

HOW TO VOID A PHASE

ANTI-INTERVENTION EFFECTS WITH CLITIC DOUBLING IN DUTCH DIALECTS

1. SUMMARY:

This paper argues that the phasehood of C° can be voided if it acquires unvalued features during the derivation (e.g. by head movement). Crucial supporting evidence comes from clitic doubling in Dutch dialects. Clitic doubling of full DPs is not allowed in these dialects, unless (a) the DP in question is a coordination with at least one pronominal conjunct, AND (b) an object clitic intervenes between the doubler (the clitic) and the doublee (the coordination). This object clitic voids the phasehood of FinP , thus allowing for Agree between a higher phase head (which spells out the subject clitic) and the subject in specTP . Our proposal differs from phase extension accounts such as Den Dikken (2007) and Gallego (2010) in the following way: while for them a head can become phasal when it acquires features (due to head movement) during the derivation, we show that a head can *lose* its phasal status when it is targeted by head movement.

2. THE DATA:

Clitic doubling is only allowed with pronominal subjects in Dutch dialects:

- (1) da-ze { zaailen / *den burremiester en aai } da suimen gonj duun.
 that-they_{clitic} they_{strong}/ the mayor and he that together will do
 ‘that they/*the mayor and he will do that together.’
- (2) da-ze { *de kinnerjn / *den burremiester en de pastoer } da suimen gonj duun.
 that-they_{clitic} the children/ the mayor and the priest that together will do
 ‘that *the children/*the mayor and the priest will do that together’

Surprisingly, however, when an object clitic intervenes, doubling of the coordination in (1) becomes well-formed, in contrast to the non-pronominal DPs in (2):

- (3) da-ze t { zaailen / den burremiester en aai } suimen gonj duun.
 that-they_{clitic} it_{clitic} we_{strong} / the mayor and hij together will do
 ‘that they/the mayor and he will do it together.’
- (4) da-ze t { *de kinnerjn / *den burremiester en de pastoer } suimen gonj duun.
 that-they_{clitic} it_{clitic} the children/ the mayor and the priest together will do
 ‘that *the children/*the mayor and the priest will do it together’

In other words, rather than disrupt the relationship between the two parts of the doubled subject, the object clitic makes possible a clitic doubling option that was ill-formed without intervention:

Type of subject DP	without object clitic	with object clitic
pronoun	OK	OK
coordination with a pronominal conjunct	*	OK
coordination with no pronominal conjunct	*	*
non-pronominal DP	*	*

3. PREREQUISITES FOR THE ANALYSIS:

3.1 Feature specification of object clitics: In the dialects under consideration here, object clitics are systematically disallowed in non-finite contexts such as subject infinitives, root infinitives, ECM-clauses and infinitival complement clauses, the latter of which is illustrated here:

- (5) Z’ ei geprobeed om <*_n / em > t’ elpen.
 she has tried C_{inf} <him_{clitic} / him_{weak}> to help
 ‘She has tried to help him.’

We conclude from this that an object clitic has an unvalued [$\text{Fin}(\text{iteness})$]-feature.

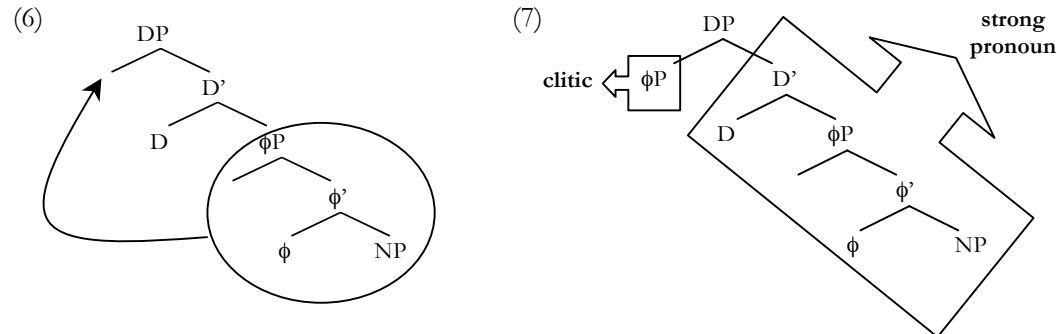
3.2 No unvalued features on phase heads: Richards (2007) points out that the combination of the following two premises leads to the conclusion that phase heads cannot contain any unvalued features: (i) Value and Transfer of μF must happen simultaneously, and (ii) the edge and nonedge of a phase are transferred separately. If a phase head were to contain and value a μF , this feature would not be transferred at the point of valuation (because the phase head is part of the edge), causing the μF to be indistinguishable from an μF and ultimately causing the derivation to crash. While Richards uses this line of reasoning to argue for the existence of feature inheritance (whereby the μF of the phase head is passed on to the lower non-phase head), we focus on the opposite state of affairs: if a head acquires μF in the course of the derivation, it ceases to be a phase head. This, we will argue, is what happens to Fin° when it gets targeted by an object clitic.

4. THE ANALYSIS:

4.1 Two types of doubling: movement vs. Agree: Let us first focus on the contrast in (1)/(2), i.e. only pronominal subjects allow for clitic doubling in the absence of an object clitic. We argue that this contrast is the result of the fact that there are two types of clitic doubling: one is derived

via subextraction of a portion of the subject out of it (the big DP-analysis, Uriagereka 1995, Grohmann 2000), while the other is the reflex of an Agree-relation with a higher phi-probe.

4.2 Doubling as movement: When we apply Déchaine & Wiltschko's (2002) diagnostic tests for the categorial nature of pronominal elements (condition C-effects, bound variable readings, argumenthood) to dialect Dutch strong pronouns and clitics, we see that while the former are pro-DPs, the latter are pro- ϕ Ps. In other words, the clitic is quite literally a subpart of the strong pronoun. Our analysis of clitic doubling of pronominal subjects builds on this: the ϕ P-portion of the subject moves to specDP (and from there into the CP-domain) as in (6), and both parts of the subject are spelled out, cf. (7) (see also Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2008):



4.3 Doubling as Agree: This type of approach does not work for non-pronominal DPs: given that their NP contains lexical information, it cannot be spelled out as a clitic. Any clitic doubling we find with non-pronominal DPs (cf. (3)), then, will be the result of an Agree-relation between a high phi-probe in the CP-domain and the subject. With this in mind, we can account for the contrast in (1)/(2): while the phasehood of FinP (cf. Branigan 2005) does not block the ϕ P-clitic in (7) from moving (successive-cyclically) to the highest CP-layer (the one hosting the complementizer), it does block Agree between the high phi-probe and the subject in specTP (due to the PIC). As a result, only clitic doubling with pronominal subjects is allowed.

4.4 Object clitic movement voids the phasehood of Fin°: Now let's account for the well-formedness of (3) and the ill-formedness of (4). Following Bianchi (2006) and Sigurðsson (2004), we assume that the high phi-probe mentioned above has unvalued [A(ddressee)]- and [P(articulant)]-features. We take this to mean that it can only target pronominal Goals. This rules out the doubling of (coordinations containing) non-pronominal subjects as in (4). As for (3), the unvalued [Fin]-feature of the object clitic triggers movement to Fin° and this lifts the phasehood of FinP, cf. section 3.2 above. With the intervening phase boundary removed, the high phi-probe can target the subject in specTP. This Agree-relation is realized as subject doubling.

5. THE BIGGER PICTURE:

Our analysis shares with Den Dikken (2007) and Gallego (2010) the intuition that phasehood is not an inherent property of certain projections, but rather something that is determined derivationally (cf. Bošković to appear). Time permitting, we compare these different theories and argue that it is the precise featural content of a head that determines its phasal status.

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