# Pronominal doubling in Dutch dialects

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**OVERVIEW**

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**1.   Data patterns**

**1.1   Subject initial main clauses**

**pattern$_{1a}$:   topic doubling**

(1)   **subject$_1$**              **finite verb**        **subject$_2$**           **…**

{ *clitic pronoun / weak pronoun / strong pronoun / full DP / proper name / coordination }                                         strong agreeing pronoun

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

(3)   We        gojn     ze      waaile    nuir    ojsh    bringen.   (Wambeek)
      we$_{WEAK}$ go      them   we$_{STRONG}$  to      home    bring
      'We're going to take them home.'

(4)   Waaile    gojn     ze      waaile    nuir    ojsh    bringen.   (Wambeek)
      we$_{STRONG}$ go      them   we$_{STRONG}$  to      home    bring
      'We're going to take them home.'

(5)   Die       vrouw    komt    zaa       morgen.                   (Gent)
      that      woman    comes   she$_{STRONG}$ tomorrow
      'That woman is coming tomorrow.'

(6)   Marie     muu      zaai    ie      nie kommen.               (Wambeek)
      Mary      must     she$_{STRONG}$ here    not come
      'Mary shouldn't come here.'

(7)   Jan       en Pierre muute   zaailn    dui     oek     zen.    (Wambeek)
      John      and Pierre must    they$_{STRONG}$ there   also    be
      'John and Pierre also have to be there.'

**pattern$_{1b}$:   topic doubling**

(8)   **subject$_1$**              **finite verb**        **subject$_2$**           **…**
                                                          clitic pronoun

{ *clitic pronoun / weak pronoun / strong pronoun / full DP / proper name / coordination }

(9)   Ze        hebben   ze      daar    niets    mee    te maken.
      they$_{WEAK}$ have    they$_{WEAK}$ there   nothing  with   to make
      'They have nothing to do with that.'   (Zuiddorpe)

(10)  Zij          hebben    ze          daar    niets      mee     te  maken.
      they_STRONG  have      they_WEAK   there   nothing    with    to  make
      'They have nothing to do with that.'     (Zuiddorpe)

(11) ?? Marie  heeft   ze          daar    niets      mee    te  maken.
      Mary    have    she_WEAK    there   nothing    with   to  make
      'They have nothing to do with that.'     (Koewacht)

**pattern_2a: tripling**

(12)  **subject₁**            **finite verb**     **subject₂**   **subject₃**              **…**
      ⎧ *clitic pronoun ⎫                          clitic         strong agreeing pronoun
      ⎪ weak pronoun     ⎪
      ⎨ strong pronoun    ⎬
      ⎪ full DP           ⎪
      ⎪ proper name       ⎪
      ⎩ coordination      ⎭

(13)  We        hebben   me        weir       daar    niks       mee    te  maken.
      we_WEAK   have     we_CLITIC we_STRONG  there   nothing    with   to  make
      'We have nothing to do with that.'                    (Affligem)

**pattern_2b: tripling**

(14)  **subject₁**            **finite verb**     **subject₂**        **subject₃**
      ⎧ *clitic pronoun ⎫                          clitic pronoun      strong non-
      ⎪ weak pronoun     ⎪                                             agreeing pronoun
      ⎪ strong pronoun    ⎪
      ⎨ full DP           ⎬
      ⎪ proper name       ⎪
      ⎪ coordination      ⎪
      ⎪ *sentence         ⎪
      ⎩ *expletive        ⎭

(15)  Z'       ei    se         'd   ij        oek    nie gemakkelijk.
      she_WEAK has   she_CLITIC it   he_STRONG also   not easy
      'She's not having an easy time either.'     (Wambeek)

**pattern_2c: tripling**

(16)  **subject₁**            **finite verb**     **subject₂**   **subject₃**
      ⎧ *clitic pronoun ⎫                          *tet*          strong pronoun
      ⎩ weak pronoun    ⎭

(17)  Ze        kent    tet   zij        dat.
      she_WEAK  knows   TET   she_STRONG that
      'She knows that.'   (Lapscheure)

**pattern_3: topic marking**

(18)  **subject₁**            **finite verb**     **subject₂**              **…**
      ⎧ *clitic pronoun ⎫                          strong non-agreeing pronoun
      ⎪ weak pronoun     ⎪                          *tet*
      ⎪ strong pronoun    ⎪
      ⎪ full DP           ⎪
      ⎨ proper name       ⎬
      ⎪ coordination      ⎪
      ⎪ sentence          ⎪
      ⎩ expletive         ⎭

(19)  Marie   eid ij     ie         niks      te  zuken.
      Mary    has he_STRONG here    nothing   to  seek
      'Mary has no business here.'     (Wambeek)

(20)  Dui     stond ij      een vrou    inn     of.
      there   stood he_STRONG a  woman  in.the  garden
      'There was a woman standing in the garden.'     (Wambeek)

(21) Me    Jef klappen  is  ij         nie  belangrijk.
     with  Jef talk     is  he_STRONG  not  important
     'To talk with Jef is not important.'   (Wambeek)

(22) Ge   kent  tet  da.
     you  know  TET  that
     'You know that.'  (Lapscheure)

## 1.2   Inverted main clauses and embedded clauses

**pattern₁:**   clitic doubling

(23)  { **complementizer** }   **subject₁**   **subject₂**        …
      { **finite verb**     }   clitic         strong pronoun
                                               coordination

*inverted main clauses*
(24) Gisteren   is  se         zaai        ie    nie  geweest.
     yesterday  is  she_CLITIC  she_STRONG  here  not  been
     'She wasn't here yesterday.'           (Wambeek)

*subclauses*
(25) …  da    se         zaai        ie    gisteren  niet  geweest  is.
        that  she_CLITIC  she_STRONG  here  yesterdat  not   been     is
     '… that she wasn't here yesterday.'  (Wambeek)

(26) Ik  paus   da    **me**  t  [**gou**  **en**  **ik** ]  suimen    wel
     I   think  that  we_CLITIC it  you_STRONG  and  I_STRONG together  PRT
     kunn  oplossen.
     can   solve
     'I think that you and I can solve that together.'  (Wambeek)

(27) Ik  paus   da    **se**       [ **zaailn**  en waailn]  dui    suimen    wel
     I   think  that  they_CLITIC  they_STRONG and we_STRONG  there  together  PRT
     oitgeruiken
     out.come
     ' I think that they and we will solve that together.'  (Wambeek)

**pattern₂ₐ:**   topic marking

(28)  { **complementizer** }   **subject1**          **subject2**        …
      { **finite verb**     }   strong non-agreeing  strong pronoun
                                *tet*                 coordination
                                                      full DP

(29) Zijn  tet  de studenten  weg?
     are   TET  the students  away
     'Have the students left?'   (Lapscheure)

(30) …  dad   ij         Jef  oek   mag  kommen.
        that  he_STRONG  Jef  also  may  come
     '… that Jef is also allowed to come.'

**pattern₂ᵦ:**   topic marking

(31)  { **complementizer** }   **subject1**   **subject2**                …
      { **finite verb**     }   clitic         strong non-agreeing pronoun
                                               *tet*

(32) Hoevele    flassen  ee-j            tet  gekocht?
     how.many  bottles  have-you_CLITIC  TET  bought
     'How many bottles have you bought?'

**pattern₃:**   tripling

(33)  { **complementizer** }   **subject₁**   **subject₂**           **subject3**
      { **finite verb**     }   clitic         strong non-agr.        strong pron.
                                               pronoun                 coordination
                                               *tet*

(34) …  da-ze          tet  zie         da    kent.
        that-she_CLITIC  TET  she_STRONG  that  knows
     '…that she knows that.'

## 2. Additional generalizations and considerations

### 2.1 Only subjects can double

(35) * Ik   em    ze        ee          gezien.
     I    have  her_CLITIC  her_STRONG  seen
     INTENDED: 'I saw her.'

### 2.2 Pronominal doubling is always optional

(36) Marie muu  (zaai)     ie    nie kommen.
     Mary  must she_STRONG  here  not come
     'Mary shouldn't come here.'           (Wambeek)

(37) … da   se         (zaai)      ie    gisteren   niet geweest is.
     that she_CLITIC   she_STRONG  here  yesterdat  not  been    is
     '… that she wasn't here yesterday.' (Wambeek)

(38) … da   (se)        zaai        ie    gisteren   niet geweest is.
     that she_CLITIC    she_STRONG  here  yesterdat  not  been    is
     '… that she wasn't here yesterday.' (Wambeek)

(39) … dad  (ij)        Jef  oek    mag  kommen.
     that he_STRONG     Jef  also   may  come
     '… that Jef is also allowed to come.' (Wambeek)

### 2.3 Pronominal doubling is used to express 'emphasis'

(40) Ze komd oek     mergen.
     she comes also  tomorrow
     'She's also coming tomorrow.'

(41) Ze komd zaai    oek     mergen.
     she comes zaai   also    tomorrow
     'In spite of what you might think, she's also coming tomorrow.'

### 2.4 Is topic marking really subject doubling?

**arguments con:** - the 'doubling' pronoun doesn't agree in phi-features with the subject
- it has a different distribution from 'genuine' doubling pronouns (Haegeman 2008)

**argument pro:** - it interacts with doubling in making possible otherwise illicit configurations:

(42) ?* Z'    ei    se         't  geduin.
     she_WEAK has she_CLITIC   it  done
     INTENDED: 'She's done it.'   (Wambeek)

(43) Z'    ei    se         'd  ij          geduin.
     she_WEAK has she_CLITIC   it  he_STRONG   done
     'She's done it.'   (Wambeek)

### 2.5 Movement of the doubling or doubled element

**disallowed in clitic doubling**

(44) * Zaaile        paus  ek da-z          ie    nie geweest  zen.
     they_STRONG     think I  that-they_CLITIC here  not been     are
     INTENDED: 'They I don't think were here.'

**allowed in topic marking**

(45) Jef paus  ek dad   ij          oek   muu   kommen.
     Jef think I  that  he_STRONG   also  must  come
     'Jef I think must also come.'

**2.6    Tripling as the combination of two types of doubling**

➔ **generally, tripling can be analyzed as the combination of two types of doubling**

**pattern$_{2a}$: tripling = topic doubling + clitic doubling**

(46)  **subject$_1$**          **finite verb**          **subject$_2$** **subject$_3$**          **…**

   {
   *clitic pronoun                              clitic          strong agreeing pronoun
   weak pronoun
   strong pronoun
   full DP
   proper name
   coordination
   }

(47)  We     hebben   me     weir     daar   niks     mee   te   maken.
    we$_{WEAK}$ have   we$_{CLITIC}$ we$_{STRONG}$  there  nothing  with  to  make
    'We have nothing to do with that.'          (Affligem)

**pattern$_{2c}$: tripling = topic doubling + topic marking**

(48)  **subject$_1$**          **finite verb**          **subject$_2$** **subject$_3$**

   {
   *clitic pronoun                              *tet*          strong pronoun
   weak pronoun
   }

(49)  Ze     kent   tet   zij     dat.
    she$_{WEAK}$ knows  TET  she$_{STRONG}$  that
    'She knows that.'          (Lapscheure)

**pattern$_3$:  tripling = clitic doubling + topic marking**

(50)  {
   **complementizer**          subject$_1$     subject$_2$          subject3
   **finite verb**          clitic     strong non-agr.     strong pron.
   }                              pronoun          coordination
                              *tet*

(51)  …  da-ze         tet     zie     da     kent.
      that-she$_{CLITIC}$   TET    she$_{STRONG}$   that   knows
      '…that she knows that.'

➔ **exception:  pattern$_{2b}$:**

(52)  **subject$_1$**          **finite verb**          **subject$_2$**          **subject$_3$**

   {
   *clitic pronoun                              clitic pronoun          strong non-
   weak pronoun                                             agreeing pronoun
   strong pronoun
   full DP
   proper name
   coordination
   *sentence
   *expletive
   }

(53)  Z'     ei     se     'd ij       oek   nie gemakkelijk.
    she$_{WEAK}$ has  she$_{CLITIC}$  it  he$_{STRONG}$  also  not easy
    'She's not having an easy time either.'     (Wambeek)

➔ the dialect of Wambeek has no independent means of doubling a weak pronoun with a clitic (looks like Zeeland-style topic doubling)

**2.7    Correlations between tripling and other phenomena**

|  | **B-DIALECTS** | **A-DIALECTS** |
|---|:---:|:---:|
| *clitic doubling in infinitivals* | ✓ | * |
| *COMP-agreement* | * | ✓ |
| *tripling* | ✓ | * |

**B-DIALECTS**

(54)  Me    (se)         zui          te  komme, …
      with  they$_{CLITIC}$  they$_{STRONG}$  to  come
      'Because of them coming, …'  (Brussels)

**A-DIALECTS**

(55)  Mee   (*se)        zunder       te  komen
      with  they$_{clitic}$  they$_{strong}$  to  come
      'Because of them coming, …'  (Waregem)

→ clitic doubling is disallowed in infinitival clauses in A-dialects.

**B-DIALECTS**

(56)  Ik  paus   da(*-n)        se           zaailn      kommen.
      I   think  that-PLURAL    they$_{CLITIC}$  they$_{STRONG}$  come
      'I think they are coming.'           (Wambeek)

**A-DIALECTS**

(57)  K  peizn   da-n           ze           zider      komn.
      I  think   that-PLURAL    they$_{CLITIC}$  they$_{STRONG}$  come
      'I think they are coming.'           (Wijtschate)

→ complementizer agreement is only allowed in the A-dialects

## 2.8    First conjunct vs. Full coordination clitic doubling

(58)  Ik  paus  da  **me**   t  [**gou**   **en**   **ik** ]  suimen   wel
      I   think  that  we$_{CLITIC}$  it  you$_{STRONG}$  and   I$_{STRONG}$  together  PRT
      kunn   oplossen.
      can    solve
      'I think that you and I can solve that together.'  (Wambeek)

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

→ when clitic doubling a coordination, either the first conjunct or the entire coordination can be doubled by the clitic

## 2.9    Object clitic anti-intervention effects & full coordination clitic doubling

→ full coordination clitic doubling is only allowed when an object clitic intervenes between the clitic and the coordinated subject

(60)?* Ik  venj  da  se         aai en zaai  da       suimen    muutn oplossen.
       I   find  that  they$_{CLITIC}$  [he and she]  that    together  must    solve
       INTENDED: 'I think he and she should solve that together.' (Wambeek)

(61)  Ik  venj  da  se         **'t**     aai en zaai  suimen  muut oplossen.
      I   find  that  they$_{CLITIC}$  it$_{CLITIC}$  [he and she]  together  must solve
      'I think that he and she should solve that together.' (Wambeek)

## 3.    Analyses

## 3.1    Copy spell-out

**A. Proposed for:** Topic Doubling

**B.  How it works**
- The copy of the topicalized subject is spelled out by a strong subject pronoun

(62)  [$_{CP}$ waaile$_i$ komme [$_{AgrP}$ ~~waaile$_i$~~ [$_{VP}$ … ]]]
      → Copy Spell-Out: [$_{CP}$ waaile komme [$_{AgrP}$ waaile [$_{VP}$ … ]]]

**Arguments pro:**
- Restriction to Subject-Initial main clauses → only sentence type in which Spec,CP is available for the subject.
- Restriction to strong or generically interpreted weak quantifiers → only those quantifiers can be topicalized

(63)  a. Alle    /  * gin manne    meege zaailn       ie      binn
          all     /    no men       may   they$_{STRONG}$ here    inside
          'All men can come in.' (Wambeek)
      b. Een    vrou     komt      zaai      e kaffee  binn.
          a      woman    comes     she$_{STRONG}$ a bar    in
          'Women usually enter a bar.'
          #  'A woman enters a bar.'

- Meaning of a wh-question changes to a rhetorical question

(64)  Wie    eid-ij       da      geduin? (Wambeek)
      who    has-he$_{STRONG}$ that    done
      meaning:
      * 'Who has done that?' (real question)
      'It is obvious that X/no-one has done that.' (rhetorical question)

**Arguments con:**
- The copy is not necessarily identical to the topicalized subject:

(65)  **Die vrouw**  komt    **zaa**    morgen.                    (Gent)
      that woman    comes    she$_{STRONG}$ tomorrow
      'That woman is coming tomorrow.'

- It is unclear why objects cannot be doubled

## 3.2  Big DP

**A. Proposed for:** Clitic Doubling, Topic Doubling with weak subjects

**B.    How it works**
- General idea: A subpart of the subject is moved out of the subject to a sentence initial position.
- Specific implementation: Based on the pronominal inventory of Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002): Strong subject pronouns are DPs, Subject clitics are φPs.
- Schematic structure of a Clitic Doubled strong subject pronoun:

(66)
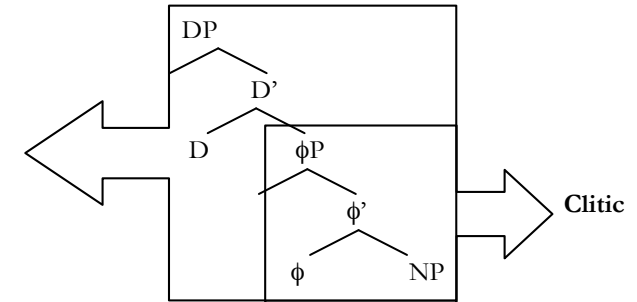


**Arguments pro:**
- It explains why objects cannot be doubled → object clitics are DPs according to the tests of Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002)
- It explains why full DP-subjects/proper names cannot be doubled → the NP contains lexical material and cannot be spelled out as a clitic.

**Arguments con:**
- Subject Island violation
- CSC violation (with FCCD see above)
- If this structure is also used for Topic Doubling → how to explain Topic Doubling with non-weak pronouns?

## 3.3    Functional head

**A. Proposed for:** Clitic Doubling & Topic Marking

**B.  How it works**

**B1. Clitic Doubling**
→ the clitic spells out a functional head position (for instance Fin°)

(67)  [$_{CP}$ [$_{C°}$ dat] [$_{FinP}$ [$_{Fin°}$ ze$_k$ ] [$_{IP}$ zij$_i$ [$_{I°}$ t$_k$ ] [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ da ziet]]]]
that she$_{CLITIC}$ she$_{STRONG}$ that sees
'…that she sees that'

**Arguments pro:**
- It explains why there is no object Clitic Doubling → I° agrees with the subject, not with the object.

**Arguments con:**
- No doubling of full DP-subjects

(68)  *  Ik  paus  da  **se**  [ **Marie**]  komt
I  think  that  she$_{CLITIC}$  Mary  comes
'I think that they and we will solve that together.'

- FCCD → the features of the subject and hence of I° are not the features spelled out by the subject clitic.

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

**B2. Topic marking**

(70)  [$_{CP}$ [$_{C°}$ da] [$_{FP}$ [$_{F°}$ tet ] [$_{TP}$ Valère$_i$ [ da nie wilt doen]]]
that  TET  V.  that  notwants  do

**3.4 Left dislocation**

**A. Proposed for:** Topic Doubling
**B. How it works**
- The first element of the doubled subject is base-generated in Spec,CP (satellite).
- The subject pronoun moves from Spec,VP to Spec,IP

(71)  [$_{CP}$ Marie$_i$ komt [$_{IP}$ zaai$_i$ [$_{VP}$ ~~zaai~~$_i$ … ]]
M.  comes  she  she

**Arguments pro:** see 3.1 above
**Arguments con:**
- It is unclear how the relation between topic in Spec,CP and strong pronoun in Spec,IP is exactly established.
- It is unclear why the second element of the doubled subject has to be a strong subject pronoun.
- It is unclear why objects can be doubled

**3.5 Spelling out of phi-features for emphatic reasons**

**A. Proposed for:** Topic Doubling with weak pronoun, Clitic Doubling
**B. How it works**
(72)  a.  *Subject initial main clause*
[$_{CP}$ **Ze**$_i$ [$_{C°}$ heeft$_k$ t$_i$] [$_{IP}$ **zij** gisteren [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ [$_{V°}$ t$_k$ gewerkt]][$_{I°}$ t$_k$]]].
b.  *Inverted main clause/embedded clause*
[$_{CP}$ Gisteren [$_{C°}$ heeft$_k$ **ze**$_i$] [$_{IP}$ **zij** [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ [$_{V°}$ gewerkt]][$_{I°}$ t$_k$]]].

**Arguments pro:**
- unification of Topic Doubling and Clitic Doubling

**Arguments con:**
- How to account for Topic Doubling with non-weak subjects?
- No doubling of strong pronouns/proper names/full DP-subjects

(73)  *  Ik  paus  da  [**zij**]  **zij/Marie/die vrouw**  komt
I  think  that  she$_{STRONG}$  she/Mary/that woman  comes
'I think that they and we will solve that together.'

- Coordination data (FCCD) shows that the strong pronoun in inverted main clauses/embedded clauses are is the thematic subject (rather than the clitic pronoun):

(74) Ik    paus   da     **se**    [   **zaailn**   en      waailn]    dui    suimen
     I     think  that   they_CLITIC   they_STRONG   and    we_STRONG   there  together
     wel   oitgeruiken
     PRT   out.come
     ' I think that they and we will solve that together.'

- Coordination data (FCCD vs FuCCD) shows that the strong pronoun in inverted main clauses/embedded clauses is not the same as the strong pronoun in subject initial main clauses:

(75) **Jan   en    Pierre**   muute   **zaailn**   dui    oek   zen.
     John   and   Pete       must    they        there  also  be
     'John and Pete must also be there!'

(76) * **Ze**   muute   **Jan   en Pierre**   dui    oek   zen.
       They    must    John   and Pete       there  also  be

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