Germanic expletives revisited
In pursuit of Kayne's dream

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MAIN GOAL OF THIS PAPER
To provide an illustration of how microvariational research can shed new light on questions raised at a macro-(or meso-)variational level, i.e. to pursue Kayne's dream:

(1) **Kayne's dream**
"Comparative work on the syntax of a large number of closely related languages can be thought of as a new research tool, one that is capable of providing results of an unusually fine-grained and particularly solid character." (Kayne 1996:xii)

MORE SPECIFICALLY
To revisit a number of central generalizations in the area of Germanic expletives from the perspective of dialectal Dutch.

THEORETICAL CLAIMS
1. So-called specCP-expletives spell out a C°-head, i.e. they are complementizers.
2. SpecTP-expletives of the *there*-type are the spell-out of locative agreement with T°.
3. Within Belgian Dutch, variation with respect to expletives, proniminal doubling, and complementizer agreement is reducible to a single parameter: the absence vs. presence of obligatory T°-to-C° movement.

1 Germanic expletives: the lay of the land

1.1 Introduction

→ expletive constructions have been argued to come in many shapes and sizes, including at least the following:

weather and time expressions
(2) a. **It** is snowing.
 b. **It** is five o'clock.

clausal extraposition
(3) a. **It** is hard to believe that you dislike Lady Gaga.
 b. I take **it** that you dislike Lady Gaga.
 c. You must see to **it** that he buys the new Lady Gaga album.

'unlinked expletives' in object position (Postal & Pullum 1988)
(4) a. The wimp couldn't take **it**.
 b. He has **it** in for me.
 c. Beat **it**!
 d. Keep **it** up with the sarcasm and I'll belt you.
 e. The president seems completely out of **it**.

impersonal passives
(5) **Det** ble danset. (Danish, Mohr 2005:121)
 it was danced
 'There was dancing.'

existentials
(6) **There** are dinosaurs in your room.

presentational constructions
(7) **Er** staat een man in de tuin. (Dutch)
 there stands a man in the garden
 'There is a man standing in the garden.'

in this talk the focus is on expletive constructions where the expletive takes a DP-associate, i.e. (6) and (7)

1.2 Classifying the data: three variables

→ the expletive data from Germanic can be classified along the following three axes:

(a) **morphology of the expletive:** in some languages expletives are personal (or demonstrative) pronouns (i.e. of the *it*/*that*-type), while in others they are locative in nature (i.e. of the *there*-type)

***it*-type expletives** (Vikner 1995:225-226)

(8) a.   Det   har kommit en pojke.   (Swedish)
         it   has come   a   boy
         'A boy has come.'
    b.   Es ist ein Junge   gekommen.   (German)
         it is a   boy   come
         'A boy has come.'
    c.   Það   hefur   komið strákur.   (Icelandic)
         it   has   come   a.boy
         'A boy has come.'

***there*-type expletives** (Vikner 1995:225-226)

(9) a.   Der   er kommet   en dreng.   (Danish)
         there   is come   a   boy
         'A boy has come.'
    b.   Er   is een jongen gekomen.   (Dutch)
         there   is a   boy   come
         'A boy has come.'
    c.   There arrived three men.   (English)

(b) **positional restrictions on the expletive:** some expletives can only occur in a limited number of structural positions/sentence types, while others are not positionally restricted. The relevant positions are subject-initial (or rather: expletive-initial) main clauses, inverted main clauses and embedded clauses.

type #1: no positional restrictions

(10) a.   Er   staat   een man   in de tuin.   (Dutch)
         there   stands   a   man   in   the garden
         'There is a man standing in the garden.'
    b.   Staat er   een man   in de tuin?
         stands there   a   man   in   the garden
         'Is there a man standing in the garden?'

    c.   dat   er   een man   in de tuin   staat.
         that   there   a   man   in the garden stands
         'that here is a man standing in the garden.'

type #2: only allowed in expletive-initial main clauses

(11) a.   Es ist ein Junge   gekommen.   (German)
         it is a   boy   come
         'A boy has come.'
    b. *   Ist es ein Junge   gekommen?
         is it a   boy   come
    c. *   das   es ein Junge   gekommen ist.
         that   it a   boy   come   is

type #3: only allowed in expletive-initial main clauses and embedded clauses

(12) a.   það eru mýs   í   baðkerinu.   (Icelandic, Thráinsson 2007:310,312,329)
         it   are mice   in   bathtub.the
         'There are mice in the bathtub.'
    b. *   Eru það mýs   í   baðkerinu?
         are it   mice   in   bathtub.the
    c.   að   það verði   ball   í   skólanum á morgun.
         that   it   will.be   dance   in   school.the   tomorrow
         'That there will be a dance in the school tomorrow.'

terminological note: expletives that are positionally restricted are traditionally called **specCP-expletives** (the idea being that this is the only position they can occur in), while those that are not positionally restricted are called **specTP-expletives**

(c) **agreement:** in some languages verbal agreement tracks (the phi-features of) the associate DP, while in others it tracks (the phi-features of) the expletive

(13)   Es sind/*ist   zwei Männer   im   Garten.   (German)
      it are/is   two   men   in.the   garden
      'There are two men in the garden.'

(14)   Det   er nett   skote/*skotne nokre   elgar.   (Stryn-dialect of Norwegian)
      $it_{n.sg}$ is just $shot_{n.sg}$/$shot_{m.pl}$ some $elks_{m.pl}$ (Åfarli 2009)
      'Some elks were just shot.'

    cf.   (15)   Elgane   vart   skotne.   (Stryn-dialect of Norwegian)
                     $the.elks_{m.pl}$ were $shot_{m.pl}$
                     'The elks were shot.'

1.3　　The interaction between the three variables

→ even though they are logically independent, the three variables introduced above show a systematic pairwise interaction:

(a)　morphology vs. positional restrictions: expletives that show positional restrictions (specCP-expletives) never have locative morphology (Biberauer & Richards 2005:149-150n23, Mohr 2005:142)

(16)　a.　Es ist ein Junge gekommen.　　(German, Vikner 1995:226)
　　　　　it is a boy come
　　　　　'A boy has come.'
　　b.　Það hefur komið strákur.　　(Icelandic, Vikner 1995:226)
　　　　　it has come a.boy
　　　　　'A boy has come.'
　　c.　Es iz gekumen a yingl.　　(Yiddish, Vikner 1995:226)
　　　　　it is come a boy
　　　　　'A boy has come.'

(b)　positional restrictions vs. agreement: when there is a specCP-expletive, verbal agreement always tracks (the phi-features of) the associate DP

(17)　a.　Es sind zwei Männer im Garten.　　(German)
　　　　　it_{sg} are_{pl} two men_{pl} in.the garden
　　　　　'There are two men in the garden.'
　　b.　það eru mýs í baðkerinu.　　(Icelandic, Thráinsson 2007:310)
　　　　　it_{sg} are_{pl} $mice_{pl}$ in bathtub.the
　　　　　'There are mice in the bathtub.'
　　c.　Es veln oyfshteyn groyse khakhomim fun Daytshland. (Yiddish)
　　　　　it_{sg} $will_{pl}$ stand.up great $sages_{pl}$ from Germany
　　　　　'Great sages from Germany will stand up'　　　(Prince 1988:176)

(18)　a.　Es gibt ein Brunnen im Garten.　　(German)
　　　　　it gives a well in.the garden
　　　　　'There's a well in the garden.'
　　b.　Gibt es ein Brunnen im Garten?
　　　　　gives it a well in.the garden
　　　　　'Is there a well in the garden?'
　　c.　Es *geben/gibt zwei Brunnen im Garten.
　　　　　it_{sg} $give_{pl}$/$gives_{sg}$ two $wells_{pl}$ in.the garden
　　　　　'There are two wells in the garden.'

(19)　a.　Es ist ein Junge gekommen.　　(German)
　　　　　it is a boy come
　　　　　'A boy has come.'
　　b.　* Ist es ein Junge gekommen?
　　　　　is it a boy come
　　c.　Es sind/*ist zwei Männer im Garten.
　　　　　it_{sg} are_{pl}/is_{sg} two men_{pl} in.the garden
　　　　　'There are two men in the garden.'

(c)　agreement vs. morphology: when the expletive is locative in nature, verbal agreement always tracks (the phi-features of) the associate DP

(20)　a.　Det er nett skote/*skotne nokre elgar.　(Stryn-dialect of Norwegian)
　　　　　$it_{n.sg}$ is just $shot_{n.sg}$/$shot_{m.pl}$ some $elks_{m.pl}$　　(Åfarli 2009)
　　　　　'Some elks were just shot.'
　　b.　Der er nett *skote/skotne nokre elgar.
　　　　　there is just $shot_{n.sg}$/$shot_{m.pl}$ some $elks_{m.pl}$
　　　　　'Some elks were just shot.'

1.4　　Data summary

(21)

morphology of the expletive	position of the expletive	agreement target		sample languages
IT	specCP	associate		German, Icelandic, Yiddish
		expletive	███████	
	specTP	associate		Faroese?[1]
		expletive		Swedish, Stryn-dialect of Norwegian (*det*)
THERE	specCP	associate	███████	
		expletive	███████	
	specTP	associate		Dutch, English, Danish, Afrikaans, Stryn-dialect of Norwegian (*der*)
		expletive	███████	

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[1] Faroese is the only language I know of that has an *it*-type specTP-expletive, but where the verbal agreement tracks the associate. The facts are debated, however: while the agreement data are clear, some authors claim the Faroese expletive *tað* 'it' is of the specCP-type (see Eriksen 2009, Cardinaletti 1997:523n2, Holmberg & Platzack 1995:103n13, Thráinsson e.a. 2004:275 for conflicting views). It that turns out to be the case, this cell might also be empty.

1.5 Research questions

→ the data and generalizations just reviewed raise a number of research questions:

(22) **Question #1:**
How can semantically vacuous elements be positionally determined, i.e. what is the difference between specCP- and specTP-expletives?

(23) **Question #2:**
Why are specCP-expletives never morphologically locative?

related side-question:
Why are object expletives never morphologically locative?

(24)   a.   The wimp couldn't take it/*there.
       b.   He has it/*there in for me.
       c.   Beat it/*there!
       d.   Keep it/*there up with the sarcasm and I'll belt you.
       e.   The president seems completely out of it/*there.

(25) **Question #3:**
Why is agreement with the expletive only possible (a) when it is not of the specCP-type, and (b) when it is not locative?

2 Zooming in: expletives (and more) in dialect Dutch

2.1 Recreating the basic contrasts on a micro scale

→ expletive constructions in the dialects of Dutch spoken in Belgium (and the northeast of France) show the same contrast between (non-locative, non-agreeing) specCP-expletives and (locative, non-agreeing) specTP-expletives as the one found across Germanic:

specTP-expletives (Wambeek Dutch)

(26)   a.   Dui   stonj   twieë   vantjn   inn   of.
            there   stand$_{pl}$ two   men$_{pl}$ in.the   garden
            'There are two men standing in the garden.'
       b.   Stonj   dui   twieë   vantjn   inn   of?
            stand$_{pl}$ there   two   men$_{pl}$ in.the   garden
            'Are there two men standing in the garden?'
       c.   dat   dui   twieë   vantjn   inn   of   stonj.
            that   there   two   men$_{pl}$ in.the   garden   stand$_{pl}$
            'There are two men standing in the garden.'

specCP-expletives (Lapscheure Dutch, Grange & Haegeman 1989, Haegeman 1986, L. Haegeman p.c.)

(27)   a.   T   zyn   gisteren   drie   studenten   gekommen.
            it   are$_{pl}$ yesterday   three   studenten$_{pl}$ come
            'Three students came yesterday.'
       b. * Zyn   t   gisteren   drie   studenten   gekommen?
            are   it   yesterday   three   students   come
       c. * dan   t   gisteren   drie   studenten   gekommen zyn.
            that$_{pl}$ it   yesterday   three   students   come   are

→ in inverted main clauses and embedded clauses, these dialects use a locative form as expletive (*er/t'r/d'r*). In some dialects, this locative shows up as an option (though often marked) in subject-initial main clauses as well:

(28)   a. ?? Der   zyn   vee   mensen   gekommen.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
            there   are$_{pl}$ many   people$_{pl}$ come   (Haegeman 1986:10)
            'Many people came.'
       b.   Gisteren   zyn   der   drie   studenten   gekommen.
            yesterday   are   there   three   students   come
            'Three students came yesterday.'   (Grange & Haegeman 1989:160)
       c.   dan   der   nie vele   mensen   woaren.
            that$_{pl}$ there   not many   people   were
            'that there weren't many people.'   (Haegeman 1992:50)

geographical distribution of specCP-expletives:

(29)
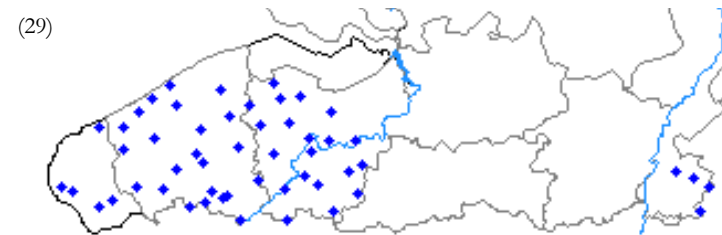
Map #1: Distribution of specCP-expletives in Belgian Dutch (data from Barbiers e.a. 2006)

terminological note: henceforth, dialects with specCP-expletives = **C-dialects**, and dialects with specTP-expletives = **T-dialects**

→ the Belgian dialects of Dutch recreate on a micro scale a substantial portion of the Pangermanic generalizations about expletives introduced in the previous section

2.2   Additional correlations and generalizations

→ given that the dialects discussed here are closely related (e.g. same setting for 'macroparameters' such as V2, V-to-I, OV, etc.), the chances of empirical correlations being due to the same (micro)parameter setting are greatly increased (cf. Kayne's dream)
→ the SAND-data (Barbiers e.a. 2005, 2006, 2008) contain (at least) five phenomena that correlate with the split between C- and T-dialects:

(30)   **Generalization A:**
In C-dialects the (locative) expletive is always obligatory in inverted main clauses and embedded clauses, while in T-dialects it is not (see also Haegeman 1986).

(31)   dat   *(er)   in de fabrieke   nen jongen   werkte.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
that   there   in the factory   a   boy   worked   (Haegeman 1986:3)
'that a boy worked in the factory.'

(32)   dat   (er)   in dei fabriek   nen joeng   werktn.   (Wambeek Dutch)
that   there   in that factory   a   boy   worked
'that a boy worked in that factory.'

geographical distribution:

(33)

Map #2: Obligatory expletive in inverted main clause (data from Barbiers e.a. 2006)

(34)   **Generalization B:**
T-dialects can use the emphatic/demonstrative form of the locative pronoun (i.e. *daar* 'there') as expletive, but C-dialects cannot.

(35) * Doa   ligt ier   nen brief   ip tafel.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
there   lies here   a   letter   on table   (L. Haegeman p.c.)
'There's a letter lying on the table here.'

(36)   Dui   leit ie   nen brief   op tuifel.   (Wambeek Dutch)
there   lies here   a   letter   on table
'There's a letter lying on the table here.'

geographical distribution:

(37)

Map #3: Use of *daar* as expletive (Barbiers e.a. 2005:49)

(38)   **Generalization C:**
C-dialects display complementizer agreement.

(39)   Kvinden   da*(n)   die   boeken te diere   zyn.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
I.find   that.PL those   books   too expensive   are   (Haegeman 1992:51)
'I think noone will buy that book.'

(40)   Ik venj   da(*n)   dei   boeken te dier   zen.   (Wambeek Dutch)
I   think   that.PL those   books   too expensive   are
'I think noone will buy that book.'

**geographical distribution:**

(41)
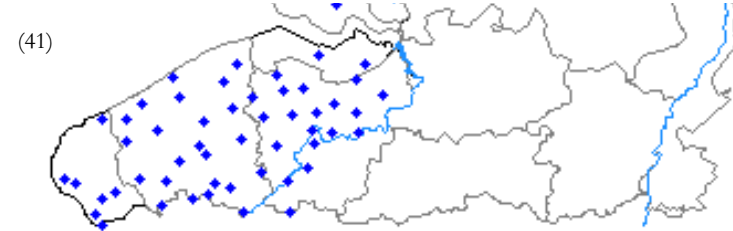
Map #4: Complementizer agreement in -*n* in 3pl (Barbiers e.a. 2005:35)

(42) **Generalization D:**
C-dialects have a complete clitic doubling paradigm, while T-dialects only have a partial paradigm (typically 1st sg and 2nd sg/pl).

(43) Kpeinzen   dase   (zie)   morgen   goat.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
I.think   that.she   she   tomorrow   goes   (Haegeman 1992:49)
'I think she's gonna go tomorrow.'

(44) Asse   (*zij)   zo gevaarlijk   leeft,   dan…
if.she   she   so dangerous   lives   then…
'If she lives so dangerously, then…'   (Antwerp Dutch, Barbiers e.a. 2006)

geographical distribution:

(45)
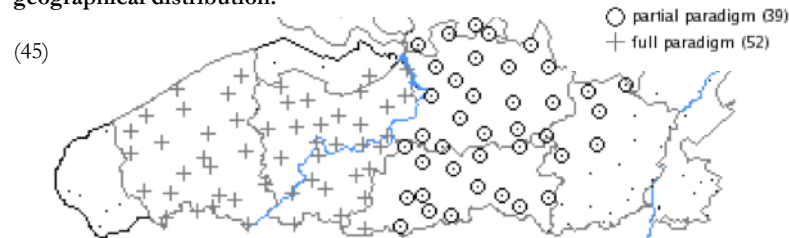
Map #5: Full vs. partial clitic doubling paradigm (Barbiers e.a. 2005:60)

(46) **Generalization E:**
Pronominal doubling in subject-initial main clauses with two strong pronouns is disallowed in C-dialects.

(47) * Zie   goa   zie.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
she$_{strong}$ goes   she$_{strong}$ (Haegeman 1992:66)
'She's going.'

(48) Zaai   gui   zaai.   (Wambeek Dutch)
she$_{strong}$ goes   she$_{strong}$
'She's going.'

geographical distribution:

(49)

Map #6: Subject-initial pronominal doubling with 2 strong pronouns (Barbiers e.a. 2005:53-59)

note: this generalization matches (the mirror image of) the C-dialect area less nicely than generalizations A-D → possible confounding factor: the use of the third person masculine pronoun as a general purpose focus marker (and hence not an instance of pronominal doubling)

(50) Marie   eid   ij   duimee   niks   te   zien.   (Wambeek Dutch)
Mary   has   he   there.with   nothing to   see
'That's none of Mary's business.'

geographical distribution (second attempt):

(51)
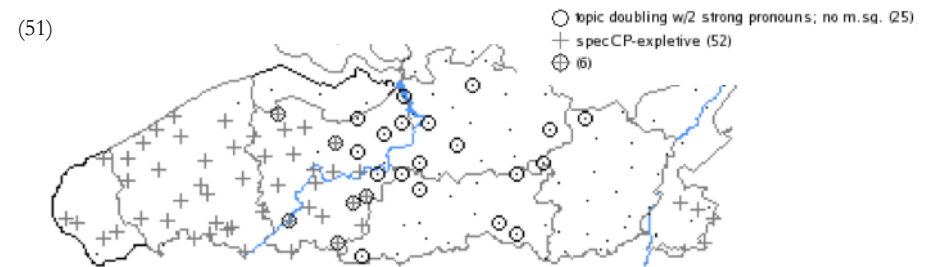
Map #7: Subject-initial pronominal doubling with 2 strong pronouns but without 3.m.sg, compared to specCP-expletives (Barbiers e.a. 2005:53-59, Barbiers e.a. 2006)

2.3 Data summary

→ the split between dialects with a specCP-expletive (C-dialects) and dialects with a specTP-expletive (T-dialects) in Belgian Dutch correlates with a number of additional properties

C-dialects:
- have an obligatory locative expletive in inverted and embedded contexts
- display complementizer agreement
- have a complete clitic doubling paradigm

(52)

| complementizer agreement (54)
□ obl. expletive in inv./emb. (48)
— clitic doubling full paradigm (52)
○ specCP-expletive (52)

T-dialects:
- can use *daar* as expletive
- can have subject-initial pronominal doubling with 2 strong pronouns
- only have a partial clitic doubling paradigm

(53)

| topic doubling w/2 strong pronouns, no m.sg. (25)
○ 'daar' as expletive (60)
— clitic doubling partial paradigm (39)
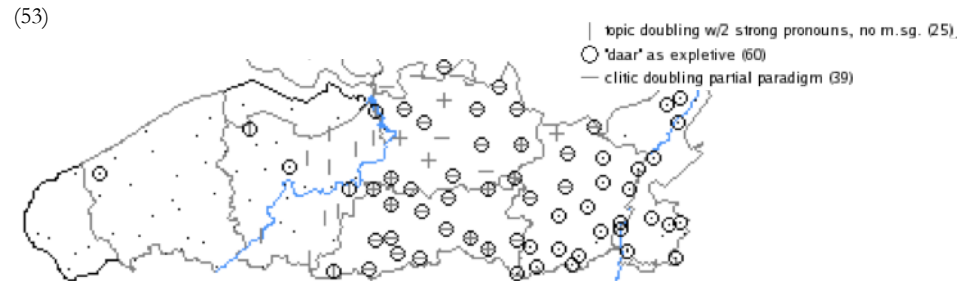
2.4 The central hypothesis

hypothesis: the correlations and generalizations reviewed above are all the result of a single parametric difference between C-dialects and T-dialects, i.e. a different setting for the T-to-C-movement parameter:

(54) **T-to-C-movement parameter:**
T° {does/does not} obligatorily move to C°.

(55)
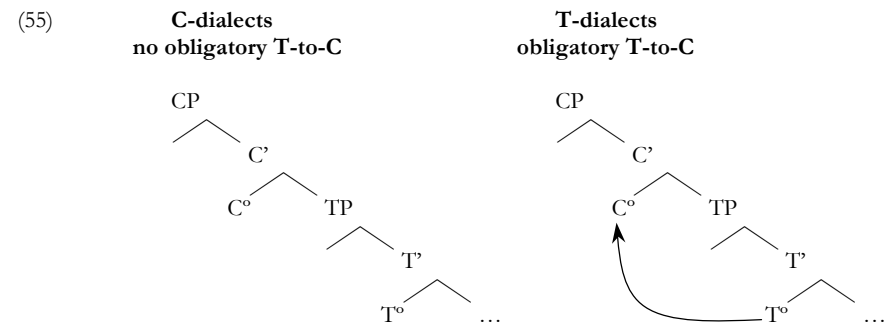
corrolaries:
- while in C-dialects C° can have a (e.g. phi-)feature specification independently of T°, in T-dialects there is one unique feature specification for the entire T°/C°-complex
- the structures in (55) imply that while T-dialects are Den Besten-type languages (in Postma's 2010, 2011 terminology), C-dialects are Zwart-type languages

(56) **Den Besten-type languages: all V2-sentences are CPs**

subject-intial:	[$_{CP}$	SUBJECT	[$_{C°}$	VERB]	[$_{TP}$ t$_{SUBJECT}$	[$_{T°}$	t$_{VERB}$]	…
inverted:	[$_{CP}$	XP	[$_{C°}$	VERB]	[$_{TP}$ SUBJECT	[$_{T°}$	t$_{VERB}$]	…

(57) **Zwart-type languages: subject-initial V2-sentences are TPs**

|								
subject-intial:					[$_{TP}$ SUBJECT	[$_{T°}$	VERB]	…
inverted:	[$_{CP}$	XP	[$_{C°}$	VERB]	[$_{TP}$ SUBJECT	[$_{T°}$	t$_{VERB}$]	…

2.5 The analysis: deriving the correlations

2.5.1 SpecCP-expletives

2.5.1.1 The traditional account

(58)   T   zyn   gisteren   drie   studenten gekommen.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
       it   are   yesterday three   studenten$_{pl}$ come
      'Three students came yesterday.'   (Grange & Haegeman 1989:163)

traditional (mostly implicit) account: *t* is a reduced form of the third person neuter pronoun *het* 'it' which is base-generated in (or obligatorily moved to, see below) specCP (Grange & Haegeman 1989, Haegeman 1986, Vikner 1995)

(59)
```
              CP
            /    \
       (he)t      C'
                /    \
              C°      TP
              |      /  \
             zyn    /    \
                   gisteren drie studenten gekommen
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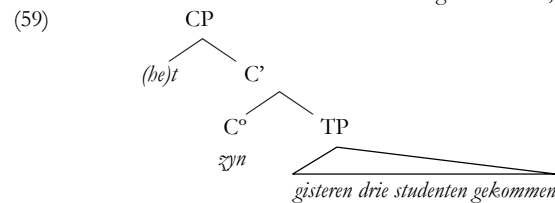
2.5.1.2 Problems for the traditional account

(a) *(he)t* is independently disallowed in specCP: as discussed extensively by Zwart (1993, 1997), sentences in which the third person neuter pronoun is unambiguously in specCP are disallowed:

(60) * t   eenk   niet   gezien.   (Lapscheure Dutch, Haegeman 2004)
        it   have.I not   seen
        INTENDED: 'I haven't seen it.'

(b) the specCP-expletive cannot be replaced by *dat* 'that': all instances of *(he)t* 'it'—including expletive uses—can be replaced by the demonstrative pronoun *da(t)* 'that', except for the specCP-expletive illustrated in (58) (Grange & Haegeman 1989):

(61)   dat   et/da regent   (Lapscheure Dutch)
      that   it/that rains
      'that it is raining.'

(62)   Ze   aanveerden et/da nie da   se werkt.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
      they   accept   it/that not that she works
      'They don't accept that she has a job.'

(63)   T/da 's Valère nie die da gezeid oat.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
      it/that is V.   not REL that said   has
      'It is not Valère who said that.'

(64)   Et/da bevalt men   ier.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
      it/that pleases me   here
      'I like it here.'

(65)   Het/da was spytig van dat   ongeluk.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
      it/that was a.pity of that   accident
      'Too bad about that accident.'

(66)   T/*da zyn gisteren   drie   studenten gekommen. (Lapscheure Dutch)
      it/that are yesterday three   students   come
      'Three students came yesterday.

(c) the specCP-expletive cannot be spelled out in full, i.e. as *het*: while the reduction of *het* to *t* is normally completely optional (with the full form perhaps being slightly more emphatic), the specCP-expletive is always *t*, never *(h)et* (cf. also the fact that Haegeman 1990:356 refers to the specCP-expletive as "the third person neuter clitic *t*")

(67)   Vanacker (1978:618): "We nemen zelfs dat *t* in de zin *Er waren vijf prijzen* (..) niet mag worden geïnterpreteerd als een vorm van *het*. In de eerste plaats valt het op dat voor die RND-zin nergens een vokalisch element vóór *t* wordt opgegeven."

     "We even assume that *t* in the sentence *There were vijf prizes* cannot be interpreted as a form of *het*. Firstly it should be noted that no informant inserted a vocalic element before the *t*."

(68)   a.   (E)t   regent.   (Blankenberge Dutch, K. Vanaudendaerde p.c.)
           it   rains
          'It is raining.'
     b.   (*E)t   staan   drie   mannen   in den hof.
           it   stand   three   men   in the garden
          'There are three men standing in the garden.'

(d) the specCP-expletive is incompatible with the locative expletive: if the obligatoriness of the locative expletive in embedded and inverted contexts indicates that specTP cannot remain empty, the analysis in (59) presents a counterexample to this generalization

recall:

(69) **Generalization A:**
In C-dialects the (locative) expletive is always obligatory in inverted main clauses and embedded clauses, while in T-dialects it is not. (see also Haegeman 1986)
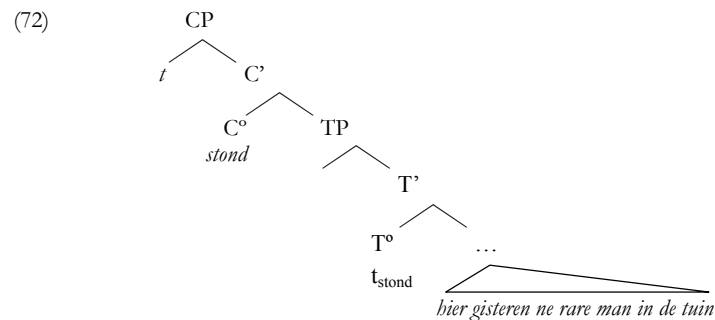
(70) dat   *(er)   in de fabrieke   nen jongen werkte.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
that   there   in the factory   a   boy   worked   (Haegeman 1986:3)
'that a boy worked in the factory.'

possible account: specTP cannot remain empty (EPP), but indefinite subjects obligatorily surface lower than specTP in Lapscheure Dutch ⇒ *er* is obligatory (Haegeman 1986)

however: in subject-initial main clauses *er* is obligatorily absent:

(71) T   stond (*er)   hier   gisteren   nen raren   vent   in den hof.
it   stood there here   yesterday   a   weird   man   in the garden
INTENDED: 'There was a strange man in the garden yesterday.' (L. Haegeman p.c.)

→ if *t* is base-generated in specCP, then specTP remains empty in the absence of *er*

(72)

```
           CP
          /  \
         t    C'
             /  \
           C°    TP
          stond    \
                    T'
                   /  \
                 T°    …
                t_stond   \
                    hier gisteren ne rare man in de tuin
```

→ another option would be to base-generate *t* in specTP and obligatorily move it to specCP (cf. Vikner 1995:186), but that fails to explain why the finite verb cannot agree with *t* (cf. the positional restrictions/agreement-interaction in (17)-(19))

conclusion: the traditional account of *t* as a specCP-expletive faces considerable empirical and theoretical problems

2.5.1.3 Towards an alternative: comparing dialect Dutch to Welsh and Breton

→ while specCP-expletives are typologically rare, there are other elements that show clear distributional similarities with specCP-expletives → in this section I compare West Flemish *t* to the Breton particle *bez* (Jouitteau 2005, 2008, 2011) and the Welsh particle *fe* (Willis 1998, 2007, Borsley e.a. 2007, Jouitteau 2008)

(73) Bez'   e   ra   glav.   (Breton, Jouitteau 2008:170)
PRT   ®   does   rain
'It rains.'

(74) Fe   glywes   i'r cloc.   (Welsh, Jouitteau 2008:168)
PRT   heard.s1g the clock
'I heard the clock.'

(a) disallowed in postverbal position

specCP-expletive

(75) * Zyn   t   gisteren   drie   studenten   gekommen?   (Lapscheure Dutch)
are   it   yesterday three students   come

Breton *bez*

(76) * Glav   bez   a   ra.   (Breton, Jouitteau 2008:170)
rain   PRT   ®   does
'It rains.'

Welsh *fe*

(77) * Brynodd   fe Elin   dorth   o   fara. (Welsh, based on Borsley e.a. 2007:11)
buy.PAST.3S   PRT Elin   loaf   of bread
'Elin bought a loaf of bread.'

(b) ungrammatical when another element precedes the verb

specCP-expletive

(78) * Gisteren   t   was   veel   volk   ip die   feeste.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
yesterday it   was   many   people on that   party
INTENDED: 'There were many people at the party yesterday.'   (L. Haegeman p.c.)

Breton *bez*

(79)   "*bez* is in mutual exclusive distribution with any other pre-Tense element" (Jouitteau 2011:5)

Welsh *fe*

(80) * Hwyrach   fe   fydd   rhaid   i   chi aros.   (Welsh)
        probably   PRT   be.FUT.3S   necessary   to   you wait.INF
        'You'll probably have to wait.'   (Borsley e.a. 2007:124)

(c) disallowed in embedded clauses

specCP-expletive

(81) * dan   t   gisteren   drie   studenten   gekommen zyn.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
        that$_{pl}$ it   yesterday   three   students   come   are

Breton *bez*

(82)   "In embedded domains, *bez* is only licit in structures that independently allow for embedded V2 orders" (Jouitteau 2011:6)

Welsh *fe*

(83)   "Occurrence of the *Mi/Fe* particles in Welsh is restricted to matrix sentences." (Jouitteau 2008:168)

(d) regular subject-verb agreement

specCP-expletive

(84)   T   zyn   gisteren   drie   studenten   gekommen.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
         it   are$_{pl}$ yesterday   three   studenten$_{pl}$ come
         'Three students came yesterday.'   (Grange & Haegeman 1989:163)

Breton *bez*

(85)   Bez'   e   prenis   eul leor   d'am   breur   deh.   (Breton)
         PRT   ®   bought.1sg   a   book   to.my   brother yesterday
         'I have bought my brother a book yesterday.'   (Jouitteau 2011:6)

Welsh *fe*

(86)   Fe   glywes   i'r   cloc.   (Welsh, Jouitteau 2008:168)
         PRT   heard.s1g   the   clock
         'I heard the clock.'

conclusion: specCP-expletives show clear distributional parallelisms with preverbal particles in Welsh and Breton

standard account of such particles: they are the spell-out of a C°-head, i.e. they are essentially main clause complementizers (Jouitteau 2005, 2008, 2011, Willis 1998, 2007, Borsley e.a. 2007, Roberts 2005)

Willis (1998, 2007): the Welsh particle *fe* diachronically derives from the third person singular pronoun *ef* 'he/it', which in Middle Welsh was used as a specCP-expletive. It was later reanalyzed as occupying C° rather than specCP.

(87)   Ef   a   ovwynha   Duw   y   bobyl   o   lau   tramwy.
         it   ®   visit   God   his   people from   hand   passing
         'God will visit his people with a passing hand.'   (Middle Welsh, Willis 1998:161)

2.5.1.4 The analysis: *t* **as a main clause complementizer**

(88)   T   zyn   gisteren   drie   studenten   gekommen.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
         it   are   yesterday   three   studenten$_{pl}$ come
         'Three students came yesterday.'   (Grange & Haegeman 1989:163)

(89)
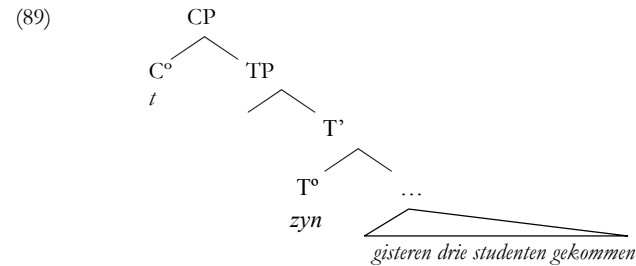
→   when the subject doesn't raise to specTP (and in Lapscheure Dutch indefinite subjects never do, cf. Haegeman 1986), the scene-setting adverb *gisteren* 'yesterday' is not fronted and no phrase (A'-)moves into the C°-domain, C-dialects have the (Last Resort) option of spelling out the C°-head as *t* in order to satisfy V2

hey, but wait a minute:

1. Aren't C-dialects supposed to be Verb Second (just like Standard Dutch), i.e. shouldn't there be an XP in front of the finite verb in a main clause? How can a head satisfy the V2-requirement?

→ I follow Jouitteau (2005) in reclassifying V2-, SVO- and VSO-languages into one single category of X(P)-VSO

(90) "Je reconsidère (..) le classement typologique des langues. Je propose que toutes les langues mentionnées ci-dessus sont des sous-groupes du type X(P)-VSO. Les languaes X(P)-VSO sont toutes dérivées par le déplacement de la tête prédicative dans la tête flexionelle. Ce mouvement crée l'ordre à verbe tensé antéposé. (..) l'ordre à verbe tensé antéposé doit être précédé par un constituant XP ou une tête X. Les ordres licites sont donc XP-VSO ou X°-VSO, créant la généralisation X(P)-VSO. Les variations à l'intérieur de la classe X(P)-VSO sont renvoyées à l'inventaire lexical d'une langue particulière. (..) Par exemple, l'allemand n'a pas de complémenteur de matrice. Dans une matrice de l'allemand, l'élément préverbal sera donc une projection maximale et on obtiendra l'ordre classique à verbe second." (Jouitteau 2005:xvii-xviii)

"I reconsider the typological classification of languages and propose that all the languages mentioned above [i.e. V2, SVO and VSO, jvc] are subgroups of the type X(P)-VSO. In all of these languages the predicative head has moved into the inflectional head, which creates a word order in which the finite verb is fronted. This finite verb has to be preceded by a phrase XP or a head X°, leading to XP-VSO and X°-VSO as licit word orders (hence the overarching classification as X(P)-VSO). Variation within the group of X(P)-VSO-language is due to their lexical inventory. For example, German doesn't have a matrix complementizer. As a result, only an XP will be able to precede the verb in matrix clauses, and the classical V2-word order ensues."

→ the V2-constraint (however implemented and probably more aptly called the X(P)-VSO-constraint) prohibits the finite verb from being leftmost in the clausal phase (cf. Jouitteau 2011:10) → one of the ways in which this constraint can be respected in C-dialects is by merging *t* in C°

2. Isn't the standard declarative complementizer **dat** *in these dialects? Why then is it just* t *here?*

assume: just like the demonstrative pronoun *dat* (see Leu 2008, Rooryck 2003), the complementizer *dat* is morphologically complex (cf. also Postma 1997):

(91)   *dat*   →   *da*: anaphoricity
                   →   *t*:   definiteness/finiteness

proposal: the anaphoric portion of the complementizer is only present when the tense domain it heads is c-commanded by (i.e. anaphoric on, cf. sequence-of-tense) another tense domain, i.e. in embedded contexts (cf. Pesetsky & Torrego 2001:411n41, Postma 1997:3). The main clause complementizer found in (88) only expresses finiteness and hence is spelled out as *t*.

3. What about the EPP? Isn't the EPP violated in this structure? How come specTP can remain empty?

→ I return to the EPP in section 2.5.4

two advantages of the proposal

(a) C-dialects vs. T-dialects: given that T-dialects have obligatory T°-to-C°-movement, they never have the option of spelling out C° in order to satisfy the V2-constraint. Instead, specCP is always filled by a maximal projection, which leads to a 'pure' XP-VSO-pattern with no specCP-expletives.

(b) the distribution of specCP-expletives:

inverted main clauses

(92) * Zyn   t   gisteren   drie   studenten   gekommen?
        are   it   yesterday   three   students   come

→ verbs never adjoin to complementizers in (dialect) Dutch ⇒ this example is ruled out

embedded clauses

(93) * Kpeinzen   dat   t   niemand   da boek goa   kopen. (Lapscheure Dutch)
        I.think   that   it   noone   that book goes   buy   (Haegeman 1986:3)
        'I think noone will buy that book.'

→ this example is ruled out because C° is expressed twice: the end-*t* of *dat* is the same element as the so-called expletive *t*

2.5.1.5 Conclusion

The specCP-expletive found in C-dialects is a matrix complementizer inserted to satisfy the V2-requirement. T-dialects have obligatory T°-to-C° and therefore lack this option.

2.5.2 Complementizer agreement

recall:

(94) **Generalization C:**
C-dialects display complementizer agreement.

(95) Kvinden   da*(n)   die   boeken te diere   zyn.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
I.find   that.PL those   books   too expensive are   (Haegeman 1992:51)
'I think noone will buy that book.'

(96) Ik venj   da(*n)   dei   boeken te dier   zen.   (Wambeek Dutch)
I think   that.PL those   books   too expensive are
'I think noone will buy that book.'

analysis: only in C-dialects can Cº have a phi-feature specification that is independent(ly
spelled out) from the phi-feature specification of Tº ⇒ only C-dialects can have
complementizer agreement

corroborating evidence: the independence of Cº-agreement and Tº-agreement

complementizer agreement with coordinated subjects
(97) Ich dink   des   doow   en   ich ôs   treff-e.
I think   that$_{2sg}$ you$_{sg}$ and   I ourselves$_{1pl}$ meet$_{pl}$
'I think that you and I will meet.'   (Tegelen Dutch, Van Koppen 2005:40)

external possessor agreement
(98) omdan   die   venten tun   juste   underen   computer kapot was.
because$_{pl}$ those   guys   then   just   their   computer broken was$_{sg}$
'because then the computer of those guys just broke down.'
(Lapscheure Dutch, Haegeman & Van Koppen 2010:4)

→ in both these examples, the phi-feature specification on the complementizer differs from
the phi-feature specification on Tº/the finite verb

2.5.3 Clitic doubling

recall:

(99) **Generalization D:**
C-dialects have a complete clitic doubling paradigm, while T-dialects only have a
partial paradigm (typically 1st sg and 2nd sg/pl).

(100) Kpeinzen   dase   (zie)   morgen   goat.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
I.think   that.she   she   tomorrow goes   (Haegeman 1992:49)
'I think she's gonna go tomorrow.'

(101) Asse   (*zij)   zo gevaarlijk leeft, dan…
if.she   she   so dangerous   lives   then…
'If she lives so dangerously, then…'   (Antwerp Dutch, Barbiers e.a. 2006)

Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2007, 2008): clitic doubling is the result of an Agree-
relation (with concomittant movement)
between phi-features in Cº and (a ϕP
inside) the subject pronoun in specTP

note: the phi-feature specification of the clitic is independent of that of Tº/the finite verb:

(102) Ik   peis   dan   ze   zulder en   gulder dat   kunt   oplossen.
I   think that$_{3pl}$ they$_{3pl}$ they$_{3pl}$ and   you$_{2pl}$ that   can$_{2pl}$ solve
'I think that you and they can solve that.'   (Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch, VC&VK 2007:15)

analysis: only in C-dialects can Cº have a phi-feature specification that is independent from
the phi-feature specification of Tº and that can attract a clitic ⇒ only C-dialects
can have a full clitic doubling paradigm

residual problem: how come T-dialects have a partial clitic doubling paradigm, typically
consisting of 1.sg and 2.sg/pl?

(103) As gij wilt   blijve   smore dan   blijfde   gij smore.
if you want   continue   smoke then   continue.you you smoke
'If you want to continue to smoke, then you should continue to smoke.'
(Antwerp Dutch, Barbiers e.a. 2006)

possible answer: apparent clitic doubled forms such as *ekik* ('I', lit. I.I) or *egij* ('you', lit.
you.you) are in fact non-doubled, positionally restricted strong pronouns
(Pauwels 1958, De Schutter 1994, Nuyts 1995, De Vogelaer 2005)

(104) Jan en ekik   hebben dat   gedaan.   (Willebroek Dutch, Barbiers e.a. 2006)
Jan and I.I   have   that   done
'Jan and I have done that.'

2.5.4 Obligatory locative expletives

recall:

(105) **Generalization A:**
In C-dialects the (locative) expletive is always obligatory in inverted main clauses and embedded clauses, while in T-dialects it is not. (see also Haegeman 1986)

(106) dat *(er) in de fabrieke nen jongen werkte. (Lapscheure Dutch)
that there in the factory a boy worked (Haegeman 1986:3)
'that a boy worked in the factory.'

(107) dat (er) in dei fabriek nen joeng werktn. (Wambeek Dutch)
that there in that factory a boy worked
'that a boy worked in that factory.'

question: what are locative adverbs doing in expletive constructions?

Freeze (1992): locatives and existentials derive from the same underlying structure. The only difference concerns which constituent raises to subject position: the locatum in locatives, the location in existentials

locative

(108) Chi-tsîme chi-li ku-mu-dzi. (Chichewa, Freeze 1992:565)
7-well 7-be 17-3-village
'The well is in the village.'

existential

(109) Ku-mu-dzi ku-li chi-tsîme. (Chichewa, Freeze 1992:565)
17-3-village 17-be 7-well
'There's a well in the village.'

however: in some languages the location remains *in situ* in existentials, but a locative proform appears close to INFL: "the proform is LEXICALLY inseparable from AGR and/or TNS (..). The simplest account of these facts is that the proform is a spellout of a feature in Infl" (Freeze 1992:569)

locative

(110) Ko e kurii 'oku 'i he funga teepile. (Tongan, Freeze 1992:569)
TOP the dog PRES on the top table
'The dog is on the table.'

existential

(111) 'oku **'i ai** 'ae kurii 'i he poopao. (Tongan, Freeze 1992:569)
PRES in 3.sg a dog in the canoe
'There's a dog in the canoe.'

proposal: locative existentials in Germanic are the spell-out of locative agreement with T°

locative agreement with T°: Ritter & Wiltschko (2009) argue that INFL is an abstract category the substantive content of which can be provided by tense (e.g. in English), location (e.g. in Halkomelem Salish), or person (e.g. in Blackfoot)

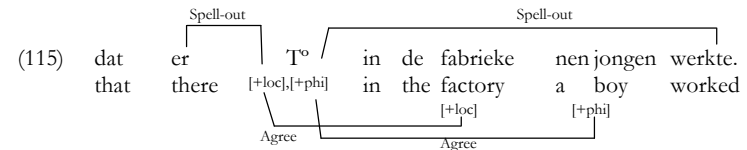*English as an INFL$_{tense}$-language*
(112) He walks/walked.

Halkomelem Salish as an INFL$_{location}$-language (Ritter & Wiltschko 2009:155)
(113) lí/í qw'eyílex tu-tl'ò
AUX$_{distal}$/AUX$_{non-distal}$ dance he
'He is or was dancing there/here.'

Blackfoot as an INFL$_{person}$-language (Ritter & Wiltschko 2009:182)
(114) nit-iik-wákomimm-ok-innan-yi k-itan-iksi
1-very-love-INV-1.pl-3.pl 2-daughter-pl
'Your daughters love us.'
→ the first person prefix *nit* does not express a theta-role, but indicates whether an utterance participant is involved in the event

importantly a language can be of one type and still show agreement for another type, e.g. English is an INFL$_{tense}$-language, but shows person agreement, Blackfoot is an INFL$_{person}$-language that also has person agreement → locative expletives are the spell-out of location agreement in an INFL$_{tense}$-language

(115) dat er T° in de fabrieke nen jongen werkte.
that there [+loc],[+phi] in the factory a boy worked
[+loc] [+phi]

back to generalization A: the EPP requires Tense to be overtly realized (Roberts & Roussou 2002), either via specTP or via T° (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2001) → in T-dialects this requirement is met by virtue of T°-to-C°, but in C-dialects, Tense remains unexpressed ⇒ *er*-insertion is obligatory

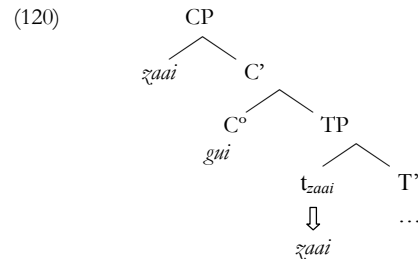**2.5.5 Subject-initial doubling with strong pronouns**

recall:

(116) **Generalization E:**
Pronominal doubling in subject-initial main clauses with two strong pronouns is
disallowed in C-dialects.

(117) * Zie   goa   zie.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
she$_{strong}$ goes she$_{strong}$ (Haegeman 1992:66)
'She's going.'

(118) Zaai   gui   zaai.   (Wambeek Dutch)
she$_{strong}$ goes she$_{strong}$
'She's going.'

note: in embedded clauses and inverted main clauses doubling with two strong pronouns is
disallowed in all dialects (Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002a,2002b)

(119) a. * da   zaai   zaai   guit.   (Wambeek Dutch)
that   she$_{strong}$ she$_{strong}$ goes

b. * Mergen   gui   zaai   zaa.   (Wambeek Dutch)
tomorrow   goes   she$_{strong}$ she$_{strong}$

VC&VK (2002ab): this type of doubling involves copy spell-out. The subject moves from
specTP to specCP and both copies of the movement chain are spelled
out. It is disallowed in inverted main clauses because there specCP is
already occupied, and in embedded clauses because embedded
topicalization is independently disallowed (Hoekstra & Zwart 1994, 1997,
Zwart 1997, Barbiers 2000)

(120)

```
              CP
            /    \
        zaai      C'
                /    \
              C°      TP
             gui     /   \
                  t_zaai   T'
                    ⇓     /  \
                  zaai   …
```

note: this analysis accounts for Generalization E: the configuration in (120) only occurs in
Den Besten-type dialects ⇒ no doubling with two strong pronouns in C-dialects

2.5.6 *daar* as an expletive

recall:

(121) **Generalization B:**
T-dialects can use the emphatic/demonstrative form of the locative pronoun (i.e. *daar*
'there') as expletive, but C-dialects cannot.

(122) * Doa   ligt ier   nen brief   ip   tafel.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
there   lies here   a   letter   on   table   (L. Haegeman p.c.)
'There's a letter lying on the table here.'

(123) Dui   leit ie   nen brief   op   tuifel.   (Wambeek Dutch)
there   lies here   a   letter   on   table
'There's a letter lying on the table here.'

hypothesis: the use of the strong/emphatic/demonstrative form of the locative pronoun
as an expletive originates in dialects where the subject occupies specCP ⇒
only T-dialects can use *daar* as expletive

supporting evidence:

(a) diachronic development: in Middle Dutch (when the use of locative expletives was on
the rise), *daar* was used in sentence-initial position, and *er* in all other positions (Van Der
Horst 2008:969)

(124) Doe   seid**er**   een monic: …   (Middle Dutch)
then   said.there$_{weak}$ a   monk
'Then a monk said:…'

(125) **Daer**   is een verrader   onder ons.   (Middle Dutch)
there$_{strong}$ is a   traitor   among us
'There's a traitor among us.'

(b) synchronic distribution: even in present-day dialects, the use of the strong form is
dispreferred in inverted and embedded contexts

(126) Dui/?Der   leit ie   nen brief   op   tuifel.   (Wambeek Dutch)
there$_{strong}$/there$_{weak}$ lies here   a   letter   on   table
'There's a letter lying on the table here.'

(127) dat   ?dui/er   ie   nen brief   op   tuifel   leit. (Wambeek Dutch)
that   there$_{strong}$/there$_{weak}$ here   a   letter   on   table   lies
'that there's a letter lying on the table here.'

(128) Leit   ?dui/er   ie   nen brief   op   tuifel?   (Wambeek Dutch)
lies   there$_{strong}$/there$_{weak}$ here   a   letter   on   table
'There's a letter lying on the table here.'

2.6   Summary and conclusion

→ both the split between C-dialects and T-dialects and the concomittant correlations (Generalizations A-E) can be derived from the T-to-C-movement parameter:

(129)   **T-to-C-movement parameter:**
        T° {does/does not} obligatorily move to C°.

in particular: - specCP-expletives are the spell-out of a C°-head
                        → only possible in a dialect without generalized T-to-C
                     - locative specTP-expletives are the spell-out of locative agreement in TP
                        → only required for EPP-reasons in a dialect without generalized T-to-C
                     - complementizer agreement and clitic doubling require C° to have a phi-feature specification that is independent of that of T°
                        → only possible in a dialect without generalized T-to-C
                     - doubling with two strong pronouns and the use of *daar* as an expletive require the subject to be in specCP
                        → only possible in a dialect with generalized T-to-C

3   Zooming out: back to the Pangermanic perspective

→ the analysis of dialectal Dutch developed in the previous section sheds new light on the Pangermanic research questions raised in section one:

(130)   **Question #1:**
        How can semantically vacuous elements be positionally determined, i.e. what is the difference between specCP- and specTP-expletives?

answer: SpecCP-expletives are the spell-out of a C°-head and therefore have the same distribution as main clause complementizers or comparable clause-peripheral particles. SpecTP-expletives of the locative type are the spell-out of locative Agree-relation between T° and a locative element and therefore spell out in TP.

(131)   **Question #2:**
        Why are specCP-expletives never morphologically locative?

answer: Because specCP-expletives are complementizers and complementizers in Germanic are never locative, always pronominal.

        related side-question:
        Why are object expletives never morphologically locative?

        (132)   a.   The wimp couldn't take it/*there.
                 b.   He has it/*there in for me.
                 c.   Beat it/*there!
                 d.   Keep it/*there up with the sarcasm and I'll belt you.
                 e.   The president seems completely out of it/*there.

        answer: Because locative expletives are the spell-out of a locative Agree-relation between T° and a locative element. Hence, they only surface in TP.

(133)   **Question #3:**
        Why is agreement with the expletive only possible (a) when it is not of the specCP-type, and (b) when it is not locative?

answer: SpecCP-expletives are complementizers and verbs never agree with complementizers in Germanic. Locative expletives are themselves the spell-out of an Agree-relation.

4   Two remaining issues

4.1   Other specCP-expletives

question: to what extent does the account presented above carry over to other specCP-
               expletives, i.e. are they also complementizers?

(134)   a.   Es ist ein Junge gekommen.   (German, Vikner 1995:226)
                  it is   a   boy   come
                  'A boy has come.'
         b.   Það   hefur   komið   strákur.   (Icelandic, Vikner 1995:226)
                  it   has   come   a.boy
                  'A boy has come.'
         c.   Es iz   gekumen   a   yingl.   (Yiddish, Vikner 1995:226)[2]
                  it is come   a   boy
                  'A boy has come.'

4.1.1   German *es*

→   several of the problems for the specCP-analysis of dialect Dutch *t* carry over to the
    German specCP-expletive *es*

(a) phonological reduction: in spoken German the specCP-expletive *es* is always reduced to
    s. Using the full form *es* sounds stilted (S. Mohr p.c.).

(135)   (??E)s sind   zwei   Männer   im   Garten.   (spoken German)
         it   are   two   men   in.the garden
         'There are two men in the garden.'

        caveat: other clause-initial occurrences of *es* are also preferably reduced:
        (136)   (??E)s   regnet.
                 it   rains
                 'It is raining.'

(b) *es* cannot be fronted to specCP: fronting of *es* to specCP is disallowed

(137) * Es   hat   Bernd auf den Tisch   gelegt.   (German, Meinunger 2007:554)
         it   has   Bernd on the table   put
         'Bernd (has) put it on the table.'

        caveat: the ban on clause-initial object *es* is not absolute:
        (138)   Es   hat   zum   Glück   niemand gefunden.   (German, Meinunger 2007:559)
                 it   has   to.the   luck   nobody found
                 'Luckily, nobody found it.'

(c) specCP-expletive *es* cannot be replaced by *das*: while other (expletive and non-
    expletive) uses of *es* can be replaced by the demonstrative *das*, this is not possible for the
    specCP-expletive *es*

(139)   Das   regnet.   (German, Mohr 2005:175n208)
         that rains
         'The rain is coming down in buckets!'

(140) * Das   sind   zwei   Männer   im   Garten.   (German, S. Mohr p.c.)
         that are   two   men   in.the garden

conclusion: the analysis developed above for dialect Dutch specCP-expletives is
               potentially transferable to German

4.1.2   Icelandic *það*

→   the Icelandic specCP-expletive *það* differs from German/dialect Dutch in two respects:

(a) *það* is allowed in embedded clauses

(141)   a.   *   dan   t   gisteren   drie   studenten   gekommen zyn. (Lapscheure Dutch)
                  that_pl it   yesterday three   students   come   are
         b.   *   das   es   ein Junge gekommen ist.   (German)
                  that   it   a   boy   come   is
         c.   að   það verði ball   í   skólanum   á morgun.   (Icelandic)
                  that   it will.be dance   in   school.the tomorrow
                  'That there will be a dance in the school tomorrow.' (Thráinsson 2007:329)

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[2] I don't know enough about Yiddish to say anything meaningful about it at this point. Interesting, though, is that Prince
(1988:176) cites Zaretski (1929:168) as referring to the specCP-expletive *es* as a "prefix" on the verb.

(b) *það* is not a morphological subset of the finite complementizer

(142)

	specCP-expletive	complementizer
dialect Dutch	*t*	*dat*
German	*s*	*das*
Icelandic	*það*	*að*

→ both these facts suggest that the specCP-expletive is not simply the spell-out of (a subpart of) the declarative complementizer ⇒ the specCP-expletive-as-complementizer analysis can only be maintained if *það* spells out a different C°-head than *að*

note: Icelandic *að* differs from Dutch *dat* and German *das* in that it occurs in both finite and infinitival clauses:

(143) a. Hann   sagði   **að**   María hefði   lesið   bókina.   (Icelandic)
            he   said   C°fin   M.   had   read   book.the
            'He said that Mary had read the book.'   (Thráinsson 2007:444)
      b. Þau   lofuðu   ekki   **að**   borða   aldrei   graut.
            they   promised   not   C°inf   eat   never   pudding
            'They didn't promise never to eat pudding.'   (Thráinsson 2007:451)

(144) a. Kpeinzen   **da**   Valère gisteren   dienen boek   gelezen eet.
            I.think   C°fin   V.   yesterday   that   book   read   has
            'I think that Valère read that book yesterday.'   (Lapscheure, Haegeman 1992:46)
      b. Valère prebeerdige   **vu**   dienen boek   te   kuopen.
            V.   tried   C°inf   that   book   to buy
            'Valère tried to buy that book.'   (Haegeman 1992:47)

(145) a. wenn   du glaubst,   **dass**   er   sich   geirrt   habe   (German)
            if   you believe   C°fin   he   REFL   erred   has
            'if you believe he made a mistake'   (Haider 2010:4)
      b. dass   sie versuchte   **Ø**   das Buch   zu lesen.
            that   she tried   C°inf   the book   to read
            'that she tried to read the book.'   (Sabel 2006:247)

proposal: the fact that Icelandic *að* is insensitive to finiteness suggests that it is a spell-out of Force° rather than Fin° → this leaves the Fin°-head open to be spelled out as *það* (which explains why the two can co-occur and why the latter is not a morphological subset of the former) >< Dutch *dat* and German *das* are sensitive to finiteness, i.e. are a spell-out of Fin° and hence in complementary distribution with *t/s*

4.2   The Definiteness Effect

question: how does the present proposal account for the fact that the associate DP is necessarily indefinite?

observation: the Definiteness Effect is independent of the use of expletives:

(a) it also shows up in expletiveless existentials: even in languages that do not use expletives in their existential constructions, the subject is always indefinite (Freeze 1992:557):

(146) a. Lapset   ovat   kadulla.   (Finnish locative, Freeze 1992:557n6)
            childpl.part   COP3pl   streetadess
            '(The) children are in the street.'
      b. Kadulla   on   lapsia.   (Finnish existential, Freeze 1992:557n6)
            streetadess   COP   childpl.part
            'There are (*the) children in the street.'

(b) similar expletives may have different definiteness restrictions: dialect Dutch, Icelandic and German all have specCP-expletives, but they display different definiteness restrictions on the associate DP:

(147) a. * T   stond   alleen   Valère   in   den lochtink.   (Lapscheure Dutch)
            it   stood   only   V.   in   the garden   (L. Haegeman, p.c.)
      b. * T   staan   al de studenten   vuo   de deure.
            it   stand   all the students   in.front.of   the door

(148) a. * Það hefur   adeins   Jón ekki   lesið   þessa   bók.   (Icelandic)
            it   has   only   J.   not   read   that   book   (Boeckx 2001:47)
      b. Það hafa   allir kettir   alltaf   verið   í   eldhúsinu.
            it   have   all cats   always   been   in   kitchen.the   (Thráinsson 2007:319)

(149) a. Es hat nur   der Hans   dieses Buch   nicht   gelesen.   (German)
            it   has only   the Hans   that   book   not   read   (Boeckx 2001:47)
      b. Es has heute   jede   Maus   den Käse   verschmäht.
            it   has today   every   mouse   the cheese   disdained   (Haider 2010:2)

speculation: the Definiteness Effect reflects the types of subjects that can occur when the highest subject position is unavailable (cf. Moro 1997, Boeckx 2001, Vangsness 2002, Thráinsson 2007 among others), e.g. in West Flemish all definite subjects always sit in the highest position and hence become illicit in an expletive construction >< in Icelandic proper names sit higher than universally quantified DPs and hence the latter can occur in *það*-sentences

5　Summary and conclusions

(a) general conclusion

(150)　"Comparative work on the syntax of a large number of closely related languages can be thought of as a new research tool, one that is capable of providing results of an unusually fine-grained and particularly solid character." (Kayne 1996:xii)

(b) empirical observations

(151)　a.　SpecCP-expletives are never locative and never trigger verbal agreement.
　　　　b.　Locative specTP-expletives never trigger verbal agreement.
　　　　c.　Dutch dialects with specCP-expletives have complementizer agreement, a full clitic doubling paradigm, and obligatory expletives in inverted main clauses and embedded clauses.
　　　　d.　Dutch dialects with specTP-expletives have at most a partial clitic doubling paradigm, can have subject-initial doubling with two strong pronouns, and can use the strong form *daar* as an expletive.

(c) theoretical claims

(152)　a.　SpecCP-expletives spell out a C°-head, i.e. they are complementizers.
　　　　b.　Locative specTP-expletives are the spell-out of an agreement relation with locative features on T°.
　　　　c.　The correlations in (151)cd can be reduced to a single parameter: dialects with specTP-expletives do, but those with speCP-expletives do not have obligatory T°-to-C°-movement.

(d) open questions

(153)　a.　To what extent is the account of locative specTP-expletives developed here similar to/compatible with one in terms of predicate inversion (Hoekstra & Mulder 1990, Moro 1997)?
　　　　b.　Why is there a difference in head movement between the two types of dialects? What triggers it? How did it arise diachronically? How should this parameter be technically implemented?
　　　　c.　How does this parameter interact with others (cf. the fact that the correlations are not perfect)? To what extent can one of the properties in (151)cd occur without the others?
　　　　d.　Do locative specTP-expletives also express locative agreement with T° in expletive constructions featuring unergative or transitive verbs? (See Belvin & Den Dikken 1997 for an extension in terms of predicate inversion, and see Zwart 1991, 1992 for the claim that there are two types of *there*-expletive constructions.)

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