Expletive doubling in Dutch dialects

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1 Introduction

- **CENTRAL DATA**

  - pronominal doubling of *there*-expletives in Dutch dialects
  - expletive-like behavior of the proximate R-proform *here*

- **THEORETICAL ANALYSIS**

  - the (dialect) Dutch R-proforms *er* 'there', *daar* 'there', and *hier* 'here' are in a structural subset-superset relation
  - (one type of) pronominal doubling is a Last Resort multiple spell-out mechanism

- **BROADER IMPLICATIONS**

  - neither doubling nor expletives represent true interface asymmetries
  - doubling is an optimal solution to two conflicting requirements (ban on too-local movement vs. [EPP]-feature on C)
  - R-proforms can be moved to specTP to check a [deictic]-feature and satisfy T's EPP-requirement

2 Background: pronominal doubling in Dutch dialects

2.1 Two types of doubling

→ there are (at least) two types of pronominal doubling in Dutch dialects (Haege-
man 1991, 1992, van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002, 2008, de Vogelaer
2005, de Vogelaer and Devos 2008)

type #1: pronoun doubling

(1)   *Waaile emme waaile ie niks   te zieken.*
       we$_{strong}$ have   we$_{strong}$ here nothing to seek
       'We have no business being here.'

properties:

  1. the second subject element is always a strong pronoun; the first can be a
     strong pronoun (1), a weak pronoun (2), a full DP (3), or a proper name (4),
     but not a clitic (5)

(2)   *We   emme waaile ie niks   te zieken.*
       we$_{weak}$ have   we$_{strong}$ here nothing to seek
       'We have no business being here.'

(3)   *Dei vrau   ei zaai   ie niks   te zieken.*
       that woman has she$_{strong}$ here nothing to seek
       'That woman has no business being here.'

(4)   *Marie ei zaai   ie niks   te zieken.*
       Marie has she$_{strong}$ here nothing to seek
       'Marie has no business being here.'

(5)   **Me   emme waaile ie niks   te zieken.*
       we$_{clitic}$ have   we$_{strong}$ here nothing to seek
       INTENDED: 'We have no business being here.'

  2. pronoun doubling is restricted to subject-initial main clauses; it doesn't occur
     in embedded clauses (6) or in inverted main clauses (7)

(6)   **omda   waaile waaile ie niks   te zieken emmen.*
       because we$_{strong}$ we$_{strong}$ here nothing to seek   have
       INTENDED: 'because we have no business being here.'

(7)   **Gisteren aume waaile waaile ie niks   te zieken.*
       yesterday had   we$_{strong}$ we$_{strong}$ hier nothing to seek
       INTENDED: 'We had no business being here yesterday.'

type #2: clitic doubling

(8)   *omdat n   aai   ma guid elpen.*
       because he$_{clitic}$ he$_{strong}$ me goes help
       'because he's going to help me.'

properties:

  1. the second subject element is always a strong pronoun, the first is always a
     clitic

(9)   **omdad aai   aai   ma guid elpen.*
       because he$_{strong}$ he$_{strong}$ me goes help
       INTENDED: 'because he's going to help me.'

(10)   *omda we   waaile em guin elpen.*
       because we$_{weak}$ we$_{strong}$ him goes help
       INTENDED: 'because we're going to help him.'

  2. clitic doubling only occurs in embedded clauses (8) and inverted main clauses
     (11); it is disallowed in subject-initial main clauses (12)

(11)   *Guit n   aai   ma elpen?*
       goes he$_{clitic}$ he$_{strong}$ me help
       'Is he going to help me?'

(12)   **N   guid aai   ma elpen.*
       he$_{clitic}$ goes he$_{strong}$ me help
       INTENDED: 'He's going to help me.'

2

2.2   Only subjects double

→ both clitic doubling and pronoun doubling only ever apply to subjects:

- objects cannot be pronoun doubled:

  (13)   *Em   em   ik em   gezien.*
         him_{strong} have I him_{strong} seen
         INTENDED: 'I saw him yesterday.'

  (14)   *Em   em   em   ik gezien.*
         him_{strong} have him_{strong} I seen
         INTENDED: 'I saw him yesterday.'

- objects cannot be clitic doubled:

  (15)   *da k n   gisteren em   wou   elpen.*
         that I him_{clitic} yesterday him_{strong} wanted help
         INTENDED: 'that I wanted to help him yesterday.'

- locative adverbs (whether used as arguments (16) or as adjuncts (17)) cannot be pronoun doubled:

  (16)   *Dui em ek dui   gewoentj.*
         there have I there lived
         INTENDED: 'I used to live there.'

  note: throughout this talk I'm abstracting away from the use of multiple locative modifiers with different scope, cf. Maienborn (2001):

  (17)   In Rome I used to live on that side of the city, but $here_1$ I live $here_2$.
         ($here_1$ = in New York; $here_2$ = on this side of the city)

  (18)   *Dui ei Jef Marie dui   gezien.*
         there has Jef Marie there seen
         INTENDED: 'Jef saw Marie there.'

  (19)   *Dui ei dui   Jef Marie gezien.*
         there has there Jef Marie seen
         INTENDED: 'Jef saw Marie there.'

- locative adverbs (whether used as arguments (20) or as adjuncts (21)) cannot be clitic doubled

  (20)   *da ze   er   zaai   dui   gewoendj eit.*
         that she_{clitic} there_{clitic} she_{strong} there_{strong} lived   has
         INTENDED: 'that she has lived there.'

  (21)   *da ze   er   zaai   dui   Jef gezien eit.*
         that she_{clitic} there_{clitic} she_{strong} there_{strong} Jef seen   has
         INTENDED: 'that she saw Jef there.'

  (22)   *da ze   er   dui   zaai   Jef gezien eit.*
         that she_{clitic} there_{clitic} there_{strong} she_{strong} Jef seen   has
         INTENDED: 'that she saw Jef there.'

⇒ the ability to undergo pronominal doubling is a clear test for subjecthood in this dialect

3   The new data

3.1   Pronominal doubling of expletives

→ in addition to the weak R-proform *er* 'there' (sometimes realized as *t'r* or *d'r*, henceforth glossed as ER), Wambeek Dutch can also use the strong R-proform *dui* 'there' as an expletive pronoun:

(23)   *Dui stui   ne vantj inn of.*
       there stands a man in.the garden
       'There's a man in the garden.'

(24)   *Stuit dui ne vantj inn of?*
       stands there a man in.the garden
       'Is there a man in the garden?'

(25)   *omda   dui   ne vantj inn   of   stuit.*
        because there a   man in.the garden stands
        'because there is a man in the garden.'

note: the strong R-proform *dui* 'there' clearly behaves like an expletive in these
    examples:

- it is compatible with conflicting locative expressions:

    (26)   *Dui stuid ie/genner   ne vantj inn   of.*
            there stands here/over.there a   man in.the garden
            'There's a man here/over there in the garden.'

- it imposes a definiteness restriction on the subject:

    (27)   *#Dui stui   Jef inn   of.*
            there stands Jef in.the garden

- it can occur in purely existential sentences:

    (28)   *Dui zen mo vier priemgetalle   klanjer as tien.*
            there are only four prime.numbers smaller as ten
            'There are only four prime numbers smaller than ten.'

doubling #1: *dui* can appear twice in the same clause → in the non-locative
    reading an example like (29) looks like pronoun doubling of an expletive:

(29)   *Dui   eit dui   niemand me   Jef geklapt.*
        there has there no-one   with Jef talked
        'No-one spoke with Jef (there).'

support for an analysis in terms of pronoun doubling:

- doubled *dui* can be combined with conflicting locative expressions:

    (30)   *Dui   leit dui   ie   e vliegsken op men and.*
            there lies there here a fly.DIM   on my   hand
            'There's a fly here on my hand.'

- in embedded clauses and inverted main clauses (= contexts disallowing pro-
    noun doubling, cf. (6)/(7)) *dui*-doubling obligatorily has a locative reading:

    (31)   *omda   dui   dui   niemand me   Jef geklapt eit.*
            because there there no-one   with Jef talked   has
            'because no-one spoke with Jef *(there).'

    (32)   *Eit dui   dui   niemand me   Jef geklapt?*
            has there there no-one   with Jef talked
            'Did no-one speak with Jef *(there)?'

- when the second *dui* is replaced by the deficient expletive pronoun, the loca-
    tive reading becomes obligatory (compare with (34)):

    (33)   *Dui   eit er niemand me   Jef geklapt.*
            there has ER no-one   with Jef talked
            'No-one spoke with Jef *(there).'

    (34)   **Zaai   ei ze   ie niks   te zieken.*
            she_strong has she_deficient here nothing to seek
            INTENDED: 'She has no business being here.'

doubling #2: in embedded clauses (and inverted main clauses, not illustrated
    here), expletive *dui* can co-occur with expletive *er*, in a configuration reminis-
    cent of clitic doubling:

(35)   *omdat   er dui   nen boek op tuifel leit.*
        because ER there a   book on tafel lies
        'becasue there is a book (there) on the table.'

4

support for an analysis in terms of clitic doubling:

- this configuration is compatible with an additional, conflicting locative modifier:

  (36)   *omdat   er dui   ie   nen boek op tuifel ligt.*
         because ER there here a   book on tafel lies
         'because there is a book here on the table.'

- this configuration imposes a definiteness restriction on the subject:

  (37)   **dat   er dui   mennen boek op tuifel ligt.*
         that ER there my   book on tafel lies
         INTENDED: 'that my book is lying (there) on the table.'

3.2   Expletive-like use of *here*

first impression: the proximate R-proform *ie* 'here' cannot be used as an expletive:

(38)   *Ie   stui   ne vantj inn   of.*
       here stands a   man in.the garden
       'There's a man in the garden *(here).'

support for this position:

- *ie* is incompatible with purely existential sentences:

  (39)   *#Ie   zen mo vier priemgetalle   klanjer as tien.*
         here are only four prime.numbers smaller as ten
         'There are only four prime numbers smaller than ten here.'

- *ie* necessarily imposes a locative reading (compare with (41)):

  (40)   *Ie   is niks   gebeed.*
         here is nothing happened
         'Nothing happened *(here).'

(41)   *Dui   is niks   gebeed.*
       there is nothing happened
       'Nothing happened (there).'

- *ie* is incompatible with additional conflicting locative modifiers:

  (42)   *#Ie   stuid genner   ne vantj inn   of.*
         here stands over.there a   man in.the garden
         INTENDED: 'There's a man over there in the garden.'

however *ie* can be doubled:

(43)   *Ie   eit ie   niemand me Jef geklapt.*
       here has here no-one   with Jef talked
       'No-one spoke with Jef *(here).'

→ and when it is, it imposes a definiteness restriction on the subject (compare with (45)):

(44)   **Ie   eit ie   Marie me   Jef geklapt.*
       here has here Marie with Jef talked
       INTENDED: 'Marie spoke with Jef here.'

(45)   *Ie   eit Marie me   Jef geklapt.*
       here has Marie with Jef talked
       'Marie spoke with Jef here.'

but even when doubled, *ie* remains incompatible with conflicting locative expressions:

(46)   *#Ie   eit ie   genner   niemand me   Jef geklapt.*
       here has here over.there no-one   with Jef talked
       INTENDED: 'No-one spoke with Jef over there.'

5

note: *ie* can also be doubled in inverted main clauses (and embedded clauses, not shown here):

(47) *Eit ie   ie   niemand me Jef geklapt?*
      has here here no-one   with Jef talked
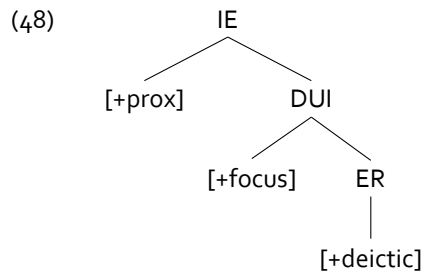   'Did no-one speak with Jef *(here)?'

→ the Wambeek Dutch proximate R-proform *ie* 'here' displays mixed, expletive-like behavior:

- it can be doubled (≈ subjects/expletives)
- when doubled it imposes a definiteness restriction on the subject (≈ expletives)
- but it always retains its proximate meaning (≉ expletives)

4   The analysis

4.1   The internal structure of R-proforms

proposal: the R-proforms *er* 'ER', *dui* 'there', and *ie* 'here' are in a structural subset-superset relation, with each form on the scale structurally and featurally more complex than the previous one:

(48)
```
          IE
         /  \
     [+prox]  DUI
             /  \
        [+focus]  ER
                   |
               [+deictic]
```

note: I am assuming a phrasal spell-out approach to pronouns (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999, Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002, van Koppen 2005, Neeleman and Szendrői 2007, Barbiers et al. 2008, Starke 2009)

re. the features used in (48):

1. feature the three forms have in common: [+deictic] (see also Noonan (2017:214))

2. feature that distinguishes *ie/dui* from *er*: [+focus] → *ie/dui* can occur in clause-initial position >< *er* is marked there:

   (49) *Ie/Dui   is niks   gebeed.*
         here/there is nothing happened
         'Nothing happened here/(there).'

   (50) ?*D'r is niks   gebeed.*
         ER is nothing happened
         'Nothing happened.'

   compare: weak object pronouns cannot be fronted, but focused ones can

   (51) *'M   heb ik gezien.*
         him$_{weak}$ have I seen
         INTENDED: 'Him, I saw.'

   (52) *Hem   heb ik gezien.*
         him$_{focused}$ have I seen
         'Him, I saw.'

3. feature that distinguishes *ie* from *dui/er*: [+prox(imate)] → *ie* necessarily has a proximate interpretation, the other two do not

   (53) *Ie   is niks   gebeed.*
         here is nothing happened
         'Nothing happened *(here).'

   (54) *Dui   is niks   gebeed.*
         there is nothing happened
         'Nothing happened (there).'

(55)   ?*D'r is niks   gebeed.*
       ER is nothing happened
       'Nothing happened.'

4.2   A [+deictic]-feature on T

proposal: T in (dialect) Dutch is endowed with a(n interpretable but unvalued) [+deictic]-feature (see Ritter and Wiltschko (2009), Klockmann et al. (2015)). This feature can be checked by an R-proform.

supporting evidence for R-proform movement into specTP (from Klockmann et al. (2015)): the Standard Dutch expletive pronoun *er* can be left out when followed by the locative adverbs *daar* 'there' or *hier* 'here' (see also Bennis (1986:214), Zwart (1992), Lipták (1998), Lightfoot (2002:95n4)):

(56)   *Werd   (er   ) hier/daar gedanst?*
       became there here/there danced
       'Was there dancing here/there?'   (Standard Dutch)

• note that *er* cannot be left out willy-nilly (i.e. the EPP is operative in Dutch):

   (57)   *Werd   *(er   ) gedanst?*
          became   there danced
          'Was there dancing?'   (Standard Dutch)

   (58)   *Gedanst werd   *(er   ).*
          danced   became   there
          'There was dancing.'   (Standard Dutch)

• and that the locative adverb has to be adjacent to the expletive:

   (59)   *Werd   *(er   ) wel gedanst daar?*
          becamse   there PRT danced daar
          'Was there really dancing there?'   (Standard Dutch)

• and that temporal adverbs do not have the same effect:

(60)   *Werd   *(er   ) toen gedanst?*
       becamse   there then danced
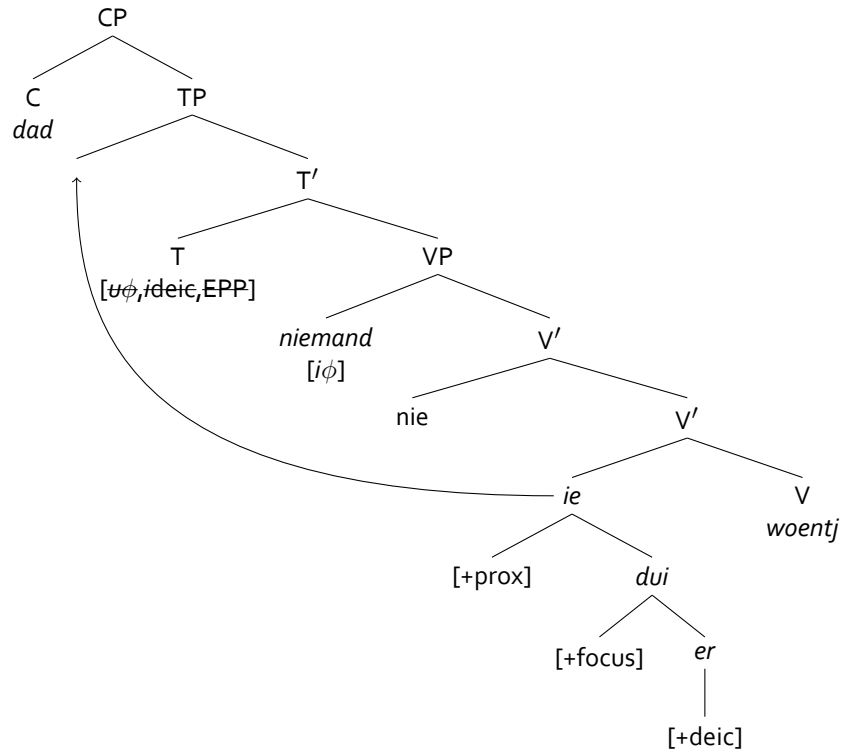   'Was there dancing at that time?'   (Standard Dutch)

importantly unlike Ritter and Wiltschko (2009) and Klockmann et al. (2015) I do not assume the feature attracting the R-proform is [locative] or [±distal] → prepositional (i.e. non-locative) R-proforms can also satisfy the EPP in Standard Dutch (61) and undergo doubling in the dialects (62):

(61)   a.   *Werd   daar wel over nagedacht?*
            became there PRT about thought
            'Did people really think about that?'
       b.   **Werd   wel nagedacht daarover?*
            became PRT thought   there.about
            INTENDED: 'Did people really think about that?'
       c.   *Werd   er   wel nagedacht daarover?*
            became there PRT thought   there.about
            'Did people really think about that?'

(62)   *Ie   eid ie   niemand nie mee gewerkt in Frankrek.*
       here has here no.one   not with worked in France
       'No one worked with this in France.'

analysis: in an example like (63), T is endowed with a set of ϕ-features, a [deictic]-feature, and an [EPP]-feature. The ϕ-features are checked against the indefinite subject, while the R-proform *ie* 'here' checks [deictic], and moves into specTP, thus also checking [EPP]:

(63)   *dad ie   niemand nie woentj.*
       that here no.one   not lives
       'that no one lives here.'

(64)

```
                    CP
           _____/_____
          C                  TP
         dad        _____/\
                              T'
                     _____/_____
                    T                  VP
            [uφ,ideic,EPP]      _____/_____
                              niemand           V'
                               [iφ]      _____/_____
                                        nie            V'
                                                _____/_____
                                               ie              V
                                        _____/\          woentj
                                   [+prox]     dui
                                         _____/\
                                    [+focus]     er
                                                 |
                                              [+deic]
```

note: the same structure also applies to the examples in (65) and (66), the only difference being that the R-proform in these examples is structurally smaller than in (64)

(65)   *dad dui   niemand nie woentj.*
        that there no.one   not lives
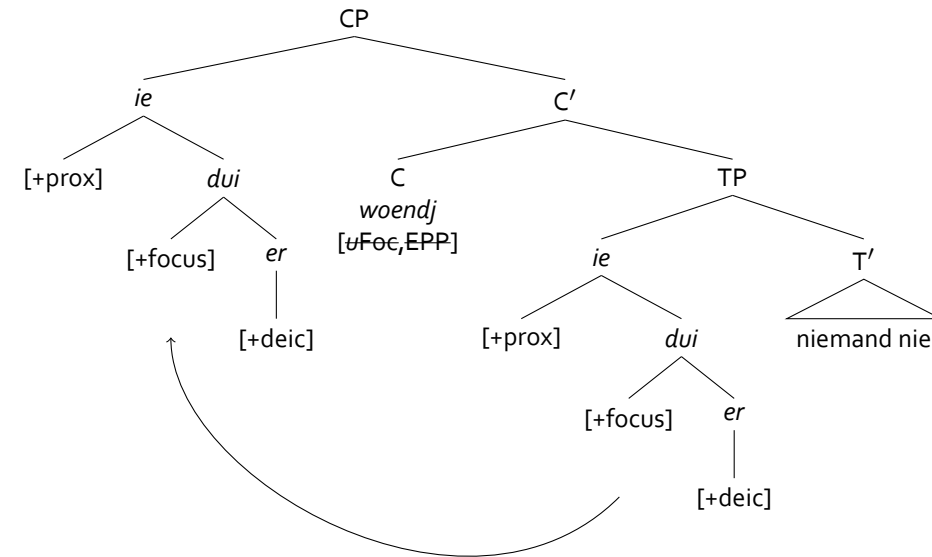   'that no one lives there.'

(66)   *dad d'r niemand nie woentj.*
        that ER no.one   not lives
        'that no one lives there.'

4.3 Pronoun doubling of expletives

main proposal: pronoun doubling in Dutch dialects is a case of copy spell-out (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002): the subject moves from specTP into specCP. However, this movement is too local (Grohmann 2000, Abels 2003) and leads to the spell-out of both copies in the movement chain. Multiple spell-out is thus a Last Resort mechanism to meet two conflicting requirements: the ban on too-local movement and the [EPP]-feature on C

(67)   *Ie woendj ie   niemand nie.*
        here lives   here no.one   not
        'No one lives here.'

(68)

```
                         CP
            _____/_____
           ie                          C'
     _____/_____          _____/_____
[+prox]       dui           C                    TP
        _____/\        woendj            _____/\
   [+focus]    er     [uFoc,EPP]        ie              T'
               |                 _____/\         _____/\
            [+deic]         [+prox]    dui       niemand nie
                                  _____/\
                             [+focus]    er
                                         |
                                      [+deic]
```

note: the same structure also applies to the example in (69), the only difference being that the R-proform in this example is structurally smaller than in (68)

(69)   *Dui   woendj dui   niemand nie.*
       there lives   there no.one   not
       'No one lives there.'

support for the analysis:

1. double spell-out is triggered by too-local movement ⇒ long-distance expletive doubling should be ruled out

   (70)   *Ie   paus ek dad (*ie) nen boek op tuifel leit.*
          here think I   that here a   book on table lies
          'I think there's a book on the table over here.'

2. pronoun doubling of expletives is feature-driven ⇒ doubling should not be semantically vacuous:

   (71)   *A: Uu   zitnjt ie?   B: Dui   is niks   gebeed.*
          how sits.it here   there is nothing happened
          'A: How are things here? B: Nothing happened.'

   (72)   *A: Uu   zitnjt ie?   B: # Dui   is dui   niks   gebeed.*
          how sits.it here   there is there nothing happened
          INTENDED: 'A: How are things here? B: Nothing happened.'

→ doubling cannot be used in out of the blue contexts, but instead is like verum focus in strongly emphasizing the polarity of the sentence in contradiction of an earlier statement (cf. also Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2007) on West Flemish and Raposo and Uriagereka (2005) on the left-peripheral F-head in Romance)
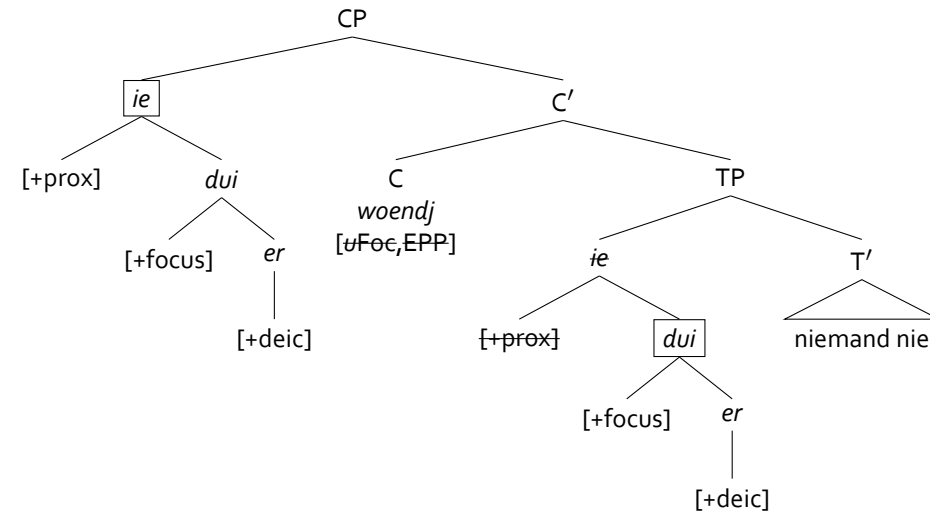
note: in addition to identical pronoun doubling (cf. (67) and (69)), these dialects also allow for 'mixed doubling':

(73)   *Ie   woendj dui   niemand nie.*
       here lives   there no.one   not
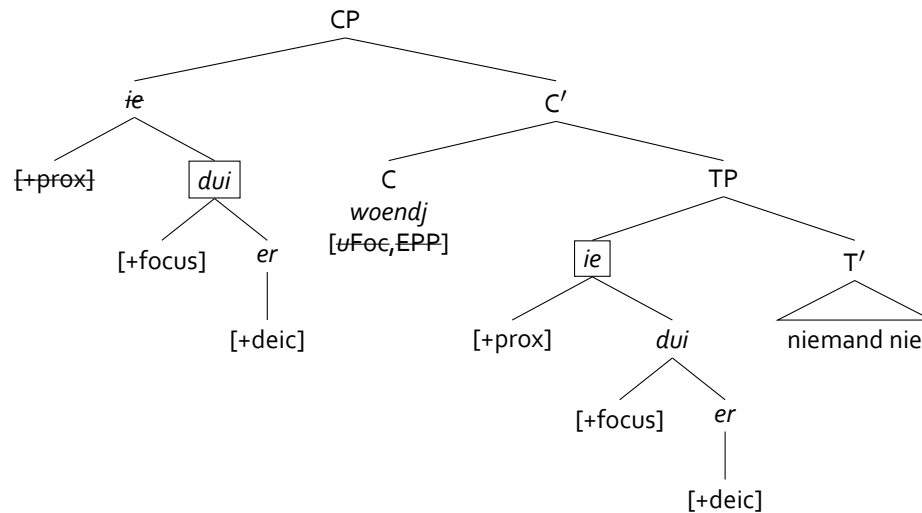   'No one lives here.'

(74)   *Dui woendj ie   niemand nie.*
       there lives   here no.one   not
       'No one lives here.'

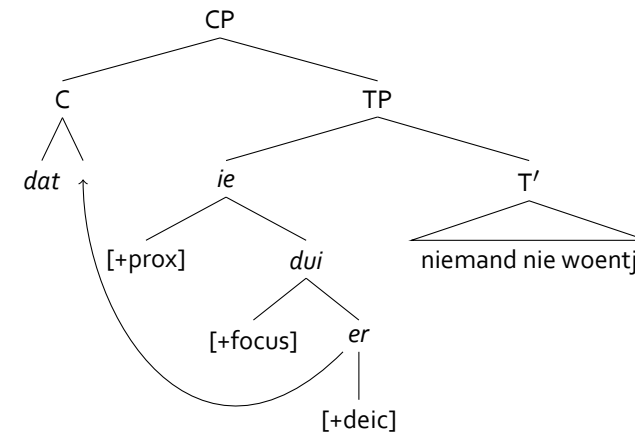**proposal:** these cases involve partial spell-out of one of the copies (or scattered deletion, cf. Nunes (2004))

(75)

(76)

```
                        CP
              ┌─────────┴──────────┐
             ie                    C′
        ┌─────┴─────┐        ┌──────┴──────────┐
   [+p̶r̶o̶x̶]      ┌─ dui ─┐   C                  TP
            [+focus]   er  woendj        ┌────────┴──────┐
                        │  [u̶F̶o̶c̶,EPP]    ie              T′
                     [+deic]        ┌────┴────┐      ┌────┴────┐
                                 [+prox]  ┌ dui ─┐  niemand nie
                                      [+focus]  er
                                                 │
                                              [+deic]
```

4.4 Clitic doubling of expletives

main proposal: clitic doubling involves subextraction of a head from a structurally complex subject and adjunction of that head to C (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2008), see also Uriagereka (1995), Laenzlinger (1998), Grohmann (2000), Belletti (2005), Kayne (2005), Poletto (2008))

(77) *dat d'r ie   niemand nie   woentj.*
      that ER here no.one   lives
      'that no one lives here'

(78)

```
                        CP
              ┌─────────┴──────────┐
             C                     TP
         ┌───┴───┐          ┌───────┴───────┐
        dat      ↑         ie               T′
                      ┌─────┴─────┐    ┌─────┴─────┐
                   [+prox]    ┌ dui ┐  niemand nie woentj
                          [+focus]  er
                                     │
                                  [+deic]
```

note: the same structure also applies to the example in (79), the only difference being that the R-proform in this example is structurally smaller than in (78)

(79) *dat d'r dui   niemand nie   woentj.*
      that ER there no.one   lives
      'that no one lives there'

5 Conclusion: two apparent interface asymmetries

- both pronominal doubling and expletives are *prima facie* interface asymmetries: the former involves multiple PF-manifestations of a single LF-entity, and the latter is a PF-reflex without corresponding LF-manifestation

- in the case of Dutch dialects both asymmetries are apparent

- doubling is a Last Resort solution to conflicting requirements: the ban on too-local movement vs. an [EPP]-feature on a [+Foc]-C

- deictic R-proforms (not just locative ones) can move into specTP to check a [deictic]-feature on T and satisfy the EPP

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