Clause Typing and Quebec French *-tu*

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the Quebec French particle *-tu*, whose distribution cuts across several clause types such as interrogatives, exclamatives and declaratives. We claim that there are two properties that these contexts share: (i) a Polarity feature that is neither negative nor positive, and (ii) an epistemic Modality feature that is anchored to both the Speaker and the Addressee. We propose that *-tu* is the overt instantiation of a Polarity head that is neither negative nor positive and that *-tu* also carries an epistemic Modality feature that is keyed to an ignorant Speaker and a knowledgeable Addressee.

Keywords: *tu*, Quebec French, Polarity feature, Modality, epistemic commitment, Speaker, Addressee, interrogatives, exclamatives, declaratives, mirative marker.

1. General properties

There are two lexical items *tu* in Quebec French (QF): the pronominal *tu* – the 2nd person singular form of a personal pronoun, and the particle *-tu*, which is non-pronominal. In this paper we focus on the latter.

1. 1. Distribution of *-tu*

Non-pronominal *tu* occurs in three types of contexts in QF: interrogatives, exclamatives, and declaratives indicating surprise, all of which are matrix contexts.

1.1.1 Interrogatives

Two important observations can be made with respect to the occurrence of -*tu* in interrogatives. First, for some speakers, interrogative -*tu* is restricted to yes/no questions like (1), and cannot occur in wh-interrogatives (see also Noonan 1992 and Vinet 2000):

(1)   *Marie est-tu partie*?

           Marie is-*tu*   left

           'Has Marie left?'

(2)   **A qui elle téléphone-tu*?

           to who she phones-*tu*

           'Who is she calling?'

However, for other speakers, -*tu* is grammatical in both yes/no questions and wh-questions. Vecchiato 2000:141 reports that strings like (2) are indeed possible in a variety of QF spoken between Montreal and Quebec City.

     A second relevant observation is that -*tu* is not obligatory in interrogative contexts – neither in yes/no questions, nor in wh-questions (for speakers who accept *tu* in the latter).

1.1.2 Exclamatives

Another context in which -*tu* can occur in QF is that of exclamative clauses.

(3)   *Il est-tu serviable*!

           he is-*tu*   helpful

           'He's so helpful!'

Not all exclamative clauses allow -*tu*: while yes/no exclamatives allow it, wh-exclamatives are ungrammatical with -*tu*.

(4)   *_Comme elle est-tu belle_! (Vinet 2000: 393, ex.17a)

      How   she   is-_tu_   beautiful

      'How beautiful she is'

Finally, some speakers also accept _que_/'that' exclamatives as grammatical when they include _-tu_.

(5)   _Qu'elle est-tu fine_!

      wh.she   is-_tu_   nice

      'What a nice person she is!'

Moreover, just as in the case of interrogatives, _tu_ is not obligatory in exclamatives. Strings like (3) and (5) (for speakers who accept (5)) are grammatical with or without _-tu_.

1.1.3 Declaratives: narratives indicating surprise

Finally, _-tu_ can also occur in declarative clauses in QF, provided the latter are part of a narrative context and they express surprise at a sudden or unexpected event.

(6)   _Fak-là, il part-tu pas à crier_! (Vinet 2000: 382, ex.2c)

      fact-that he starts-_tu_ NEG at yell.INF

      `Suddenly, he starts yelling'

_Tu_ is always accompanied by the negator _pas_ in these contexts, but the _pas_ that occurs in these examples does not carry the regular negative meaning, and is instead expletive. This is confirmed by the fact that positive polarity items like _plutôt_/'rather' are licensed in this context, in spite of the presence of _pas_, unlike in genuinely negative sentences like (8.b).

(7)   _Fak-là, elle se met-tu pas plutôt à crier_!

      fact-that, she REFL sets-_tu_ NEG rather at yell.INF

      'Suddenly, she starts yelling.'

(8)   *Elle se met (*pas) plutôt à   crier*. (Vinet 2000: 399, ex.30)

She REFL sets (NEG) rather at yell.INF

'She rather starts yelling.'

Last but not least, *-tu* is not obligatory in contexts like (6), which would be grammatical even in the

absence of *-tu*. However, as mentioned above, there is a co-dependency between *-tu* and expletive *pas*

in this context: either both have to be present or neither can occur.

1.1.4. Imperatives

The literature also mentions an additional context in which *-tu* can occur, i.e. that of mild or attenuated

commands (Vinet 2001, 2002, Morin 2017).

(9)   *Tu   veux-tu me   laisser   tranquille*! (Vinet 2002: 236, ex. 1c)

you   want-*tu* me leave   peaceful

'Why don't you leave me alone?'

Even though utterances like (9) can be used as commands, they do not show the structural properties

of genuine imperatives, but rather of interrogatives. We are therefore distinguishing between clause

typing as a set of morphosyntactic properties and the various ways in which an utterance can be *used*

by a speaker in a particular context. Thus, not only imperatives can be used for conveying orders, but

other types of clauses as well, such as interrogatives (as in (9)) or declaratives, as in (10).

(10)   *Tu   sors   d'là   immédiatement*.

you   get.out of.there   immediately

'You get out of there right now!'

The *use* of declaratives and interrogatives as orders depends on the intention of the speaker, while real

imperatives like (11) are exclusively interpreted as commands, even when taken out of context.

(11)   *Ferme la porte*!

close the door

'Close the door!'

Crucially, genuine imperatives are incompatible with *-tu*: the addition of *-tu* in (11) renders the string ungrammatical. We will thus conclude that imperative clauses do not really license *-tu* and that its distribution is restricted to interrogatives, exclamatives and declaratives expressing surprise.

1.2. Interpretation of -tu

Clauses containing *-tu* have particular interpretive properties, related to the speech act situation. This has been mentioned in the literature either in a general way (Bibis & Roberge 2004 and Vinet 2000 claim that *-tu* expresses an illocutionary Force feature), or more specifically, by relating the properties of *-tu* to the epistemic commitment of one of the speech act participants (Bertrand 2014, Kayne 2016, Morin 2017). In particular, the claim is that the use of *-tu* requires a knowledgeable Addressee. However, the previous literature does not discuss this property for all the contexts that license *-tu*: Kayne 2016 only considers interrogatives, Bertrand 2014 focuses on exclamatives, and Morin 2017 discusses only interrogatives and exclamatives.

In our view, not only the epistemic state of the Addressee (A) is important for the licensing of *-tu*, but also that of the Speaker (S). In particular, S must show a low degree of epistemic commitment for *-tu* to be licensed, and the epistemic commitment of A must be higher than that of S. These properties will be discussed in more detail in sections 2.2 and 3.

2. Proposal

In order to account for the properties presented in section 1, we propose that the -*tu* contexts share two properties: (i) their Polarity (Pol) feature is valued as neither negative nor positive, and (ii) these clauses have an epistemic Modality (Mod) feature that is anchored to both S and A.

In the first part of this section we will discuss the Pol feature of the -*tu* contexts and will show that these clauses are never negative. We will argue that the incompatibility between -*tu* and negation does not necessarily entail that the -*tu* contexts are positive. *Tu* occurs only in a subset of contexts that are non-negative, which indicates that a further distinction is needed. This further distinction in our view is between 'positive' and 'non-positive', both of which are non-negative. We will argue that -*tu* occurs in contexts whose polarity is non-negative and non-positive. In the second part of the section we propose that the choice of Pol values has to do with the modality of these clauses and that the clauses that select the relevant type of polarity have an epistemic modality that is anchored to the speech act participants, i.e. the Speaker and the Addressee.

2.1. `Tu' and Polarity

The incompatibility of -*tu* contexts with negation has already been noticed in the literature. Vinet (2002) shows that these contexts do not license Negative Polarity Items (NPI) even in the presence of the negator *pas*. Thus, there is a contrast between (12a), a negative sentence without -*tu* which licenses the NPI, and (12b) that allows -*tu* but does not license the NPI.

> (12) a.   *Elle a   pas renvoyé   qui que ce soit.* (Vinet 2002: 240, ex.5)
>
>   she   has NEG sent.back who that it may.be
>
>   'She didn't send anyone back'

b.   *_Fak là, elle a-tu   pas   renvoyé   qui que ce   soit_.

fact that, she has-_tu_ NEG sent.back who that it   may.be

'*Suddenly, doesn't she send anyone back'

While we agree with Vinet (2002) that contexts that allow -_tu_ are not negative, we think that this property should be tested with strong NPIs, rather than with weak ones. Weak NPI like _qui que ce soit_/'anyone' or _jamais_/'ever' can occur not only in negative clauses but also in other downward entailing contexts, including interrogatives.

(13)   _Elle a-tu   vu   qui que ce soit_?

she   has-_tu_ seen who that it may.be

'Has she seen anyone?'

(14)   _Elle a-tu   jamais porté   des   lunettes_?

she   has-tu ever   worn   of.the glasses

'Did she ever wear glasses?'

The negative polarity of a context can instead be tested with strong NPIs, which occur exclusively in negative clauses. The examples below show that contexts with -_tu_ fail to license strong NPIs like _pantoute_/'at all' (see Burnett & Tremblay 2012 on _pantoute_/'at all' as a strong NPI) even in the presence of the negator _pas_.

(15)   *_Il parlait-tu pas l'anglais   pantoute_?

he   spoke-_tu_   NEG the.English at.all

'Could he speak English at all?'

(16)   *_Il   est-tu   pas   serviable   pantoute_!

         he   is-_tu_   NEG   helpful   at.all

         '*He's helpful at all!'

(17)   *_Fak-là,   il   entend-tu   pas   pantoute   une   bardasse   terrible_!

         Suddenly   he   hears-_tu_   NEG   at.all   a   clatter   terrible

         Intended: 'Suddenly, he doesn't hear a terrible clatter at all.'

This shows that _pas_ can only be interpreted as expletive in these contexts and thus that these contexts

are incompatible with genuine, regular negation.

In Vinet's (2002) view the incompatibility of -_tu_ with regular negation indicates that -_tu_ always

occurs in positive clauses. However, not all clauses with positive Pol allow -_tu_, as shown in (18).
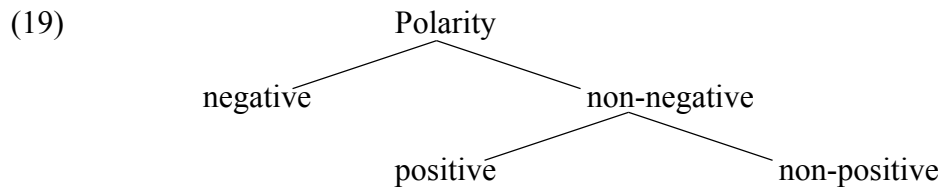
(18)   _Il part-(*tu) demain._

         he leaves-(_tu_) tomorrow

         'He's leaving tomorrow.'

This suggests that -_tu_ occurs in a subset of contexts valued as positive, but not in all, and thus that a

a further distinction is needed. We propose that the set of polarity values should be enlarged so as to

include a third possible value, apart from the negative and the positive. We will start by proposing a

terminological modification in the domain of polarity. We propose to label the regular polarity

values as 'negative' and 'non-negative', rather than 'negative' and 'positive'. This modification is

supported by the observation that negative polarity features typically correspond to an overt

morpho-syntactic marker while the non-negative value is unmarked and just an elsewhere value.

The term 'non-negative' thus seems more appropriate than 'positive'. Second, what examples like

(18) show is that a further division is necessary in the non-negative polarity space. We propose that

the relevant distinction is between 'positive' and 'non-positive' polarity.

(19)

```
                        Polarity
              _____/_____
        negative                    non-negative
                            _____/_____
                         positive           non-positive
```

We could now tentatively state our proposal as in (20):

(20)   *Tu* is the overt instantiation of a (non-negative) non-positive Polarity feature.

One argument that (20) is on the right track is that the set of contexts that license *-tu* overlap with the contexts that allow expletive negation in QuebecFrench.[1] As noticed above, *-tu* always co-occurs with *pas* in declarative clauses indicating surprise. The examples below confirm that the other two types of contexts that license *-tu* are also compatible with the expletive negator *pas*.

(21)   *C'est-tu   pas   l'fun*! (exclamatives)

       it.is-*tu*   neg   the.fun

       'Isn't it fun!'

(22)   *Ce serait-tu   pas   lui,   le coupable*? (interrogatives) (Vinet 1998:246)

       it   would.be-*tu*   neg   him   the guilty

       'Wouldn't he be the guilty one?'

The proposal in (20) can straightforwardly account for the fact that *-tu* is incompatible with regular negation, given that negation and *-tu* are both possible values of the Polarity features which cannot co-occur. (20) can also explain the observed 'optionality' of *-tu*: the non-negative, non-positive is just one possible value for the Polarity feature, along with others.

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[1] Even though expletive negation can occur in other contexts apart from those that license tu, crucially, the contexts that license tu are the only matrix contexts that allow the expletive negator. All the other contexts in which expletive negation occurs in Quebec French are embedded contexts

2.2. `Tu' and Modality

Even though (20) has some explanatory power, it does not completely account for the distribution of -*tu*. In particular, if the polarity value of any clause can be set as any of the three values in (19), it is not clear how (20) can exclude -*tu* in regular declaratives like (18). Given that certain types of contexts license -*tu* and others do not, and given (20), there must be a correlation between one of the properties that the -*tu* contexts share and their polarity. In other words, apart from their polarity, these contexts must share at least one other feature. We propose that the relevant feature is Modality (Mod). We saw in section 1.2 that the -*tu* contexts all encode a particular epistemic state of the S/A: S has a low epistemic commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed by these contexts, and the A's epistemic commitment is presumed by S to be higher than his/hers. It thus seems reasonable to assume that the contexts that license -*tu* all share a Mod projection hosting an epistemic Mod feature which is keyed to S and A. This projection is similar to the (higher) Mod projection proposed by Hacquard (2006), but also differs from it in important respects. In Hacquard's (2006) view, epistemic modals that express the epistemic state of one of the speech act participants (as opposed to the subject) are keyed to S.

(23)   Jane might be home. (Hacquard 2006:144, ex 222)

        In some world compatible with the content of the speaker's beliefs Jane is home

The -*tu* contexts are different in that both the epistemic state of the Speaker and that of the Addressee are relevant. The Mod feature we propose is thus anchored to both speech act participants, unlike in Hacquard's 2006 analysis of epistemic modals.

        The link between modality and S/A can be captured by positing specific phrases in the layer above the CP that includes discourse oriented projections (Heim et al 2014, Speas & Tenny 2003,

Hacquard 2006, among others). We will adopt Heim et al's 2014 view and assume an S oriented

phrase (the 'Speaker Commitment Phrase') and an A oriented phrase (the 'Call on the Addressee').

In order to encode the dependency between modality and S/A, we will follow Pesetsky &

Torrego (2007)'s view in two respects. First, we will assume that the interpretable/ uninterpretable

distinction is independent from valuation. This means that interpretable features can be valued or

unvalued and similarly uninterpretable features can be valued or unvalued. Second, we will assume

that Agree results in feature sharing: when Agree applies between a probe feature F at a syntactic

location α and a goal feature F at location β, the output is a single feature F shared by two locations.

We thus propose that the phrases hosting the Addressee and the Speaker have interpretable but

unvalued features and that the Mod head carries matching uninterpretable features.

(24)
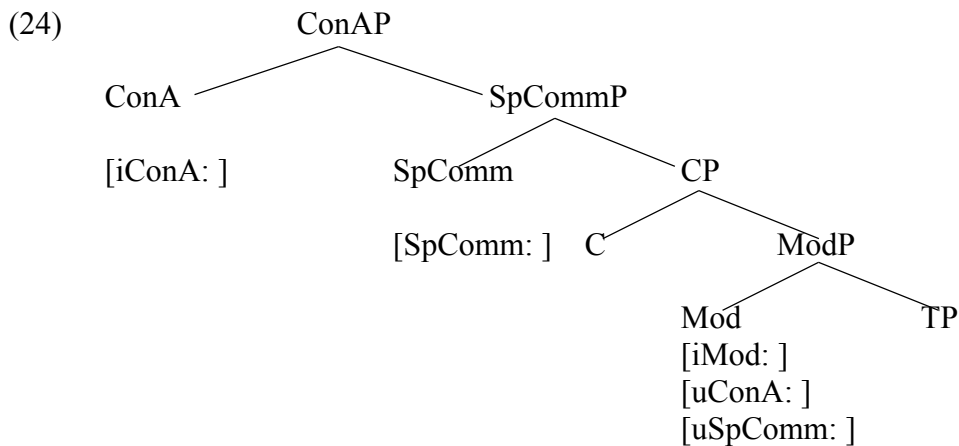
The interpretable but unvalued ConA feature on the ConA head will probe and find a matching

feature in the Mod head. Even though the ConA feature on the Mod head is still unvalued, Agree

establishes a link between the ConA feature on the ConA head and the matching feature in the Mod

head. The link between Modality and the Speaker/Addressee is thus guaranteed in this system

through feature checking/valuation and feature sharing.

Notice that Mod and the speech act related features – SpComm and ConA, cut across the three

-tu contexts and that these contexts belong to different clause types. This reinforces the idea that clause typing is not reduced to a unique feature, but consists of a plurality of features. The common view in the literature is to assume that each clause has a Force feature that is valued either declarative, or exclamative, or interrogative or imperative. Alternatively, one might assume that clause typing can be traced back to a plurality of finer grained features, some of which cut across several clause types (Manzini & Savoia, 1999; Poletto & Zanuttini, 2003; Zanuttini & Portner, 2003; Speas & Tenny 2003, Zanuttini, 2008; Zanuttini et al., 2012; Truckenbrodt, 2006, Isac 2015, among others). If our analysis is on the right track, it shows that some of the features that have been shown to play a role in clause typing, such as Mod, and features that encode the involvement of S or A, are also relevant for identifying the three contexts that license *-tu*. We can now explain why the distribution of *-tu* is restricted to only some clause types: *-tu* occurs only in those clauses that contain a ModP, ConAP, and SpCommP with the feature content indicated in (24).
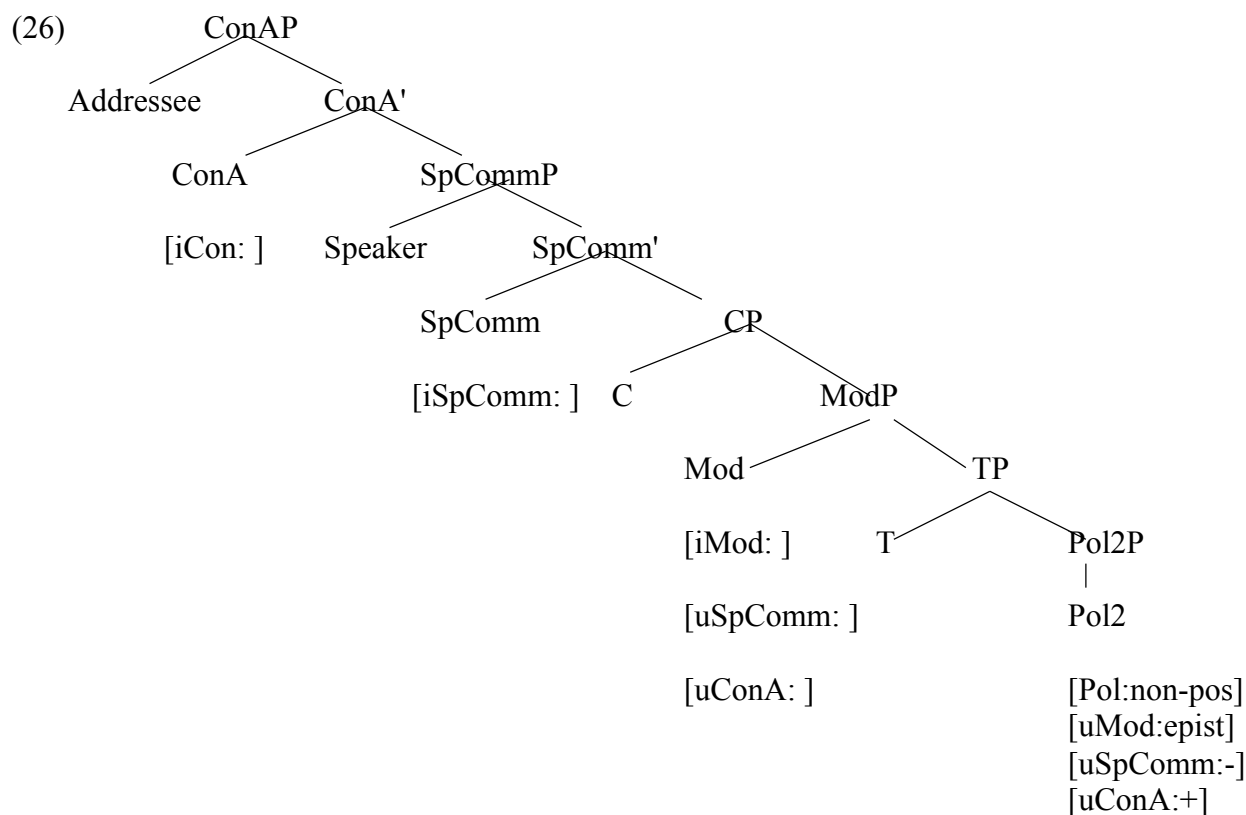
The question now is how this dependency between *-tu* and the functional heads in (24) can be captured in the syntax of the types of clauses that license *-tu*. What we want to capture is that a Mod head that is keyed to the speech act participants in the way described above allows *-tu*, while Mod heads that are not anchored to both S and A are not compatible with *-tu*. We will first propose a distinction between two types of Pol features: Pol 1, which can be valued as negative or non-negative, and Pol2, which can be valued as positive and non-positive.

(25)　　　　Polarity1　　　　　　　　　　　　Polarity2

　　　negative　　non-negative　　　　positive　　non-positive

Each clause type will select either Pol1 or Pol2 and only clauses that select Pol2 allow *-tu*. (20) still holds, but now we can explain why the contexts that license *-tu* can only chose between 'positive' and

'non-positive' as possible values for their polarity feature, and they can never be negative.

Given Pesetsky & Torrego's 2007 view on features, the link between Mod and Pol2 could be captured by assuming that these two heads share (some of) their features, but the exact nature (interpretable/uninterpretable, valued/unvalued) of the relevant features differs. In particular, we propose that the features on the Mod head are unvalued and act as probes while the matching features on the Pol2 head are valued and act as goals. Once Agree takes place, the values of the relevant features are shared in between the Mod head and the Pol head and a link is established.

(26)

```
                ConAP
          ┌───────┴────────┐
      Addressee          ConA'
                    ┌──────┴──────────┐
                  ConA            SpCommP
                                ┌─────┴───────┐
                [iCon: ]     Speaker      SpComm'
                                    ┌────────┴────────┐
                                 SpComm             CP
                                            ┌────────┴────────┐
                        [iSpComm: ]   C                    ModP
                                              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                            Mod                     TP
                                                              ┌──────┴──────┐
                                        [iMod: ]          T              Pol2P
                                                                           │
                                        [uSpComm: ]                      Pol2

                                        [uConA: ]                     [Pol:non-pos]
                                                                      [uMod:epist]
                                                                      [uSpComm:-]
                                                                      [uConA:+]
```

The derivation proceeds as follows. The interpretable but unvalued [iConA:] feature on ConA probes and finds as its goal the uninterpretable, unvalued [uConA:] feature on Mod. Agree takes place, establishing a link between the ConA properties of these two heads. The resulting shared feature is still unvalued however. Hence [iConA:] on ConA probes again and enters an Agree

relation with the valued [uConA:+] on the Pol head. Given the pre-established link between the ConA features on ConA and on Mod, Agree between the ConA feature on the ConA head and the the ConA on Pol results in the valuation of ConA not only on the ConA head but also on the Mod head. A similar link is established between the [iSpComm:] feature on the SpComm head, and the matching features on Mod and Pol. Finally, the interpretable but unvalued [iMod:] feature on the Mod head probes and finds as its goal the uninterpretable, valued [uMod:epist] feature of Pol, and as a result of Agree this value will be shared among the two heads.

Our proposal has three additional advantages. First, our view can account for the fact that *-tu* is restricted to matrix contexts. Given that speech act related phrases like SpComm and ConA are crucial for the contexts that license *-tu* and that such phrases are present in matrix contexts only (Speas & Tenny 2003, Hacquard 2006, Heim et al 2014, Haegeman & Hill 2013, Isac 2015, among others), we now have an answer as to why *-tu* can only occur in matrix contexts. Second, our analysis can explain why *-tu* occurs only in certain matrix contexts, but not all. Given that the three phrases that play a role in licensing *-tu* are also among the phrases that participate into clause typing, it follows that only certain clause (sub)types will license *-tu*, i.e. only those matrix contexts that contain both an A related phrase and an S related phrase, as well as a ModP anchored to both S and A. Thus, while declarative clauses like (18) could be assumed to have a ModP, as well as a SpCommP, the epistemic commitment of A is irrelevant. Hence it is reasonable to assume that declarative clauses like (18) do not have a ConA phrase at all. That will explain why such clauses are incompatible with *-tu*: if *-tu* is merged, its uninterpretable ConA feature will remain unchecked and the derivation will crash. Declarative clauses like (18) can thus never have a Pol2 and cannot license *-tu*. Third, this proposal can account for the optionality of *-tu*. The three contexts that license *-tu* select a Pol2, but the choice

between the two possible values of Pol2 is unrestricted. *Tu* occurs only in cases in which the value of the polarity feature is set as 'non-positive'.

3 Accounting for the distributional restrictions

3.1 Interrogatives

Recall that *-tu* is always licensed in yes/no questions in QF and that some speakers accept *-tu* in wh-interrogatives as well. Under our analysis, yes/no questions have a Pol2 type of Pol feature, which in turn is linked to functional features such as Mod, SpComm and ConA. When the Pol feature is valued as non-positive, *-tu* is merged. For speakers that do not accept *-tu* in wh-questions, this type of clauses do not select Pol2 but Pol1, according to our proposal. This is supported by the observation that the S's epistemic commitment in wh-questions is higher than in yes/no questions. In a wh-question the S is presupposing the open proposition containing the wh-variable and is therefore committed to its truth. This is different from S's commitment in a yes/no question, where S has no idea whether the proposition is true or not. This could be implemented by proposing that in wh-questions the SpComm feature must be valued as '+', hence the incompatibility with *-tu*, whose SpComm feature is valued as '-', We will thus conclude that the modality of wh-interrogatives has a different flavour than yes/no questions, and hence that wh-questions are distinct clause types, ones that select their own type of Polarity, i.e. Pol1.

The question now is why certain speakers accept *-tu* in wh-interrogatives. We propose that wh-interrogatives for these speakers have a different structure than for for the speakers that do not accept *-tu* in wh-questions. The crucial observation is that speakers that accept wh-interrogatives

with -*tu* can insert *que/* 'that' after the wh-item (Vecchiato 2000).

(27) *Où* *qu'il* *va-tu*?

where that.he goes-*tu*

'Where is he going?'

This suggests a cleft structure for these clauses, along the lines proposed by Adger & Ramchand (2005) for Scottish Gaelic. This would justify positing a different clause type for these speakers, with specific properties of the functional nodes involved in clause typing (Mod, SpComm, ConA). In particular, Adger & Ramchand (2005) propose that clefted wh-questions are biclausal: they are copular structures whose semantic predicate is a relative clause, as in (28a). Thus, (27) will have a structure like (28b), with the copula+pronoun cluster phonologically null, just as in Scottish Gaelic.

(28) a. Copula [Wh-phrase] [Relative Clause]

b. ∅ *[où]* *[qu'il va-tu]*?

~~it's~~ [where] [that.he goes-*tu*]

'Where is it that he's going?'

In such a structure it is the relative clause that expresses the presupposed proposition to which S is epistemically committed, while the matrix part, is strictly speaking free of such presuppositions. Thus, the modality of these wh-questions is keyed to an S that has a low epistemic commitment, and this in turn licenses a Pol2 phrase (and thus -*tu*), rather than a Pol1.

3.2 Exclamatives

The distribution of -*tu* in exclamative contexts can also be accounted for by our proposal. Recall that

-tu is grammatical in yes/no exclamatives but not in wh-exclamatives, and moreover that for some speakers *-tu* is also grammatical in exclamatives introduced by *que/* 'that'.

A number of authors (Zanuttini & Portner 2003, Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996, Rett 2011, among others), have shown that exclamatives are associated with a variable whose possible values form a scale. Moreover, exclamatives have been shown to give rise to the implicature that the proposition they denote lies at the extreme end of this scale. This implicature arises, among other things, from a quantificational Operator merged in the CP domain of exclamatives, according to Zanuttini & Portner 2003. The operator's role is to expand or widen the domain of individuals/properties believed to be in the range of the variable. This widening operator is crucial for typing a clause as an exclamative. Clauses that simply express surprise, but do not contain such an operator, are not genuine exclamatives, but simply 'proposition exclamations' (Rett 2008). In Rett's (2008) view 'proposition(p) exclamations' simply express surprise at the expressed proposition, whereas (genuine) 'exclamatives' cannot be used to express surprise at the expressed proposition, and are used instead to express surprise that a property holds to a high degree.

     (29)   a.   Sue wore orange shoes! (Rett 2008: 601. Proposition exclamative)

              b.   (Boy,) can Robin bake pies! (Rett 2008: 613. Exclamative)

(29.a) simply expresses that the Speaker finds the proposition that Sue wore orange shoes surprising. (29.b) cannot be used to express surprise at the proposition that Robin can bake pies and is used instead to express surprise that Robin can bake a large amount of pies for instance, or that Robin can bake pies that are delicious to a certain (high) degree, for example.

If the two types of yes/no exclamatives are indeed different, we expect this distinction to be reflected in the the way *-tu* is licensed. Indeed, *-tu* can only be used in exclamatives like (30), which

express surprise at the degree to which a certain property holds, but not in exclamations like (31), which simply expresses surprise that the proposition 'my flight is cancelled' is true.

(30) *A   n'en   parle-tu   des langues*!

   she   of.them speak-*tu*   of.the languages

   'How many languages she speaks!'

(31) *Mon vol   est-(*tu)   annulé*!

   My   flight is-*tu*   cancelled

   'My flight is cancelled!'

Exclamatives like (30) are compatible with *-tu* in our analysis because they contain a Pol2 type of Pol feature, which is in turn related to the modality of the exclamative, and the epistemic states of S and A. In (30) the S expects the number of languages spoken by the subject to range only up to a particular degree, and the actual value of that number exceeds that expectation. Since S's expectations are exceeded and thus negated, S's epistemic commitment is low, since the proposition is unexpected for S. The A, on the other hand, is called upon to confirm that the actual value for the variable contained in the exclamative is higher on the scale than expected by S (as shown by Bertrand 2014). In other words, A is asked to confirm that the number of languages the subject speaks goes beyond the range expected by S. In sum, yes/no exclamatives show similar clause typing ingredients as yes/no interrogatives: epistemic Mod keyed to an ignorant S and a knowledgeable A. This explains why yes/no exclamatives select a Pol2 and thus license *-tu*.

Let us now move on to explaining why *-tu* does not occur in wh-exclamatives. One reason for this restriction is that for some speakers at least wh-exclamatives are not grammatical at all in QF, unless these exclamatives are nominal and lack a verb altogether, as in (32).

(32)   *Quelle belle   maison*!

what   beautiful   house

'What a beautiful house!'

For these speakers, *-tu* is ungrammatical in these contexts because they lack a Tense projection, and hence a Pol projection. Since *-tu* is merged in PolP, *-tu* is not licensed in these structures.

For other speakers, though, at least some of the clausal wh-exclamatives are grammatical, so the question is why do these speakers reject *-tu* in these contexts.

(33)   *Quels tableaux extraordinaires j'ai vu   là*! (Dubois, 2000:130, ex.1a)

what paintings extraordinary I.have seen there

'What extraordinary paintings I saw there!'

We propose that these exclamatives are analyzed on a par with wh-questions by those speakers. As argued by Michaelis & Lambrecht (1996), Zanuttini & Portner (2003), Abels (2010), among others, wh-exclamatives are similar to wh-interrogatives in that they denote sets of propositions whose content is presupposed in the context of utterance. The S is therefore not ignorant in these contexts. This is particularly apparent in (33) where the wh-item is a determiner and where the restriction of the wh-variable is explicitly provided by the NP following the determiner. S knows the domain over which the wh-variable ranges: the set of paintings in (33). Given that *-tu* occurs only in clauses whose modality is keyed to an ignorant S, *-tu* is not licensed in (33).

The exceptional status of *que* exclamatives can be accounted for by assuming that *que* does not actually have wh-features for speakers who accept strings like (5) and therefore that *que* exclamatives are similar to yes/no rather than wh-exclamatives for these speakers. Even though we will not offer an analysis of *que* exclamatives, it seems reasonable to assume that the *que* in these contexts is the overt

expression of a degree operator, rather than a genuine wh-item.

3.3. Declaratives

Finally, the distribution of *-tu* in declarative clauses indicating surprise can also be accounted for by our proposal. Recall that not all declaratives license *-tu,* as mentioned in section 1. This suggests that declarative clauses expressing surprise have different properties than regular declaratives and perhaps fall into a different clause type category altogether. This is supported by the fact that the interpretation of these clauses is closer to exclamatives than to regular declaratives. These contexts necessarily include an adverb expressing surprise, which acts as a mirative marker. Like all mirative markers, this adverb introduces a partition between the set of propositions that are expected and the set of propositions that are not expected by S, and are thus surprising (DeLancey 2001). Thus, just as in the case of exclamatives, S's epistemic commitment to the expressed proposition is low, since the proposition is unexpected for S. In the example below, the narrative context for the underlined sentence that contains *-tu* explicitly states that S expected the horses to have gone, and the sentence including *-tu* expresses surprise at the unexpected fact that the horses reappeared.

(34) *Marche, marche, marche ... pas de nouvelles des chevaux. J'ai fini par*
      walk,   walk,   walk ... neg of news   of.the horses. I've finished by

      penser que j'avais vraiment rêvé   pis j'me sus mis à siffler   pour
      think.inf that I'd   really   dreamed then I.me have set on whistle.inf for

      oublier   toute ça. <u>Tout d'un coup j'entends-tu pas une bardasse terrible en</u>
      forget.inf all   that. All of.a sudden   I'hear-*tu*   neg a   noise   terrible in

      <u>*arrière   d'la   montagne*</u>. *[...] Pis ... j'ai vu ... les huit grands chevaux*

behind   of.the mountain.   [...] Then ... I've seen ... the eight big horses

sortir   *d'en   arrière de la   montagne* ... (Tremblay 1978:251)
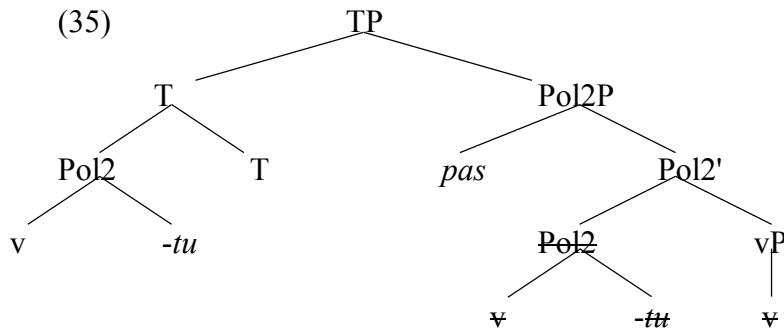
appear.inf from behind of the mountain ...

'Walk, walk, walk ... no sign of the horses. I ended up thinking it had all been a

dream and I started whistling in order to forget everything. All of a sudden I hear a

terrible noise coming from behind the mountain. [...] Then ... I saw them ... the eight

big horses coming from behind the mountain ...'

In sum, declarative surprise clauses that occur in a narrative context license *-tu* because their

modality is anchored to an S with low epistemic commitment. Moreover, the epistemic commitment

of A is assumed by S to be higher, since A is called upon to act as a witness and to confirm the truth

of the proposition expressed in the clause. Our proposal posits a link between this type of modality,

which is keyed to an S with low epistemic commitment and an A with a high(er) epistemic

commitment, and a particular type of Pol (Pol2). Since *-tu* is the overt expression of Pol2 valued as

non-positive, *-tu* can occur in these contexts. On the other hand, *-tu* is not obligatory in these

contexts since Pol2 does not have to be valued as non-positive, it can also be valued as positive.

The low commitment of S is directly linked to the fact that these clauses express an

unexpected, surprising proposition. Other declaratives, that lack this property, do not license *-tu*.

Regular declaratives assert a proposition which is added to the common ground and S is highly

committed to the truth of this proposition. The modality of regular declaratives therefore shows

properties that differ from the modality of clauses indicating surprise.

Last, but not least, our analysis can also account for the order of *-tu* and *pas* in these

contexts. Recall that in declarative clauses expressing surprise *-tu* must co-occur with *pas*, and

moreover -*tu* immediately precedes *pas*. While we will have nothing to say about the co-dependency between -*tu* and *pas*, according to our analysis the co-occurrence of -*tu* and *pas* is predicted to be possible only if *pas* is not genuine negation. This prediction is borne out since, as shown in section 2.1, *pas* cannot license strong NPIs in these contexts. The relative order of -*tu* and *pas* can be easily accounted under the assumptions that (i) -*tu* and *pas* occupy the head and the Spec positions of the PolP, respectively; and (ii) the verb raises to at least as high as TP in QF.

(35)

```
                              TP
              ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
              T                              Pol2P
         ┌────┴────┐                    ┌──────┴──────┐
        Pol2        T                  pas          Pol2'
     ┌───┴───┐                              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
     V      -tu                            Pol2                 vP
                                      ┌─────┴─────┐              │
                                      V          -tu            V
```

Given the general constraints on head movement, the verb first raises to Pol, where it left-adjoins to -*tu*, and the resulting [V-*tu*] head further moves to the Mod head, thus coming to precede *pas*.

3.4 Imperatives

Finally, imperatives do not license -*tu* because this clause type selects a Pol1 type of Pol feature. This is confirmed by the fact that the negator that occurs in imperatives is a regular negator, that licenses strong NPIs like *pantoute*/'at all'.

(36)   *Bouge pas pantoute*!

       move neg at.all

       'Don't move at all!'

Moreover, the modality of imperatives is deontic, and not epistemic. Rather than showing any

epistemic commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed by the imperative, S is the source of an instruction to A to add the proposition on her 'TO-DO' list (Portner 2004). Since in our proposal only epistemic modality can select a Pol2, imperatives will never do so.

4 Previous analyses

Most previous analyses on -*tu* (Kayne 2016, Rowlett 2007, Elsig 2009, Pollock 2006, Roberge & Bibis 2004, Noonan 1992, Vinet 2001) focus exclusively on interrogatives with -*tu*. The only analyses that consider other contexts as well are Vinet (2000, 2002) and Morin (2017). Vinet's (2000, 2002) proposal is that -*tu* is an operator with an emphatic positive reading. While this is intuitively compatible with exclamatives and declaratives expressing surprise, it is not clear how this proposal can be extended to interrogatives. Vinet (2002) claims that the emphatic meaning of -*tu* in yes/no questions is manifested in the fact that -*tu* bears focal stress in these contexts. This is claimed to indicate that an affirmative answer is expected. However, no reliable test is proposed for determining whether a yes/no question with -*tu* expects a positive answer. Moreover, even for the other contexts that license -*tu*, Vinet's (2002) arguments for the (super) positive status of -*tu* are simply arguments that these contexts are not negative. In a system in which the only two possible values for the polarity of a clause are negative and positive, the arguments for showing that a clause is non-negative are going to be the same as the ones showing that the respective clause is positive. But we have argued in this paper that such a system cannot explain the ungrammaticality of -*tu* in declarative clauses. If -*tu* is an operator with an emphatic positive reading, we cannot rule out -*tu* in regular declaratives since there is no reason why these clauses cannot be emphatically positive.

In Morin's (2017) view *-tu* is an interrogative particle that heads a syncretic projection FP with features of both I and C.

(37)   [FP NP$_{subj}$ [F' [F [V *aime*][F *-tu*]]. . . [VP t$_{NP}$ t$_V$ *les chats*]]]

To account for the use of *-tu* in exclamatives, Morin (2017) follows Collins (2006) in assuming that exclamatives have the same syntax as interrogatives and therefore both contain the relevant FP projection that hosts *-tu*. The differences between interrogatives and exclamatives have to do with the speech act related projections according to Morin (2017). However, both types of clauses are described along similar lines. In particular, Morin (2017) claims that in both exclamatives and interrogatives A is called upon to agree with the expressed proposition or to confirm it. The epistemic commitment of A is thus similar in the two types of clauses, rather than different, as claimed. Our analysis does capture these similarities by relating *-tu* to the ConA and the SpComm heads. Moreover, our analysis can also be extended to declarative clauses indicating surprise, while Morin (2017) only discusses interrogatives and exclamatives.

There is one point of similarity between our analysis and Morin's (2017). In order to account for the incompatibility between *-tu* and negation, Morin (2017) assumes that *-tu* also carries a Pol feature. The complementarity between *-tu* and the negative marker is explained by the fact that both of them 'satisfy' a Pol feature and they therefore compete. The same view can also be found in Vinet (2004): *-tu* is a positive marker, and therefore it cannot combine with negation. The intuition behind Morin's (2017) and Vinet's (2004) proposals is clearly similar to our view on *-tu*. However, our analysis differs from these authors in several respects. First, for Morin (2017) *-tu* carries both a Pol feature and an interrogative feature (her main claim is that *-tu* is an interrogative particle). While this proposal can be extended to exclamatives by assuming that the latter have the same syntax as

interrogatives, it cannot be carried over to declarative clauses expressing surprise. It is not clear why such clauses would have an interrogative feature. Second, in Morin's (2017) analysis the Pol feature can be checked either by the negative head, or by -*tu*. This explains indeed the fact that the negative head and -*tu* cannot co-occur, but it also leads to the expectation that the clauses that license -*tu* would either contain a negative marker or would license -*tu*, since -*tu* and the negative marker exhaust the possible values of the Pol feature in her analysis. However, this expectation is not borne out; all of the contexts that license -*tu* can occur without -*tu* and without negation, and Morin's (2017) analysis cannot account for this. In our analysis on the other hand -*tu* cannot co-occur with negation because the two are possible values of different types of Pol features. In our view the negative marker is the instantiation of a Pol1 type of Pol feature, which ranges over negative and non-negative values, while -*tu* is the instantiationof a Pol2 type of Pol feature, which ranges over positive and non-positive values. The complementarity between -*tu* and negation is the result of the complementarity between two types of Pol features, rather than between two possible values.

5. Conclusions

In this paper we have analyzed the properties of the Quebec French particle -*tu*, which occurs in three types of contexts: yes/no interrogatives, yes/no exclamatives, and declaratives expressing surprise. We have argued for a distinction between two types of Pol phrases: Pol1, that ranges over the negative/non-negative values, and Pol2, that ranges over positive/non-positive values, and we have argued that -*tu* is the overt instantiation of a Pol2 type of polarity, more specifically a Pol

valued as non-positive.

We have also argued that the choice between Pol1 or Pol2 varies for each type of clause. We have adopted the view that clause typing is not encoded in one unique feature, such as Force, but can instead be traced back to a plurality of features. We argued that *-tu* encodes some of the features that contribute to the clause type 'signature' of a clause. More specifically, we have proposed that in addition to the Pol feature, *-tu* carries a Mod feature valued as epistemic, as well as a Speaker related feature (Speaker Commitment) and an Addressee related feature (Call on Addressee).

Our proposal has several benefits. First, it can account for the incompatibility of *-tu* with genuine negation. In our analysis *-tu* can only occur in clauses that select a Pol2 type of PolP, which ranges over positive and non-positive values, and crucially can never be valued as negative. Second, our analysis can also account for the optionality of *-tu* in the contexts that license it. The optionality of *-tu* is related to the fact that Pol2 has two possible values, and *-tu* is the overt instantiation of the non-positive value of Pol2. Pol2 however can also be valued as positive, in which case *-tu* will not occur. Last, but not least, our proposal can also account for the distributional restrictions of *-tu*. *Tu* can only occur in matrix clauses because only matrix clauses have speech act related projections such as SpComm and ConA, which we have argued to be crucial for the licensing of *-tu*. The same features – SpComm and ConA, can also explain why *-tu* cannot occur in regular declaratives. This is because in regular declaratives S shows a high epistemic commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed by the clause, and this clashes with the value of S's epistemic commitment carried by *-tu*, which is low. Finally, the epistemic Mod feature which we have argued is crucial for the licensing of *-tu* can account for why *-tu* cannot occur in imperative clauses: the modality of imperatives is deontic rather than epistemic, hence the incompatibility between genuine imperatives and *-tu*.

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