

CLITIC DOUBLING IN LAURENTIAN FRENCH: AN AUDITORY ACCEPTABILITY JUDGMENT TASK*

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This paper supports recent work on subject clitic doubling in Canadian French, which has argued that subject doubling is prevalent in spoken language. Specifically, this article extends this work and argues that object clitic doubling is also an acceptable construction in Laurentian French, a dialect of Canadian French. In order to support this proposal, an auditory acceptability judgment task was conducted with native speakers of the language. Results of the experiment indicate that clitic doubling was accepted at a similar rate as clitic right dislocation, a construction that has been argued to be completely grammatical. This experiment has both theoretical and empirical consequences: it motivates us to analyze clitics as agreement markers in French clitic doubling constructions and it also motivates us to postulate two separate syntactic structures to account for the occurrence of both constructions in the language. These consequences are necessary if we hope to develop a both descriptive and explanatory analysis of the processes currently occurring in Laurentian French.

1. Introduction

Whether or not clitic doubling is an acceptable construction in spoken French has been an empirical issue in linguistic theory for many years. Previous research on doubling in Canadian French has found that subject doubling is possible in Quebec French (Auger 1994, Roberge 1990) and Ontario French (Nadasdi 2000). The following examples (1) and (2) are subject doubling constructions in the left periphery:

- (1) Jean il est arrivé
Jean he has come
'Jean has come'
- (2) Les filles elles sont belles
The girls they.FEM are beautiful.PL
'The girls are beautiful'

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The full determiner phrase (DP) subjects in (1) and (2) are being doubled by subject clitics, *il* and *elles*, respectively. These constructions are only acceptable in colloquial speech and are ungrammatical in Standard French¹:

- (3) *Jean il est arrivé
 (4) *Les filles elles sont belles

It is important to keep in mind that examples like (1) and (2) are subject doubling constructions and not examples of dislocation. In these examples, the clitic is adjacent to the subject and there is no intonational break between them. I will present the differences between doubling and dislocation in Section 2 but we will not discuss this type of subject doubling in this paper².

While research has found evidence in support of subject doubling in French, the research on object doubling in the language has been less conclusive. The following examples (5) and (6) are object doubling constructions: an object clitic is doubling a determiner phrase (DP), which has been moved to the right periphery:

- (5) Je l'ai vu Jean.
 I him.ACC-have.1SG seen Jean
 'I have seen Jean'
 (6) Je l'ai mangé le gâteau.
 I him.ACC-have.1SG eaten the cake
 'I have eaten the cake'

Object doubling constructions have often been dismissed as non-existent in French. Nevertheless, to my knowledge, this has not been tested experimentally. Previous research on this topic (Auger 1994, Nadasdi 2000) has relied on sociolinguistic corpus data and native speaker intuition.

Sociolinguistic corpora have been helpful in a number of areas in linguistic research. In fact, a number of examples of subject doubling constructions in French have been found using several different corpora. Unfortunately, few examples of object doubling constructions are found in these corpora. Nonetheless, it should not be assumed that a construction does not exist simply because it is not found in sociolinguistic corpora; there may be several reasons for the lack of examples of these constructions in the corpora (e.g. inappropriate context for doubling to occur³).

¹Standard French should be defined as the written form of French. This is the dialect taught in school and grammar books. It is normally used in more formal contexts, such as a job interview. All speakers of colloquial French, such as Laurentian French, also know Standard French.

² The subject doubling constructions discussed in Auger (1994) and Nadasdi (2000) occur in the left periphery. The experiment conducted in this paper looked at clitic doubling in the *right* periphery, mirroring the constructions found in Spanish.

³ This will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

In terms of speaker intuition, when native speakers were approached and asked about these constructions, they would simply dismiss them as non-existent. As we will see, there are several pragmatic factors at play in doubling constructions. This may explain why speakers would judge the sentences as ungrammatical if the context was not appropriate. The lack of these constructions in the sociolinguistic corpora and their dismissal by native speakers motivates us to pursue another experimental method, such as an offline task, to verify these results.

Interestingly, Kayne (1994) suggests that object clitic doubling may be possible in spoken French when there is a specific context. The aim of my research is to test this hypothesis by conducting an experiment with native speakers of Laurentian French⁴ living in the Ottawa-Gatineau region. Conducting an experiment is an ideal way to test whether or not this construction is acceptable to native speakers because it does not force us to rely on corpora nor does it require that we rely on native speaker intuition. Instead, the researcher hopes that an experiment will capture native speakers' natural and automatic judgments to sentences when they are placed in an appropriate context. My research question is simple: Is object clitic acceptable to native speakers of Laurentian when there is a non-contrastive context? The motivation behind the contextual aspect of the research question will be provided in the next section because it is essential in distinguishing between clitic doubling and other types of dislocation.

This paper is organized as follows: in Section 2, the properties of clitic doubling and clitic right dislocation will be discussed. In Section 3, previous arguments against clitic doubling in French will be presented and will be shown to be inaccurate. In Section 4, the methodology and results of the experiment will be discussed. In Section 5, the consequences of this analysis will be introduced. All arguments will be concluded in Section 6.

2. Properties of clitic doubling and CLRD

There has been an abundance of research conducted on clitics in Romance languages. The literature on this topic is far too big and beyond the scope of this paper. Consequently, I will not go through the research previously conducted on this topic. However, consider the following table, which displays the accusative and dative clitics in French and Spanish.

Table 1 – Clitics in French and Spanish

Clitics	French	Spanish
Accusative	le, la, les	lo, la, los, las
Dative	lui, leur	le, les

⁴ Laurentian French includes Quebec French, Ontario French, Western Canadian French, and Manitoban French but importantly, excludes Acadian French. For the remainder of this paper, it should be assumed that any reference to “French” refers to Laurentian French.

Accusative and dative clitics are used in both French and Spanish as object markers. The case systems are very similar in these languages and they are related languages, both belonging to the Romance language family. Based on the table above, we can see that the object clitics in French and Spanish are almost parallel. In fact, there is only one difference between the two grammars: the Spanish plural accusative clitic specifies for gender.

We know that Spanish allows clitic doubling and based on the clitics found in both French and Spanish, we might expect that French should also allow clitic doubling. This hypothesis is supported by the existence of a very similar construction in French, *clitic right dislocation*. To begin our discussion, we will therefore need to distinguish between *clitic right dislocation* and *clitic doubling*.

2.1 Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD)

CLRD occurs when a full determiner phrase (DP) is doubled by a clitic and is found in the right periphery. The DP and the clitic must be matched in gender, number and case. A pause⁵ (also known as dislocation intonation) is mandatory before the dislocated DP:

Italian:

- (7) Io lo odio, Gianni
 I him.ACC hate-1SG Gianni
 'I hate him, Gianni'

(Cecchetto 1999: 40)

French:

- (8) Je le déteste, Georges
 I him.ACC hate-1SG Georges
 'I hate him, Georges'

The same construction can also be found in the left periphery and is called *Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)*. For the purposes of this paper, we will not discuss CLLD because clitic doubled structures always occur in the right periphery. Consequently, only CLRD constructions will be important for our analysis here.

In general, left and right dislocations require specific pragmatic information in order to be felicitous, such as contrast, emphasis or change of topic (Ashby 1988). CLRD and CLLD differ from other types of dislocation because they require a clitic to double the dislocated DP, which is not required in other types of dislocation, such as topicalization. Importantly, CLRD and CLLD also differ from other types of dislocations pragmatically. While they can be used for contrast, emphasis or change of topic, Rizzi (1997) has argued that CLLD is *also* felicitous in non-contrastive contexts in Italian. He argues that CLLD in Italian is used with *topics* to express *old information* but that Italian also has a focused version of this construction. This focused construction is used for contrastive purposes. This focus position is unavailable in French.

⁵ We will denote an intonational break, or pause, by a comma.

Consequently, French uses CLLD/CLRD to express both contrastive and non-contrastive readings. For instance:

- (9) **Non-contrastive** Q: Détestes-tu Georges?
A: Oui, je le déteste, Georges.
- (10) **Contrastive** Q: Détestes-tu Georges ou Pierre?
A: Je le déteste, Georges (pas Pierre)

2.2 Clitic doubling

Clitic doubling has the same syntactic constituents and word order as CLRD except that a pause is not necessary before the dislocated DP and intonation is flat (usual sentence intonation). The following are examples from Greek and Romanian, languages where clitic doubling has been argued to be quite common⁶.

Modern Greek:

- (11) Tin efage ti supa a Giannis
him.ACC ate the soup the John
'John ate the soup'

(Tsakali 2008: 1)

Romanian:

- (12) L-am văzut pe Popescu
him.ACC-have.1SG seen *pe* Popescu
'I have seen Popescu'

(Anagnostopoulou 2002: 11)

Clitic doubling is similar to CLRD in that it is also felicitous in non-contrastive contexts. However, unlike CLRD structures, clitic doubling *cannot* be contrastive. The dislocated element forms one constituent with the rest of the sentence and, consequently, the dislocated element cannot be separated pragmatically from the rest of the utterance.

It is evident that clitic doubling and CLRD differ on the prosodic level. However, there seems to be little consensus on the prosody governing dislocated structures (Auger 1994). While some authors argue that the pause is mandatory (Cecchetto 1999), the length and requirement of this pause seems to speaker-dependent. On the other hand, there seems to be general consensus on the fact that clitic doubling involves flat intonation whereas CLRD requires rising intonation before the dislocated element. I leave this topic for future work but I will assume that there are prosodic differences between the two constructions. These differences will be important for the experimental design used in study.

⁶ Note that when a preposition is italicized in the gloss, it is referring to a "personal preposition," which does not have a meaning in the language. The preposition is required before a [+animate, +specific] DP. This will be explained in more detail in Section 3.1

2.3 Object clitic doubling cross-linguistically

Object clitic doubling has been argued to exist in Spanish, Greek, Romanian and Hebrew (Tsakali 2008, Anagnostopoulou 2002, Jaeggli 1986, Alexiadou 2002). The following are examples of direct object clitic doubling in Spanish, Hebrew and Romanian:

Spanish:

- (13) La invité a Mabel
her.ACC invited.1SG *a* Mabel
'I invited Mabel'
- (14) Juan lo leyó el libro
Juan him.ACC read.3SG the book
'Juan read the book'

(Belloro 2007: 1-6)

Hebrew:

- (15) Beit-o šel ha-more omed al ha-giv'a
House-his *šel* the-teacher stands on the-hill
'The teacher's house stands on the hill'

(Anagnostopoulou 2002: 11)

Romanian:

- (16) L-am văzut pe Ion
him.ACC-have.1SG seen *pe* John
'I have seen John'

(Teodora Mihoc, P.C.)

Clitic doubling is also permitted with indirect objects. However, in this case, doubling has been argued to be obligatory:

Spanish:

- (17) Miguelito le regaló un caramelo a Mafalda.
Miguelito her.DAT gave a candy *a* Mafalda
'Miguelito gave Mafalda a piece of candy'
- (18) *Miguelito regaló un caramelo a Mafalda.
Miguelito gave a candy *a* Mafalda

(Jaeggli 1982: 12-13)

Romanian:

- (19) L-am dat lui Ion o carte
him.DAT-have.1SG given det.masc.DAT John a book
'I gave John a book'
- (20) *Am dat lui Ion o carte
have.1SG given det.masc.DAT John a book

(Teodora Mihoc, P.C.)

In both Spanish and Romanian, removing the dative clitic from the sentence results in ungrammaticality. This does not occur in direct object doubling, where doubling is an option, as in example (23). The full DP can also be used alone as in (21) or can be replaced by a pronominal clitic, as in (22):

- (21) Veo a Juan
 See.1SG a Juan
 'I see Juan'
- (22) Lo veo
 him.ACC see.1SG
 'I see him/it'
- (23) Lo veo a Juan
 him.ACC see.1SG a Juan
 'I see Juan'

2.4 Properties of clitic doubling

In the previous subsections, we have seen that there are several factors at play that can influence the acceptability and licensing of clitic doubling. The following are properties of clitic doubling which I argue are found in French. It is possible that some of these properties do not hold for other doubling languages, if the construction has become completely grammaticalized in the language.

i) Dependent on context

The DP must already have been mentioned in the discourse. The construction does not introduce a new entity.

ii) Non-contrastive

iii) Flat and continuous intonation

Arguably, a CLRD structure would consist of two intonational phrases (IPs)⁷ thus allowing a pause before the second IP while a clitic doubled structure would only form one IP.

3. French

We have seen that French allows CLRD without any problems:

- (24) Je l'ai vue, la fille.
 I her.ACC-have.1SG seen the girl
 'I have seen her, the girl'

⁷ Intonational Phrase: Highest prosodic phrase in an utterance, which is marked by a major continuation rise or a major final fall, depending on the type of utterance. This level is also marked by final lengthening and may be followed by a pause (Jun and Fougeron 2000: 220).

- (25) Je lui ai donné le livre, à Jean.
 I him.DAT have.1SG given the book to Jean
 ‘I have given him the book, John’

In fact, this construction is quite common in informal speech. The ways in which clitic doubling and CLRD constructions differ were discussed in the previous section. However, I argued that both constructions involved the same syntactic string and are felicitous in non-contrastive contexts. CLRD therefore provides us with an ideal construction with which to compare clitic doubling. If prosody is the reason clitic doubling does not exist in French, this effect should be clearly seen in an experiment. Before discussing the experiment, it is important to outline the main arguments that were proposed to explain why clitic doubling was not permitted in French. This is the topic of the next section.

3.1 Kayne’s Generalization

In the literature, object doubling has been argued to not exist in French or Italian (Kayne 1975, DeCat 2005, Cecchetto 1999). The leading reason supporting this conclusion has been called *Kayne’s Generalization* (1975): “An object NP may be doubled by a clitic only if the NP is preceded by a preposition” (Jaeggli 1982: 20). This generalization is based on examples like the following from Spanish, Romanian and Hebrew:

Spanish:

- (26) Juan la ve a María
 Juan her.ACC see.3SG a María
 ‘Juan sees María’

- (27) *Juan la ve María

Romanian:

- (28) Ioan o iubeste pe María
 John her.ACC love.3SG pe María
 ‘John loves María’

- (29) *Ioan o iubeste María

(Teodora Mihoc, P.C.)

Hebrew:

- (30) Beit-o šel ha-more omed al ha-giv’a
 House-his šel the-teacher stands on the-hill
 ‘The teacher’s house stands on the hill’

(Anagnostopoulou 2002: 11)

- (31) *Beit-o ha-more omed al ha-giv’a

(Keren Tonciulescu, P.C.)

For Kayne (1975), this was an observation about clitic doubling. However, the generalization has now been attributed to *Case Theory* (Anagnostopoulou 2005: 521): the preposition explains how the doubled argument is able to get Case.

The *a*, *pe* and *šel* in Spanish, Romanian and Hebrew, respectively, are called personal prepositions and they are required before a [+animate, + specific] DP (Jaeggli 1982: 56). It should be noted that they have not been given a gloss because they do not refer to anything. They cannot be directly translated as a preposition because they do not carry this meaning. Instead, they indicate that the following noun is animate and specific.

Unlike Spanish, Romanian and Hebrew, French does not have personal prepositions. Consequently, it was argued that object clitic doubling was not possible. Without the personal preposition, the dislocated DP is not assigned case, thus violating the Case Filter and the sentence is rejected. Clitic doubling was therefore deemed unacceptable in French due to case assignment conditions. However, what happens if Kayne's Generalization is not obeyed in Spanish? Are these sentences rejected?

Interestingly, clitic doubling is also possible with [-animate] DPs, as shown in example (32). Here, it's possible that the DP is [+specific]. Nonetheless, in order for the personal preposition to be felicitous, the DP must have both features. How is the DP able to get case in (32)? We see that if we try to insert the personal preposition, as in (33), the sentence is ungrammatical.

Spanish:

(32) Lo veo el libro.
It.ACC see.1SG the book
'I have seen the book'

(33) *Lo veo al libro.
it.ACC see.1SG a.the book

Furthermore, this preposition can also occur with [+animate, -specific] DPs, as in (34) but this is not always the case as in (35):

(34) Juan ha vista (a) muchas chicas
Juan have.3SG seen a many girls
'Juan has seen many girls'

(35) Ayer vimos (*a) hombres
Yesterday saw.1PL a men
'Yesterday we saw men'

(Brugè and Brugger 1994: 29, 41)

In this case, Brugè and Brugger (1994) argue that the personal preposition changes the interpretation of the sentence. With the preposition, the direct object is familiar and without it, the DO has not been previously mentioned. Moreover, in Greek, clitic doubling is not permitted with a preposition (Anagnostopoulou 2002):

(36) Tu edhosa tu Jani to vivlio
him.GEN gave the Jani.GEN the book.ACC
'I gave John the book'

- (37) *Tu edhosa to vivlio s-ton Jani
 him.GEN gave the book.ACC to-the John.GEN

(Anagnostopoulou 2002: 24)

The use of the personal preposition in these languages seems to be an independent factor separate from clitic doubling. The case problem will need to be solved in a different way. This is the topic of Section 5.

4. Experiment

To my knowledge, an experimental task on clitic doubling in Laurentian French has not previously been conducted. Using a behavioural experiment is an ideal way to test both object doubling and subject doubling in the language because it enables us to control for the context required for the utterance to be felicitous. It also allows us to compare clitic doubling and CLRD in a controlled task and environment, where both constructions are permitted.

4.1 Participants

Participants for this experiment were native speakers of Laurentian French (n= 26), living in the Ottawa-Gatineau region. All participants were required to fill out a language questionnaire, which ensured that they were in fact native speakers who continued to use French on a daily basis. They were also required to fill out a proficiency test (Tremblay 2011), which ensured that their proficiency in French was native-like (mean score= 36/45). They were all members of the community, aged 18-30 (mean= 22 years). All participants were recruited using posters on campus, through class presentations and through word of mouth. Participation was voluntary and participants were not paid for participating.

4.2 Methodology

An **auditory acceptability judgment task** was designed in order to facilitate clitic doubling and CLRD. Participants heard a context followed by a target sentence. The context described a habitual situation, often consisting of a conversation between two people. After hearing a prompt, participants were asked to rate the target sentence on a scale of 1 (unacceptable) to 6 (acceptable) by selecting the corresponding key on a keyboard. The six-point scale was used to force participants to make a decision about the acceptability of the utterance. When a five-point scale is used, participants may select the middle option when they are unsure. It was this researcher's hope that this would be avoided using a different scale. Both the rating and reaction time (RT) were recorded.

4.3 Stimuli

Each participant heard a total of 40 contexts and target sentences. The target sentences consisted of four conditions: clitic doubling, CLRD, distractor and ungrammatical. Four versions of the experiment were made to ensure that stimuli were pseudorandomized for the participants, with participants only hearing a sequence of the same condition twice. Each participant heard 10 of each condition and no context was repeated. The experiment tested for three types of clitic doubling: object ($n = 20$), subject ($n = 11$) and indirect object ($n = 9$). In the results section of this analysis, the results from 39 contexts will be presented. One context, which tested for object clitic doubling, had to be excluded from the stimuli because participants accepted the ungrammatical condition at a high rate and it was found to be an outlier. Thus, the scores for this condition were deemed unreliable.

For each context, the clitic doubled and CLRD constructions were exactly the same syntactic string. The clitic doubled structure always used flat and continuous intonation whereas the CLRD construction consisted of rising intonation and a break before the dislocated element. The grammatical sentence was used as a control condition and directly answered the question asked in the context. The ungrammatical sentences varied in terms of what was ungrammatical: word order, subject-verb agreement, missing subject, etc. One context had to be eliminated after performing a boxplot analysis of the data. For the ungrammatical condition, this context was more than three standard deviations from the mean. Consequently, the results presented here will take into account 39 contexts.

Stimuli were created by the experimenter and were verified by native speakers. A pilot experiment was also run. Stimuli were recorded using a Marantz recorder in the *Sound Patterns Laboratory* at the University of Ottawa. The speaker recorded was a male native speaker of Laurentian French from the Montreal region.

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Rating

A 1-way repeated measures ANOVA with Condition as a within-participants effect was performed. A significant main effect of Condition for the Rating was found in both the subject ($F_1(3, 75) = 110.922, p_1 < .001$) and items ($F_2(3, 114) = 144.558, p_2 < .001$) analyses.

Using pairwise comparisons, the differences between the clitic doubled structures and the CLRD constructions were not significant ($p = 1$). The control grammatical condition was rated significantly higher than the clitic doubled condition ($p > .001$), the CLRD condition ($p > .001$) and the ungrammatical condition ($p > .001$). The ungrammatical condition was rated significantly lower than all three grammatical conditions (all p 's $> .001$). Importantly, the rating results between the clitic doubled condition and the CLRD condition were not

significant. This suggests that participants accepted both constructions at a similar rate.

4.4.2 Reaction Time

A 1-way repeated measures ANOVA with Condition as a within-participants effect was performed. A significant main effect of Condition for the RT was found in the subject ($F_1(3, 75) = 10.699, p_1 < .001$) analysis. For the items analysis, the results seem to suggest a trend ($F_2(3, 114) = 2.627, p_2 = .054$).

The differences between the clitic doubled constructions, CLRD and the control grammatical conditions were not significant. Using pairwise comparisons, it was found that the RTs for the ungrammatical condition were significantly faster than the RTs for the clitic doubled ($p = .004$) and the CLRD constructions ($p < .001$). The differences between the RTs for the grammatical control condition and the ungrammatical condition seem to suggest a trend ($p = .093$). The RT results suggest that participants were able to detect the ungrammatical condition at a much faster rate than all three grammatical conditions. Importantly, these results were significant in both the subject and items analysis for the clitic doubled and CLRD condition.

5. Consequences

5.1 Clitics are agreement markers in clitic doubled constructions

This experiment sheds light on how we should analyze clitics in Laurentian French. Previous researchers have argued that subject clitics are either agreement markers (Auger 1994), or full pronouns (Côté 2001, DeCat 2005). Auger's (1994) arguments in favour of the agreement marker analysis of French subject markers strongly rely on the existence of subject doubling⁸. Auger (1994) adopts a morphological analysis of object markers in French but argues that they maintain argumental status. This is the analysis that I will pursue to account for the clitic in CLRD constructions: it is a *phonological clitic* but is in an argumental position.

However, as shown in this experiment, object doubling is an acceptable construction in Laurentian French. Consequently, it would be intuitive to argue that object clitics, like subject clitics, are agreement markers in clitic doubling constructions. This would eliminate the case problem and the motivation behind Kayne's generalization. For this reason, I argue that both subject and object clitics in clitic doubled constructions are interpreted as agreement markers. Therefore, Laurentian French clitics are interpreted *both* as arguments and as agreement markers, depending on the construction. Historically, clitics are going through the process of becoming agreement markers (therefore, becoming *grammaticalized*) but this process is not yet complete. Following Hopper and Traugott (2003: 7), the steps required for a structure to reach grammaticalization are the following:

⁸ Auger (1994) provides several other diagnostics in favour of the agreement marker analysis of subject markers. The reader is referred to Auger (1994) for more details.

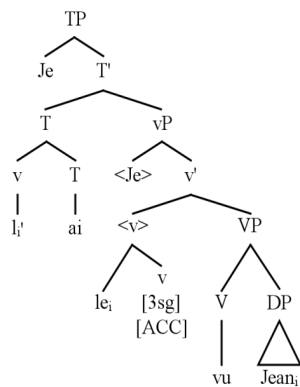
content item → grammatical word → clitic → inflectional affix

At its current stage, French clitics seem to somewhere in between the clitic stage and the inflectional affix stage⁹. Importantly, this analysis predicts speaker variation. Some speakers will analyze clitics as both full pronouns and as agreement markers: they will accept both clitic doubling and CLRD. Other speakers may only analyze clitics as full pronouns: they will only accept CLRD structures and reject clitic doubling in their I-language. This proposal also suggests that some speakers may prefer clitic doubling to CLRD. At its current stage of development, clitic doubling is becoming grammaticalized in Laurentian French but this stage is not complete.

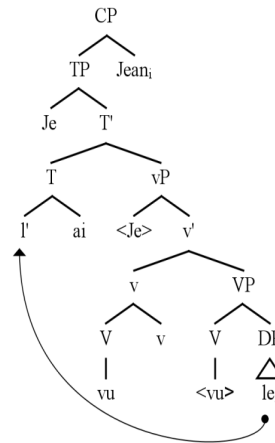
5.2 Separate grammatical structures

The results of this experiment also suggest two separate grammatical structures to account for CLRD and clitic doubling in Laurentian French. As is well known, clitics have either been argued to be base-generated in their final position (Jaeggli 1982, Sportiche 1983) or generated in a lower position and move to the inflection (Kayne 1975, Sportiche 1990). Kayne argues that object clitics are generated in argumental position. This analysis works nicely for CLRD constructions because the clitic is the verb's argument. However, it poses several problems for clitic doubling. If the clitic occupies the verb's argument position, where is the DP generated? I therefore propose the following syntactic structures to account for object doubling

Clitic Doubling



CLRD



⁹ A similar analysis is adopted in Cournane (2011) for subject clitic doubling in the left periphery, where it is argued that additional steps are needed between the clitic and inflectional affix stages. The reader is referred to Cournane (2011) for relevant arguments.

6. Conclusion

While the behavioural task conducted has provided us with evidence supporting the occurrence of clitic doubling in French, several questions still remain unanswered. Significant results were found in the rating, where the ungrammatical condition was rated significantly lower than all three grammatical conditions and the control grammatical condition was rated significantly higher than the clitic doubled, CLRD and ungrammatical conditions. The rating results were not significant between the clitic doubled and CLRD conditions. The RT data revealed that participants were able to detect ungrammaticality at a faster rate compared to all of the grammatical sentences. However, the differences between the three grammatical conditions in RT are not significant. Consequently, there are still several unanswered questions: What is the difference in sentence processing between a clitic doubled and a CLRD construction? Are participants able to detect a difference between these constructions? Nevertheless, this experiment did shed light on other aspects of Laurentian French grammar: it provided us with the evidence to argue that pronominal clitics in French are being reanalyzed as agreement markers in the language; it also allowed us to postulate two separate syntactic structures to account for the occurrence of both clitic doubling and CLRD. This experiment has provided us with motivation to conduct a future online task, e.g. ERP. A task in real time would be able to provide us with more answers about the processing of these sentences.

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