Pronominal doubling and the structure of the left periphery in southern Dutch[*]

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1 ▪ INTRODUCTION

In this paper we focus on pronominal subject doubling in three southern Dutch dialects.[1] We first argue that, contrary to what is generally assumed, there is not one, but two types of pronominal doubling in these dialects. More specifically, we show that the type of doubling found in subject-initial main clauses differs from that in subclauses and inverted main clauses. The latter is commonly referred to as clitic doubling, the former we dub topic doubling. The remainder of the paper is concerned with giving an analysis of these two phenomena, while at the same time explaining their distribution across sentence types. In doing so, we will take a closer look at the left periphery of the dialects under consideration, arguing on the basis of the distribution of object clitics that subject clitic placement is a narrow syntax phenomenon that should be analysed in a split-CP structure in the sense of Rizzi (1997). Topic doubling on the other hand involves the base-generation of a full DP subject in a left peripheral topic position, the argument position being filled by the doubling strong pronoun.

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[1] The dialects under consideration here are those of Gent (East Flanders), Lapscheure (West Flanders) and Wambeek (Brabant). The first has been discussed in a number of publications by Wim de Geest (de Geest 1990, 1995), the second by Liliane Haegeman (Haegeman 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993). The dialect of Wambeek has up till now not been discussed in the generative literature.

Throughout this paper we will be working in the framework outlined in Kayne (1994). This means that in our analyses rightward movement, right-adjunction and multiple specifiers (i.e. multiple adjunction) are disallowed.

2 ▪ TWO TYPES OF DOUBLING

In the linguistic literature it is generally assumed that the dialects of Dutch have only one type of subject doubling, namely clitic doubling (cf. Haegeman 1990, 1992; De Geest 1995; Zwart 1993a, 1993b; Cardinaletti & Starke 1994, 1995). This type of doubling always involves a clitic pronoun and a strong pronoun.[2] It is illustrated in (1) with two examples from the dialect of Gent.

(1) a. …da ze zaa gisteren gewerkt ee. (Gent)
that she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *she*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *yesterday worked has*
'…that she has worked yesterday.'
b. Gisteren ee ze zaa gewerkt.
yesterday has she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *she*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *worked*
'Yesterday she has worked.'

Although this generalisation seems to hold for subclauses (1a) and inverted main clauses (1b), the above mentioned authors have failed to notice that pronominal doubling in subject-initial main clauses does not involve a clitic in first position, but rather a weak pronoun. This observation is obscured by the fact that clitics and weak pronouns are nearly always homophonous, but it can be illustrated very clearly in the dialect of Wambeek, which morphologically distinguishes between clitics and weak pronouns in the first person plural.

(2) *Me / We gojn ze waaile nuir ojsh bringen. (Wambeek)
we$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ / *we*$_{\text{WEAK}}$ *go them we*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *to home bring*
'We're going to take them home.'

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[2] Throughout this paper we will be assuming that the tripartition of the pronominal system into strong, weak and clitic pronouns proposed in Cardinaletti & Starke (1994, 1995, 1999) also holds for the dialects of Dutch. For argumentation in support of this claim, cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2000a).

These data show that in a subject-initial main clause the first element of a pronominally doubled subject cannot be a clitic. What is traditionally thought of as a clitic is in fact a weak pronoun. What is more, not only weak pronouns, but also strong pronouns, full DPs and proper names can serve as the first element of a pronominally doubled subject in this sentence type. This is shown in (3)-(5).

(3) Waaile gojn ze waaile nuir ojsh bringen. (Wambeek)
we$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *go them we*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *to home bring*
‘We’re going to take them home.’
(4) Die vrouw komt zaa morgen. (Gent)
that woman comes she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *tomorrow*
‘That woman is coming tomorrow.’
(5) Marie muu zaai ie nie kommen. (Wambeek)
Mary must she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *here not come*
‘Mary shouldn’t come here.’

In section 4.3 we will come back to the dialectal variation regarding this phenomenon in more detail. What is important here, however, is the fact that this construction is restricted to subject-initial main clauses. That is, in subclauses and inverted main clauses weak pronouns, strong pronouns, full DPs and proper names cannot be doubled. This is shown in (6)-(8).

(6) …da <me / *we / *waaile> ze waaile nuir ojsh gojn bringen. (Wambeek)
…that <we$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ */ we*$_{\text{WEAK}}$ */ we*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *> them we*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *to home go bring*
‘that we’re going to take them home.’
(7) * Morgen komt die vrouw zaa. (Gent)
tomorrow comes that woman she$_{\text{STRONG}}$
(8) a * Gistere moest Marie zaai ie nie kommen. (Wambeek)
yesterday had.to Mary she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *here not come*
b * …da Marie zaai ie nie muu kommen.
…that Mary she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *here not must come*

Summing up, in this section we have shown that pronominal subject doubling in Dutch dialects should no longer be thought of as a unitary phenomenon. Rather, there are two types of doubling. One is the well-known clitic doubling construction, which always involves a clitic and a strong pronoun, and which only occurs in subclauses and inverted main clauses. The second type of doubling, which we propose to call topic doubling for reasons that will become clear later, is restricted to subject-initial main clauses. Here, the doubling element is a strong pronoun, whereas the first subject element can be a weak pronoun, a strong pronoun, a full DP or a proper name. We have summarized these findings in the following table.

	clitic doubling	*topic doubling*
first subject element	clitic	weak / strong / full DP / proper name
distribution	subclauses / inverted main clauses	subject-initial main clauses

These generalisations are the focus of the remainder of this paper. We will provide an analysis for the two types of doubling, at the same time accounting for their distribution. In the next section we focus our attention on clitic doubling.

3 ▪ CLITIC DOUBLING

In this section we will give an analysis of subject clitic doubling. Before being able to do so, however, we need to make a small digression into the realm of object clitics. We will use object clitics to test whether clitic placement in the dialects under consideration is syntactic or phonological in nature, and based on our findings we will make a specific proposal about the functional structure making up the left periphery in these dialects.

3.1 ▪ *Object clitics*

3.1.1 ▪ *Syntactic or phonological clitic placement?*

Consider the data in (9)-(10).

(9) …dan-t Jef gezien eit. (Wambeek)
that-it$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *Geoff seen has*
'…that Geoff has seen it.'
(10) …da <*'t kintj / *'m / *EM> Jef <'t kintj / 'm / EM> gezien eit.
that <the child / him$_{\text{WEAK}}$ */ him*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *> Geoff <the child / him*$_{\text{WEAK}}$ */ him*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *> seen has*
'…that Geoff has seen the child/him.'

There is a striking distributional asymmetry between weak and strong object pronouns and full object DPs on the one hand and object clitics on the other. Whereas the former necessarily follow the subject, object clitics can only occur immediately after the complementizer, i.e. before the subject. An obvious question raised by these examples is whether the placement of the object clitic in (9) is a mere PF-phenomenon or whether it occupies this position in narrow syntax as well. This can be tested in a fairly straightforward manner. If it can be shown that the clitic in its pre-subject position has an effect on the interpretation of the sentence, then it must occupy this position at LF, and not just after the derivation has branched off to the PF-component. The interpretive effect we have in mind here comes from Binding Theory. Consider the examples in (11)-(12).

(11) …dan-t$_{i/*j}$ den aaigeneir van 't lemmeken$_{j}$ zelf ei muutn doewtuun. (Wambeek)
…*that-it*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *the owner of the lamb*-DIM *self has have.to kill*
'…that the owner of the lamb has had to kill it (not the lamb) himself.'
(12) …da-se$_{i/*j}$ Marie$_{j}$ eur dochter gezien eet. (Lapscheure)
…*that-her*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$*Mary her daughter seen has*
'…that Mary's daughter has seen her (not Mary).'

In both these examples the object clitic cannot be coreferential with a DP contained in the subject. The placement of the object clitic – whether it be the result of base generation or of movement – thus seems to feed Condition C. This implies that the placement of the object clitic is not a PF-phenomenon, but that it takes place in narrow syntax.

The conclusion reached in the previous paragraph raises a new issue. If the object clitic is situated in a pre-subject position in narrow syntax, what position exactly does it occupy then? Assuming there to be no right-adjunction (following

Kayne 1994, cf. supra), it cannot be adjoined to C°-head hosting the complementizer.[3] Multiple specifiers, on the other hand, are also not allowed in the framework we are adopting. As a result the object clitic cannot be said to be adjoined to or in an outer specifier of whichever projection is hosting the subject. The only option left is that the object clitic is hosted in a projection of its own. Following Uriagereka (1995) we will call this projection FP, and we will assume it to be a projection which is targeted specifically by object clitics (cf. also Sportiche 1995).

3.1.2 ▪ Situating FP in the clausal architecture

Now that we have argued for the introduction of FP, a number of new questions obtain. Where exactly should this projection be situated in the clausal hierarchy? Is it part of the IP-domain or of the CP-domain? Or put differently: is it an A- or an A′-projection? What are the licensing conditions for this FP? In this section we will focus on these questions. Consider first the example in (13).

(13) …dan-t Jef ‘m gistere ni ei vertelt. (Wambeek)
…that-it$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *Geoff to.him*$_{\text{WEAK}}$ *yesterday not has told*
‘…that Geoff hasn’t told him yesterday.’

This sentence contains not only an object clitic, but also a weak indirect object pronoun. It is well-known that weak pronouns scramble out of the VP in Dutch (Zwart 1992). Moreover, given that the indirect object also precedes the TP-level adverb *gistere* ‘yesterday’ in (13), it must have scrambled even higher than TP. This in turn implies that the subject *Jef* ‘Geoff’ occupies the highest subject position available in this sentence, i.e. Spec,AgrSP. That brings us to a first approximation of the location of FP: it must be situated higher than AgrSP.

The next question we want to focus on is whether FP belongs to the IP- or to the CP-domain. Recall in this respect the examples in (11)-(12), repeated here.

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[3] This is not to say that the object clitic doesn’t adjoin *phonologically* to the complementizer (cf. the *liaison*-n on the complementizer in (11) and the devoicing of the initial consonant of the object clitic in (12)). We want to distinguish this kind of adjunction, however, from purely syntactic adjunction, which doesn’t necessarily correspond to the surface phonology of the utterance.

(11) …dan-t$_{i/*j}$ den aaigeneir van 't lemmeken$_j$ zelf ei muutn doewtuun. (Wambeek)
…that-it$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *the owner of the lamb*-DIM *self has have.to kill*
'…that the owner of the lamb has had to kill it (not the lamb) himself.'

(12) …da-se$_{i/*j}$ Marie$_j$ eur dochter gezien eet. (Lapscheure)
…that-her$_{\text{CLITIC}}$*Mary her daughter seen has*
'…that Mary's daughter has seen her (not Mary).'

In the previous section we argued that the object clitic induces a Condition C violation in these sentences. From this we concluded that object clitic placement is not a PF-phenomenon in the dialects we are considering. The same facts now allow us to infer that the position the object clitic occupies is part of the IP-domain (i.e. it is L-related in the sense of Chomsky 1993). Given that pronominal binding is always A-binding, object clitic placement cannot target an A'- or non-L-related position, as it feeds Condition C. In other words, FP cannot be part of the CP-domain.

Finally, we want to focus on the question of what licenses FP. Is this projection always present or does it appear under certain circumstances? We will show that FP is only licensed in finite contexts, a fact which we will interprete theoretically by claiming that FP can only be present when it is selected by a FinP with a positive value (i.e. [+finite]). We define FinP as in Rizzi (1997) as the lowest projection of the CP-domain, which hosts the finiteness features of the clause.[4] The following examples show that object clitics (and thus FP) are indeed only licensed in finite contexts.

(14) <*'N/ 'M> gezien emmen is ni genoeg. (Wambeek)
<him$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ */ him*$_{\text{WEAK}}$ *> seen have*-INF *is not enough*
'Having seen him is not enough.'

(15) En gou <*'n / 'm> helpen zeker?
and you <him$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ */ him*$_{\text{WEAK}}$ *> help*-INF *surely*
'And you want to help him, I suppose?'

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[4] Note that we assume that the CP-layer in Dutch is split up in two projections only. The lower one is FinP and the higher one, hosting the complementizer, CP.

(16) ‘K em goed da-ge <-n / *-m> gou <*’n / ‘m> Marie <*’n / ‘m> uin de kinjern etj zien introduseern.
I have heard that-you$_{\text{CLITIC}}$*-<him*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ */ him*$_{\text{WEAK}}$*> you*$_{\text{STRONG}}$*<him*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ */ him*$_{\text{WEAK}}$*> Mary <him*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ */ him*$_{\text{WEAK}}$*> to the children have see introduce*
‘I have heard that you saw Mary introduce him to the children.’

(17) Z’ ei geprobeed om <*‘n / ’m> t’ elpen.
she has tried to <him$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ */ him*$_{\text{WEAK}}$*> to help*
‘She has tried to help him.’

All these examples are from the dialect of Wambeek and more specifically they all involve third person singular masculine object pronouns, since here, the dialect distinguishes morphologically between weak pronouns and clitics (cf. supra example (2) for a similar distinction in the first person plural). The sentence in (14) contains a subject infinitive. As the grammaticality judgments indicate, only weak object pronouns are allowed in this construction. The clitic pronoun *‘n* ‘him’ is ruled out. The same holds for the root infinitive in (15). Again, only the weak pronoun is allowed. The example in (16) is particularly instructive. It illustrates the behaviour of deficient object pronouns in ECM-contexts. It is well-known that weak object pronouns can raise out of ECM-sentences into the higher clause (Zwart 1996). What the example in (16) shows, however, is that clitics *necessarily* raise out of the lower clause, and moreover, that they target not just any position in the higher clause, but a position immediately below the complementizer.[5] The sentence in (17), finally, is meant to illustrate that the ungrammaticality of the previous examples is not due to the absence of an overt complementizer. In this example the infinitival complementizer *om* ‘to’ is present, and yet the object clitic is still not licensed. All these examples corroborate our claim that object clitics are licensed by finiteness. As mentioned above, we take this to indicate that the FP hosting the object clitic can only be present when it is selected by a FinP which is marked [+finite].

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[5] In the next section we will come back extensively to the fact that the subject clitic intervenes between the complementizer and the object clitic.

3.1.3 ▪ Conclusion

In section 3.1 we have focused on object clitics. We have reached two conclusions. Firstly, we argued that object clitic placement in the dialects under consideration is not a PF-phenomenon, but rather takes place in narrow syntax. In the remainder of this paper we will generalize this claim to all clitic placement. This means that when we focus on subject clitics in the next section, we will assume that their surface position too is the result of syntactic movement or base generation, and not of PF-movement. Secondly, we have argued in favour of the existence of a left-peripheral L-related functional projection hosting object clitics. In the spirit of Uriagereka (1995), we have named this projection FP. Moreover, we argued that this FP is licensed by a specialized projection hosting the finiteness features of the sentence. We captured this by splitting up the CP-domain into two projections, the lower one being FinP (cf. Rizzi 1997) and the higher one (which we will continue to call CP) hosting the complementizer.

3.2 ▪ Subject clitics and clitic doubling

3.2.1 ▪ The analysis

Although distributionally and formally there are a lot of similarities between subject and object clitics, there is one crucial difference between them. Whereas subject clitics can be clitic doubled (18), object clitics cannot (19).

(18) …da ze zaa werkt. (Gent)
*…that she*_{CLITIC} *she*_{STRONG} *works*
'…that she is working.'
(19) * …da ze Marie ee gezien eit. (Wambeek)
*…that her*_{CLITIC} *Mary her*_{STRONG} *seen has*

We take this difference to reflect an asymmetry with respect to where these clitics are base generated. Given that subject clitics can be doubled with a strong pronoun, they are not themselves an argument of the verb. Instead, they are the overt realization of an agreement head, more specifically the head of AgrSP (cf. Zwart 1997; Sportiche

1995).[6] The strong pronoun doubling the clitic is merged in Spec,VP and raises to Spec,AgrSP. Object clitics on the other hand cannot be doubled. We take this to mean that they are merged in the canonical object position, and subsequently raise to FP.[7]

We will now give an analysis of subject clitic doubling in the dialects of Gent, Lapscheure and Wambeek. Recall that we are assuming the subject clitic is base generated as the head of AgrSP, while the doubling strong pronoun raises to Spec,AgrSP in the course of the derivation. This means that we expect the strong pronoun to linearly precede the subject clitic in the ultimate representation of the sentence. Consider in this respect the example in (20).

(20) …da ze t zaa ör in ör ande gestoke ee (Gent)
…that she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *it*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *she*$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ *her in her hands put has*
'…that she has put it in her hands.'

Contrary to our expectations, the subject clitic precedes the strong pronoun. This can mean two things. Either the strong pronoun hasn't moved to Spec,AgrSP, but instead has remained in a lower subject position, or the subject clitic has moved on, 'stranding' the strong pronoun in Spec,AgrSP. The choice between these two options is fairly straightforward, given the fact that the example also contains an object clitic. In the previous section we have argued at length that object clitics occupy a projection which is situated below the lowest CP-projection, but higher than AgrSP. This implies that the subject clitic in (20) is also situated higher than AgrSP, and therefore that it has moved. Note that this reasoning in itself doe not exclude the possibility that the strong pronoun is nonetheless in a low subject position. The following example, however, shows that it occupies Spec,AgrSP.

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[6] Note that we do not consider the option of base generating the clitic and the strong pronoun as one DP (cf. Uriagereka 1995, Laenzlinger 1998, Grohmann 2000, Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2000a). We believe such an analysis raises more problems than it solves. Most notably it is unclear where exactly the strong pronoun would be situated within the DP. If it occupies Spec,DP, does that mean there is a *pro* in the complement position of the clitic? How is this *pro* licensed? What is its relation to the strong pronoun? Isn't the theta-criterion violated in this configuration? If the strong pronoun is merged as the complement of the clitic, does that mean it is an NP (contra Postal 1966)? Or is this a case of DP-recursion (normally excluded in Dutch)? Moreover, assuming the clitic at one point in the derivation moves independently of the strong pronoun (as we will do, cf. infra), the one-DP-analysis would predict a violation of a Subject island, yet no ungrammaticality ensues.

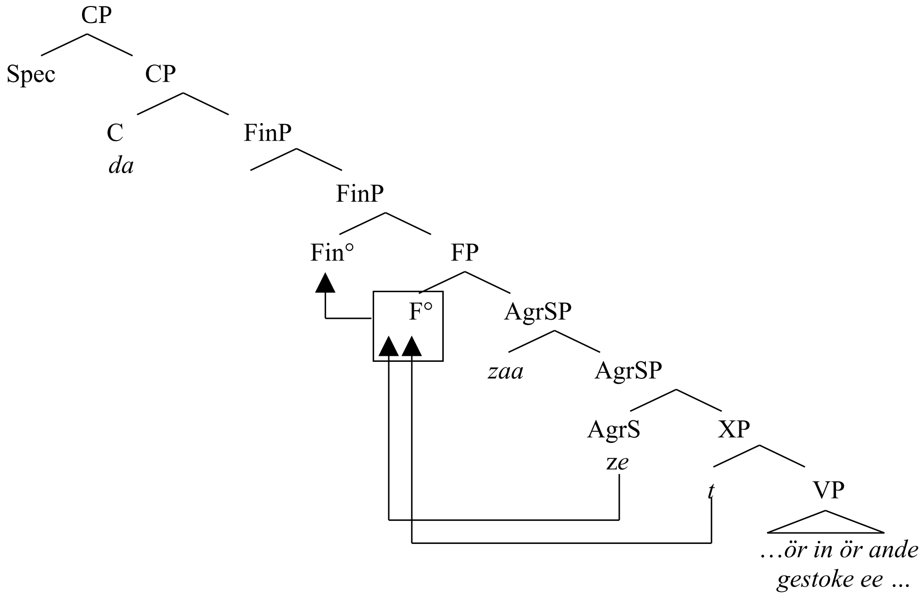
[7] Note that this implies that object clitics have DP/D°-status as in Chomsky 1995 (assuming the clitic moves to the head of FP).

(21) …da-ge-t gou ’m merge nie gotj geven (Wambeek)
…that-you$_{\text{CLITIC}}$*-it*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *you*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *to.him*$_{\text{WEAK}}$ *tomorrow not go give*
‘…that you’re not going to give it to him tomorrow.’

In this example the strong subject pronoun precedes the scrambled weak indirect object pronoun, which in turn precedes TP-level adverbs such as *merge* ‘tomorrow’, and negation. We take this to indicate that the strong subject pronoun is in Spec,AgrSP.

The next question to answer is then: where has the subject clitic moved to? Assuming there to be no right-adjunction (cf. supra), it cannot have moved to the C°-position hosting the complementizer. On the other hand, given that FP is a projection targeted by object clitics and by object clitics only, it cannot have moved to F° either, since it has not reason to move there. We therefore conclude that the subject clitic has moved to a projection in between the CP-layer hosting the complementizer and the FP hosting the object clitic. Note, however, that we have already encountered such a projection in the previous section, when we argued in favour of splitting CP into two separate projections, the higher one hosting the complementizer, and the lower one (FinP) hosting the finiteness features of the clause. We therefore propose that the subject clitic in the example in (20) moves to the head of FinP. This is illustrated in (22) and (23).

(22)



(23) $[_{\text{AgrSP}}$ zaa ze $[_{\text{XP}}$ t … $[_{\text{VP}}$ ör in ör ande gestoke ee]]]

➔ merger of F°

$[_{\text{FP}}$ F° $[_{\text{AgrSP}}$ zaa ze $[_{\text{XP}}$ t … $[_{\text{VP}}$ ör in ör ande gestoke ee]]]]

➔ attraction of object clitic to F°

$[_{\text{FP}}$ t+F° $[_{\text{AgrSP}}$ zaa ze $[_{\text{XP}}$ t_t … $[_{\text{VP}}$ ör in ör ande gestoke ee]]]]

➔ merger of Fin°

$[_{\text{FinP}}$ Fin° $[_{\text{FP}}$ t+F° $[_{\text{AgrSP}}$ zaa ze $[_{\text{XP}}$ t_t … $[_{\text{VP}}$ ör in ör ande gestoke ee]]]]]

➔ attraction of subject clitic to Fin° via F°

$[_{\text{FinP}}$ ze+t+F°+Fin° $[_{\text{FP}}$ t_{ze+t+F° $[_{\text{AgrSP}}$ zaa t_{ze} $[_{\text{XP}}$ t_t … $[_{\text{VP}}$ ör in ör ande gestoke ee]]]]]

➔ merger of da

$[_{\text{CP}}$ da $[_{\text{FinP}}$ ze+t+F°+Fin° $[_{\text{FP}}$ t_{ze+t+F° $[_{\text{AgrSP}}$ zaa t_{ze} $[_{\text{XP}}$ t_t … $[_{\text{VP}}$ ör in ör ande gestoke ee]]]]]]

The analysis in (22)-(23) shows how the subject clitic is merged as the head of AgrSP, and how it subsequently moves to Fin°, via the F°-head hosting the object clitic.[8] This explains why the subject clitic in the example in (20) precedes both the object clitic and the doubling strong pronoun. Note that a central part of our analysis is the movement of the subject clitic to the head of FinP. Although it is at this point not yet clear to us what the exact trigger for this movement is, we would like to point out that it seems to provide a theoretical interpretation to the intuition sometimes expressed in the literature that subject clitics in (dialects of) Dutch are somehow 'C°-related' (cf. Rooryck 2000 chapter 8). If these clitics necessarily move to the head of a low C°-projection, then this intuition would fall into place. Note moreover that movement of the head of AgrSP into the C°-domain is not without precedents. Zwart has argued in a number of publications in favour of the existence of AgrS°-to-C°-movement in Dutch (Zwart 1993a, 1997). For the time being, however, we will leave the exact characterization of the movement of the subject clitic into the C°-domain as a topic for further research.

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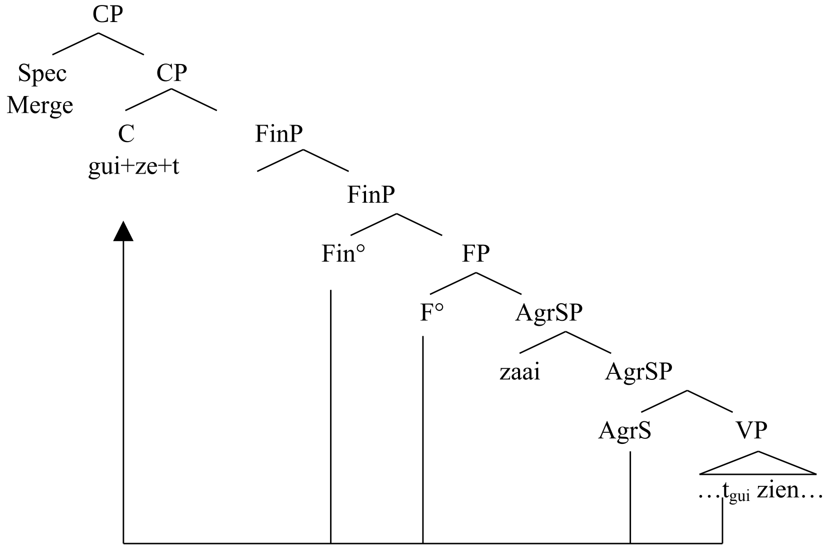
[8] Note that the object clitic, being a deficient pronoun, first scrambles out of VP to a high position just below AgrSP. We have neutrally labelled the projection targeted by this scrambling operation XP, as we do not want to go into the theoretical debate on scrambling. The object clitic then moves from the Spec of XP to the head of FP (recall that it has XP/X°-status in the sense of Chomsky 1995). The ambivalent nature of this movement operation possibly also explains why the object clitic is allowed to skip AgrS° on its way to F°, thus seemingly violating the HMC.

3.2.2 ▪ Distribution

One crucial aspect of clitic doubling raised in the introduction to this paper has been left unaddressed in the previous subsection, namely its distribution. Recall that clitic doubling is restricted to subclauses and inverted main clauses. The analysis of subclauses has already been given in the previous section, and the account of inverted main clauses is not very different. The crucial difference is that the C°-position is not filled by the complementizer this time, but by the finite verb, which has raised out of the VP in order to satisfy the V2-constraint which holds in Dutch main clauses. On its way to the C°-position, the verb picks up both the subject clitic and the object clitic, yielding the order Vfin – subject clitic – object clitic, exactly as it is found in the data. As an illustration of all this, consider the analysis in (25) of the example in (24).[9]

(24) Merge gui ze t zaai zien.
t*omorrow goes she*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *it*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *she*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *see*
'Tomorrow she's going to see it."

(25)



A more intriguing question, however, is raised by subject-initial main clauses, as in this sentence type clitic doubling is excluded (cf. supra, section 2). In order to account for this we will crucially rely on our analysis of subject clitic placement being the result of AgrS°-to-Fin°-movement. Assuming this movement to be vital for the licensing of the clitic, we predict subject clitics not to be allowed when for some reason, the head of FinP is not available as a landing site. If we combine this idea with analyses of subject-initial main clauses as being IPs (Travis 1984, Zwart 1997), we have an account of why subject clitic doubling is not allowed in this sentence type. If the FinP necessary for licensing the clitic is not present, then it is impossible for the head of AgrSP to be realized as a clitic. Consequently, clitic doubling is impossible.

3.2.3 ▪ Conclusion

In this section we have given an analysis of subject clitic doubling. Based on a comparison with object clitics, we proposed to analyse subject clitics as being base generated in the head of AgrSP. The strong pronoun doubling the clitic is merged in argument position and raises to Spec,AgrSP to check case and agreement. Subsequently, the clitic moves out of AgrSP to a higher head, which we have argued to be Fin°. It was also this movement which helped explain the distribution of clitic doubling across sentence types. In subject-initial main clauses, the CP-domain (including FinP) is absent. As a result subject clitics are not licensed and subject clitic doubling is not allowed.

4 ▪ TOPIC DOUBLING

In section two we have shown that southern Dutch does not exhibit one type of pronominal doubling, but rather two: clitic doubling, already known from the literature (cf. among many others Haegeman 1992) and topic doubling, a construction that has gone unnoticed until now. In topic doubling constructions, a subject is doubled by a nominative strong pronoun.

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[9] Note that we are abstracting away from the question of where the fronted adverb *merge* 'tomorrow' is base generated, as this is not relevant to the issue at hand. The only thing we do assume, however, is that is ends up in Spec,CP.

(26) Marie komt zaai. (Wambeek)
Mary comes she$_{\text{STRONG}}$
'Mary is coming.'

In the first subsection we propose an analysis for this construction. We argue that the first subject element is a topic (hence the name topic doubling), occupying Spec,CP, whereas the doubling strong pronoun ends up in Spec,AgrSP. In subsection two we show how this analysis accounts for the distribution of topic doubling across sentence types. In the final subsection we focus on the dialectical variation concerning this construction.

4.1 ▪ The analysis

First we want to argue that the first subject element in a topic doubling construction is a topic. The argumentation in favour of this claim comes from the behaviour of indefinites and Wh-subjects. Consider the sentences in (27).

(27) a. Jan kust een meisje. (Standard Dutch)
John$_{\text{SUBJECT}}$ *kisses a girl*$_{\text{OBJECT}}$
' John is kissing a girl.'
b. Een meisje kust Jan.
a girl$_{\text{OBJECT}}$ *kisses John*$_{\text{SUBJECT}}$
'John is kissing a GIRL (not a boy)'.
#'John is kissing a girl'

In (27a) the direct object can be interpreted as a non-specific indefinite. In (27b), where the direct object is topicalised, this interpretation is no longer available. Instead, the direct object has a contrastive reading. These examples show that topicalising an indefinite direct object makes the non-specific interpretation unavailable. With this in mind, consider the examples in (28).

(28) a. Een vrou komt e kaffee binn. (Wambeek)
a woman comes a bar in
'A woman enters a bar.'
b. Een vrou komt zaai e kaffee binn.
a woman comes she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *a bar in*
'Women usually enter a bar.'
# 'A woman enters a bar.'

In (28a) the indefinite subject is not doubled. As the translation indicates, the interpretation of this indefinite can be non-specific. In the b-sentence on the other hand, where the subject is doubled by a strong pronoun, only a generic interpretation is available. This shows that indefinite subjects doubled by a strong pronoun behave exactly the same as topicalised indefinite direct objects: they are both incompatible with a non-specific indefinite reading. We take this to indicate that the doubled subject is in (28b) is in fact in a topic position.

The behaviour of Wh-subjects confirms this conclusion. Consider the example in (29).

(29) Wie eid ij da geduin? (Wambeek)
who has he$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *that done*
meaning:
#'Who has done that?'
'It is obvious that X has done that.'
'It is obvious that nobody has done that.'

In (29) a subject Wh-phrase is doubled by a strong pronoun. As the English translations of this example show, a Wh-phrase can only be doubled if the sentence in which it occurs is interpreted as a rhetorical question, not when it is a request for information. In (29) the Wh-phrase refers to an entity that is already known or understood by the hearer (either a specific person or no one at all). This shows that the only readings available for the Wh-subject are those compatible with a topic. We therefore conclude that the first subject element in a topic doubling construction should be analysed as a topic. If this is the case, then we assume it to occupy Spec,CP.

There is some supporting evidence for this assumption. Consider again the sentence in (26), repeated here as (30).

(30) Marie komt zaai. (Wambeek)
Mary comes she$_{\text{STRONG}}$
'Mary is coming.'

The pronoun *zaai* 'she' and the proper name *Marie* 'Mary' are coreferential. Furthermore, *Marie* c-commands *zaai*. This means that *zaai*, a pronoun, is locally bound. We would expect this to cause a Condition B violation, *quod non*. Assuming the first subject element to be in Spec,CP, however, this can be explained in a straightforward manner. The pronoun is now no longer locally A-bound and as a result Binding Theory is not relevant. We consider this to be indirect support for the claim that *Marie* in (30) occupies Spec,CP.

In the structure in (22) four positions are available for subject DPs: Spec,VP, Spec,AgrSP, Spec,FinP and Spec,CP. Given that the first subject element is in Spec,CP, only the former three positions are available for the strong subject pronoun. If this pronoun were to occupy Spec,VP, scrambled direct objects should be able to precede it. As is shown in (31), this is not the case.

(31) * Marie eit 'm zaai gezien. (Wambeek)
Mary has him$_{\text{WEAK}}$ *she*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *seen*

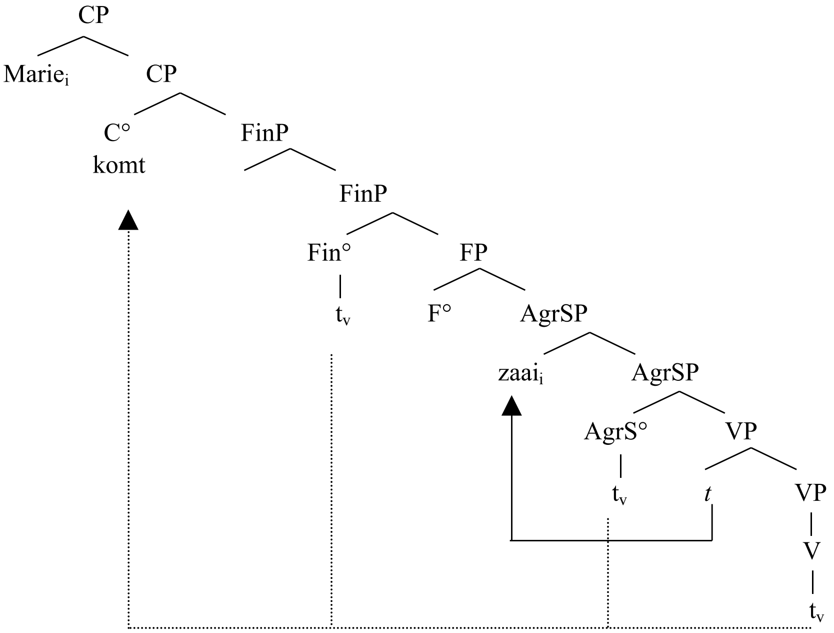
This means there are only two possible positions left for the strong subject pronoun: Spec,FinP and Spec,AgrSP. Again, word order allows us to eliminate one of the two options. In section 3.1 we have argued that object clitics move to F^{o}. In this position they precede regular (i.e. non-doubled) subjects (cf. example (9)). When the doubling strong pronoun is in the same position as regular subjects, we would expect object clitics to precede it. If the subject pronoun is in FinP, however, we would predict it to be higher than object clitics. As the example in (32) shows, the subject pronoun follows the object clitic. This means that the second subject element in a topic doubling construction is in the regular subject position, i.e. Spec,AgrSP.

(32) Marie eit 'n zaai gezien. (Wambeek)
Marie has him$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *she*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *seen*
'Mary has seen him.'

We have now shown that the first subject element is in Spec,CP and the second one is in Spec,AgrSP. We assume that the latter receives a theta-role from the verb in Spec,VP and then moves to Spec,AgrSP to check its Φ-features against AgrS° and to receive nominative case, just like regular subjects. Furthermore, we assume the first subject element to be a base-generated topic in Spec,CP. This element forms a chain with the lower subject to receive a value for case and a theta-role. The derivation of a sentence with a topic doubled subject as in (33), is given in (34).

(33) Marie komt zaai. (Wambeek)
Mary comes she$_{\text{STRONG}}$
'Mary is coming.'

(34)



Nothing we have said so far, would prevent clitic doubling and topic doubling from co-occurring in one and the same sentence. Thus we predict the possibility of ‘tripling’, whereby a strong pronoun is both part of clitic doubling and of topic doubling. This prediction is confirmed by the data in (35). In this sentence the subject *Marie* ‘Mary’ is doubled by the strong pronoun *zaai* ‘she’, which in turn is doubled by the clitic *ze* ‘she’.

(35) Marie ei ze zaai niks te verliezn. (Wambeek)
Mary has she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *she*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *nothing to lose*
‘Mary has nothing to lose.’

In this section we have given an analysis of topic doubling. We argued that the first element in this construction is a topic, base generated in Spec,CP. The strong subject pronoun ends up in Spec,AgrSP. We assume that these two subject elements share the theta-role and case associated with the external argument by forming a chain. Furthermore, we have shown that the dialects under consideration allow instances of tripling, whereby clitic doubling and topic doubling co-occur in one and the same sentence. This fact follows naturally from our analyses and thus constitutes further support for them.

4.2 ▪ Distribution

In the introduction we have shown that topic doubling is not available in inverted main clauses and embedded clauses. In this subsection we propose an explanation for this distribution. The first subject element in a topic doubling construction occupies a topic position. From this fact, the unavailability of topic doubling in embedded clauses and inverted main clauses, follows naturally. Consider first the embedded sentence in (36).

(36) * ‘k paus Marie da zaai merge komt. (Wambeek)
I think Mary that she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *tomorrow comes*

This example shows that topic doubling is not possible in embedded clauses. The explanation for this is fairly straightforward. Various authors have argued that Dutch does not allow embedded topicalisation (cf. among others Barbiers 2000; Hoekstra & Zwart 1994, 1997; Zwart 1997). The example in (37) shows that this generalisation extends to dialects of Dutch as well.

(37) * 'k paus daun boek da Jef geleezn eit. (Wambeek)
I think that book that Geoff read has

If embedded topicalisation is generally disallowed in this dialect, then we don't expect topic doubling to be possible in embedded contexts either, as this construction makes crucial use of a topic position (cf. supra). Thus the distribution of topic doubling follows naturally from the analysis given in the previous subsection.

A similar explanation holds for inverted main clauses. Consider the sentence in (38).[10]

(38) * 's Monduis Marie komt zaai. (Wambeek)
on Monday Mary comes she$_{\text{STRONG}}$

Topic doubling is impossible when a non-subject DP occupies sentence-initial position. This too follows from the assumption that the first subject element (i.e. *Marie*) is in the specifier of CP. As is shown by Hoekstra & Zwart (1997), Dutch does not allow multiple topicalisation. Consider the standard Dutch example in (39) and its Wambeek Dutch translation in (40).

(39) * 's Maandags de hond geeft Marie eten.
(40) * 's Monduis n'ont geeft Marie eetn. (Wambeek)
on Monday the dog gives Mary food

---

[10] Note that the ungrammaticality of this sentence is not due to the V2-constraint, as it is equally ungrammatical with the finite verb in second position.
(i) * 's Monduis komt Marie zaai. (Wambeek)
on Monday comes Mary she$_{\text{STRONG}}$
The same observation holds for the examples in (39)-(40).

Hoekstra & Zwart (1997) argue that this sentence is ungrammatical because there is only one position for topicalised constituents in Dutch (Spec,TopP in their terminology, Spec,CP in ours). In (39) both the adverbial phrase *'s Maandags* 'on Monday' and the indirect object *de hond* 'the dog' are topicalised. As there is only one topic position available, the derivation crashes. Given the similarity between (39) and (40), we assume that the same explanation holds for Wambeek Dutch. These data now also account for the absence of topic doubling in inverted main clauses. In (38) there are also two constituents competing for the topic position, namely the subject *Marie* and the temporal adverb *'s Monduis* 'on Monday'. Thus the absence of topic doubling in inverted main clauses follow from a ban on multiple topicalisation in combination with the analysis given in the previous subsection.

4.3 ▪ Dialectical variation

The dialects under consideration show quite a bit of variation with respect to topic doubling. More specifically, they differ in the range of subjects that can be topic doubled. Consider the examples in (41)-(43).

(41) <Ze/*Zie/*Da wuf/*Marie> geeft ze zie een flasse wyn. (Lapscheure)
<she$_{\text{WEAK}}$ */she*$_{\text{STRONG}}$*/that woman/Mary> gives to.them she*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *a bottle wine*
'She gives them a bottle of wine.'

(42) <Ze/ Zaa/ die vrouw/*Marie> komt zaa morgen. (Gent)
<she$_{\text{WEAK}}$ */ she*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ */ that woman/ Mary>comes she*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *tomorrow*
'She/that woman will come tomorrow.'

(43) <Ze/zaai/dei vrou/Marie> gui zaai nuir ojsh. (Wambeek)
<she$_{\text{WEAK}}$*/ she*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ */ that woman /Mary> goes she*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *to home*
'She/that woman/Mary is going home.'

The examples in (41) show that the dialect of Lapscheure only allows weak pronouns to be topic doubled.[11] The dialects of Gent and Wambeek on the other hand can also topic double strong pronouns and full DPs. Moreover, the latter dialect also allows topic doubling with proper names. We have summarised the variation in the table below.

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[11] Note that Haegeman (1992) among others analyses these pronouns as clitics rather than weak pronouns. As far as we can see the strongest argument in support of this claim is the fact that these pronouns cannot be left out in a coordination structure. For argumentation in favour of the opposite view cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2000b, 2001).

	first subject element in a topic doubling construction
Lapscheure	weak pronoun
Gent	weak pronoun strong pronoun definite DP
Wambeek	weak pronoun strong pronoun full DP proper name

Note that this type of dialectal variation is not at all unexpected in a construction where a DP is doubled by a pronominal element. In the literature on clitic doubling in Romance and Slavic similar observation have been made (cf. among other Anagnostoupou 1999). This illustrates that what we have observed fits in nicely with cross-linguistic generalisation about pronominal doubling.

5 ▪ CONCLUSION

In this paper we have shown that pronominal doubling in southern Dutch is not a unitary phenomenon. Rather, it comprises not only clitic doubling (well-known from the literature), but also a construction we have called topic doubling. In the latter a base-generated topic in Spec,CP is doubled by a strong pronoun in the regular subject position. In our analysis of clitic doubling we have argued for the existence of two left-peripheral functional projections, the lower one attracting object clitics and the higher one (FinP) serving as the landing site for subject clitic movement.

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