** va y
it=there=has some persons some women who goes there
aller pis **qu[i]** va dire…
go and who goes say
'There are some persons, some women who will go and say…'
(FANENB 2: 578)

The data presented in this section allow us to conclude that agreement failure in restrictive relatives signal the option for *que* 'that' in C.

(32) [$_{DP}$ *femmes* [$_{CP}$ *que* [$_{TP}$ *i/ça* [$_{T}$ *va* […]]]]

The configuration in (32) conforms to the parametric settings in the language, since it ensures a lexical subject and avoids extraction across 'that'.

Therefore, there is no DP raising in (32), but matching between the relative DP in the matrix and the expletive at the relativization site. The matching concerns the obligatory generic reading. Thus, relative *que* 'that' allows for concurrent relativization from another position, as in (33a), whereas relative *qui* 'which' does not, as in (33b):

(33) a. L'endroit **que** je t'ai dis (qu') i y a des femmes **qui**
the.place that I you=have told that there are women that
va y aller <endroit>
goes there go place
'The place where I told you there are women who go there.'
(AT)

b. *L'endroit **que** je t'ai dis (qu') j'ai mon frère **qu'**
the.place that I you=have told that I=have my brother who
a allé <endroit>
has gone place
Intended: 'The place where I told you my brother went there.'
(AT)

In (33), the relativization gap for *l'endroit* 'the place' is after the verb *aller* 'go', and the extraction of this element is meant to follow the pattern in (5c), that is, DP raising across *que* 'that' allowing for a resumptive clitic on the relevant verb. The intended reading is possible in (33a), but not in (33b). Hence, (33a) provides only *que* 'that' Cs, whereas (33b) has a competing *wh*-elment, which is *qui* 'who/which'. The ungrammaticality of (33b) disappears if the relativization gap is moved after the highest verb, since there is no extraction across *qui* 'who/which'.

This analysis supports the approach in Sportiche (2011) insofar as *qui* in (26) does not qualify as an allomorph of *que* 'that' in AF. While this conclusion may or may not be true for equivalent constructions in SF, it does, at least, indicate the need for further inquiries in the status of expletives and their behavior in relative clauses in this language.

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6. Conclusions

One outcome of this paper is that the variation in the spellout of CPs in the restrictive relatives of AF has been sorted out with respect to the status of the lexical elements involved: these can be *wh*-phrases in Spec,ForceP; strong *que* 'that' (in Force); or weak *que* 'that' (in Fin). In addition, the relative CP may remain null (*que*-deletion). The feature checking process is detailed in Table 1. The options in (iii), (iv), (v) have the [operator] and [clause typing] checked by a raising DP.

Table 1. Spellout of C in restrictive relatives/Acadian French

	Lexical item	**[clause typing]**	**[operator]**	**[finite]**
(i)	*wh*-phrases	+	+	−
(ii)	*wh*-phrase+*que* 'that'	+	+	+
(iii)	strong *que* 'that'	+	−	+
(iv)	weak *que* 'that'	−/+ (long distance Agree)	−	+
(v)	0 ('that')	−	−	+

A second outcome is the identification of the derivational mechanism at work in the restrictive relatives of AF. We showed that the raising and the matching patterns of relativization occur side by side. The the matching pattern obligatorily arises in the following contexts:
(i) with deictic XPs (e.g. *là*, *ça*) merged at the gap site, which enter an identity relation with the relative DP in the matrix;
(ii) with expletive subjects upon relativization from the subject position;
(iii) with orphan PPs at the gap site.

From a theoretical perspective, the AF data bring further confirmation and clarification for current analyses of relativization. In particular, the stranding of the determiners *de/à* upon DP raising confirms the pattern of relativization proposed in Donati and Cecchetto (2011) and represented in (5c), where extraction takes place from complex DPs, containing clitics or other D elements (e.g. *de/à*) in local relation with the relative DP. Furthermore, the restrictions arising upon relativization from the subject position in AF throw new light on the debate regarding the analysis of *qui* in these contexts: is it a relative pronoun (Sportiche [2011]) or an allomorph of *que* 'that'(Kayne [1976])? In AF, it can be either of them, but with predictable consequences: the relative pronoun allows for subject-verb agreement between the relative DP and the embedded verb, whereas *que* 'that' does not. Also, the former involves DP raising and does not restrict the semantic type of the relevant DP, whereas the latter involves a matching structure and restricts the class of relative DPs to those with generic reading.

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