

Pronoun Doubling in the Dialects of Dutch

We discuss subject pronoun doubling in the dialects of Dutch, of the type illustrated in (1).

- (1) *Wij emme wij dat gedoan.*
 w_{nom} have w_{nom} that done.
 æWe have done that^f

In pronoun doubling constructions the second pronoun is always strong. The first pronoun can be either a clitic or a strong pronoun depending on the type of sentence it is in. The distribution of the various types of pronouns is given in the table below. We examine pronoun doubling in three types of sentences, embedded clauses (a), inverted main clauses (b) and subject-initial main clauses (c).

| | subject pronoun 1 | subject pronoun 2 |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (a) embedded clauses | clitic / * strong | strong |
| (b) inverted main clauses | clitic / * strong | strong |
| (c) subject-initial main clauses | * clitic / strong | strong |

Two questions arise after looking at this table:

- (i) Why can the second strong pronoun in sentence types (a) and (b) not be preceded by another strong pronoun?
 (ii) Why can the second strong pronoun in sentence type (c) not be preceded by a clitic pronoun?

The following generalisations concerning Dutch (Zwart 1993) are crucial to provide an answer to these questions:

- (i) In sentence types (a) and (b), but not in sentence type (c), the C^0 -position is phonologically filled.
 (ii) In sentence types (a) and (b), but not in sentence type (c), the AgrS^0 -head has moved to C^0 .

We argue that clitics need a phonologically realised head to their left to adjoin to. As type-(c) sentences do not have a phonologically filled C^0 -position (generalisation (i)), subject clitics cannot occur in this type of sentences. This is born out by the impossibility of the subject clitic *ie* ('he') to occupy the sentence initial position in standard Dutch (2). This clitic can occur in an embedded clause, in which it adjoins to the complementizer (3).

- (2) **Ie heeft gisteren geslapen.*
 he_{clitic} has yesterday slept.
- (3) *...dat-ie gisteren heeft geslapen.*
 that- he_{clitic} yesterday has slept
 "...that he slept yesterday."

For (a)- and (b)-type sentences we assume that doubled subject pronouns are generated as one DP (cf Uriagereka 1995).

This is illustrated in (4). At PF, the clitic moves out of the D^0 -head to adjoin to a host in C^0 . This configuration is not available for (c)-type sentences, because two strong pronouns cannot be generated as one DP. We argue for this kind of sentences that the second strong pronoun is a spell out of a lower subject trace. This trace is left behind by the first strong subject pronoun that has moved to a higher functional projection to check case. The spelling out of a subject trace is only possible when the right configuration is available. This configuration is given in (5)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| (4) | DP | | (5) | AgrP |
| | DP | | XP _i | AgrP |
| | D^0 | NP | | Agr^0 |
| | <i>clitic</i> | <i>strong</i> | | YP |
| | | | | t_i ... |

In the configuration in (5) the subject (XP) immediately c-commands a coindexed Agr^0 , which in turn immediately c-commands the trace of the subject. The presence of the Agr^0 -head is of crucial importance for the spelling out of the

subject trace. In sentence types (a) and (b) Agr⁰ has moved to C⁰ (cf Zwart 1993) (generalisation (ii)). This explains why in these sentence types a strong pronoun cannot be doubled by another strong pronoun: the right configuration is not available. The configuration in (5) does not prevent the traces of other categories than strong pronouns to be spelled out. The example in (6) shows that the trace of a proper name can be doubled by a strong pronoun in the dialects under consideration.

- (6) *Marie heeft zij daar niets mee te maken.*
Mary has she there nothing with to make
"Mary has nothing to do with that"

The answers to the questions (i) and (ii) are summarised in (iii) and (iv) respectively:

(iii) A strong pronoun in sentence types (a) and (b) cannot be doubled by a strong pronoun because Agr has moved to C, and thus the right configuration for spelling out a trace is absent.

(iv) The second strong pronoun in sentence type (c) cannot be preceded by a strong pronoun because C is empty, and thus the clitic pronoun is not able to find a suitable host at PF.

There are some questions we want to answer in addition to the questions raised above:

- Why is the second pronoun in pronoun doubling constructions always strong?
- How can pronoun doubling in the three types of sentences be unified?
- What are the semantics of pronoun doubling

References

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