Pronominal doubling in Dutch dialect: big DP's and coordinations

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1 ◙ Introduction

As is well-known, several Dutch dialects spoken in Belgium display clitic doubling of subject pronouns (cf. De Geest 1990, 1995, Haegeman 1992, 2005, Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002ab, 2006ab).[1] An illustration of this phenomenon is provided in (1).

(1) Ik   paus da   <u>se</u>   <u>zaailn</u>   kommen.
   I   think that   they$_{CLITIC}$ they$_{STRONG}$ come
   'I think they are coming.'   (Wambeek Dutch)

There are two subject pronouns in the embedded clause of this example: the clitic pronoun *se* 'they' and the strong pronoun *zaailn* 'they', which together form the clitic doubled subject of the embedded clause. Traditional accounts of this phenomenon (cf. the references mentioned above) assume that either the clitic or the strong pronoun is the 'real', thematic subject, while the other is a secondary spell-out phenomenon.

In this paper, however, we introduce two new sets of data into the discussion that show that neither of these accounts is able to capture all the relevant facts. They concern instances of clitic doubling with coordinated subjects. A first example is given in (2).

(2)   Ik paus da   <u>me</u>   [<u>gou</u>   <u>en</u>   <u>ik</u>]   dui   suimen wel   kunn oitgeruiken.
   I think that   we$_{CLITIC}$ you$_{STRONG}$ and   I$_{STRONG}$ there together PRT   can   out.come
   'I think that you and I can solve that together.'

In this example, the first person plural clitic *me* 'we' does not double a strong pronoun as such, but rather a coordination of two strong pronouns *gou en ik* 'you and I'. We dub this phenomenon full coordination clitic doubling or FuCCD for short. The second configuration we will focus on is illustrated in (3).

(3)   Ik paus da   <u>se</u>   [<u>zaailn</u>   en   waailn] dui   suimen wel   oitgeruiken
   I think that   they$_{CLITIC}$ they$_{STRONG}$ and   we$_{STRONG}$ there together PRT   out.come
   'I think that they and we will solve that together.'

Here, the clitic *se* 'they' does not double the entire coordination (note that the coordination as a whole is first person plural), but rather only the first conjunct of the coordinated subject. We will henceforth refer to such data as first conjunct clitic doubling or FCCD.

This paper is organized as follows. In the next section we explain why FuCCD- and FCCD-data present a problem for previous accounts of clitic doubling in non-standard Dutch. The analysis we want to propose instead makes use of the so-called big DP-hypothesis (cf. Uriagereka 1995, Laenzlinger 1998, Grohmann 2000, Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002a, Belletti 2005, Poletto 2006, Taraldsen 2006; cf. also Kayne 2002), i.e. the idea that the doubler and the doublee are initially merged together as one constituent. In order to make our account as precise as possible, though, we first provide an in-depth analysis and classification of the pronominal system of one Dutch dialect in terms of the typology proposed by Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) (section 3). This will allow us to make

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[1] As pointed out by Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002ab, 2006ab), Dutch dialects display a second type of subject doubling as well, which does not involve a clitic pronoun as one of its components and which they call topic doubling. In this paper we abstract away from that phenomenon.

very detailed claims about the internal structure of the big DP in clitic doubling in non-standard Dutch (section 4). In section 5 we examine the external syntax of such big DPs, i.e. we provide an analysis of 'regular' clitic doubling in Dutch dialects. Sections 6 and 7 then extend this analysis to FCCD and FuCCD respectively, showing that the problematic nature of these data disappears under the present approach. Section 8 sums up and concludes.

2 ▣ Previous accounts of clitic doubling

Consider again a basic clitic doubling example in (4).

(4) Ik   paus da   <u>se</u>   <u>zaailn</u>   kommen.
     I   think that   they$_{CLITIC}$ they$_{STRONG}$ come
     'I think they are coming.'   (Wambeek Dutch)

As already pointed out above, traditional accounts of clitic doubling in Dutch can be divided into roughly two camps, depending on which of the two subject pronouns they consider to be the 'real', thematic subject.[2],[3] The first line of approach (represented most notably by De Geest 1995 and Haegeman 1992, 2005) assumes that the clitic pronoun is basic, while the strong pronoun is a secondary spell-out phenomenon, e.g. a spell-out of φ- and focus-features in specAgrSP (Haegeman 2005:128). The second type of analysis on the other hand, assumes – in the spirit of Sportiche (1995) – that the strong pronoun is the real subject, while the clitic spells out an inflectional head in the high middle field of the low left periphery. This approach is put forward by Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002b, 2006ab).

Neither of these two lines of analysis, however, takes into account examples of clitic doubling with coordinated subjects. As we will presently show, this is unfortunate, as such data can provide a new perspective on the analysis of clitic doubling. Consider again some basic FuCCD- and FCCD-examples in (5) and (6).

(5)   Ik paus da   <u>me</u>   [<u>gou</u>   <u>en</u>   <u>ik</u>]   dui suimenf wel kunn oitgeruiken.
       I think that   we$_{CLITIC}$ you$_{STRONG}$ and I$_{STRONG}$ there together PRT can   out.come
       'I think that you and I can solve that together.'   (Wambeek Dutch)

(6)   Ik paus da   <u>se</u>   [<u>zaailn</u>   en   waailn] dui suimen wel oitgeruiken
       I think that   they$_{CLITIC}$ they$_{STRONG}$ and   we$_{STRONG}$ there together PRT   out.come
       ' I think that they and we will solve that together.'   (Wambeek Dutch)

The data in (5) are problematic for the first type of analysis of clitic doubling. In particular, while it seems plausible that in some cases strong pronouns can surface as the mere spell-out of underlying φ-features (a comparison with resumptive pronouns comes to mind), it is highly implausible that something as complex as a coordination could serve the same purpose. What this example suggests, is that it is the second element that is the thematic subject. Does this mean these data support the second traditional account of clitic doubling in Dutch? No, as the data in (6) are problematic for both approaches to clitic doubling. In particular, the FCCD-example shows that the clitic cannot be the thematic subjet, as it constitutes only part of the subject, while on the other hand it cannot be the spell-out of an agreement head either, as it does not have the same φ-features as the inflected verb. It is clear, then, that FuCCD- and FCCD-data constitute a serious problem for traditional accounts of clitic doubling.

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[2] An exception is Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002a), who present a precursor to the present analysis. As will become clear in section four, though, our present account differs considerably from the 2002 one.

[3] It should be clear that we are abstracting away here from details and individual differences and similarities between the accounts discussed. We are mainly interested in the general principle and in the problems caused by FuCCD- and FCCD-data for that general principle.

The problem is more fundamental than this, however. In particular, the traditional accounts of clitic doubling are unable to provide a principled answer for a number of more basic questions concerning clitic doubling (cf. in this respect the debate between Haegeman 2005 and Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2006a). First of all, one wonders why object clitic doubling is not possible. Secondly, the absence of clitic doubling with weak subject pronouns remains mysterious. As far as we know, there are no analyses that provide a principled solution to these two problems. The task we set ourselves in the remainder of this paper, then, is to provide an analysis of clitic doubling that is not only able to incorporate FuCCD and FCCD, but that also provides more insight into these two long-standing issues.

3 ▣ A CLASSIFICATION OF THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM IN WAMBEEK DUTCH

In this section we lay the foundation for our analysis of clitic doubling through an in-depth study of the pronominal system of Wambeek Dutch. In particular, we apply the classification of pronouns proposed by Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) to the Wambeek Dutch pronominal system.

3.1 ▣ DÉCHAINE & WILTSCHKO (2002)

Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) (henceforth D&W) argue that there are three types of pronouns: pro-DPs, pro-φPs and pro-NPs. These three types of pronouns are related to another, in the sense that pro-DPs have a pro-φP layer and a pro-NP layer, while pro-φPs in turn embed a pro-NP layer. Pro-NPs do not consist of any further layers. The structures in (7)-(9) represent the core idea of D&W's proposal.

((7) pro-DPs   (8) pro-φPs   (9) pro-NPs
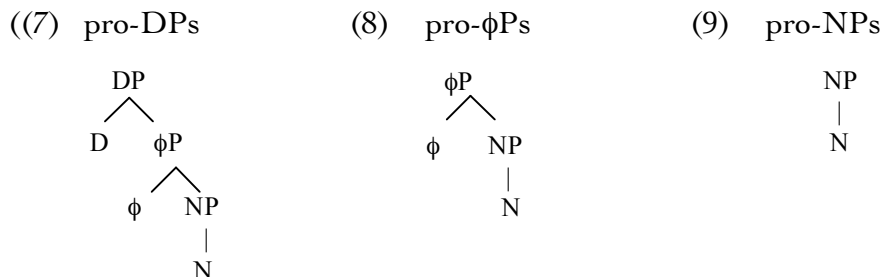
These pronominal types can be distinguished from one another on the basis of several syntactic and semantic characteristics. First of all, if a pronoun has DP-status it is expected to act as a DP with respect to the Binding Theory, and hence to obey condition C. Secondly, pro-DPs cannot function as bound variables, whereas pro-φPs can. D&W illustrate these characteristics on the basis of Halkomelem independent pronouns. Two representative examples are given in (10)a-b (from D&W 2002:414).

(10)a.Súq'-t-es   [te   swíyeqe]ᵢ te   kopú-s   [tú-tl'ó]ᵢ
     search-TRANS-3.SUBJ   DET   man   DET   coat-3.POSS   DET -3SG
     ≠ 'The manᵢ was looking for hisᵢ coat.'
   b. [Mékw' ye   swíyeqe]ᵢ kw'ákw'ets-et-es   te   stóles-s   [tú-tl'ólem]ᵢ
     every   DET.PL man   looking-TRANS-3.SUBJ   DET   wife3.POSS   DET-3PL
     ≠ 'All menᵢ are looking for theirᵢ wives.'

These data show that *tú-tl'ó* and *tú-tl'ólem* cannot function as bound variables, and hence, that they are pro-DPs (cf. the original paper for other tests pointing in the same direction). As pointed out by Rullmann (2004), however, the bound variable test should be handled with care, and various contexts should be considered before we can draw conclusions. As a result, we use four different tests in this paper to determine whether Wambeek Dutch pronouns can be used as bound variables. First of all, we look at simple bound variable

contexts as in (11)a, in which a QP c-commands and binds the pronoun. Secondly, we discuss sentences in which a pronoun is bound by two antecedents. There are two subcases of this test. In the first one, illustrated in example (11)b (cf. Rullmann 2004:163, ex. 10a), one of the two antecedents is a quantifier. The pronoun *us* gets bound by the pair {*Every woman*, *I*}. In the second subcase, illustrated in (11)c (cf. Rullmann 2004:163, ex. 10c), one of the antecedents is an indefinite DP: the pronoun *we* is bound by the pair {*I*, *a woman*}. Such examples are a subtype of the famous donkey-sentences.

(11) a.   Every woman$_i$ thinks she$_i$ is beautiful.
    b.   Every woman$_3$ I$_S$ date wants us$_{\{S,3\}}$ to get married.
    c.   Whenever I$_S$ share an apartment with a woman$_3$, we$_{\{S,3\}}$ end up arguing about housework.

A fourth construction in which the bound variables status of pronouns can be tested is ellipsis. A pronoun that can act as a bound variable can induce a sloppy identity reading under ellipsis. An illustration of this is provided in (12a,b). The pronoun *he* in (12b) pro-ϕP (cf. D&W for argumentation) and can induce a sloppy reading under ellipsis whereas the proper name *Bill*, a DP, cannot.

(12) a. My father thinks that Bill will come and my brother does too.
      = λx [x thinks that Bill will come] & λy [y thinks that Bill will come] [strict]
      ≠ λx [x thinks that x will come] & λy [y thinks that y will come]   [sloppy]
  b. My father thinks that he will come and my brother does too.
      = λx [x thinks that he will come] & λy [y thinks that he will come]   [strict]
      = λx [x thinks that x will come] & λy [y thinks that y will come]   [sloppy]

Finally, D&W argue that pro-DPs and pro-ϕPs can be used as arguments, while Pro-NPs cannot.[4]

To summarize, in order to make a classification of the pronominal system of Wambeek Dutch, we use several tests based on D&W (2002) and Rullmann (2004). The various tests we use and the conclusions they lead to are schematically represented in the table in (13).

(13)

test		pro-DP	pro-ϕP	pro-NP
1	Condition C	+	-	-
2	Bound variable	-	+	-
a	simple QP	-	+	-
b	split antecedent + QP	-	+	-
c	split antecedent + indefinite	-	+	-
d	Sloppy identity under ellipsis	-	+	-
3	argument	+	+	-

3.2 ▣ The pronominal system of Wambeek Dutch

In Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2000), we have applied the tripartition between strong, weak and clitic pronouns as proposed by Carinaletti & Starke (1999) to the pronominal system of Wambeek Dutch. More specifically, we have provided arguments for the following classification:

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[4] In Déchaine &Wiltschko (2002) this test is more complex, as it also concerns the possible predicate status of a pronoun (in order to distinguish between pro-DPs and pro-ϕPs). As this test was not applicable to our data for independent reasons, we abstract away from it here.

(14)

		subject pronouns	object pronouns			subject pronouns	object pronouns
1 s	*strong*	ik	mou	1 p	*strong*	waaile	ons
	weak	'k	ma		*weak*	we	-
	clitic	'k	-		*clitic*	me	-
2 s	*strong*	gou	ou	2 p	*strong*	gaaile	aaile
	weak	ge	a		*weak*	ge	-
	clitic	ge	-		*clitic*	ge	-
3s m	*strong*	aai	hem	3 p	*strong*	zaaile	eele
	weak	-	em		*weak*	ze	ze
	clitic	'n	'n		*clitic*	ze	ze
3sf	*strong*	zaai	ee				
	weak	ze	ze				
	clitic	ze	ze				
3sn	*strong*	-	-				
	weak	et	et				
	clitic	t	t				

In the remainder of this section, we provide a classification of the Wambeek Dutch pronominal system in (14) into pro-DPs, pro-ɸPs and pro-NPs. Moreover, we will also determine the categorial status of clitic doubled pronouns and coordinated pronouns.

3.2.1 ▢ The categorial status of subject pronouns in Wambeek Dutch

3.2.1.1 ▢ Subject clitics

Subject clitics act as pro-ɸPs in the sense that they are not sensitive to condition C of the binding theory (cf. (15), that they can act as bound variables (shown in (16)-(19)), and that they can be used as arguments, as illustrated in (20). The relevant tests and examples are provided below.

TEST 1 CONDITION C

(15) Jef$_i$ paust dat n$_i$ gui winnen.
Jef thinks that he$_{CLITIC}$ goes win
'Jef thinks that he will win.'

TEST 2 BOUND VARIABLE
A SIMPLE QP

(16) Elke joeng$_i$ paust dat n$_i$ gui winnen.
every boy thinks that he$_{CLITIC}$ goes win
'Every boy thinks that he will win.'

B SPLIT ANTECEDENT + QP

(17) Elke student₁ paust da-k_S gezeid em da me_{S,1} gonj winnen.
every student thinks that-I_clitic said have that we_CLITIC go win
'Every student thinks that I have said that we will win.'

C SPLIT ANTECEDENT + INDEFINITE

(18) Elke kieje da'k_S me een vrou₁ suimewoeën, muike me_{S,1} rieze.
every time that-I with a woman live.together make we_CLITIC argument
'Every time I live together with a woman, we quarrel.'

D SLOPPY IDENTITY UNDER ELLIPSIS

(19) Jef paust dat n gui winnen, en Piet oek.
Jef thinks that he_CLITIC goes win and Piet also
= λx [x thinks that he will win] & λy [y thinks that he will win]   [strict]
= λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win]   [sloppy]

TEST 3 ARGUMENT STATUS

(20) Jef paust dat n gui winnen.
Jef thinks that he_CLITIC goes win
'Jef thinks that he will win.'

The results for subject clitics can be summarized as in the table in (21).

(21)

Subject clitics		
1	Condition C	-
2	Bound variable	
a	simple QP	+
b	Split antecedent + QP	+
c	Split antecedent + indefinite	+
d	sloppy identity under ellipsis	+
3	argument	+
	Conclusion	pro-ϕP

3.2.1.2 ▣ WEAK SUBJECT PRONOUNS

As is clear from the table in (14), weak pronouns and clitic pronouns are often homophonous. Furthermore, if a certain person/number-combination can be expressed both as a clitic and as a weak pronoun, the clitic pronoun is preferred in neutral contexts (cf. in this respect also Cardinaletti & Starke 1999). Hence, it is important to make sure we are dealing with weak pronouns in the tests provided below and not with clitic pronouns. In Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2000) we show that weak pronouns can be separated from the complementizer by a parenthetical constituent, while clitic pronouns cannot. This is illustrated in (22) for colloquial standard Dutch, which has a clitic pronoun *ie* 'he' and a weak pronoun *ze* 'she'.

(22) a.*Ik denk dat, naar alle waarschijnlijkheid, ie vandaag niet komt.
I think that to all probability he_CLITIC today not comes
b. Ik denk dat, naar alle waarschijnlijkheid, ze vandaag niet komt.
I think that to all probability she_WEAK today not comes
'I think that it is unlikely that she will come today.'   (colloquial standard Dutch)

Accordingly, we have included an if-clauses in between the complementizer *da* 'that' and the subject pronoun in the examples below in order to guarantee that we are indeed dealing with weak pronouns, rather than with clitics.

For weak subject pronouns, we reach the same conclusion as for subject clitics, namely that they are pro-φPs. In other words, they can occur as bound variables (cf. (23), they are not sensitive to condition C (illustrated in (23)), and they can act as arguments, cf. (24)-(27).

TEST 1   CONDITION C

(23) Waaile venj da,   as   men trouven,   <u>we$_i$</u>   veel geldj   mute   kraaigen.
we   find that, if   we   marry   we$_{WEAK}$ much money   should   get
'We think that, if we marry, we should get a lot of money.'

TEST 2   BOUND VARIABLE

A   SIMPLE QP

(24) Elke vrou$_i$ paust   da,   as ze   mo   wacht,   <u>ze$_i$</u>   gui   trouven.
every woman thinks   that if she   PRT   wait,   she$_{WEAK}$ goes marry
'Every woman thinks that, if she just waits, she will marry.'

B   SPLIT ANTECEDENT + QP

(25) Elke vrou$_1$ da   k$_S$ gezien   em   zeit   da,   azzekme   ee   trouf,
every woman who I seen   have said   that if.I   with her   marry
<u>we$_{\{S,1\}}$</u>   geldj   kraaigen.
we$_{WEAK}$ money   get
'Every woman I saw said that, if I marry her, we will get money.'

C   SPLIT ANTECEDENT + INDEFINITE

(26) Elke kieje da'k$_S$ me   een vrou$_1$ klap blekt   da,   azzek   me   ee
every time that.I with   a woman   talk appears   that if.I   with her
trouf,   <u>we$_{\{S,1\}}$</u>   veel geldj   kraaigen.
marry   we$_{WEAK}$ much money   get
'Every time I talk with a woman, it appears that, if I marry her, we get a lot of money.'

D   SLOPPY IDENTITY UNDER ELLIPSIS

(27) Waaile pauzen da,   ast   reigert,   we   gonj winnen, mo   gaailn   oek.
we   think   that if.it rains   we$_{WEAK}$go   win   but   you   too
= λx [x thinks that we will win] & λy [y thinks that we will win]   [strict]
= λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win]   [sloppy]

TEST 3   ARGUMENT

(28) Waaile venj da,   as men trouven,   <u>we</u>   veel geldj   mute   kraaigen.
we   find that if we   marry   we$_{WEAK}$ much money   should   get
'We think that, if we marry, we should get a lot of money.'

A summary of these results is provided in the table in (29).

(29)

	Weak subject pronouns	
1	Condition C	-
2	Bound variable	
a	simple QP	+
b	Split antecedent + QP	+
c	Split antecedent + indefinite	+
d	sloppy identity under ellipsis	+
3	argument	+
	Conclusion	pro-ϕP

3.2.1.3 ▣ STRONG SUBJECT PRONOUNS

With strong subject pronouns, the tests do not all lead to the same conclusion. On the one hand, the lack of a condition C effect in (30) seems to suggest that strong subject pronouns are pro-ϕs. However, when we look at the bound variable behaviour of these strong pronouns in (31)-(34), the conclusion seems to be that strong subject pronouns are pro-DPs.[5]

TEST 1 CONDITION C

(30) Marie_i paust da <u>zaai</u>_i gui winnen.
      *Marie thinks that she*_STRONG *goes win*
      'Marie thinks that she will win.'

TEST 2 BOUND VARIABLE
A SIMPLE QP

(31) Elke vrou_i paust da <u>zaai</u>_i gui winnen.
      *every woman thinks that she*_STRONG *goes win*
      'Every woman thinks that she will win.'

B SPLIT ANTECEDENT + QP

(32) *Elk maske_1 paust da 'k_S gezeid em da <u>waaile</u>_{S,1} gonj winnen.
      *every girl thinks that I said have that we*_STRONG *go win*
      'Every girl thinks that I have said that we will win.'

C SPLIT ANTECEDENT + INDEFINITE

(33) *Elke kieje da 'k_S me een vrou_1 suimewoeën, muike <u>waaile</u>_{S,1} rieze.
      *every time that I with a woman live.together make we*_STRONG *argument*
      'Every time I live together with a woman, we quarrel.'

D SLOPPY IDENTITY UNDER ELLIPSIS

(34) Marie paust da <u>zaai</u> gui winnen, en Julia oek.
      *marie thinks that she*_STRONG *goes win and Julia also*
      = λx [x thinks that she will win] & λy [y thinks that she will win]   [strict]
      ≠ λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win]   [sloppy]

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[5] For reasons unclear to us, simple QPs do not pattern like the other tests. We hope to return to the contrast between (31) on the one hand and (32)-(34) on the other in future research.

TEST 3 ARGUMENT STATUS

(35) Marie paust da <u>zaai</u> gui winnen.
      *Marie thinks that she*_{STRONG} *goes win*
      'Marie thinks that she will win.'

D&W (2002:424) show that certain pronouns they classify as pro-DPs also fail to trigger condition C violations. They argue that this is expected under Demirdache's (1997) analysis of condition C effects. She shows that condition C effects can be reduced to strong cross-over violations. In her analysis, the example in (36a) is ungrammatical because in English all DPs are quantificational and undergo Quantifier Raising. The fact that QR takes place leads to a strong cross-over violation, as illustrated in (36b).

(36) a.* I know he$_i$ loves Oscar$_i$.
     b.   [Oscar$_i$] [I know he$_i$ loves t$_i$]

Demirdache shows that in languages in which DPs are not quantificational and hence do not undergo QR, there are no Condition C effects. D&W argue that on the basis of this analysis it is expected that pro-DPs that are not quantificational and hence do not undergo QR are also not sensitive to condition C. This, they claim, is why focused pronouns and deictic pronouns are not subject to condition C. Strong pronouns in the dialect of Wambeek necessarily carry a focused interpretation, and hence are not expected to be subject to condition C. This means that the lack of condition C effects in this case does not say anything about the categorial status of strong subject pronouns. However, the fact that they cannot act as bound variables in three out of four contexts seems to lead to the conclusion that these pronouns are in fact pro-DPs. The summary of the results of these tests is provided in the table in (37).

(37)

	Strong subject pronouns	
1	Condition C	inconclusive
2	Bound variable	
a	simple QP	+
b	Split antecedent + QP	-
c	Split antecedent + indefinite	-
d	sloppy identity under ellipsis	-
3	argument	+
	Conclusion	pro-DP

3.2.1.4 ▣ CLITIC-DOUBLED SUBJECT PRONOUNS

The test results for clitic-doubled subject pronouns are in all relevant respects identical to those of non-doubled strong subject pronouns (cf. the previous subsection). In particular, while the majority of the tests point towards an analysis of clitic-doubled pronouns in terms of pro-DPs, one test is inconclusive (Condition C) and one points towards a pro-φP-account (simple QPs). Not surprisingly then, we will reach the same conclusion as in the previous section, i.e. clitic-doubled pronouns are pro-DPs.

TEST 1 CONDITION C

(38) Marie$_i$ paust da [<u>ze</u> <u>zaai</u>]$_i$ gui winnen.
      *Marie thinks that she*_{CLITC} *she*_{STRONG} *goes win*
      'Marie thinks that she will win.'

TEST 2 BOUND VARIABLE

A SIMPLE QP

(39) Elke vrou$_i$ paust da [ze   zaai]$_i$ gui winnen.
      every woman thinks that she$_{CLITC}$ *she*$_{STRONG}$ *goes win*
      'Every woman thinks that she will win.'

B SPLIT ANTECEDENT + QP

(40) *Elk maske$_1$ paust da 'k$_S$ gezeid em da me   waaile$_{\{S,1\}}$ gonj winnen.
      every girl   thinks that I said   have that we$_{CLITIC}$ we$_{STRONG}$ *go win*
      'Every girl thinks that I have said that we will win.'

C SPLIT ANTECEDENT + INDEFINITE

(41) *Elke kieje da 'k$_S$ me   een vrou$_1$ suimewoeën, muike me
      every time that I   with a   woman live.together make we$_{clitic}$
      waaile$_{\{S,1\}}$ rieze.
      we$_{STRONG}$ *argument*
      'Every time I live together with a woman, we quarrel.'

D SLOPPY IDENTITY UNDER ELLIPSIS

(42) Marie paust da ze   zaai   gui winnen, en   Julia oek.
      Marie thinks that she$_{CLITIC}$ *she*$_{STRONG}$ *goes win   and   Julia also*
      = λx [x thinks that she will win] & λy [y thinks that she will win]   [strict]
      ≠ λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win]   [sloppy]

TEST 3 ARGUMENT STATUS

(43) Marie$_i$ paust da [ze   zaai]$_i$ gui winnen.
      Marie thinks that she$_{CLITC}$ *she*$_{STRONG}$ *goes win*
      'Marie thinks that she will win.'

The table in (44) sums up the test results for clitic doubled subject pronouns.

(44)

	clitic doubled subject pronouns	
1	Condition C	inconclusive
2	Bound variable	
a	simple QP	+
b	Split antecedent + QP	-
c	Split antecedent + indefinite	-
d	sloppy identity under ellipsis	-
3	argument	+
	Conclusion	pro-DP

3.2.1.5 ▣ A COORDINATION OF SUBJECT PRONOUNS

As coordinated subjects play an important role in the remainder of this paper, we also want to determine their categorial status. As the examples in (45)-(50) show, they can be unambiguously identified as pro-DPs. They are sensitive to condition C, disallow bound variable readings, and can be used as arguments.

TEST 1   CONDITION C

(45) *Waaile$_i$ pauzen da [gou   en   ik]$_i$ gonj winnen.
     we   *think* *that* *you*$_{STRONG}$ *and* *I*$_{STRONG}$ *go* *win*
     'We think that you and I will win.'

TEST 2   BOUND VARIABLE
A   SIMPLE QP

(46) *Elk koppel$_i$ paust   da   [aai   en   zaai]$_i$ gonj winnen.
     every couple thinks that *he*$_{STRONG}$ *and* *she*$_{STRONG}$ *go*   *win*
     'Every couple thinks that he and she will win.'

B   SPLIT ANTECEDENT + QP

(47) *Elke vrou$_1$ dat n$_S$ zag   zou da [aai   en   zaai]$_{\{S,1\}}$ muten
     every woman who he   saw said that *he*$_{STRONG}$ *and* *she*$_{STRONG}$ *should*
     trouven.
     marry
     'Every woman he saw said that he and she should get married.'

C   SPLIT ANTECEDENT + INDEFINITE

(48) *Elke kieje dat n$_S$ een vrou$_1$ kust, muiken [aai   en   zaai]$_{\{S,1\}}$ rieze.
     every time that he a   woman kisses make *he*$_{STRONG}$ *and* *she*$_{STRONG}$ *argument*
     'Every time he kisses a woman, he and she quarrel.'

D   SLOPPY IDENTITY UNDER ELLIPSIS

(49) Ons muder paust   da   [gou   en   ik] gonj winnen,
     our mother thinks that *you*$_{STRONG}$ *and* *I*$_{STRONG}$ *go*   *win*
     en   aaile muder oek.
     and your mother also
     = λx [x thinks that you & I will win] & λy [y thinks that you & I will win][strict]
     ≠ λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win]   [sloppy]

TEST 3   ARGUMENT STATUS

(50) [Gou   en   ik]   gonj winnen.
     you$_{STRONG}$ *and* *I*$_{STRONG}$ *go*   *win*
     'You and I will win.'

The summary of these results is provided in the table in (51):

(51)

	coordinated subject pronouns	
1	Condition C	+
2	Bound variable	
a	simple QP	-
b	Split antecedent + QP	-
c	Split antecedent + indefinite	-
d	sloppy identity under ellipsis	-
3	argument	+
	Conclusion	pro-DP

3.2.2 ◳ THE CATEGORIAL STATUS OF OBJECT PRONOUNS IN WAMBEEK DUTCH

In the previous subsection we have classified strong, weak and clitic subject pronouns in Wambeek Dutch into pro-DPs and pro-ϕPs. In this section, we focus on object pronouns

3.2.2.1 ◳ OBJECT CLITIC PRONOUNS

Just like subject clitics and weak subject pronouns, object clitics and weak object pronouns are also often homophonous (cf. supra, the table in (14). In order to make sure that we are dealing with object clitics in this section, we use examples in which the object pronoun appears in between the two parts of a clitic doubled subject. As Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2000, 2002ab, 2006ab) have shown, this position is strictly reserved for object clitics.

Surprisingly, the tests based on Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) and Rullmann (2004) lead to the conclusion that object clitics are not pro-ϕPs like their subject counterparts, but rather pro-DPs. In particular, they are sensitive to condition C of the binding theory (cf. (52)), and they cannot be used as bound variables (as is illustrated in (53)-(56)).

TEST 1   CONDITION C

(52) *Jef$_i$ paust   da   ge $\underline{n}_i$ gou   gotj   zien.
     Jef   *thinks*   *that*   *you*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *him*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *you*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *go*   *see*
     'Jef thinks that you will see him (not Jef).'

TEST 2   BOUND VARIABLE

A   SIMPLE QP

(53) *Elke joeng$_i$ paust   da   ge $\underline{n}_i$ gou   gotj   zien.
     every boy   *thinks*   *that*   *you*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *him*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *you*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *go*   *see*
     'Every boy thinks that you will see him.'

B   SPLIT ANTECEDENT + QP

(54) *Elke vrou$_1$ wui da   Jan mee klaptn   paust   da   ge $\underline{ze}_i$
     every woman   *whom that*   *Jan with spoke*   *thinks*   *that*   *you*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *them*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
     gou   gotj   zien.
     you$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *go*   *see*
     'Every woman Jan spoke with thinks that you will see them.'

C   SPLIT ANTECEDENT + INDEFINITE

(55) *Elke kieje da   Jan$_S$ ba   een   vrou$_1$ woentj, paust   n da   ge
     Every time when Jan   with a   woman   lives   thinks   he that   you$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
     ze$_{\{S,1\}}$ gou   gotj   ambeteren.
     them$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *you*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *go*   *bother*
     'Every time Jan lives with a woman, he thinks that you will bother them.'

D   SLOPPY IDENTITY UNDER ELLIPSIS[6]

(56) Jef ze vouder paust   da   ge $\underline{n}$ gou   gezien etj,
     Jef his father   thinks   *that*   *you*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *him*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *you*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *seen*   *have*
     en   Pierre   oek.
     and   Piet   also
     = λx [x's father thinks that you saw Jef] & λy [y thinks that you saw Jef]   [strict]
     ≠ λx [x's father thinks that you saw x] & λy [y thinks that you saw y]   [sloppy]

---

[6] We set up this example in such a way that the antecedent *Jef* is not c-commanding the clitic pronoun, as that would result in a Condition C violation (cf. supra, example (52). The question arises if this example is as felicitous a test for detecting sloppy readings as the one we have been using so far. In the worst case scenario, then, the example in (56) is inconclusive.

TEST 3 ARGUMENT STATUS

(57) Jef paust da ge <u>n</u> gou gotj zien.
      Jef thinks that you$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *him*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *you*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *go see*
      'Jef thinks that you will see him.'

The results for object clitics are summarized in the table below.

(58)

	Object clitics		
1	Condition C	+
2	Bound variable	
a	simple QP	-
b	Split antecedent + QP	-
c	Split antecedent + indefinite	-
d	sloppy identity under ellipsis	-
3	argument	+
	Conclusion	pro-DP

3.2.2.2 ▣ WEAK OBJECT PRONOUNS

Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2000, 2002ab, 2006ab) argue that weak object pronouns can appear in a position following a clitic doubled subject. This position is not available for object clitics. Apart from their difference in syntactic distribution, they also have a different categorial status. As is clear from the lack of a condition C effect in example (59) and the bound variable readings in (60)-(63), weak object pronouns are pro-ϕPs.

TEST 1 CONDITION C

(59) Jef$_i$ paust da ge gou <u>em$_i$</u> gotj zien.
      Jef thinks that you$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *you*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *him*$_{\text{WEAK}}$ *go see*
      'Jef thinks that you will see him.'

TEST 2 BOUND VARIABLE
A SIMPLE QP

(60) Elke joeng$_i$ paust da ge gou <u>em$_i$</u> gotj zien.
      every boy thinks that you$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *you*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *him*$_{\text{WEAK}}$ *go see*
      'Every boy thinks that you will see him.'

B SPLIT ANTECEDENT + QP

(61) Elke vrou$_1$ wui da Jan mee klaptn paust da ge
      every woman whom that Jan with spoke thinks that you$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
      gou <u>ze$_i$</u> gotj zien.
      you$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *them*$_{\text{WEAK}}$ *go see*
      'Every woman Jan spoke with thinks that you will see them.'

C SPLIT ANTECEDENT + INDEFINITE

(62) Elke kieje da Jan$_S$ ba een vrou$_1$ woentj, paust n da ge
      every time when Jan with a woman lives thinks he that you$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
      gou ze$_{\{S,1\}}$ gotj ambeteren.
      you$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *them*$_{\text{WEAK}}$ *go bother*
      'Every time Jan lives with a woman, he thinks that you will bother them.'

d sloppy identity under ellipsis

(63) Marie paust da ge   gou   <u>ze</u>   gezien etj, en Julia oek.
*Marie thinks that you*_{CLITIC} *you*_{STRONG} *her*_{WEAK} *seen   have and Julia also*
= λx [x thinks that you have seen Mary] & λy [y thinks that you have seen Mary]
[strict]
= λx [x thinks that you have seen x] & λy [y thinks that you have seen y]   [sloppy]

TEST 3 ARGUMENT STATUS

(64) Jef paust da ge   gou   <u>em</u>   gotj zien.
*Jef thinks that you*_{CLITIC} *you*_{STRONG} *him*_{WEAK} *go   see*
'Jef thinks that you will see him.'

The results for weak object pronouns are summarized in the table in (65).

(65)

	Weak object pronous	
1	Condition C	-
2	Bound variable	
a	simple QP	+
b	Split antecedent + QP	+
c	Split antecedent + indefinite	+
d	sloppy identity under ellipsis	+
3	argument	+
	Conclusion	pro-φP

3.2.2.3 ▣ STRONG OBJECT PRONOUNS

Finally, we turn our attention to strong object pronouns. Like weak object pronouns, they are pro-φPs. They are not sensitive to condition C, and they can be construed as bound variables in all relevant contexts. The examples below illustrate these properties.

Test 1 Condition C

(66) Marie_i paust da ge   gou   <u>ee_i</u>   gotj zien.
*Marie thinks that you*_{CLITIC} *you*_{STRONG} *her*_{STRONG} *go   see*
'Marie thinks that you will see her.'

TEST 2 BOUND VARIABLE
A SIMPLE QP

(67) Elke vrou_i paust da ge   gou   <u>ee_i</u>   gotj zien.
*every woman thinks that you*_{CLITIC} *you*_{STRONG} *her*_{STRONG} *go   see*
'Every woman thinks that you will see her.'

B SPLIT ANTECEDENT + QP

(68) Elke vrou₁ wui da Jan mee klaptn paust da ge
*every woman whom that Jan with spoke thinks that you*_{CLITIC}
gou   <u>eele_i</u>   gotj zien.
*you*_{STRONG} *them*_{STRONG} *go   see*
'Every woman Jan spoke with thinks that you will see them.'

(69) Elke kieje da   Jan_S ba   een   vrou₁   woentj, paust   n da   ge
*every time when Jan   with a   woman lives   thinks   he that you*_{CLITIC}
gou   <u>eele</u>_{S,1}   gotj   ambeteren.
*you*_{STRONG} *them*_{STRONG} *go   bother*
'Every time Jan lives with a woman, he thinks that you will bother them.'

D SLOPPY IDENTITY UNDER ELLIPSIS

(70) Marie   paust   da   ge   gou   <u>ee</u>   gezien etj, en   Julia oek.
*Marie   thinks   that you*_{CLITIC} *you*_{STRONG} *her*_{STRONG} *seen   have and Julia also*
= λx [x thinks that you have seen her] & λy [y thinks that you have seen her][strict]
= λx [x thinks that you have seen x] & λy [y thinks that you have seen y]   [sloppy]

TEST 3 ARGUMENT STATUS

(71) Marie_i paust   da   ge   gou   <u>ee</u>_i   gotj   zien.
*Marie   thinks   that you*_{CLITIC} *you*_{STRONG} *her*_{STRONG} *go   see*
'Marie thinks that you will see her.'

The results for strong object pronouns are summarized in the table in (72).

(72)

		Strong object pronouns	
1		Condition C	-
2		Bound variable	
	a	simple QP	+
	b	Split antecedent + QP	+
	c	Split antecedent + indefinite	+
	d	sloppy identity under ellipsis	+
3		argument	+
		Conclusion	pro-PhiP

3.3 □ SUMMARY

Following Déchaine & Wiltschko's (2002) classification of pronouns into pro-DPs, pro-φPs and pro-NPs, we have made a detailed inventory the pronominal system of Wambeek Dutch. On the basis of several tests we have reached the conclusion that the pronominal system of this dialect is made up exclusively out of pro-φPs and pro-DPs. A detailed summary of the classification is provided in (73). In the remainder of this paper we provide an analysis of subject clitic doubling in Wambeek Dutch that makes crucial use of the categorial status of these various subject and object pronouns.

(73)

	clitic	φP
	weak	φP
subject	strong	DP
	Clitic Doubled subject	DP
	CoP of pronouns	DP
	clitic	DP
object	weak	φP
	strong	φP

4 ▢ Putting two and two together: the big DP

4.1 ▢ Introduction

In the previous section we have given a detailed classification of the pronominal system of Wambeek Dutch in terms of the three-way split proposed by Dechaîne & Wiltschko (2002). In particular, the data clearly show that while object clitics and strong subject pronouns behave as pro-DPs, weak and clitic subject pronouns have the defining characteristics of pro-ϕPs. In this section we show that this classification not only allows us to make a very specific proposal as to the analysis of clitic doubling in Wambeek Dutch, but that a number of well-known but long ill-understood properties of clitic doubling follow straightforwardly from that account.

4.2 ▢ The basic structure

An analysis of pronominal doubling that has been around for at least ten years, but that is becoming increasingly popular recently, is the so-called big DP-account (cf. Uriagereka 1995, Laenzlinger 1998, Grohmann 2000, Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002a, Belletti 2005, Poletto 2006, Taraldsen 2006; cf. also Kayne 2002). It starts out from the assumption that the doubled and the doubling element are initially merged together in one complex 'big DP', which is then split up – usually by movement – in the later derivation. The main problem with such accounts, though, is that they are either not explicit about the internal structure of the big DP or that they assume an internal structure that seems compatible with only part of the data. In particular, it is well-known that in many Romance languages the morphology of (object) clitic pronouns is identical to that of determiners. Accordingly, several researchers have proposed that clitic doubled objects in Romance start out as a DP the head of which is the clitic pronoun, while the rest of the DP is spelled out as the doubled element (cf. Uriagereka 1995, Laenzlinger 1998, Grohmann 2000). While this looks like a promising tack to take for Romance, however, it breaks down in Germanic, as Germanic determiners are *not* homophonous to clitic pronouns. Consider in this respect the contrast between the French examples in (74) and the Wambeek Dutch ones in (75).

(74)a. Jean voit <u>la</u>   femme.   b. Jean <u>la</u>   voit.
    John sees   the   woman   *John her   sees*
    'John sees the woman.   'John sees her.'   (French)

(75)a. Jef ziet <u>de</u> vrou.   b. Jef ei-<u>se</u>   gezien
    Jef sees   the   woman   *Jef has-her   seen*
   'Jef sees the woman.'   'Jef saw her.'   (Wambeek Dutch)

While in French the form of the object clitics is systematically identical to that of the corresponding determiners, in Wambeek Dutch the two paradigms are substantially different. This does not necessarily rule out the clitics-as-D°-analysis for Germanic (cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002a), but it does take away the key piece of evidence supporting such an account for Romance. As a result, we want to take a different approach in this paper, one which is based on the classification argued for in the previous section. Recall that in Wambeek Dutch – as in all varieties of Dutch – it is only strong subject pronouns that can be doubled by a clitic. In section 3.2.1.3 we have argued that strong subject pronouns should be analysed as pro-DPs. This implies that they have the abstract structure outlined in (76) (cf. D&W 2002:410).

(76)   SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE OF STRONG SUBJECT PRONOUNS

```
        DP
       /  \
          D'
         /  \
        D    φP
            /  \
               φ'
              /  \
             φ    NP
```
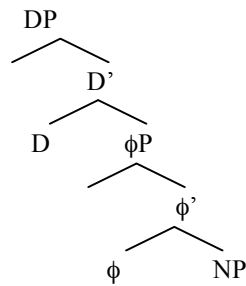
Recall that according to D&W, a pro-DP contains a pro-φP and a pro-NP as its subparts. This, we want to argue, provides the key to understanding the mechanism behind clitic doubling in Wambeek Dutch. In particular, in section 3.2.1.1 we have shown that subject clitics are themselves pro-φPs. Given that the structure of strong subject pronouns contains such a φP, it seems tempting to try and relate the presence of the clitic in a doubling configuration to this particular subpart of the internal structure of strong subject pronouns. The problem that arises with this line of reasoning, though, is that the φP in the structure in (76) is also needed in the spell-out procedure of the strong subject pronoun. In other words, we would like this φP to spell out twice: once as a clitic and once as part of a bigger structure (a pro-DP) that surfaces as a strong subject pronoun. We claim that this doubling effect is the result of DP-internal movement of the φP to specDP. This is schematically represented in (77).

(77)   SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE OF A CLITIC DOUBLED STRONG SUBJECT PRONOUN

```
        DP
       /  \
          D'
         /  \
        D    φP
            /  \
               φ'
              /  \
             φ    NP
```
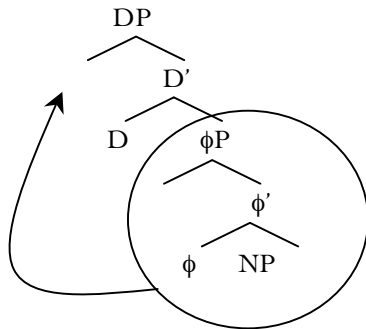
In this structure the φP-part of the pro-DP has moved into the specifier of DP.[7] Under the copy theory of movement, this means that there are now two copies of φP present in the structure. In other words, the configuration we have arrived at offers the ideal starting ground for a clitic doubled strong subject pronoun. The higher copy spells out as the doubling clitic, while the lower copy is spelled out – together with the rest of the pro-DP – as a strong pronoun.[8] This is schematically represented in (78).

_____

[7] As it stands, this looks like a violation of the ban on moving the complement of a head to its specifier (cf. Abels 2003, Abels & Neeleman 2006). If this indeed turns out to be a restriction on possible movement operations, then this would force us to assume that there is an additional layer of functional material in between D and φ (cf. in this respect Taraldsen 2006). As nothing much hinges on this, we abstract away from it in the rest of the paper.
[8] Note that this type of multiple spell-out would be allowed under Nunes' (2004) theory of spell-out, as the non-identity of the two copies would not cause a PF-crash.

(78)

DP
clitic ← φP   D'
              D   φP
                  φ'
              φ   NP
strong
pronoun
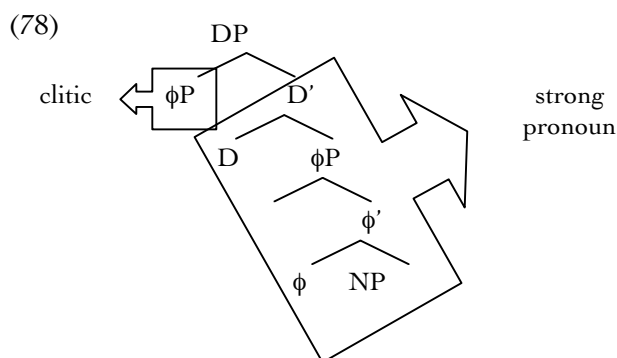
This is the analysis we will put forward in the rest of the paper. A clitic doubled DP starts out as one constituent, in which the pro-φP has undergone movement to specDP, thus creating the doubling configuration. Note that this is not only a very explicit proposal about the internal structure of big DPs, it also accords very well with our findings from the previous section, i.e. strong subject pronouns are pro-DPs but subject clitics are pro-φPs. Moreover, it also allows for a very straightforward distinction between doubled and non-doubled strong pronouns. In the latter the movement operation illustrated in (77) has not taken place (e.g. because there was no edge feature on D°) and as a result the double spell-out configuration in (78) does not arise.

4.3 ▣ PREDICTIONS MADE BY THE PROPOSAL

Before examining the clausal syntax of clitic doubled DPs – i.e. what happens to the structure in (78) when it is merged into the subject position of a clause? – we first want to discuss a number of predictions that follow immediately from what we have said so far. In particular, it will turn out that a number of long-standing problems in the domain of pronominal doubling in Dutch (cf. also supra, section 2) disappear under the present approach.

A first problem concerns the question of why weak subject pronouns cannot be clitic-doubled (cf. in particular Haegeman 2005, Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2006a for discussion). An example is given in (79).

(79) … da-se-t   { zaai /   *ze}   gezien eit.
     that-se$_{CLITIC}$-*it*$_{CLITIC}$ *she*$_{STRONG}$ *she*$_{WEAK}$ *seen*   *has*
     '… that she has seen it.'

This now follows straightforwardly if we combine the analysis sketched above with the classification we arrived at in the previous section. We have argued that clitic doubling is the result of φP-to-specDP-movement. In section 3.2.1.2, however, we have shown that weak subject pronouns in the dialect of Wambeek display the defining characteristics of φPs, not of DPs. This means that the relevant movement operation cannot take place (we cannot have φP-to-specφP-movement), that the resulting double spell-out configuration does not arise, and hence, that doubling of weak subject pronouns is not an option. Note that we have arrived at this result without any auxiliary assumptions.

A second peculiarity of pronominal doubling in Dutch dialects concerns the lack of clitic doubling with fully lexical DPs. This is illustrated in (80).

(80)* … da-se-t   dei   doktores   gezien eit.
     that-se$_{CLITIC}$-*it*$_{CLITIC}$ *that*   *female.doctor*   *seen*   *has*
     INTENDED: '… that that female doctor has seen it.'

The constituent *dei doktores* 'that female doctor' is a DP. This means that the line of reasoning outlined above for weak pronouns cannot be appealed to here. In particular, there is a DP-

layer, so φP-to-specDP-movement should be an option. The problem, however, lies in the double spell-out mechanism. While in the structure in (78) the higher copy of φP contains only functional material (say, φ-features), in a DP such as *dei doktores* the NP-part contains lexical material (the noun *doktores*). Given that NP is dominated by φP, this material is also present in the copy of φP that occupies specDP. It is clear that such a constituent cannot be spelled out as a clitic – one could even wonder if it can be spelled out at all. In other words, the lack of clitic doubling with lexical DPs also follows straightforwardly from the present account.

The third and possibly most puzzling problem regarding pronominal doubling in Dutch concerns the absence of object clitic doubling. Consider a relevant example in (81).

(81)* ... da-ge-ze   ee gezien etj.
   that-you$_{\text{CLITIC}}$*-her*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *her*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *seen* *have*
  '... that you have seen her.'

The sentence in (81) is grammatical with either the object clitic on its own or the strong object pronoun on its own, but not when the two are combined. This fact is particularly mysterious from the point of view of big DP analyses. Given that there is no intrinsic difference between object and subject DPs, a mechanism that is available to one should be available to the other as well. In the present proposal, however, the absence of object clitic doubling follows once again from the two basic ingredients: on the one hand the idea that clitic doubling is the result of φP-to-specDP-movement and on the other the classification of the pronominal system in terms of the distinction between DPs, φPs and NPs. Recall that we have shown in the previous section that object clitics, unlike their subject counterparts, are DPs rather than φPs. This means that φP-to-specDP-movement can never yield an object clitic and as a result, that object clitic doubling is not an option in the dialects under consideration here.[9]

Summing up, the theory we have outlined so far not only makes very specific (and hence falsifiable) claims about the internal structure of big DPs in Wambeek Dutch, it also offers a straightforward account for a number of long-standing problems regarding pronominal doubling in non-standard Dutch. In the next section we examine the clausal syntax of these big DPs.

5 ▣ THE SYNTAX OF CLITIC DOUBLING

Determining the internal structure of a clitic-doubled DP is only the first half of the analysis. We also have to examine the external syntax of this DP, i.e. we have to determine which syntactic processes act upon it in the course of the derivation. That this is a non-trivial matter is suggested by examples such as the one in (82).

(82) ... da-ge-ze   gou ziet.
   that-you$_{\text{CLITIC}}$*-her*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *you*$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *see*
  '... that you are seeing her.'

In this example the two parts of the big DP, i.e. the clitic *ge* and the strong pronoun *gou*, are separated from one another by the object clitic *ze* 'her'. Given that we do not assume object clitics to be base-generated inside the big subject DP, this implies that this big DP has to be

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[9] Given that weak and strong object pronouns are φPs, there is one object doubling configuration that remains theoretically possible. Specifically, in an object clitic (which is a DP) φP-to-specDP-movement could take place, with the higher copy of φP spelled out as a weak or a strong object pronoun. We return to this option in the next section, where we show that it too is disallowed by our account.

split up at some point in the derivation.[10] Exactly how this takes place will be the subject of the present section.

We will argue that the big DP is subject to two separate Probe/Goal-relations with concomitant Internal Merge operations. The first one is the well-known mechanism responsible for subject agreement on the verb. Specifically, T° probes (after having inherited its unvalued φ-features from C°, cf. infra) the subject in spec*v*P, after which the subject is internally merged in specTP. The second, higher Probe specifically targets the clitic. It carries a combination of unvalued φ-features and what we will call unvalued clitic features. These latter target whatever property it is that distinguishes clitics from non-clitics (cf. in this respect Uriagereka's F°-head, or Poletto's 2000 clitic projections). As a result of this second Probe/Goal-relation the clitic internally merges in the specifier of this higher head, which is how it comes to precede object clitics. Furthermore, we assume following Chomsky (2005, 2006) that the unvalued features probing the subject and the clitic are inherited by the relevant heads from C°. This implies that all these Probe/Goal-relations take place simultaneously at the phase level, and that the subject clitic is extracted out of the lower copy of the big DP (i.e. the copy in spec*v*P). With all of this in mind, the analysis of the example in (82) can be represented as in (83)

(83)
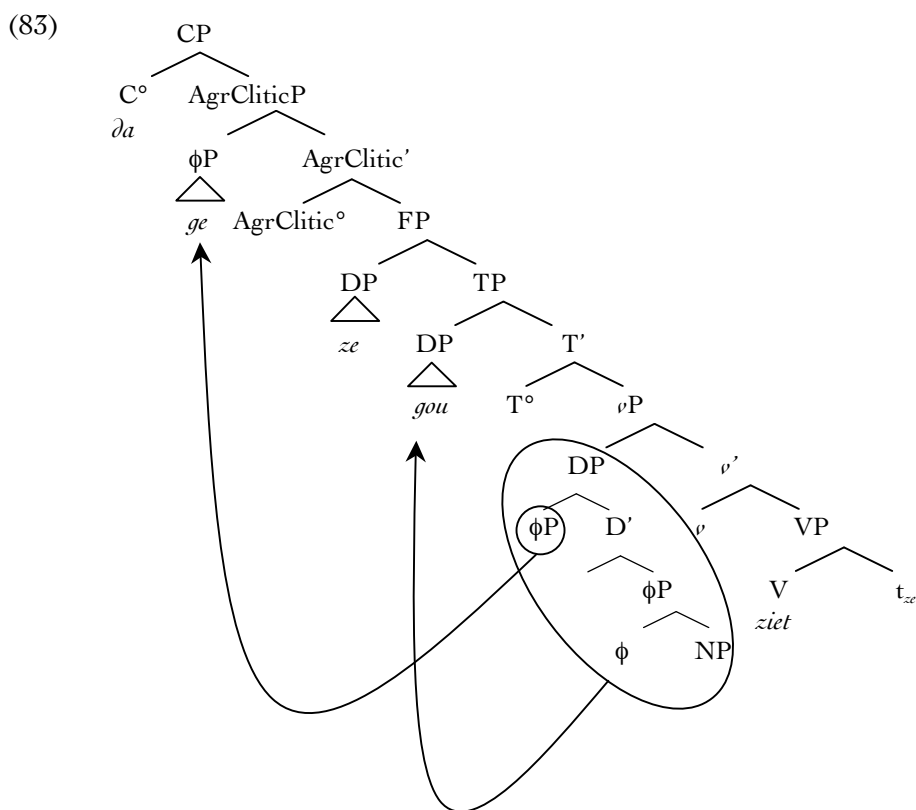
In this structure, the strong subject pronoun is merged as a DP in spec*v*P. Inside this DP the φP-part has undergone movement to specDP, thus creating the starting configuration for clitic doubling. When C° is merged, the heads in the IP-domain inherit their unvalued features from the phase head and simultaneously act as probes. T° has its φ-features valued by the entire big DP and raises the subject to its specifier. The higher head, indicated as

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AgrClitic° in the structure in (83), probes specifically for the clitic and attracts it to specAgrCliticP. Under the assumption that the landing site of object clitic movement is situated in between AgrClitic° and T° (cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002b for discussion), the order complementizer < subject clitic < object clitic < strong subject pronoun is derived, as required.[11]

An obvious question raised by the present account concerns the subextraction of the subject clitic out of the big DP. In particular, this looks suspiciously like a violation of the Subject Condition, thus leading to the (false) conclusion that this sentence should be ungrammatical. We will argue, however, that this violation is only apparent, and that the movement of the clitic is licit.

There are two ways of approaching this issue. The first is to capitalize on the fact that the clitic is extracted from the subject while the latter is still in its base position. Under the assumption that the Subject Condition can be reduced to the ban on extraction from derived positions (cf. Müller 1998, Stepanov 2001, Van Craenenbroeck & Den Dikken 2006), this would imply that the big DP is not an island when the clitic is extracted. As pointed out by Chomsky (2005), though, matters are more complicated than this. In particular, Chomsky points out that there is a difference in island behavior between derived (passive and unaccusative) and surface (transitive and unergative) subjects. Given that such a distinction is absent in the data we are discussing here (clitic doubling is allowed with both types of subject), this does not seem to be the right tack to take.[12]

A second, more promising route to take, is to focus on the fact that the operation extracting the clitic from the big DP is an instance of A-movement.[13] Given that Ross' (1967) island conditions were originally devised to restrict A'-movement (a point he made explicit when discussing the Coordinate Structure Constraint, cf. infra), it is not *a priori* clear whether A-extraction out of a subject should be ruled out. As we have not been able to find additional examples that unambiguously display A-extraction out of subjects – there is always at least one other principle that is violated – we are forced to approach the question of the legitimacy of this movement operation from a purely theoretical point of view. The approach we want to adopt is the one outlined in Starke (2001). In an attempt to reduce all locality conditions on movement to a version of Relativized Minimality, he discusses configurations of the following form:

(84)a. $\alpha\beta \ldots \alpha \ldots \alpha\beta$
    b. * $\alpha \ldots \alpha\beta \ldots \alpha$

In these configurations, the first and the third element are in a dependency relation (e.g. the third element is a copy left behind by movement to the first position), while the middle element is a potential intervener. The difference between α and $\alpha\beta$ is that while both are a member of some class C of syntactically relevant features (e.g. ϕ-features, Q-features, case, etc.), only $\alpha\beta$ is also a member of a specific subset SC of C. What Starke shows is that a syntactic dependency of type x across an intervener of type y is licit when y belongs to a

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[11] Note that this analyses also rules out the alternative object doubling scenario sketched in fn9. In particular, given that in that scenario the doubling weak or strong object pronoun is embedded in the object clitic, they are necessarily pied-piped to specAgrClitic°. We assume that their non-clitic status makes them unsuitable to land in this position, and hence causes the derivation to crash.

[12] Broekhuis 2006 takes issue with Chomsky's conclusions and continues to argue that the Subject Condition can be reduced to the ban on extraction from derived positions. However, as he also gives up Chomsky's idea that all movement happens simultaneously at the phase level and hence proceeds from the base position of the subject, his alternative is not an option for us here.

[13] With the advent of the Minimalist Program, the distinction between A- and A'-movement has ceased to be a primitive of the theory. As far as we can see, however, the movement of the subject clitic would be characterized (descriptively) as an instance of A-movement under any of the later incarnations/derivations of the A/A'-distinction.

superset of the set x belongs to (cf. (84)a), but not when y belongs to a subset of the set x belongs to (cf. (84)b). Transferred to the case at hand, this principle makes exactly the right predictions for clitic doubling in non-standard Dutch. Recall that while the movement of the big DP was driven by unvalued φ-features, the movement of the clitic is driven by a combination of φ-features and clitic features. This means that the latter dependency belongs to a feature subset of the former. That explains why the clitic can cross the intervening big DP: this is simply a case of a more specific type of dependency crossing a less specific one, cf. (84)a. What is more, this line of reasoning also allows for a straightforward account of another as yet ill-understood property of pronominal doubling in dialects of Dutch. It is illustrated in (85).

(85) Zaai   pauz-ek da   (*se) da   guit duun.
     she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ *think-I that she*$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ *that goes do*
     'She I think will do that.'

This example shows that a clitic in a clitic doubling configuration blocks further movement of the strong subject pronoun. At first sight, the nature of this restriction is mysterious. In particular, there is nothing in the structure in (83) that seems to prohibit the subject from moving further. In light of the above discussion, however, these facts follow naturally. Moving the strong subject pronoun across the clitic would be an instance of (84)b: a less specific dependency cannot cross a more specific intervener. As such, these data provide further support for the claim that extracting the clitic pronoun from the big DP does not violate any known restriction on movement.

Summing up, in this section we have outlined our analysis of clitic doubling in Wambeek Dutch (and in non-standard Dutch more generally). The clitic and the strong pronoun start out as a big DP (cf. supra, section 4.2), but in the course of the derivation they undergo different movement operations. The big DP moves to specTP after having valued the φ-features on T°, while the clitic moves to the specifier of some higher functional head, which we have labelled AgrClitic° here. This latter movement at first sight appears to violate the Subject Condition, but closer inspection revealed that no syntactic principle is violated by this movement operation. Moreover, the account we provided to show that the movements involved are legitimate correctly predicted that moving the strong subject pronoun across the clitic is illicit.

6 ▣ THE SYNTAX OF FIRST CONJUNCT CLITIC DOUBLING

Recall that at the outset of this paper, we presented two new sets of data to show that none of the traditional accounts of clitic doubling in non-standard Dutch is able to handle all the relevant facts. In particular, the fact that clitics can be used to double either the first conjunct of a coordinated subject or the coordination as a whole seems incompatible both with accounts that assume the clitic is the spell-out of an agreement head (Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002b) and with analyses that assume the doubled element is a mere spell-out of φ-features (cf. Haegeman 2005). In this and the next section we show that these facts can be straightforwardly handled in the proposal put forward in this paper. In the present section we focus on first conjunct clitic doubling or FCCD. We will argue that the analysis of this phenomenon is virtually identical to the account presented above for 'regular' clitic doubling. The only complication will be the fact that the doubled element is part of a coordination. This will lead to a brief discussion of the Coordinate Structure Constraint and the possible effects this constraint has on A-movement.
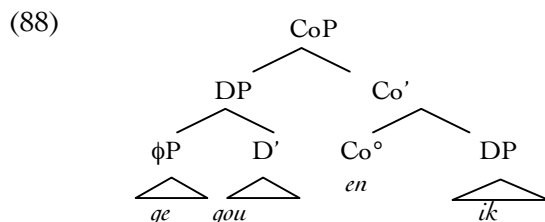
In a FCCD-sentence, the clitic that is attached to the complementizer (or the fronted verb) agrees with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject. An example is given in (86).

(86) … omda-ge   gou   en   ik makannern   gezien   emmen.
      *because-you*_{CLITIC} *you*_{STRONG} *and* *I* *each.other* *seen* *have*
      '…because you and I saw each other.'

In this example the subject clitic *ge* 'you' agrees only with the first conjunct *gou* 'you' of the coordinated subject *gou en ik* 'you and I'.[14] Given that the finite verb is plural and given that the sentence contains a reciprocal (i.e. *makannern* 'each other'), it is clear that this is not a case of IP-coordination, but that it is only the subject that is coordinated. In other words, what we have here is a case of pronominal subject doubling whereby the doubling element doubles only part of the subject. In order to be able to analyze these data, we first have to make explicit what our analysis of coordinated structures is. We follow Munn (1993), Kayne (1994), Johannessen (1998), Progovac (1998) and Van Koppen (2005) in assuming that coordinations have the schematic structure in (87), whereby the coordinator is the head of the entire coordination, the first conjunct sits in its specifier, and the second conjunct is the complement of the coordinator.

(87)

```
            CoP
           /   \
   Conjunct₁    Co'
               /   \
             Co°    Conjunct₂
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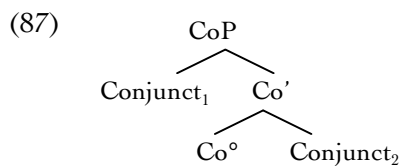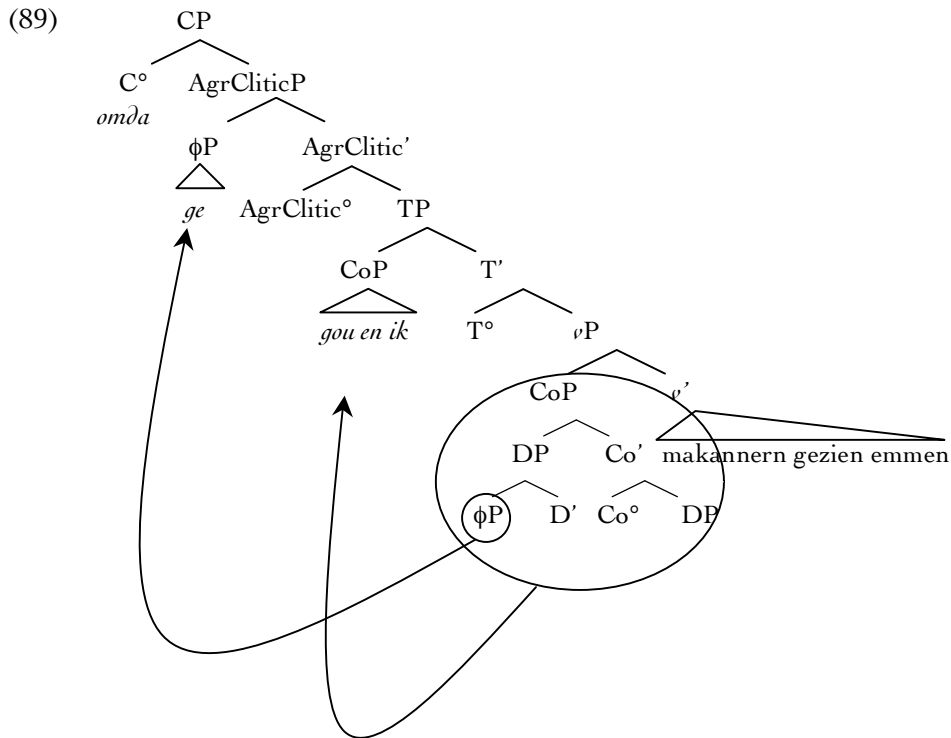
With this much as background, we can proceed to our analysis of FCCD. The starting point will be that we try to adhere as closely as possible to the analysis of 'regular' clitic doubling outlined in the previous section. This means that doubling and doubled element should start out as one big DP. Given that it is only the first conjunct this is doubled in FCCD, that is where the clitic should originate as well. This means that the subject of the example in (86) starts out as in (88).

(88)

```
              CoP
            /      \
         DP          Co'
        /  \        /   \
      φP    D'    Co°     DP
     /\    /\     en     /\
    ge    gou            ik
```

In the first conjunct of this coordination the φP has undergone movement to specDP. As before, the higher copy is spelled out as a clitic, while the lower one is spelled out together with the rest of the DP as a strong pronoun. When this complex structure is merged in spec*v*P (to derive the example in (86)), the derivation proceeds as in (88).

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[14] Note that the entire coordination is first person plural, and hence incompatible with the second person singular clitic.

(89)

```
                    CP
                 /      \
               C°      AgrCliticP
              omɑa     /        \
                     φP        AgrClitic'
                     /\        /       \
                    ge   AgrClitic°     TP
                              /      \
                            CoP       T'
                           /  \      /   \
                     gou en ik  T°    vP
                                     /    \
                                   CoP     v'
                                  /   \    /  \
                                DP   Co'  makannern gezien emmen
                               /  \  /  \
                             φP  D' Co°  DP
```

In this structure both T° and AgrClitic° inherit φ-features – and in the case of AgrClitic° also clitic features – from C°. As a result of the two Probe/Goal-relations that ensue, the CoP is remerged in specTP, while the φP containing the clitic moves to specAgrCliticP. Note that this derivation is in all relevant respects identical to the one we have outlined in the previous section to deal with 'regular' clitic doubling. As we have pointed out before, this state of affairs is in stark contrast to previous accounts of clitic doubling in Dutch dialects, which are unable to handle these data without auxiliary assumptions.

That being so, however, the derivation sketched in (89) raises two important questions. The first concerns the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC). As is well-known extraction out of only conjunct of a coordinated structure is generally illicit. Given that this is precisely the type of movement the clitic undergoes in (89), we again seem to (falsely) predict that this sentence should be ill-formed.[15] As in the case of the Subject Condition discussed above, though, we once again want to capitalize on the fact that the operation removing the clitic from the CoP is an instance of A- rather than A'-movement. This implies that it is not immediately obvious whether or not the CSC is applicable here. In fact, it was Ross himself who claimed that A-movement is *not* sensitive to the CSC and can apply in a non-ATB-fashion in coordinate structures. The type of examples Ross had in mind in support of this claim is illustrated in (90) (Lin 2001:11).

(90)a.   Mattie will chase the puck and be hit from behind.
   b.   [TP Mattie will [[VP chase the puck] and [VP be hit t from behind]]].

In this example, an active VP is conjoined with a passive one. Given that the subject only raises out of the passive VP, this configuration represents a case of non-ATB A-movement. As was pointed out by Burton & Grimshaw (1992) and McNally (1992), however, this argument can also be turned around, and be used in support of the VP-internal subject hypothesis (Koopman & Sportiche 1991). In particular, under the assumption that A-

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[15] Note that the Subject Condition appears to be violated in this structure as well. Given that the line of reasoning we have developed above with respect to this constraint holds here as well, we abstract away from the Subject Condition in the present section.

movement *is* sensitive to the CSC, the example in (90) can be used as an argument in favor of the presence of a VP-internal subject trace in the first conjunct: the subject *Mattie* has a base position not only inside the passive VP *be hit from behind*, but also in the active *chase the puck*, thus accounting for the well-formedness of this sentence. Does this mean we are back to square one, with the movement of the clitic in (89) representing a CSC-violation that is fatal to our story? We believe not. In particular, Fox (2000) has argued that the CSC is not a constraint on movement in its own right, but that its effects can be reduced to other, well-known syntactic principles active in one or more conjuncts (cf. also Lin 2001). The intuitive idea is that whenever the CSC is violated, some other principle is violated in one or more of the conjuncts as well. Turned around, this means that 'CSC-violations' (i.e. non-ATB extractions out of a coordinate structure) are licit as long as no grammatical principle is violated in any of the conjuncts. Fox himself phrases it as follows (Fox 2000:50):

(91) a.   Extraction out of a coordinate structure is possible only when the structure consists of two [or more] independent substructures, each composed of one of the coordinates together with material above it up to the landing site (henceforth, *component structures*).

b.   Grammatical constraints are checked independently in each of the component structures.

It is clear that under this approach to the CSC, there is no problem for the structure in (89). In particular, the movement extracting the clitic from the first conjunct is one that is perfectly legitimate in simple sentences with non-coordinated subjects. Put differently, if we were to split up the example in (86) into two 'component structures', the movement of the clitic would not violate any grammatical principle. This is illustrated in (92).

(92) a.   … omda-ge   gou   en   ik makannern   gezien   emmen.
            because-you$_{CLITIC}$ *you*$_{STRONG}$ *and I each.other   seen   have*
            '…because you and I saw each other.'

b. COMPONENT STRUCTURE #1
            … omda-ge   gou   mou gezien   etj.
            because-you$_{CLITIC}$ *you*$_{STRONG}$ *me   seen   have*
            '…because you saw me.'

c. COMPONENT STRUCTURE #2
            … omda   ik ou   gezien   em.[16]
            because I you   seen   have
            '…because I saw you.'

In (92)b-c we have split up the FCCD-example in (92)a into two component structures. Given that in neither of these two structures a syntactic principle is violated,[17] we can safely conclude that the movement of the subject clitic out of the CoP does not violate the CSC.

The second question that arises as a result of the derivation in (89) concerns the absence of second conjunct clitic doubling. In particular, nothing in our story so far seems to rule out the possibility that it is the second conjunct in which φP-to-specDP-movement takes place, with clitic doubling as its result. If the derivation were then to proceed as in (89) we would derive examples such as the one in (93), which – given the grammatical status of such examples – is clearly an unwanted result.

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[16] This sentence sounds a bit marked, as it is strongly preferred to use the clitic-doubled form *k-ik* 'I$_{clitic}$-I$_{strong}$' here. As this is orthogonal to the point made in the main text, however, we abstract away from it here.
[17] We abstract away from the reciprocal and the plural agreement on the verb, as this is independent of the issue discussed here. In particular that issue also arises for 'regular' coordinated subjects such as *Bill and John*, where no movement has taken place out of the CoP.

(93)* … omda-k   gou   en   ik makannern gezien emmen.
          *because-I*_{CLITIC} *you*_{STRONG} *and* *I* *each.other*   *seen*   *have*
          INTENDED: '…because you and I saw each other.'

As far as we can see, there are two ways of ruling out such examples. Both are entirely consistent with our theory and require assumptions that are well-known from the rest of the literature. The first and most obvious route to take would be to ascribe the unwellformedness of examples such as the one in (93) to a locality violation (cf. Van Koppen 2005). In particular, the first conjunct is a more local Goal for the AgrClitic-Probe than the second conjunct, and as a result, it blocks clitic movement from that second conjunct. Clearly, the details of such an account would have to be worked out further, but it seems to us to be an account that is entirely consistent with much current theorizing on the locality of (φ-)Agree-relations.

A second account would be to blame the ungrammaticality of (93) on the intervening coordinator *en* 'and'. Recall that the Probe/Goal-relation linking the AgrClitic°-head to the clitic is not just based on φ-features, but also on what we have neutrally labelled 'clitic features'. It is well-known that clitics in Dutch have to attach to the complementizer head, and as a result are sensitive to intervening, complementizer-like heads. Given that Co° qualifies as just such a head, it would block the movement of the clitic from the second, but not from the first conjunct. A piece of data suggesting that this line of reasoning is possibly on the right track is given in (94).

(94) … omda(*-ge)   en   gou   en   ik naig werken.
          *because-you*_{CLITIC} *and* *you*_{STRONG} *and* *I* *hard* *work*
          '…because and you and I work hard.'

This example shows that when the double *and…and…*-coordination is used, FCCD is no longer an option.[18] Clearly, this fits in nicely with the reasoning developed above: in this example there is a Co°-head in front of each conjunct, thus blocking any type of clitic movement.[19]

Summing up, even though we have not worked out either option in any detail, it is clear that the absence of second conjunct clitic doubling poses no threat for our analysis of FCCD. That means that we have now successfully incorporated this new piece of doubling data into our more general theory of clitic doubling in non-standard Dutch. Given that none of the preceding theories was able to accomplish this, this is a clear step forward. In the next section we turn our attention to full coordination clitic doubling.

7 ▣ The syntax of Full Coordination Clitic Doubling

Recall that in full coordination clitic doubling (or FuCCD) the clitic agrees with the entire coordination. A representative example is given in (95).

(95) … omda-me   gou   en   ik makannern gezien emmen.
          *because-we*_{CLITIC}   *you*_{STRONG} *and* *I* *each.other*   *seen*   *have*
   '…because you and I saw each other.'

In this sentence the clitic *me* 'we' has the same φ-features as the entire coordination *gou en ik* 'you and I'. As such it can be said to double it, in spite of the fact that there is no matching strong first person plural pronoun *waailn* 'we' present in this example. In this section we will

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[18] Note that it is not the case that nothing can intervene between an FCCD-clitic and a coordinated subject. In particular, just as was the case with simple clitic doubling, object clitics can freely intervene between the two.
[19] The facts are slightly more complicated. In particular, when *and…and…*-coordination is used, reciprocals are no longer allowed, even though the verb still agrees with the entire coordination. We leave a full exploration of these data as a topic for further research.

pursue the same goal as in the previous one, i.e. to provide an analysis for these new data that adheres as closely as possible to our general account of clitic doubling in non-standard Dutch. As far as the clausal syntax of FuCCD is concerned we will encounter no obstacles in achieving that goal. In particular, we will show below that the derivation of the example in (95) runs completely parallel to the ones we have discussed in previous sections. With respect to the structure of the big DP, however, an important new question arises. Specifically, it is not clear how the clitic is attached to or arises from the CoP containing the coordinated subject. In previous sections the clitic was the result of ϕP-to-specDP-movement with concomitant different spell-out of the two copies, but as the schema in (96) tries to make clear, in the case of a CoP, it is not clear where the clitic-ϕP originates.

(96)
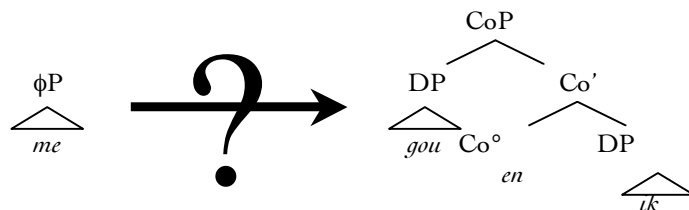
Given the complex and partially independent nature of this problem,[20] however, we are forced to leave it as a topic for further research, and to adopt a quick-and-dirty solution here that does the work without digging deeply into the problem. In particular, we assume that the clitic is adjoined to the CoP, and that this is the big DP that is merged in specvP.[21] From there on, the derivation proceeds exactly as before. It is represented in (97) for the FuCCD-example in (95).

(97)

<hr/>
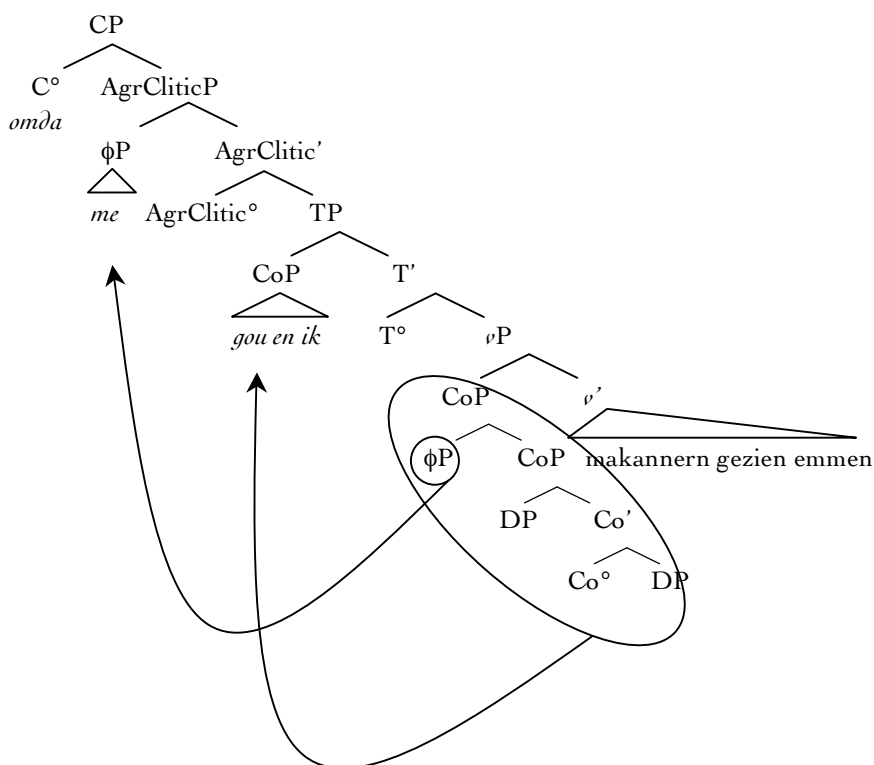
[20] For example, the question raised here leads one to consider the categorical status of CoPs, a non-trivial matter the scope of which clearly extends beyond this paper.

[21] As just one indication that this approach oversimplifies the complex nature of the problem, consider the fact that FuCCD is possible only when at least one of the conjuncts is pronominal. This indicates that there is a link between the internal structure of the CoP and the presence of the doubling clitic. This is one of the (many) issues we will come back to in future research on this topic.

Once again, both T° and AgrClitic° probe and attract the entire subject and the clitic to their respective specifiers, thus deriving the correct word order.

Summing up, in this section we have shown that although the domain of FuCCD still contains a lot of unanswered research questions, it can be straightforwardly incorporated into the account of pronominal doubling that we have put forward in this paper. This means that also the second set of data that proved problematic for traditional accounts of clitic doubling becomes unproblematic from the present perspective.

8 ▣ Conclusion

In this paper we have focused on one type of pronominal subject doubling in Dutch dialects, namely the type whereby a clitic acts as the doubling element. First of all, we have shown that the traditional accounts of this phenomenon all run into problems when clitic doubling with coordinated subjects is considered. In such a case, the clitic can agree either with the first conjunct or with the coordination as a whole. Given that these facts are incompatible with a number of assumptions made by previous accounts of clitic doubling, they present a serious challenge for the theory.

We have then proceeded to put forward a unified theory of clitic doubling. Central to that account was the so-called 'big DP', a complex structure in which the doubling and the doubled element are merged together. Moreover, based on a classification of the Wambeek Dutch pronominal system into DP/φP/NP (cf. Déchaîne & Wiltschko 2002), we were able to make the internal structure of these big DPs very precise. The clausal syntax of clitic doubling involved two probing heads, each attracting a different part of the big DP.

In the final two sections we have shown that this new accounts straightforwardly extends to first conjunct and full coordination clitic doubling. As such, these data ceased to be problematic. Moreover, we have also examined possible objections against our proposal based on the claim that the movement of the clitic violates certain restrictions on movement such as the Subject Condition or the CSC. On closer inspection, this claim turned out to be unfounded, and the movement operations proved licit.

At the same time, however, the present paper has uncovered a host of new research questions. The most noticeable one is presumably the structure of the big DP in full coordination clitic doubling. Even though there is no clear structural position inside the CoP for the clitic to originate in, there must be some relation between them. This is one of the many issues we hope to take up in future research.

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