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PREPOSITION STRANDING IN
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND FRENCH

RUTH KING YVES ROBERGE
York University University of Toronto

0. INTRODUCTION*

This article is concerned with the behavior of prepositions in the variety of French spoken in Prince Edward Island, Canada. The inventory of prepositions which can occur as so-called orphan prepositions is larger in Prince Edward Island Acadian French (hereafter PEIF) than in other French varieties¹ reported on in the literature: the list of prepositions which can occur without an adjacent lexical complement in PEIF includes *à* and *de*. We will argue, principally on the basis of data involving extractions, that PEIF also allows preposition stranding, a phenomenon not known to occur in other French varieties, and that the essential difference between prepositions in PEIF and in other varieties is that in PEIF they are head governors.

The data presented here are of both descriptive and theoretical importance. Research conducted over the last fifteen years within the Extended Standard Theory has revealed that Preposition Stranding is rare among the world's languages (cf. Van Riemsdijk 1978). Further, it

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1 PEIF is a variety of Acadian, a term used to describe those varieties of French spoken in North America (in the four Atlantic Provinces, in parts of the Province of Québec and in Louisiana) which have their origin in the "centre-ouest" of France. Karin Flikeid (personal communication) reports that *à* and *de* may occur as orphan prepositions in some Nova Scotian varieties; it is not attested in Newfoundland Acadian French. To our knowledge there is no discussion of this phenomenon in the literature on Acadian. Rose-Marie Déchaine (personal communication) informs us that preposition stranding seems to be quite freely available in a French dialect spoken in Western Canada.

has been widely accepted that the phenomenon does not occur in any dialect of French or indeed in any Romance language (cf. Zribi-Hertz 1984, Pollock 1989). PEIF provides counterevidence to that claim and the data to be presented here thus contribute to the study of dialectal variation. In this article we take the approach to dialectal variation proposed in Roberge and Vinet (1989): that is, that finely grained interdialectal variation provides important data for the study of parametric variation.

Specifically, the PEIF data are of importance to grammatical theory in that this variety provides a testing ground for proposed accounts of verb/preposition stranding. Hornstein and Weinberg (1981) present a verb/preposition reanalysis rule on which various independently motivated conditions are imposed. Kayne (1980, 1984:Chapter 5) suggests that the underlying difference between languages which have preposition stranding and those which do not involves government: he hypothesizes that reanalysis between two lexical categories is possible only when the two categories govern in the same way. The combining of V and P as one constituent, allowing stranding, is said to be possible in English because both categories govern structurally but is said to be impossible in French because, in that language, V governs structurally but P governs only for the purposes of subcategorization. In the same article, Kayne goes on to link the behavior of prepositions in English and French to another well-known difference between French and English: presence versus absence of Exceptional Case-Marking. However, contrary to what is predicted under Kayne's approach, Exceptional Case-Marking is not attested in PEIF. We argue that, in this dialect, prepositions can act as head governors for the Empty Category Principle. The occurrence of preposition stranding, then, has a simple explanation and is compatible with some of Kayne's and Hornstein and Weinberg's proposals. Baker (1988) and Pollock (1989) propose different ways to implement the notion of V/P reanalysis; they make predictions, especially with respect to adjunct/object asymmetry, as to what we should expect to find in PEIF. If our own proposal is correct then, all other things being equal (e.g. there are no Subjacency effects), extraction from PP's will be possible across the board without any object/adjunct asymmetry.

PEIF is spoken in a language contact situation of fairly long duration, and is in a minority position with respect to English in the province of Prince Edward Island, although it is the majority language in the restricted geographical area of southwestern PEI known as the Evangéline region. All native speakers of PEIF have some degree of competence in English, with younger speakers being more nearly balanced bilinguals. The inventory of prepositions in PEIF includes a number of prepositions of English origin. We show in the appendix that combinations of French

verbs with English origin and with French origin prepositions and of English origin verbs with English origin and with French origin prepositions are all possible. In this respect PEIF differs from Québec French, which has borrowed verbs but not prepositions from English. It may be tempting to dismiss the behavior of prepositions in PEIF as due to English influence: one might try to argue that there has been direct structural borrowing into the target language, or, that the borrowing of prepositions of English origin has triggered reanalysis of the syntactic properties of prepositions in PEIF. However, even if preposition stranding in PEIF has been borrowed, directly or indirectly from English, it is now part of the grammar of PEIF: preposition stranding is acquired by native speakers and must therefore be rendered possible through the inner workings of PEIF grammar.

1. BEHAVIOR OF PREPOSITIONS IN PEI FRENCH

Although most of the prepositions used in Standard French (SF) are available to the grammar of the PEI dialect, their behavior differs sharply in many respects. This section introduces various constructions which can serve to illustrate our central claim, i.e. that extractions can take place out of PP in this dialect.

1.1. *Wh*-questions

The first and most obvious example of this concerns *wh*-interrogatives in which there is extraction of an NP governed by a preposition.² The following sentences are thus all acceptable in PEIF but not in SF.

2 Like other varieties of French, PEIF allows both syntactic *wh*-movement and *wh*-phrases in-situ. In PEIF, a phonetic clitic *ce* attaches to extracted *wh*-phrases, as shown in (1) in the text. *Ce* does not appear when the *wh*-phrase occurs in-situ, as in:

- (i) a. Il veut quoi?
he wants what
'What does he want?'
b. Elle l' a fait comment?
she it has done how
'How did she do it?'

PEIF allows *wh*-movement across a phonetically overt complementizer. Examples (1a-e) in the text have variants with so-called doubly filled COMP, as in:

- (ii) Quoi-ce que tu travailles dessus?
what that you work on
'what are you working on?'

Whereas Lefebvre (1982) argues that *wh*-word + *ce* + *que* combinations have been lexicalized in Montréal French, King (1989) shows that this is not the case in PEIF.

Extracted *wh*-words surface with the suffix *-ce* but the presence of the complementizer *que* is optional.

- (1) a. Qui-ce tu vas à Ottawa à-travers-de?
 who you go to Ottawa through
 Lit.: 'Who are you going to Ottawa through?'
 b. Quoi-ce tu travailles dessus?
 what you work on
 'What are you working on?'
 c. Qui-ce tu as fait le gâteau pour?
 who you have made the cake for
 'Who did you make the cake for?'
 d. Quoi-ce tu as joué dedans?
 what you have played in
 'What have you played in?'
 e. Qui-ce tu as été su?³
 who you have been at
 Lit.: 'Who have you been at?' = 'At whose place?'
 f. Qui-ce que Robert a voté pour?
 who that has voted for
 'Who did Robert vote for?'
 g. Ioù-ce qu' il vient de?
 where that he comes from
 'Where does he come from?'
 h. Quelle heure qu' elle a arrivé à?⁴
 what hour that she has arrived at
 Lit.: 'What time did she arrive at?'

That these interrogatives are to be analyzed as involving movement is supported by the fact that the construction can display Subjacency effects. In (2b and d) are found such cases with complex NPs.

- (2) a. Quoi-ce qu' t_i a été accepté?
 what that has been accepted
 'What has been accepted?'

3 *Su* (from Latin *super* 'on, above' or possibly from *sursum* 'at the top, toward the top') means 'at the house of'. This particular acceptance of *su* disappeared in Standard French by the 17th century but has survived in a number of dialects.

4 Note that PEIF has only one auxiliary verb *avoir* 'to have'. We have not explored the consequences of this fact for the unaccusativity hypothesis.

- b. *Qui-ce que le projet à t_i a été accepté?
 who that the project of has been accepted
 'Who has the project of been accepted?'
 c. Qui-ce tu connais t_i?
 who you know
 'Who do you know?'
 d. *Qui-ce tu connais le projet à t_i?
 who you know the project of
 'Who do you know the project of?'

The sentence in (3) illustrates the impossibility of extraction out of adjunct clauses in PEIF.

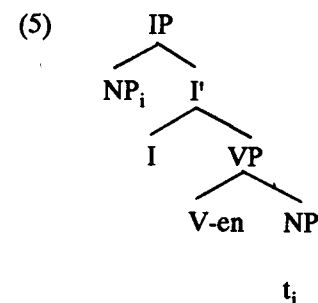
- (3) *Qui-ce que tu as parti après avoir vu t_i?
 who that you have left after to-have seen
 'Who did you leave after having seen?'

We conclude that prepositions in PEIF accept *wh*-trace objects.

1.2. Passives

Consider the English passive sentence in (4) and the S-structure normally associated with this construction in (5); cf. Baker (1988) and references cited there.

- (4) This movie was seen (by a lot of people)



In (5) the internal argument does not receive Case, presumably because it has been absorbed by the passive morpheme (*-en*) on the verb. This argument must therefore move to the subject position in order to be Case-marked.

Pseudo-passive constructions involving PPs work in the same way where reanalysis occurs between the verb and the preposition. The Case normally assigned to its object by the preposition is thus "available" for absorption by *-en*; cf. Baker et.al. (1989:235).

- (6) This movie_i was talked about t_i a lot

Pseudo-passives are not available in SF because the verb and the preposition cannot be reanalyzed as argued in Kayne (1984) – cf. 2.1 – but in the PEI dialect they are perfectly acceptable. This is illustrated by the sentences in (7).⁵

- (7) a. Le ciment_i a été marché dedans t_i avant d'être sec
the concrete has been walked in before to-be dry
'The concrete was walked on before being dry'
b. Ce lit_i-là a été couché dedans t_i
this bed has been slept in
'This bed was slept in'
c. Robert_i a été parlé beaucoup de t_i au meeting
has been talked alot of at+the meeting
'Robert was talked about alot at the meeting'

It can thus be claimed that PPs accept NP-traces as well as *wh*-traces in PEIF. (7c) shows further that the past participle and the stranded preposition need not be adjacent.

1.3. Relative Clauses

Further evidence can be found in the behavior of prepositions in relative clauses. Whatever analysis of relative clauses is adopted, the important fact here is that the sentences in (8), although ungrammatical in SF, are fine in PEIF.

⁵ Our informant does not accept:

(i) *Cette chaise_i a été assis dessus t_i
'This chair was sat on'

But this might be due to pragmatic factors. Note as well that past participle agreement is not well developed in spoken French in general.

- (8) a. La fille_i que j'ai donné la job à t_i reste à
the girl that I have given the job to stays at
Charlottetown
'The girl that I gave the job to lives in Charlottetown'
b. Tu connais pas la fille_i que je te parle de t_i
you know not the girl that I you talk of
'You do not know the girl that I am talking to you about'
c. C' est-ti la boîte_i que tu as mis l' argent à
this is-QPART the box that you have put the money at
l' intérieur de t_i?⁶
the inside of
'Is this the box that you have put the money in?'
d. C' est-ti la maison_i que tu as lancé la balle
this is-QPART the house that you have thrown the ball
au fait de t_i?
at+the top of
'Is this the house that you have thrown the ball over?'
e. Ce_i que je mange en masse de t_i, c' est du gâteau
that which I eat in masses of that is some cake
'What I eat a lot of, is cake'

1.4. Conclusion

We conclude on the basis the facts concerning *wh*-interrogatives, pseudo-passives, and relative clauses that PS is available in the grammar of PEIF.⁷

⁶ *Ti* is an interrogative particle which occurs in *yes/no* questions in a number of popular French varieties sometimes with a morphological variant *tu*; cf. Kayne (1972), Morin (1985) for more detail.

⁷ Cleft sentences in this dialect exhibit an interesting property: they seem to be acceptable only if the preposition is repeated in the extracted constituent as shown in (i). We do not have an explanation for this phenomenon.

(i) a. C' est de Jean qu' il parle de, pas Paul
it is of Jean that he speaks of not Paul
'It is Jean that he is speaking of, not Paul'
b. C' est pour zeux que je travaille pour
it is for them that I work for
'It is them that I work for'
c. C' est avec elle que je parle avec
it is with her that I speak with
'It is her that I am speaking with'

2. ANALYSES

We will consider four analyses in the Principles-and-Parameters framework; cf. Chomsky (1981, 1982, 1986). They all involve the presence of an empty category object of the preposition but differ in what this empty category is considered to be and/or how it is licensed.

2.1. Kayne's V-P Reanalysis

Kayne (1984) attempts to relate the facts that English, but not Standard French, allows both Preposition Stranding (henceforth, PS) and Exceptional Case-Marking constructions (henceforth, ECM). This is shown in (10) (Kayne's (1), (2), and (3)).

- (10) a. Which candidate did you vote for?
 b. John was voted against by almost everybody
 c. John believes Bill to have lied
- (11) a. *Quel candidat as-tu voté pour?
 b. *Jean a été voté contre par presque tous
 c. *Jean croit Bill avoir menti

Kayne first argues for the (infinitival) complementizer status of *de* in Standard French on the basis of its behavior in the following sentences:

- (12) a. Je lui ai dit qu' il parte
 I him have told that he left
 'I told him to leave'
 b. Je lui ai dit de partir
 I him have told for to-leave
 'I told him to leave'
- (13) a. Je lui ai dit où aller
 I him have told where to-go
 'I told him where to go'
 b. *Je lui ai dit où d'aller
- (14) a. *Ils semblent que parlent anglais
 they seem that speak English
 b. *Jean semble d' être parti
 Jean seems for to-have left

In (12), *de* introduces the embedded infinitival clause just as the complementizer *que* does the embedded finite clause. The ungrammaticality of (13b) follows straightforwardly from the prohibition against doubly-filled COMPs in SF if *de* is a complementizer. Finally, if subjects cannot be extracted across an adjacent complementizer (**Who do you want for to leave?*) then the raising construction in (14) supports the complementizer status of *de* and the ungrammaticality of (14a,b) can be accounted for in a similar fashion; cf. Kayne (1984) and references cited there for the details.

With respect to (14b), it is important to note that *de* can appear with certain control verbs but not with others.

- (15) a. Je lui ai dit de venir
 I him have told for to-come
 'I told him to come'
 b. *J'espère de partir
 I hope for to-leave
 'I hope to leave'

This contrast does not exist in the case of Raising verbs: they never allow for the presence of *de*.

French *de* is thus similar to English *for* although an important difference exists between them: *for* governs the adjacent subject position whereas *de* does not. This allows Kayne to account for the contrasts in (16) where the subject in (16b) is not governed by *de* and can therefore not receive Case thereby violating the Case Filter.

- (16) a. It would be a pity for something to happen to him
 b. *Ce serait dommage de quelque chose lui arriver

The second step in Kayne's argumentation consists in generalizing the properties of *de* to the other prepositional complementizer *à* in SF. Kayne states that "English prepositional complementizers govern the adjacent infinitival subject position but French prepositional complementizers do not." (p.110).

This generalization is then claimed to account for the lack of ECM in French under the hypothesis that ECM is possible in English because *believe*-type verbs take a ϕ prepositional complementizer. In (17), it is therefore not the verb but the ϕ complementizer which governs and assigns Case to the infinitival subject.

- (17) I believe [ϕ [John to be the most intelligent of all]]

In SF, on the other hand, even if similar verbs allowed for a ϕ prepositional complementizer, such a complementizer would not govern (and Case-mark) the adjacent subject since the overt prepositional complementizers *de* and *à* do not. This is the reason why ECM constructions are excluded in SF as shown in (11c); cf. Massam (1985:2.4) for a different analysis.

Kayne then shows how this account is related to the absence of PS in SF by assuming PS to involve reanalysis of the verb and the preposition as proposed in Hornstein and Weinberg (1981). The crucial fact with respect to Kayne's view of reanalysis is that it can occur only when the reanalyzed constituents govern in the same way. Thus "in French P and V do not govern in the same way but in English they do" (p.116). It follows that there can be V-P reanalysis in English but not in French. Therefore, English allows PS but French does not; compare, in this respect, (11a,b) to (10a,b).

The main conclusion to be drawn from Kayne's analysis for our purposes is that it suggests that a particular grammar, if it allows PS, should also exhibit ECM constructions, everything else being equal.

The PEIF data explored here offers a testing ground for this prediction. As we have seen, this dialect allows PS quite freely. However, ECM constructions are excluded.

- (18) a. *Jean croit /pense Bill avoir menti
 Jean believes/thinks Bill to-have lied
 b. *Marie veut Jean partir
 Marie wants Jean to-leave

It could be then that PEIF does not have the ϕ prepositional complementizer claimed to be responsible for the existence of ECM constructions. This would account for the ungrammaticality of (18). The data seem to support this assumption. (19) shows that *de* can quite optionally occur with a *wh*-phrase as is also the case of complementizer *que* (cf. examples in (1) above).

- (19) a. Je lui ai dit qui (de) voir
 I him have told who for to-see
 'I told him who to see'
 b. Je lui ai dit comment (de) faire ça
 I her have told how for to-do that
 'I told her how to do that'

But what appear to be constructions involving doubly filled COMPs are common in this dialect as seen in (20); cf. King (1989) for details.

- (20) a. Qui-ce que tu as vu?
 who that you have seen
 'Who did you see?'
 b. Je sais pas où-ce qu' elle a été
 I know not where that she has been
 'I don't know where she went'

The sentences in (19) therefore cannot alone be used to argue against the complementizer status of *de* in PEIF. But further evidence exists.

Consider the sentences in (21).

- (21) a. Jean pense d' avoir fait une faute
 Jean thinks for to-have done a mistake
 'Jean believes to have made a mistake'
 b. Jean semble d' avoir parti/de l' avoir fait
 Jean seems for to-have gone/for it to-have done
 'Jean seems to be gone/to have done it'
 c. *Ce serait platte de quelque chose lui arriver
 'It would be unfortunate for something to happen to him'

In (21b), if *de* is not a complementizer then the restriction against extraction of a subject across an adjacent complementizer is not violated. In (21a), the presence of *de* does not prevent control of the embedded subject by the matrix subject. This shows that there is no control/raising contrast in PEIF, contrary to SF. The ungrammaticality of (21c), under this hypothesis, can be attributed to the position occupied by *de*. It is not a complementizer, it cannot therefore occupy the complementizer position as it does in (21c).

If there is no overt prepositional complementizer in PEIF then it is natural to claim that there is no ϕ counterpart. We could thus maintain that there is V-P reanalysis in PEIF (accounting for PS) and that Ps and Vs govern in the same way without predicting that there should be ECM since PEIF does not allow for the necessary ϕ prepositional complementizer.

Nevertheless, we believe that the PEIF data casts doubt on the correlation established in Kayne's analysis between ECM and PS. It is with this in mind that we turn to other possible analyses.

2.2. *Pro as empty object of P*

In the examples involving *wh*-extractions provided so far, the empty category occupying the object position of the stranded prepositions is

always A-free in its governing category and A'-bound. We have thus assumed that it is a *wh*-trace. But, it could also be interpreted as the empty pronominal category *pro*. This approach would entail that the constructions under discussion here all involve a kind of empty resumptive pronoun. Bouchard (1982) argues for an analysis of this type in his discussion of the Québec French relative clauses in (22).

- (22) a. Un gars que je me fierais pas dessus
 a guy that I REFL rely not on
 'A guy that I would not trust'
 b. Ça fait trois locataires qu' on a du trouble avec
 it makes three tenants that we have some trouble with
 'We have had three tenants whom we had trouble with'

Although this approach seems well-motivated for Québec French,⁸ it cannot be extended to PEIF for the reason that (empty) resumptive pronoun strategies can often be used to avoid Subjacency effects. We assume here that resumptive pronouns are base-generated and that Subjacency is a condition on movement. Now, we have already seen that in PEIF, preposition stranding constructions obey Subjacency; the examples with clear violations are ungrammatical – cf. (2) above. An analysis with *pro* object of P must therefore be excluded.⁹

2.3. Pollock's underspecified prepositions

Pollock (1989) proposes to account for the difference between Standard French and English with respect to PS by assuming, following Kayne's work, that English prepositions can be reanalyzed while French prepositions cannot. The analysis is based on a theory of underspecification which allows for certain syntactic categories to lose some of their syntactic features. In the case of PS, it is proposed that English prepositions can be unmarked for the [\pm N] feature; instead of having the specified [-V,-N] features, they are underspecified as [-V,uN]. It is further assumed that maximal projections dominating underspecified elements do not count as Minimality-Barriers in the sense of Chomsky

8 Note for example that sentences such as the ones in (1) are all ungrammatical in Québec French.

9 But cf. Tuller (1986:chapter 3) for arguments that the empty object of orphan prepositions in Standard French is *pro*. Québec French thus appears as an intermediate state between Standard French and PEI French with respect to the range of empty objects accepted by prepositions.

(1986:42). In this way, there can be antecedent government in sentences involving PS in English. In French, on the other hand, no antecedent government is possible since PPs are M-Barriers.

As far as the adjunct/object asymmetry often observed in PS sentences, Pollock proposes that underspecified prepositions cannot assign oblique Case and that adverbial θ -roles (θ loc, θ time, and θ manner) need oblique Case to be visible. The object of an underspecified preposition if it is adverbial will violate the θ -criterion. This can be avoided only if the preposition is fully specified making it impossible for extraction of the object to take place.

Pollock's analysis relies crucially on the fact that, in French but not in English, "the oblique versus accusative Case opposition is morphologically active (compare for instance *Je le vois* ['I see him'] and *Je pense à lui* ['I think of him']). [This] is in fact the principle that prevents French prepositions from being underspecified at S-structure, that level of representation where Case distinctions are relevant" (p.26). The PEIF data under study here pose obvious problems for this analysis since the oblique/accusative distinction is also clearly visible morphologically in this dialect. This implies that PEIF prepositions cannot be underspecified at S-structure and, therefore, that PS should be impossible in PEIF. This prediction is not borne out.

2.4. P as head governor

Hornstein and Weinberg (1981) propose an analysis of PS for natural languages based, among other things, on the contrast that is claimed to exist in English between stranding from a PP dominated by VP as in (23), and stranding from a PP dominated by IP (S, in their terminology) as in (24).¹⁰

- (23) a. What did John decide on? (not John's location)
 b. Who did John talk to?
 (24) a. *What time did John arrive at?
 b. *What inning did the Yankees lose the ball game in?

Hornstein and Weinberg propose a rule of reanalysis the domain of which is c-command applying before any Case-marking is done. There is also a filter such that an empty category cannot be marked [+oblique].

10 Note however that there is considerable dialectal variation with respect to the grammaticality of the sentences in (24).

as does Pollock's proposal. The relatively free nature of PS in PEIF (e.g. lack of adjunct/object asymmetry) falls out from a general difference between French and English in adjacency requirements.

APPENDIX

We noted in the introduction to this article that PEIF has borrowed a number of prepositions from English.¹² They represent a subset of the inventory of English prepositions which occur in the English of PEIF speakers. Commonly-occurring prepositions of English origin are *in*, *out*, *up*, *off*, *over*, *on*, *across*, and *around*. *At*, *for*, *to*, *of*, *through* and *from* do not seem to be possible.

English origin prepositions most often occur in combination with certain English origin verbs. This is also the case in Nova Scotian Acadian French; cf. Flikeid (1989:219) for examples. In PEIF, English origin prepositions are more restricted in distribution than are French origin prepositions. It may be that V + P combinations have been borrowed as single units. V + P combinations of English origin include: *plugger in*, *dropper in*, *figurer out*, *straightener out*, *ender up*, *starter up*, *layer off*, *turner over*, and *hanger around*.¹³ All combinations are used with the same meaning as in English. The English origin prepositions may occur with or without adjacent lexical NP's.

- (32) a. Il a pluggé in le computer
'He plugged the computer in'
b. C'a-ti été pluggé in?
'Was it plugged in?'
c. Ils avont layé off le monde à la factorie
'They layed off the people at the factory'
d. Qui ce qu'a été layé off?
'Who was layed off?'

It is also possible for a lexical NP to immediately follow the verb.

12 This appears to be the case with some other Acadian varieties as well. Flikeid (1989:197), a quantitative study of the usage of words of English origin in Nova Scotia Acadian French, contains an example of an English origin preposition without an adjacent lexical complement:

(i) C'est papa qui avait une car que moi je me souviens pas du tout about.
'It's dad who had a car that I don't remember about at all.'

13 Note that *-er* is the French infinitival morpheme rather than an English nominal marker.

- (33) a. Il a pluggé le computer in
b. Ils avont layé le monde off

In imperative constructions, a pronominal clitic or a lexical NP may intervene between V and P.

- (34) a. Plugge le in!
'Plug it in!'
b. Plugge le computer in!
'Plug the computer in!'

English-origin prepositions also co-occur with certain verbs of French origin, as in *parler about*, *aller on*, *faire up*, *mettre on*, and *travailler out*. Some of these combinations are less transparent in terms of meaning: *mettre on* means 'to turn on', not 'to put on (clothing)'; *travailler out* means 'to work outside the home', not 'to exercise'. As with combinations involving English origin verbs, the preposition may govern a lexical NP or an empty category.

- (35) a. Il a parlé about le lien fixe
'He talked about the fixed link'
b. Quoi ce qu'il a parlé about?
'What did he talk about?'

Neither *travailler out* nor *aller on* take an object.

- (36) a. Il y a une tapée de femmes qui travaillent out
lit.: 'There are a lot of women who work out'
b. Il y a beaucoup d'assemblées qu'allont on le soir
'There are a lot of meetings that go on in the evening'

The fourth possibility (recall that the first was French verbs with French prepositions) is verbs of English origin occurring with French prepositions, as in *crasher dans*, *picker su*, and *lander su*.¹⁴

14 In standard and non-standard varieties of French morphological variation is triggered for a subset of prepositions (*dans*, *sur*, *sous*) depending on whether or not the preposition occurs with an adjacent lexical complement. The contrast is exemplified in (37a and b) and (37c and d); cf. Zribi-Hertz (1984) for discussion.

- (37) a. L'avion a crashé dans la grange
'The plane crashed into the barn'
b. Quoi-ce que l'avion a crashé dedans?
'What did the plane crash into?'
c. Ils pickiont su le monde
'They picked on people'
d. Qui-ce qu'ils pickiont dessus?
'Who did they pick on?'

We conclude, then, that particular prepositions, and verb + preposition combinations have been borrowed into PEIF from English. As is the case with French-origin prepositions, English-origin prepositions permit extractions; they are thus reanalyzed as head governors.

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