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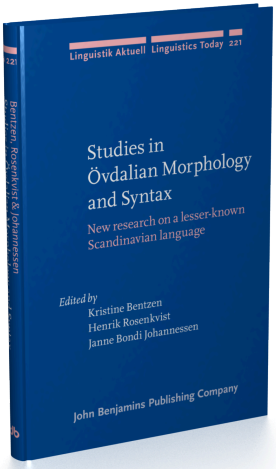

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The syntax and meaning of subject doubling in Övdalian

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This chapter contains a presentation and an analysis of Övdalian subject doubling. After discussing elicitation techniques and methods, I present the actual data. Next, I turn to the syntactic restrictions of the construction, demonstrating that a V2-context (i.e., a root context), an initial subject and a certain type of adverbial expressing speaker attitude are obligatory for this construction. Also subject doubling in other languages is introduced and discussed, with a focus on doubling in Dutch dialects. It is argued that the meaning of the Övdalian subject doubling construction is to express polarity focus. In the final section of the paper, the hypothesis that the subject doubler is not a pronoun, but rather a realisation of φ-agreement in a functional polarity head (Σ), is launched.

1. Introduction[1]

In Levander's brief survey of Övdalian syntax (Levander 1909: 91ff), he mentions that reduplication of personal pronouns in Övdalian at the time of writing was "very common" (1909: 109; my translation), and that there was no corresponding construction in standard Swedish. Below, two of his Övdalian samples are reproduced (the subject and the doubler are put in bold in the present paper):[2]

1. Two anonymous reviewers and my co-editors have suggested several improvements of this chapter, for which I thank them. Lars Steensland has supported me in my studies on Övdalian, and I am very grateful for that. Remaining errors and inadequacies are of course my own.

2. The Övdalian sentential adverbials *sakta*, *fel* and *kanenda* will not be glossed, since each of them is highly polysemous. Steensland (2010: 411) suggests that *sakta* corresponds to the following Swedish adverbials: *nog* ('probably'), *minsann* ('actually'), *faktiskt* ('actually'), *förvisso* ('surely', 'certainly'), *visst* ('actually') and *allt* ('actually', 'certainly').

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(1) a. ***ǫ*** *wet sakt* ***ǫ*** *eð.*[3] (double subject pronouns)
she knows SAKTA she it
'She probably knows it.'

b. ***Ig*** *ar* ***ig*** *sakt* ***ig*** *mįer i grytųn.* (triple subject pronouns)
I have I SAKTA I more in pot-the
'I have more in the pot.'

The construction can also be found in other sources such as transcribed dialect recordings (2) and Övdalian texts (3):

(2) *Og* ***an*** *sagd nufel* ***an*** *at* ***ǫ*** *lärd sakt* ***ǫ*** *finnas.* (dialect transcription
and he said NŲFEL he that she may SAKTA she exist ULMA 22377, 1935)
'And he said that it [a book] may exist.'

(3) ***Eð*** *lär fel* ***eð*** *bli noð wäs'n.* (Larsson 1986: 6)
it may FEL it become some noise
'It will probably result in some noise.'

In recent times, subject doubling in e.g. Swedish has been discussed by Engdahl (2003), in Finnish by Holmberg and Nikanne (2006) and in Dutch dialects by e.g. van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002a, b, 2006), Haegeman and van de Velde (2006) and Haegeman (2008). Since Levander (1909), Övdalian double subjects have been mentioned by Rosenkvist (1994) and Garbacz (2010), but the first preliminary analysis was presented in Rosenkvist (2007). This chapter is a thoroughly revised and updated version of Rosenkvist (2007).

In the present work, I present and discuss subject doubling in contemporary Övdalian (triple subjects do not seem to be in use anymore). In the following section, the data sources and the elicitation techniques that have been utilised are presented. Thereupon, the syntactic distribution as well as the semantic/pragmatic properties of Övdalian double subjects are presented (in Sections 3 and 4, respectively). In Section 5, some previous approaches to subject doubling are discussed, with a focus on similar types of subject doubling in Dutch dialects. A syntactic analysis of Övdalian subject doubling is suggested in Section 6. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2. Data sources and elicitation

In the search for double subjects, I initially turned to extant Övdalian texts and transcribed recordings. However, subject doubling appears to be a quite rare

3. Nasalisation of vowels is phonemic in Övdalian; e.g., the nasal *wįð* ('we') forms a minimal pair with *wið* ('firewood').

syntactic construction, and hence only a handful of examples may be found even in Larsson (1986), the longest Övdalian text ever written by a native speaker; it comprises about 100 pages. The texts and transcriptions thus proved to be an insufficient source of data, and therefore it was necessary to investigate Övdalian subject doubling in field studies. A questionnaire was accordingly prepared, as well as some direct questions. As noted by Cornips and Poletto (2005: 941):

> Direct questions about the (un)grammaticality of syntactic features may provide insight into a speaker's competence far more readily than spontaneous speech data do. In addition, by eliciting acceptability judgements we can examine reactions to sentence types that might occur only very rarely in spontaneous speech or recorded corpora. Further, we are able to elicit syntactic variables that do not always show up in interaction with other relevant syntactic variables in spontaneous speech, but that are predicted by theory to do so. (Cornips and Poletto 2005: 941)

The main fieldwork was carried out during a workshop in Älvdalen in 2007.[4] 52 informants answered a questionnaire concerning subject doubling, under my supervision, and since then two small separate groups of speakers have regularly given responses in further small scale questionnaire studies, interviews and spontaneous speech, and by answering direct questions regarding possible syntactic structures. The continuous contacts with my informants have successively led to the emergence of an elicitation methodology along the lines of Henry (2005); when the researcher has been doing fieldwork in the same area and with the same informants for some time, the necessity of well-prepared questionnaires declines, because the researcher and the informants together establish effective procedures for obtaining data.

In the main questionnaire study, a number of syntactic variables possibly of importance for subject doubling were tested. They were:

- different adverbials (negation, *kanstji* ('maybe'), *sakta*, *fel*, *säkerligen* ('surely'))
- type of pronoun (1st, 2nd, 3rd)
- type of clause (main/subordinated)
- position of leftmost subject pronoun (± clause-initial)
- number of pronouns (1, 2, 3)
- type of speech act (declarative/interrogative)
- tense (past, present, future)

In addition, the informants were asked about the meaning of subject doubling, with syntactically minimal sentence pairs as point of reference:

4. This fieldwork was organised by the Nordic Centre of Excellence in Microcomparative Syntax (NORMS), funded by the Nordic research funding body NOS-HS.

(4) a. ***Að*** *far sakt raingen nų.*
it begins SAKTA rain.INF now
'It begins to rain now.'

b. ***Að*** *far sakt* ***að*** *raingen nų.*
it begins SAKTA it rain.INF now
'It begins to rain now.'

It quickly became evident that especially the latter task was apprehended as quite difficult, and in this case the follow-up studies have been absolutely essential. The semantic and pragmatic effects of subject doubling are presented and discussed in Section 5.

3. The syntactic distribution of Övdalian double subjects

3.1 Current usage of Övdalian double and triple subjects

Levander (1909: 109) provides both doubling and tripling sentences with either *fel* or *sakta* (which is pronounced and written *sakt* in non-final position due to apocope). The majority of the informants in this study accept doubling in the same contexts, but in contrast to Levander (1909), they do not accept tripling.

(5) a. ***Du*** *ir sakt* ***du*** *uvendes duktin dalska.*
you are SAKTA you very good speak-Övdalian
'You are very good at speaking Övdalian.'

b. ***An*** *ir sakt* ***an*** *unggrun nų.*
he is SAKTA he hungry now
'He is hungry now.'

c. ******Du*** *ir* ***du*** *sakt* ***du*** *uvendes duktin dalska.*
you are you SAKTA you very good speak-Övdalian
'You are very good at speaking Övdalian.'

d. ******Ig*** *ar* ***ig*** *sakt* ***ig*** *mįer i grytųn, um wilið åvå mįer jätå.*
I have I SAKTA I more in pot-the if want.2PL have more food
'I have more in the pot if you would like to have more food.'

The follow-up studies have confirmed this pattern – both informant groups consider subject doubling of the type in (5a–b) perfectly grammatical, whereas triple subjects are ungrammatical.

The double subjects in e.g. (5a) are neither weak, nor strong (stressed). Both subject markers are pronounced just as regular subjects, and they are thus not phonetically marked in any way.[5]

Unlike pronoun doubling in e.g. Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2008), the initial subject element need not be a personal pronoun in Övdalian. The initial subject may be an expletive subject pronoun (6a–c), a proper name (6d), a definite or indefinite noun phrase (6e–g) or even a null referential subject (6h–i); (6i) is a particularly clear case of doubling of a null subject pronoun, since 1pl null subjects are only allowed in initial position (Rosenkvist 2006, 2010). In (6j–k), it is shown that also clausal subjects can be doubled.

(6) a. ***Ed*** *far sakt* ***ed*** *raingen nų.*
it begins SAKTA it to-rain now
'It begins to rain now.'

b. ***Ed*** *sått sakt* ***ed ien rakk*** *ǫ gardem mes ig kam iem.*
it sat SAKTA it a dog at farm-the when I came home
'There sat a dog at the farm when I came home.'

c. ***Ed*** *war sakt* ***ed*** *armlit an int belld kumå.*
it was SAKTA it unfortunate he not could come
'It was unfortunate that he wasn't able to come.'

d. ***Bo*** *ir sakt* ***an*** *unggrun nų.*
Bo is SAKTA he hungry now
'Bo is hungry now.'

e. ***Dier so åvå klaið ǫ iel da'n*** *irå sakt* ***dier*** *liuotunggruger nų.*
they who have.3PL toiled on whole day-the are.3PL SAKTA they very-hungry now
'Those who have toiled all day are very hungry now.'

f. ***Nogrär*** *åvå sakt* ***dier*** *si'tt trullę i Övdalim.*
someones have.3PL SAKTA they seen trolls-the in Älvdalen
'Some people have seen trolls in Älvdalen.'

g. ***Ien rövir*** *sakt* ***an*** *illrokk.*
a fox is SAKTA he cunning
'A fox is cunning.'

5. Gunnar Nyström (p.c.) claims that the doubling pronouns are stressed. However, my empirical studies show very clearly that only a handful of (younger) informants seem to be able to stress the doubling pronoun, and that an absolute majority of the informants do not stress the doubling pronoun in regular speech. See further below (Section 4).

h. *Irið sakt **ið** unggruger, dar int avið faið jätå.*
are.2PL SAKTA you hungry, since not have.2PL gotten food
'You are hungry, since you didn't get any food.'

i. *Fǫm sakt **wįð** luv jätå nų, fer winnum int*
get.1PL SAKTA we allowed eat now because manage.1PL not
baið etter onum.
wait after him
'We must eat now, because we don't have time to wait for him.'

j. ***At an wil kumå** ir sakt **eð** ruolit.*
that he wants come is SAKTA it nice
'That he wants to come is nice.'

k. ***Åk bil'n** ir fel **eð** ruolit.*
drive car-the is FEL it fun
'Driving a car is fun.'

The sentences above clearly indicate that it is the initial subject that is the actual thematic subject, and the lower subject pronoun must hence be another type of constituent. The relative order of these two elements is fixed – nothing but pronouns may occur in the lower position (compare (6d) above):

(7) **An ir sakt **Bo** unggrun nų.*
he is SAKTA Bo hungry now
'Bo is hungry now.'

As for the thematic subject, all types of subjects actually appear to be grammatical in clause-initial position in Övdalian subject doubling constructions.

Interestingly, no age differences can be ascertained regarding the syntax of subject doubling, an indication that older and younger speakers have similar internalised grammars in this case.

In the remainder of this section, I present the restrictions that determine the syntactic distribution of Övdalian double subject pronouns.

3.2. Subject in clause-initial position and V2

The first restriction concerns the position of the subject; it appears that the subject must be clause-initial, situated in SpecCP. In the main questionnaire study, a great majority of the informants considered non-initial subjects ungrammatical in the subject doubling construction, whereas a few accepted them; clauses such as (8b–c) have however unanimously been discarded as ungrammatical in the follow-up studies. Subject doubling is furthermore illicit in polar questions, as in (8d):

(8) a. ***An*** *ir sakt* ***an*** *unggrun nų.*
he is SAKTA he hungry now
'He is hungry now.'

b. **Nų ir* ***an*** *sakt* ***an*** *unggrun.*
now is he SAKTA he hungry
'He is hungry now.'

c. **Wiso ir* ***an*** *sakt* ***an*** *unggrun nų?*
why is he SAKTA he hungry now?
'Why is he hungry now?'

d. **Ir* ***an*** *sakt* ***an*** *unggrun nų?*
is he SAKTA he hungry now?
'Is he hungry now?'

Yet another indication that the first subject in Övdalian subject doubling requires a position in SpecCP is that the construction is only allowed in subordinate clauses which are known contexts for embedded V2 (and hence also embedded topicalisation) in the Scandinavian languages (cf. Julien 2007; Wiklund et al. 2009; Bentzen 2009), i.e. asserted clauses, often embedded under a bridge verb, as in (9a).[6] Subject doubling does not appear in embedded clauses that disallow embedded V2, such as the restrictive relative clause in (9b), the *that*-clause which functions as the associate of the expletive subject in (9c) or the conditional clause in (9d):

(9) a. *Ig wet* ***an*** *ir sakt* ***an*** *duktin dalska.*
I know he is SAKTA he good speak-Övdalian
'I know that he is good at speaking Övdalian.'

b. **Ir du wið kallem frų Stokkkol* ***so*** *ar sakt* ***an***
are you with man from Stockholm who has SAKTA he
tjyöpt faðeres gard?
bought father's farm
'Are you angry at the man from Stockholm who has bought father's farm?'

c. **Að ir ruolit* ***du*** *ir sakt* ***du*** *so duktin dalska.*
it is nice you are SAKTA you so good speak-Övdalian
'It is nice that you are you so good at speaking Övdalian.'

d. **Um* ***du*** *ir sakt* ***du*** *uvendes duktin dalska, so…*
if you are SAKTA you very good speak-Övdalian then…
'If you are very good at speaking Övdalian, then…'

6. Wiklund et al. (2009) discuss assertiveness and factivity in relation to embedded V2 in Scandinavian in detail, showing, inter alia, that the Norwegian verb *vite* ('to know', cf. 9a) does not always behave as a regular factive verb.

The grammaticality of (9a) can thus be assumed to be due to the possibility of topicalising the subject in the *that*-clause (cf. Vikner 1995: Chapter 4; Julien 2007). Similar possibilities for topicalisation are not available in the embedded clauses in (9b–d).

To conclude, it is apparent that a necessary condition for Övdalian subject doubling is that the subject is placed in clause-initial position in a V2-clause, i.e. in SpecCP. In other words, a main clause (root) context is a prerequisite for Övdalian subject doubling.

3.3 Presence of *sakta, fel* or *kanenda*

Another requirement is that Övdalian subject doubling is not allowed without either *sakta*, *fel* (with the variants *nufel* and *dåfel*) or *kanenda*, three polysemous sentential adverbials which express speaker's attitude.[7],[8] Although they are quite hard to translate, as mentioned above, all of them approximately correspond to *actually*, *indeed* and/or *probably*. *Sakta* etc. are hence speaker-oriented adverbs, and since such adverbs in general are restricted to main clause contexts (or root contexts), the fact that these adverbs are obligatory also indicates that Övdalian subject doubling is a main clause phenomenon.

In Levander's (1909: 109) examples, some sentences contain the verb *lär* ('is said to') and no sentential adverbial, but subject doubling in such contexts, (10b), is no longer possible. Neither are other modal verbs such as *syöks*, *iess* or *luss*, all meaning 'seem to' (with differences in shades of meaning), possible in the subject doubling construction without either *sakta* or *fel* (10c).

(10) a. ***An*** *lär* *sakt/fel/kanend* ***an*** *våråå duktin dalska.*
he is-said-to SAKTA/FEL/KANENDA he be good speak-Övdalian
'He is said to be good at speaking Övdalian.'

b. *****An*** *lär* ***an*** *våråå duktin dalska.*
he is-said-to he be good speak-Övdalian
'He is said to be good at speaking Övdalian.'

7. *Kanenda* is probably derived from two verbs (*kan* 'may' and *enda* 'happen'), a fact that may explain why *kanenda* appears in atypical syntactic positions (*kanstji* 'maybe' behaves likewise, cf. Rosenkvist 2010).

8. A few speakers accept subject doubling with the negation, and such sentences can also be found in older transcriptions:

Ed *wa'nt* ***ed*** *små og dålin fisk* […] (dialect transcription,
it was-not.CL it small and bad fish ULMA 10149, 1937)
'It wasn't small and bad fish'

c. **An iess/syöks/luss **an** wårå duktin dalska.*
he appears-to he be good speak-Övdalian
'He seems to be good at speaking Övdalian.'

Needless to say, the task of establishing the syntactic as well as the semantic properties of Övdalian subject doubling is complicated by the necessity of including an adverbial expressing speaker's attitude in all sample sentences – the pragmatic context of the test sentences must be appropriate, given the respective adverbials, otherwise the speakers will reject the tested sentences due to semantic/pragmatic inconsistencies. In the following section, the meaning of Övdalian subject doubling is discussed.

4. The meaning of Övdalian subject doubling

In the main questionnaire study, the informants were asked to describe the difference between simple clauses with and without subject doubling. Two pairs of sentences were used as a starting point for the discussion (11a–b are repeated from 4):

(11) a. ***Eð** far sakt raingen nų.*
it begins SAKTA rain.INF now
'It begins to rain now.'

b. ***Eð** far sakt **eð** raingen nų.*
it begins SAKTA it rain.INF now
'It begins to rain now.'

(12) a. ***Du** ir sakt duktin dalska.*
you are SAKTA good speak-Övdalian
'You are good at speaking Övdalian.'

b. ***Du** ir sakt **du** duktin dalska.*
you are SAKTA *you good speak-Övdalian*
'You are good at speaking Övdalian.'

Although several informants had difficulties expressing the difference in words, some informants spontaneously asserted that the b-alternatives (with subject doubling) strengthened or emphasised what was said in the a-alternatives. Some typical comments are that the b-alternatives are "more decided", "more exact", "stronger" or "stressed". An older informant claimed that (12b) means "you ARE very good", actually underlining the finite verb, and one of the younger and more eloquent informants stated, concerning the difference between (12a) and (12b), that: "When someone doubts their ability to speak Övdalian you say B to them.

But when you merely state that someone is good you say A" [my translation]. The informants' responses actually suggested that the pragmatic function of subject doubling in Övdalian is quite close to polarity focus (or verum focus – cf. Höhle 1988; Creswell 2000; Wilder 2011).

In the follow-up studies, it has furthermore been confirmed that although Övdalian finite verbs may be stressed in order to produce polarity focus, this is not possible in a subject doubling environment. In (13), capitals signal stress:

(13) a. ***An*** *IR sakt uvendes duktin dalska.*
he IS SAKTA very good speak-Övdalian
'He IS very good at speaking Övdalian.'

b. ****An*** *IR sakt* ***an*** *uvendes duktin dalska.*
he IS SAKTA he very good speak-Övdalian
'He IS very good at speaking Övdalian.'

Subject doubling and polarity focus (expressed as stress on the finite verb) thus appear to be complementary in Övdalian; this fact as well as the informants' comments on the meaning differences between sentences with and without subject doubling point towards the conclusion that the Övdalian subject doubling-construction is a syntactic device for expressing polarity focus (or a pragmatic meaning which strongly resembles polarity focus).

Wilder (2011) distinguishes between verum focus (VF) and contrastive topic (CT), which both require a stressed *do* in English. While VF is used to "emphasise the truth of an affirmative proposition", CT "may lack an explicit antecedent proposition" and triggers "special implicatures". A salient difference is the distribution; VF occurs in all finite clauses while CT only is possible in main clauses and some types of *that*-clauses. Subject doubling in Övdalian is, I argue, a device for expressing VF, but the distribution is nevertheless reminiscent of Wilder's description of CT in English.

A relation between subject doubling and the speaker's assessment of how the uttered sentence relates to the discourse context has been observed in a number of languages. For instance, Cornilescu (2000: 98) points out that the subject doubling clitic in Romanian "marks certain illocutionary attitudes of the speaker". Furthermore, in their study of the subject doubling *tet* in West Flemish (the Lapscheure dialect), Haegeman and van de Velde (2006) report that "in some of its uses, *tet* seems to be used as a polarity reinforcer" (2006: 13), and van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2007) states about the same *tet*:

> When present, it adds an extra meaning layer to the sentence; the speaker underscores the polarity of the clause and expresses either irritation or surprise, as if he or she had expected the opposite state of affairs. (van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman 2007: 175)

Furthermore, the translation of one of the examples in Haegeman (2008) quite clearly suggests that *tet* is related to polarity focus, and also D'Alessandro et al. (2010) translate Dutch topic doubling into a sentence with contrastive or polarity focus; (14a) is from Haegeman (2008: 295) and (14b) is from D'Allesandro et al. (2010).

(14) a. *Valère weet* ***tet*** *da.*
Valère knows TET that
'Valère does know that.'

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

Do-insertion (as in the translation in 14a) is, of course, one of the possible ways of expressing polarity focus in English (cf. Creswell 2000; Wilder 2011).

Similarly, Vinet (2004) notes that the subject doubling clitic *-tu* in Quebec French also is related to polarity focus, and Holmberg and Nikanne (2008: 326) point out that Finnish constructions with *se*/*ne*, which both may appear as double subjects, are "typically used to express an all-new sentence about a familiar subject, often with a subtle 'believe it or not' effect." As for European Portuguese, Carrilho (2005: 245) claims that *ele*, which may double the subject, in a low structural position "appears exclusively related to sentences involving a certain evaluative/expressive value."

To conclude, for a significant number of subject doubling constructions in different languages it seems to be the case that the subject doubling construction is used to express the speaker's view on how the utterance is related to the discourse context – in some cases, it underlines the contrast between the proposition of the sentence and the expected state of affairs. Övdalian is, I suggest, yet another language in which subject doubling is a construction coding syntactically the speaker's assessment of how the proposition relates to the discourse context.

Haegeman (2008) explicitly points out that in West Flemish, there are two types of subject doubling. Doubling with a strong pronoun yields an emphatic effect similar to that of overt subjects in languages that regularly omit subjects, such as e.g. Spanish and Italian. But doubling with *tet* rather expresses some type of sentential contrast (cf. the quote from van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman 2007 above), and, unlike doubling pronouns, *tet* may double expletive subjects. (15) is quoted from Haegeman (2008: 4).

(15) ***T'is (tet)*** *nu an't regenen!*
it-is (TET) now on-the rain
'It is raining now!'

Since expletive subjects cannot be emphasised ("*tet* cannot be associated with a contrastive/emphatic reading [when doubling a non-referential pronoun]: the very nature of non/pseudo-argumental subjects excludes contrast/emphasis" Haegeman 2008: 5), the occurence of *tet* in sentences such as (15) disproves the hypothesis that insertion of *tet* is a strategy for focussing the subject. As we have seen above, doubling of non-argumental subjects with *eð* is fully grammatical in Övdalian, too, and hence one can exclude the possibility that doubling in Övdalian is only a way of emphasising the subject, on the same grounds that Haegeman excludes emphatic readings of West Flemish *tet*.

Another piece of evidence that argues against a subject focus-analysis of Övdalian subject doubling is that double subjects occur in contexts where such a reading is impossible. In (16), which is taken from Andersson (2008), there is no set of possible subject antecedents that would make it meaningful for the speaker to single out one of them by focussing the subject pronoun. The example is presented in context.

(16) *Ien dag råkeð ig Irene Westerling. Ig wet ǫ ir uvljuot duktin rit*
one day met I Irene Westerling I know she is very good draw
og mǫl so ig spuord enner um ǫ edd tykkt um djärå bilder
and paint so I asked her if she had liked PCL do pictures
*attrað noð ig add skrieft. **Ǫ** war sakt **ǫ** wilað djärå eð.*
with something I had written she was SAKTA she willing do that
'One day I met IW. I know that she is very good at drawing and painting, so I asked her if she would like to make illustrations for something that I had written. She WAS willing to do that.'

In (16), it just makes no sense to interpret the doubling of *ǫ* as anything other than polarity focus – the speaker assumes (implicitly) that the would-be illustrator will decline the offer, and uses the doubling construction to express her surprise when she actually accepts. Wilder (2011) claims that verum focus is "used to emphasise the truth of an affirmative proposition, in contrast with an explicit (often negated or modalised) antecedent proposition which is salient in the context", and the usage of Övdalian subject doubling in (16) fits very well with this definition.

To conclude, there are a number of arguments that show that Övdalian subject doubling is a means for expressing polarity focus: the informants' responses, the incompability with stressed finite verbs expressing polarity focus, the possibility to double expletive subjects and the actual usage of the construction. One may also add that there are quite a few other languages in which subject doubling appears to have a similar pragmatic function.

However, a few younger informants (and some non-native speakers) seem to interpret subject doubling in Övdalian as a way of focussing the subject. Such subject doubling is present in Swedish (Engdahl 2003, 2008; see below), and it is plausible that the responses of these speakers are cases of inference from the Swedish doubling

construction. Interestingly, the few Övdalian informants that seem to stress the doubling pronoun find doubling of expletive subjects to be grammatically possible, but completely meaningless (unlike the majority of the informants), thereby possibly expressing an intuition that may be regarded as an Övdalian/Swedish hybrid.

5. Some previous approaches to subject doubling

Subject doubling phenomena can be found in a number of languages, such as e.g. Romanian (Cornilescu 2000), Greek (Papangeli 2000), Dutch dialects (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002a,b, 2006; Haegeman & van de Velde 2006; van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007; Haegeman 2008), Swedish (Engdahl 2003, 2008), and Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2006, 2008). The volume *Syntax and Semantics* 36 (Barbiers et al. 2008) is titled *Microvariation in Syntactic Doubling*, and part II is entirely dedicated to subject doubling.[9]

In principle, there are two types of subject doubling; the doubler may precede or follow the subject.[10] In some Dutch dialects, both variants may appear, and van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002a; see also Barbiers 2008) introduce the terms *clitic doubling* and *topic doubling* in order to separate the two. In clitic doubling, a pronoun (which typically is weak, i.e. unstressed) precedes the subject (which may appear as a weak or a strong pronoun, or as a regular DP-subject), while the relative order of these elements is reversed in topic doubling.

(17) a. [doubler … subject] clitic doubling (CD)
b. [subject… doubler] topic doubling (TD)

Övdalian subject doubling would hence constitute a case of topic doubling.

In the remainder of this section, I principally introduce and discuss some previous approaches to subject doubling in other languages; I will focus on languages that are related to Övdalian – i.e., Swedish and Dutch dialects.

Since Swedish is progressively making an impact on Övdalian, and since there is a subject doubling construction in Swedish, I find it important first to demonstrate that these two constructions are radically different from each other (Section 5.1.), excluding the possibility that Övdalian subject doubling has been influenced by the Swedish construction.

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9. In the introduction to that volume, Barbiers (2008: 11) presents one Övdalian example (rendered as 1b in this paper) from Levander (1909), which is also quoted by Rosenkvist (1994, 2007). However, he presents it as grammatical (which it is not in contemporary Övdalian) in a variety that he calls "West Swedish".

10. In many cases, it is of course far from obvious whether the first or the second item is the "real" thematic subject of the clause (cf. van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2006: 1ff).

5.1 Subject doubling in Swedish

Engdahl (2003, 2008) discusses subject doubling in Swedish, which requires the presence of a clause-initial subject and a doubling pronoun, modified by a focussing adverbial (*också* 'too', *bara* 'only', *även* 'too'):[11]

(18) a. ***Jari** har också **han** slutat röka.*
Jari has also he quit smoking
'Jari, too, has quit smoking.'

b. **Jari har **han** slutat röka.*
Jari has he quit smoking
'Jari has quit smoking.'

Having investigated the meaning of the construction, Engdahl reaches the conclusion that this type of Swedish subject doubling is related to focus; the doubling pronoun must be stressed, and the focussing adverbial highlights the comparison with a previously introduced set:

> If a comparing unit is actualized in the context and […] the subject in some way is parallel with the comparing unit then this parallelism can be further underlined by the adverbial. (Engdahl 2003: 98; my translation)

For this reason, doubling is not possible in e.g. interrogative clauses, Engdahl argues (but see below). She furthermore suggests that the position of the doubling pronoun (*han* 'he' in (18a)) is SpecIP (2003: 104). However, as shown by Holmberg and Nikanne (2008: 346), the first subject item need not be clause-initial, and doubling is actually also allowed in questions:

(19) *Varför kunde **pojkarna** inte heller **dom** öppna dörren?*
why could boys-the not either they open door-the
'Why couldn't the boys open the door, either?'

As for the position of the regular subject *pojkarna* in (19), a common analysis (cf. Platzack 2010: 134ff) is that it is placed in SpecTP (or a corresponding Spec-position in the middle field). This would leave no room for the doubling subject in SpecIP, which makes it difficult to maintain Engdahl's (2003) analysis – in (19) the doubling pronoun *dom* must be situated lower in the syntactic structure, probably below NegP.

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11. The Swedish construction has a direct cognate in Romanian (Cornilescu 2000: 102):

***Tata** vine si **el** maine.*
father comes too he tomorrow
'Father too will come tomorrow.'

In addition, this type of Swedish doubling can also be applied to objects, it seems, in appropriate contexts (Engdahl 2003: 100):

(20) *Torget fungerar som mötesplats och* ***parken*** *använder*
square-the functions as meeting-place and park-the use
man också ***den*** *som ett ställe att träffas på.*
you also it as a place to meet on
'The square functions as a meeting place and the park is also used as a place to come together.'

Objects cannot be doubled in the Övdalian doubling construction. Furthermore, expletive subjects are distinctly ungrammatical in Swedish subject doubling (compare (11) above):

(21) *****Det*** *börjar också* ***det*** *att regna.*
it begins also it to rain
'It also begins to rain.'

Yet another difference between Övdalian subject doubling and subject doubling of the type described by Engdahl (2003) is that the Swedish adverbial (*också* 'also', etc.) modifies the subject constituent, whereas it is clear that this is not the case in Övdalian:

(22) a. *Också han kan tala svenska*
also he can speak Swedish
'He too can speak Swedish'

b. **Sakt an dalsker.*
SAKTA he speaks-Övdalian
'He speaks Övdalian.'

In (22a), *också han* 'he too' precedes the finite verb, indicating that these two words act as one syntactic constituent. It is not possible to construct a corresponding sentence with any of the adverbials that appear in Övdalian subject doubling.

Accordingly, a number of linguistic features, semantic as well as syntactic, indicate that Swedish subject doubling is not the same type of syntactic phenomenon as Övdalian subject doubling.

5.2 Topic doubling in Dutch dialects

Subject doubling in Dutch dialects has recently been presented, discussed and analysed in a series of papers by van Craenenbrocek and van Koppen (2002a, 2002b, 2008), Haegeman and van de Velde (2006), van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2007) and Haegeman (2008). Interestingly, in these dialects both clitic doubling and topic doubling appear, two superficially similar but derivationally

different subject doubling constructions. Clitic doubling involves a weak subject pronoun and a strong subject pronoun, and the former must precede the latter. Clitic doubling is furthermore disallowed in subject-initial main clauses, but perfectly grammatical in embedded clauses and inverted main clauses. Hence, a number of robust syntactic properties indicate that Dutch clitic doubling does not correspond to Övdalian subject doubling.[12]

On the other hand, Dutch topic doubling strongly resembles Övdalian subject doubling; it is only found in subject-initial main clauses, and there are few restrictions on the subject: "The first subject element in this dialect [Wambeek] can be a weak pronoun, a strong pronoun, a proper name or a definite DP" (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002a: 55).[13] The second subject must be a full (i.e., not phonetically reduced) pronoun, however.

(23) ***Ze/zij/dei*** ***vrou/Marie*** *gui* ***zij.***
She.WEAK/she/that woman/Mary goes she
'She/that woman/Mary is going.'

The analysis suggested by van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002b: 294ff) is that the first subject marker is a topic, situated in SpecCP, while the second occupies SpecAgrSP. One of their supporting arguments is that in an interrogative main clause, it is possible to double the interrogative pronoun, but only if the clause is interpreted as a rhetorical question:

(24) ***Wie*** *eid-****ij*** *da geduin?*
who has-he that done
*'who has done that?'
'It is obvious that he/no-one has done that'

Van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002b: 295) argue that topicalisation and *wh*-movement in questions are incompatible, and since the subject must be a topic in the topic doubling construction, (24) may only receive a non-interrogative interpretation.

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12. A common analysis of clitic doubling is that the doubler starts out as a determiner in a complex DP (cf. van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002a,b, 2008; Holmberg & Nikanne 2008; Barbiers et al. 2007; cf. also Grohmann 2000 and Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002). However, such analyses presuppose that there is no lexical material in the complex DP – were it so, extraction of the clitic doubler would have been impossible. "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" (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2006: 19). Subject doubling constructions in which full DP-subjects precede pronominal doublers must hence be analysed differently.

13. Other Dutch dialects are not as permissive – e.g. the Lapscheure dialect only allows weak subject pronouns in clause-initial position (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002b: 300). In this respect, Övdalian seems to be the most liberal language variety, accepting not merely the same subject types as the Wambeek dialect, but also expletives, null subjects and clausal subjects.

Having ascertained that the subject must be clause-initial in the topic doubling constructions found in Dutch dialects, van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002b: 294ff) suggest that it is merged externally in SpecCP, while the doubling item, a pronoun, has moved from SpecVP to SpecAgrSP. Had the subject doubler been locally A-bound by the subject, they argue, a Condition B-violation would have followed. The subject thus merges directly in SpecCP, and forms a chain with the lower subject doubler, in SpecAgrSP, in order to receive a value for case and a theta-role. The derivation of the sentence in (25) is illustrated in Figure 1.[14]

(25) ***Marie*** *komt* ***zaai***.
Mary comes she
'Mary is coming'

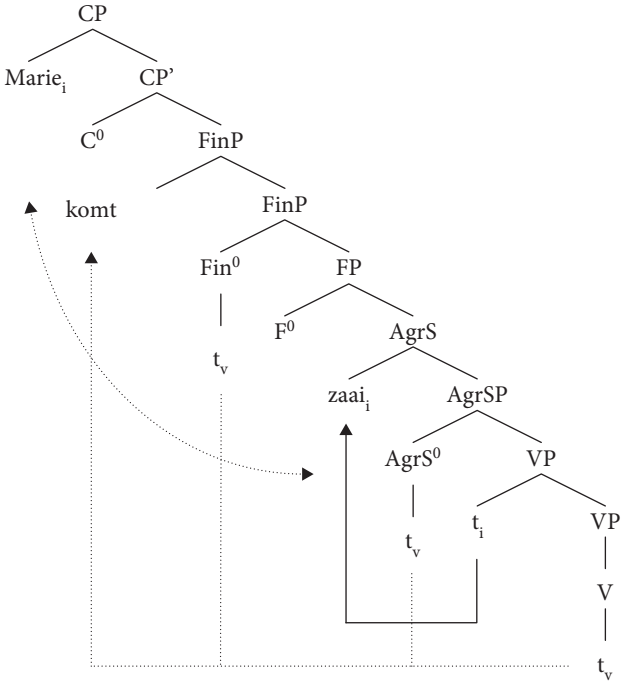

Figure 1. The derivation of topic doubling (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002b: 297).

14. The non-syntactic motivation for topic doubling in Dutch is unclear: "The motivation for this Spell Out is semantic in nature. Due to restrictions of space, however, we cannot go into this aspect of pronominal doubling here" (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002a: 63), and "The presence of the additional pronoun adds a pragmatic or discourse-functional meaning to the clause" (D'Alessandro et al 2010). See (14b), however.

In van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen's analysis, it is not clear exactly how *Marie* and *zaai* are co-indexed, nor why it is possible to merge a constituent externally in SpecCP in this construction; in general, arguments in SpecCP are merged internally from lower positions.[15] Haegeman and van de Velde (2006: 26) instead suggest that the subject is merged in SpecFinP and then topicalised, ending up in SpecForceP, while the doubling *zaai* is situated in the canonical subject position, i.e. SpecTP. Again, the same problem arises: the layer of functional phrases in the middle field is in general not available for external merging of arguments. However, the basic assumption that the doubler is a pronoun forces both van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002b) and Haegeman and van de Velde (2006) to merge the subject in a higher position than the doubler, since the subject cannot cross a co-indexed pronoun on its way to SpecCP – such a move would yield a crossover effect, due to Relativised Minimality.

Furthermore, none of these accounts can really explain the semantic/pragmatic effect of topic doubling.

As for Övdalian subject doubling, it is not possible to interpret questions of the type in (24) as rhetorical questions, which possibly explains the contrast between (24) and the corresponding Övdalian example below:

(26) ****Ukker*** *åvå* *fel* ***dier*** *tjyöpt* *faðeres gard?*
who.PL have.3PL FEL they bought father's farm
'Who have bought father's farm?'

Note that the initial element *ukker* is less specific than the doubling pronoun *dier* – both are marked for number (plural), but only the latter displays a person feature (3rd). This fact may actually allow for another possible explanation of the ungrammaticality of (26), and of the interpretation of (24). This explanation is however dependent on the analysis of Övdalian subject doubling, which will be further discussed in Section 6.

5.3 Doubling *tet* in West Flemish

In West Flemish, subjects may optionally be doubled with *tet* (Haegeman & van de Velde 2006; van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007; Haegeman 2008; the West Flemish examples below are from van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007: 174f):

15. Note that in a subject-initial clause without any doubling pronoun, the subject is generally assumed to originate in SpecVP – hence van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen's analysis implies that there is a radical syntactic difference between these two types of clauses (cf. Haegeman and van de Velde 2006: 24).

(27) a. ***Valére*** *goa* ***tet*** *da morgen nie willen doen.*
Valére goes TET that tomorrow not want do
'Valére won't want to do that tomorrow.'

b. *Morgen goa* ***tet*** ***Valére*** *da niet willen.*
tomorrow go TET Valére that not want
'Tomorrow will Valére not want to do that.'

c. *Kpeinzen dat* ***tet*** ***Valére*** *da nie goa willen doen.*
I-think that TET Valére that not go want do
'I think that Valére won't want to do that.'

Thus, *tet* may appear in main clauses as well as subordinated clauses, and it seems to occupy a fixed position, below the finite verb or the subordinator in C but above the subject (when the subject is not topicalised). It may also appear in infinitival clauses, but only when a nominative subject is present:

(28) *me* ***tet*** ***Valére*** *da nie te seggen.*
with TET Valére that not to say
'Valére not having said that.'

Invariably, *tet* must be situated in front of the subject (unless the subject has been topicalised). Thus, *tet* seems to be positioned in a functional head F below the CP-layer, van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2007) propose, but above the TP-layer. The authors then utilise this syntactic feature in a contribution to the discussion of whether the syntax of subject-initial V2-clauses differs from non-subject initial V2-clauses, pointing out that the distribution of *tet* indicates that the finite verb indeed leaves the TP-domain also in subject initial V2-clauses.

A more detailed account of the syntax of *tet* is provided by Haegeman (2008). In line with van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2007), Haegeman (2008) suggests that *tet* is a lexicalisation of a functional phrase (FP) between CP and TP, but, unlike the former analysis, *tet* is considered to be an XP situated in a Spec-position:

> Let us assume that FP is SubjP. In the unmarked case, the subject DP moves to its specifier. Inserting *tet* in the highest subject position, SpecSubjP, blocks this position for a DP subject and keeps the DP subject lower. The 'novelty effect' created by the use of *tet* is inferred from the fact that SubjP is not lexicalised by the subject DP itself. (Haegeman 2008: 290)[16]

16. Haegeman and van de Velde (2006) also place *tet* in the specifier position of a functional phrase, suggesting that this FP is analogous to ΣP, a functional phrase encoding the polarity of a clause (see further below).

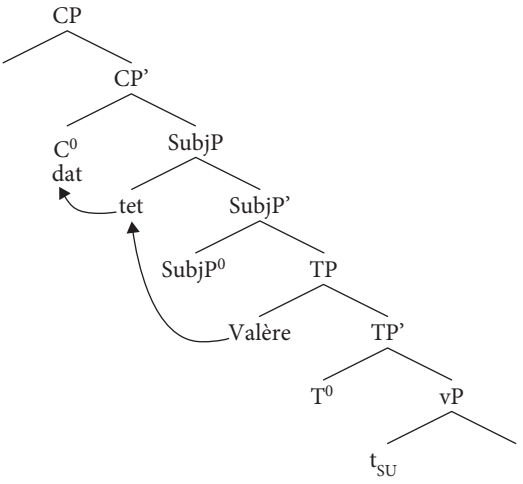

Figure 2. Derivation of subordinated clause with *tet* (Haegeman 2008).

Having ascertained that *tet*, unlike all other items but object clitics, does not block agreement between a complementizer in C and the subject in SpecTP (which has moved there in order to satisfy EPP-features), Haegeman proposes that *tet* is underspecified for φ-features (person, number and gender). This property makes it possible for *tet* to act as a relay station for φ-features. The φ-features of *tet* are specified via Agreement with the subject DP, and eventually C receives a value for its φ-features from *tet*. The upper layer of derivation may be illustrated as in Figure 2 (the arrows indicate the transfer of φ-features).

Crucially, Haegeman (2008: 294) assumes that the φ-features of *tet* remain available for agreement until the next phase, in line with Carstens (2003: 399) – otherwise, there would be no way for the φ-features of C to receive a value.

However, Haegeman also notes that some problems remain unsolved. For example, when the subject is topicalised, it must cross *tet*. The question, then, is why the probe in CP does not target *tet*, considering that *tet* and the subject share features. This is the same problem that was discussed above – if the subject skips over a co-indexed *tet* on its way to SpecCP, a crossover effect should result. Another question is why *tet* cannot act as an expletive pronoun, appearing in SpecTP, but without exception is constrained to SpecSubjP? Both of these problems relate to the assumption that *tet* is an XP-element, and hence it might be worthwhile to consider the possibility that doubling elements are heads rather than phrases (in line with van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman 2007: 175). In the following section, I suggest this is the case at least when it concerns Övdalian subject doubling.

6. A syntactic analysis of Övdalian subject doubling

Övdalian subject doubling, as well as Dutch topic doubling, might at first glance appear to display the following schematic structure:

(29) $[_{SpecCP}$ **subject**$_i$ C FV advl $[_{SpecTP}$ **doubler**$_i$ T t_v $[_{SpecVP}$ t_i V $t_v]]]$

A subject in SpecCP seems to be doubled by a matching subject doubler, in the guise of a pronoun, in a subject position in the middle field, here labelled SpecTP. The DP-subject may be a pro-DP, in the terminology of Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002), or a clause, while the lower subject marker cannot be a full DP with lexical content.

Considering the recent developments within the Minimalist Program (following Chomsky 2001), it seems plausible to assume that Övdalian subject doubling is an instance of copy spell out (as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer – see below). The doubling pronoun would then be a spelled out copy of the subject in SpecTP. However, there are several arguments against such an analysis. First, a copy of the subject must presumably display the same essential morphosyntactic features as the subject does. As shown above, there is, however, no direct match between the subject and the doubler in this respect; in (6f–g), for instance, the subject is indefinite while the doubler is a personal pronoun and thus by definition definite. A second argument against the copy hypothesis is that the pragmatic effect of Övdalian subject doubling (polarity focus) strongly suggests that the construction is associated with some functional projection in the CP-layer of the clause. Furthermore, there is an empirical argument for the assumption that the doubling element is not a copy in SpecTP. When a clausal subject is topicalised, an expletive subject *eð* cannot appear in SpecTP, as shown by the contrasts in (30a–c); as for Swedish, cf. SAG (4: 55f.). A doubling *eð* is however perfectly possible (30d). This indicates that *eð* in clauses such as (30d) is not situated in SpecTP, and, consequently, that Övdalian doublers in general are not situated in SpecTP.

(30) a. ***Kweðå*** *ir ruolit.*
sing.INF is fun
'It is fun to sing.'

b. ***Eð*** *ir ruolit* ***kweðå.***
it is fun sing.INF
'It is fun to sing.'

c. *****Kweðå*** *ir* ***eð*** *ruolit.*
sing.INF is it fun
'It is fun to sing.'

d. ***Kweðå*** *ir sakt* ***eð*** *ruolit.*
sing.INF is SAKTA it fun
'It is fun to sing.'

Considering these arguments, as well as the fact that three of the doubling constructions that have been discussed above (Övdalian subject doubling, Dutch topic doubling and West Flemish doubling with *tet*) all allow subjects to precede what appear to be co-indexed pronouns without giving rise to crossover effects, it seems reasonable to assume that the doubler is a head, and not an XP.[17] This is the proposal that is developed in this section.

If the subject doubler is analysed as an X-element, some of the problems that Haegeman (2008) leaves unsolved can be dealt with. First, a head analysis makes it possible for a probe in CP to target the subject in SpecTP and, second, we do not expect heads to act as expletive pronouns.

Recall, at this stage, the essential properties of Övdalian subject doubling:

- the subject must be clause-initial (in SpecCP).
- Övdalian subject doubling is only allowed in V2-contexts.
- the doubler matches the φ-features of the subject.
- the subject doubling construction has a discourse related function.
- the subject doubling construction appears in complementary distribution with polarity focus (realised as distinct stress on the finite verb).
- the subject doubling construction requires the presence of an adverbial expressing speaker's attitude.

Laka (1990) suggested that there is a functional projection, ΣP, between CP and IP (i.e., TP), which encodes the polarity of a sentence, and Fischer (2000) proposed that ΣP hosts sentence operators that may affirm the proposition of the sentence. In Old Catalan, the verb and a clitic are moved there, she claims (cf. also Fischer & Alexiadou 2001: 122ff). Also Raposo and Uriagereka (2005) assume that there is a functional phrase lower than CP but higher than TP, in the head of which some West Iberian clitics are placed. Such clitics "typically involve a value judgement by a speaker or a perspective-bearing subject" (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 642). As for West Flemish *tet*, Haegeman and van de Velde (2006: 14) point out that Fischer's "description of the effect of the verb-clitic sentences corresponds rather neatly to the expressive effect achieved by the insertion of *tet*. We might therefore propose that whereas in Old Catalan ΣP is lexicalised by V movement to Σ, in WF *tet* lexicalises ΣP".

Considering the pragmatic function of Övdalian subject doubling as well as its syntactic features, I will assume that a ΣP is involved in this construction as

17. An anonymous reviewer points out that there are other possible explanations for the missing crossover effect, such as copy spell out or external merge in an A'-position (cf. van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002a,b). Some of the problems with such analyses have been discussed above; that discussion is far from exhaustive, however, and it is certainly worthwhile to proceed with XP-based analyses of doubling; here, I have chosen to explore further the X-track.

well, located between CP and TP, and that the head of ΣP carries a polarity feature (a Σ-feature) and acts as a Probe. A matching feature can be found in the obligatory sentential adverbial, the Goal, merged in a lower AdvP. The polarity feature in Σ probes downward and attracts the adverbial to SpecΣP where an Agree-relation is established. Σ-Agree can be lexicalised either as the doubling element in Σ, or it might appear as a phonetic marker (stress) for polarity focus, in which case Σ-Agree cliticises to the finite verb and follows it to C (if there is no doubling element, this is obligatory). The reason why the doubler in Σ appears in the guise of a pronoun is, I suggest, that it is a reflex of the φ-features that descend from T, which hence are used to visualise the polarity feature (the doubler can hence be seen as a partial copy of the finite verb). These features no longer have any syntactic values of their own, having been valued by agreement with the subject in SpecTP, and the lexical realisation of φ-features is naturally a pronoun – pronouns and agreement affixes are the only lexical elements in Övdalian which simultanously express all φ-features (number, person, gender; cf. Grohmann 2000: 8; Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002: 410), but affixes need a host and hence cannot be merged in isolation in Σ. Like Haegeman (2008), I follow Carstens (2003; cf. Chomsky 2001) and assume that the φ-features in T are available until the CP-phase is completed. The proposed derivation of (31) is illustrated in Figure 3.

(31) ***Puostkall'n*** *ir sakt* ***an*** *duktin dalska.*
mailman-the is SAKTA he good speak-Övdalian
'The mailman is good at speaking Övdalian.'

In a subject doubling construction, Σ attracts the sentential adverb in SpecAdvP in order to establish an agreement relation that values the Σ-feature. Since the finite verb must bring the φ-features to Σ for the doubling element to be realised, clauses without verb movement to C will not license subject doubling – and as has been shown, only main clauses and embedded clauses which allow V2 are proper contexts for Övdalian subject doubling.[18] The hypothesis that verb movement is a prerequisite for topic doubling is also strengthened by the observation that Dutch topic doubling is not possible in embedded clauses (D'Alessandro et al. 2010) – which is expected, given that Dutch is an OV-language.

18. This restriction does not apply to West Flemish *tet*-doubling; however, in West Flemish complementizers agree with the subject (cf. e.g. Haegeman 2008: 12), an indication that φ-features may be present in C in all clauses in West Flemish, irrespective of the verb's structural position.

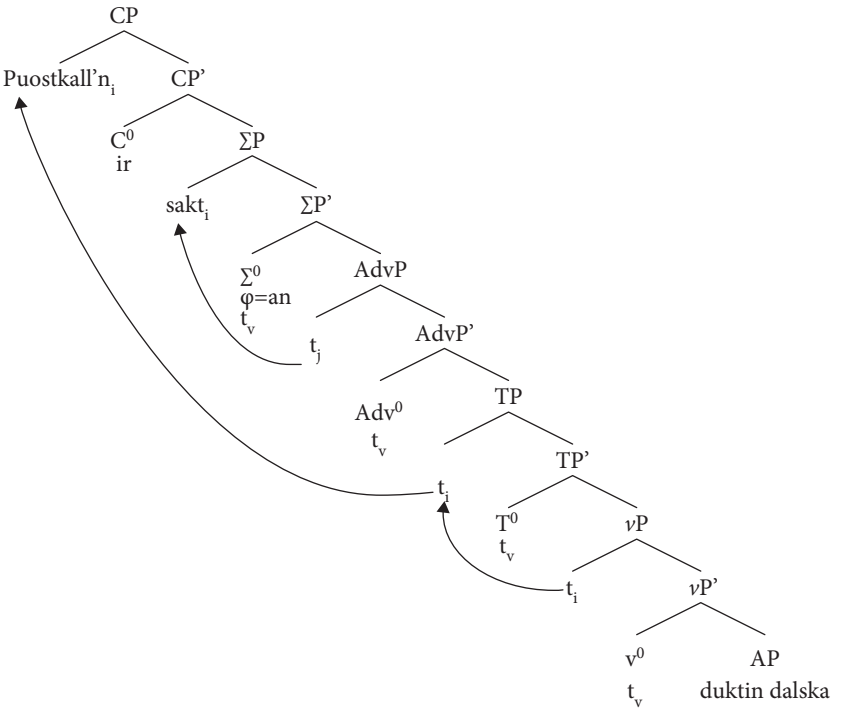

Figure 3. The derivation of Övdalian subject doubling.

Furthermore, if the Σ-feature is realised in Σ by the doubling element, then it follows that it cannot surface also in C, and hence subject doubling in clauses where polarity focus appears as stress on the finite verb are ruled out. Finally, to derive V2, an element must be merged in SpecCP, and it has been demonstrated above that only the subject may merge in SpecCP in this construction. Why must this element be the subject, then? Richards (1998) shows that in a structure such as the one in Figure 3, the Principle of Minimal Compliance (PMC) in combination with Shortest Move will control which elements it is possible to merge in SpecCP – in the structure in Figure 3, Shortest Move (Richards 1998: 614ff) determines that the element closest to SpecCP will be merged there, and that element is the subject in SpecTP. Merging any other phrase will violate PMC: "On the assumption that Shortest Move is sensitive both to landing sites and to movable elements, the paths will have to be nested, as shown, for the PMC to save the structure" (Richards 1998: 620). When the subject is clausal, the subject occupies Spec*v*P and will thus still be the closest candidate for topicalisation.

It may appear mysterious why the φ-features show up in the shape of a pronoun in the head of ΣP. A syntax-internal functional explanation is that if Σ is not

filled, it will not be visible in Spell Out (unless it follows the verb to C). Furthermore, agreement between φ-features relating to the subject is overtly expressed in some languages. Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002: 432ff) investigate so-called same subject markers, i.e., elements whose function it is to explicitly determine the reference of a pronoun. In Mojave, spoken by about 300 speakers in the Southwest of the USA, dedicated elements express that subjects are co-referential or that subjects are not co-referential (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002: 435):

(32) a. *Nya- isvar-**k** iima-k.*
when sing.SS dance.TNS (SS = same subject)
'when he$_i$ sang, he$_i$ danced.'

b. *Nya- isvar-**m** iima-k.*
when sing.DS dance.TNS (DS = different subject)
'when he$_i$ sang, he$_j$ danced.'

In (32a) the agreement morpheme *k* signals that the two subjects are co-referential, while *m* in (32b) clearly shows that they are not. Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002: 435) state that "The essence of our proposal is that different-subject-agreement is D-agreement, while same-subject-agreement is φ-agreement." (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002: 435). They also argue that φ-agreement must be co-referential with an argument, and that this argument must be the subject (2002: 436ff). As for Övdalian subject doubling, the doubling element does not determine the referentiality of a subject in an embedded clause (as in Mojave), but appears in the main clause with an unambiguous subject. However, the syntactic apparatus, i.e., overt realisation of φ-features (possibly a partial copy of the finite verb), may be the same, although the application of the syntactic device differs.

Finally, consider again that interrogative pronouns such as *ukker* ('who-PL', cf. (26) above) are disallowed as clause-initial subject markers in Övdalian subject doubling. *Ukker* has a value for number (plural), but – arguably – no values for person or gender. There is no Övdalian lexical element that matches the φ-features of *ukker*. The closest alternative is 3rd person – *dier* ('they'). Hence, doubling of *ukker* with *dier* would lead to a mismatch between the features of the DP-subject *ukker* and the doubling element. Furthermore, since *ukker* also carries a *wh*-feature, it cannot function as a doubling element itself, but must *wh*-move to SpecCP. In Wambeek Dutch topic doubling, however, *wh*-elements are accepted as initial subject markers – below, example (24) is repeated:

(33) ***Wie** eid-**ij** da geduin?*
who has-he that done
*'who has done that?'
'it is obvious that he/no-one has done that'

In (33), *wie* has no *wh*-interpretation and "refers to an entity which is already known or understood by the hearer (either a specific person or no-one at all)" (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002a: 65) – i.e., *wie* functions as a (generic) personal pronoun in this particular case, and it may hence be assumed that there actually is a match in φ-features between *wie* and *ij*. *Wie* and *ij* are either both referring to a specific person (3rd person, masculine, singular), or to no person in particular. Questions with initial *wh*-elements may however not be interpreted as rhetorical questions in Övdalian, as mentioned above, and thus Övdalian constructions of the type in (33) are not possible.[19]

7. Some final remarks

Subject doubling constructions can be found in a relatively large number of languages, and it appears in two syntactic shapes: topic doubling and clitic doubling. Subject doubling may also have two different types of meanings (at least). The construction can be used as a device for focussing the subject (as in Swedish; cf Engdahl 2003, 2008) or for expressing a certain type of pragmatic meaning (as in for instance Övdalian, West Flemish, Finnish, Romanian, etc.)

In this paper, I have introduced and analyzed Övdalian subject doubling, and I argue that this construction is a case of topic doubling expressing a meaning that lies very close to polarity focus. Övdalian subject doubling is similar to topic doubling and doubling of *tet* in Dutch dialects, as described by van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002a, b, 2006), Haegeman & van de Velde (2006), van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman (2007) and Haegeman (2008). By analysing the subject doubler as an instance of overt φ-agreement, placed in the head of a functional phrase ΣP located between CP and TP, the problem with the lack of crossover effects when the thematic subject is topicalised is solved.

In recent versions of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2001, 2004, 2008), head movement is considered to be a PF-phenomenon, since head movement does not appear to cause any LF-effects. This view has however been challenged by Lechner (2007) and Roberts (2010), among others, who point out that, for instance, certain interpretations of modal auxiliaries as well as NPI-licensing in English suggest that head movement may occur in narrow syntax. Roberts (2010) furthermore claims that a popular alternative analysis, remnant VP-movement, fails to explain

19. An anonymous reviewer notes that clauses may be doubled in Övdalian (as has been illustrated above), although they lack φ-features. Likewise, non-referential subjects can also be doubled. In both of these cases, it seems plausible that the doubler appears as *eð* because 3rd person singular is the default verb agreement affix as well as the default subject pronoun in Övdalian.

certain instances of c-command (Roberts 2010: 17ff). Crucially for this paper, Roberts also discusses verb and auxiliary movement to T and C (2010: 158–183), and he concludes that these types of movement are "narrow-syntactic operations" (2010: 183). The analysis that has been presented here can thus be seen as a piece of supporting evidence: As we have seen, verb movement to C is an essential prerequisite for the Övdalian doubling construction, and since this construction expresses a type of meaning (polarity focus) which plausibly is an LF-feature, it can be concluded that the finite verb must have moved to C in narrow syntax.

Although there are similarities between subject doubling in Övdalian and in other languages, Övdalian subject doubling also displays some characteristic features; i.e., an adverbial expressing speaker's attitude must be present, and the construction is only possible in V2-contexts. Further studies may contribute to a better understanding of these differences.

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