Expletives in space

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1 Introduction

- **CENTRAL DATA:** *there*-expletives in a Brabant dialect of Dutch

- **EMPIRICAL RESULTS:**

    - *there*-expletives form an integral part of the subject pronominal system in showing degrees of morphosyntactic deficiency and in being able to undergo doubling and tripling

    - even the proximate locative pronoun *here* can display expletive-like behavior

- **THEORETICAL APPROACH:** expletives involve the raising of genuine locative elements into the subject position (cf. Klockmann et al. (2015))
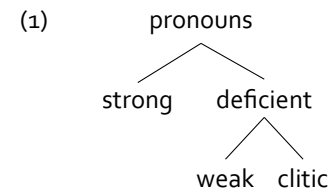
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2 Background: the pronominal system of Wambeek Dutch

2.1 Three degrees of deficiency

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999): a tripartition of increasingly structurally complex pronominal forms:

(1)   pronouns

    strong   deficient

          weak   clitic

$\rightarrow$ the dialect of Wambeek provides evidence for this tripartition in its pronominal system (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2000):

(2)   *me* / *we* / *waaile*
       we_{clitic} we_{weak} we_{strong}
       'we'

test #1: strong pronouns can be clefted, while deficient ones (= clitics and weak pronouns) cannot

(3)   *T zen { * me / * we / waaile } da   da   muten duun.*
       it are   we   we   we   that that must   do
       'It's we who have to do that.'

test #2: strong and weak pronouns can occur in V2-position, but clitics cannot

(4)   *{ * Me / We / Waaile } komme mergen.*
           we   we   we   come   tomorrow
           'We're coming tomorrow.'

complication: the situation in (2), i.e. a three-way morphological distinction is rare; much more commonly, there is a two-way split:

(5)   *ze / zaai*
           she   she
           'she'

→ three possible scenario's:

(6)

	clitic	weak	strong
option #1:		ze	zaai
option #2:	ze		zaai
option #3:	ze	ze	zaai

→ the interaction between such forms and the system of pronominal doubling suggests that option #3 is the correct one

2.2   Two types of doubling

note: there are (at least) two types of pronominal doubling in Dutch dialects (Haegeman 1991, 1992, van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002, 2008, de Vogelaer 2005, de Vogelaer and Devos 2008)

type #1: pronoun doubling

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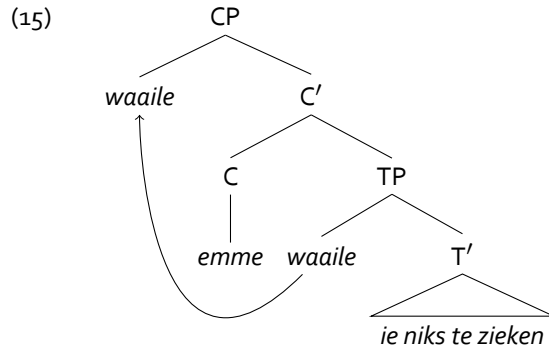   'We have no business being here.'

properties:

1. the second subject element is always a strong pronoun; the first can be a weak pronoun (7), a strong pronoun (8), a full DP (9), or a proper name (10), but not a clitic (11)

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

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

(10)   *Marie ei   zaai   ie   niks   te zieken.*
           Marie has she_{strong} here nothing to seek
           'Marie has no business being here.'

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

note: the example in (12) suggests that the deficient pronoun in (5) can at least be a weak pronoun (i.e. option #2 is out):

(12)   *Ze   ei   zaai   ie   niks   te zieken.*
           she_{weak} has she_{strong} here nothing to seek
           'She has no business being here.'

2. pronoun doubling is restricted to subject-initial main clauses; it doesn't occur in embedded clauses (13) or in inverted main clauses (14)

(13)   **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.'

(14)   **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.'

analysis: van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002): pronoun doubling is a case of copy spell-out: the subject moves from the canonical subject position (say, specTP) into the left periphery and the lower copy of this movement chain is spelled out as a strong pronoun

(15)

```
                    CP
                  /    \
            waaile      C'
               ↑       /  \
               |      C    TP
               |      |   /  \
               |   emme  waaile  T'
               |_____|    /\
                              ie niks te zieken
```

type #2: clitic doubling

(16)   *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

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

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

note: the example in (19) suggests that the deficient pronoun in (5) can also be a clitic (i.e. option #1 is out, and only option #3 remains):

(19)   *omda   ze   zaai   ma guid elpen.*
        because she$_{clitic}$ she$_{strong}$ me goes help
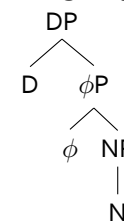   'because she's going to help me.'

2. clitic doubling only occurs in embedded clauses (16) and inverted main clauses (20); it is disallowed in subject-initial main clauses (21)

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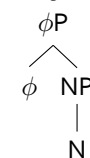   'Is he going to help me?'

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

analysis: van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2008): clitic doubling involves a so-called big DP (see also Uriagereka (1995), Laenzlinger (1998), Grohmann (2000), Belletti (2005), Kayne (2005), Poletto (2008)), whereby a clitic doubled subject like *ze zaai* in (19) starts life as a single DP, and the occurrence of the clitic is due to subextraction of part of that DP. More specifically (and cf. Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002)):
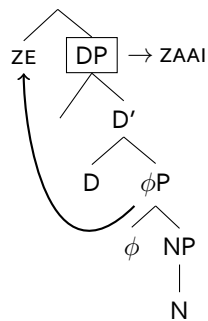
(22)   **stong subject prounoun**   (23)   **subject clitic**

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        DP                                          φP
       /  \                                        /  \
      D    φP                                      φ   NP
          /  \                                          |
         φ    NP                                        N
               |
               N
```

(24)   **clitic doubled subject pronoun**

ZE   DP → ZAAI

D'

D   φP

φ   NP

N

note: nothing precludes topic doubling and clitic doubling from co-occurring in one and the same example ⇒ **tripling**

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

2.3   Only subjects double

→ both clitic doubling and pronoun doubling (and the combination of the two, i.e. tripling) only ever apply to subjects:

- objects cannot be pronoun doubled:

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

- objects cannot be clitic doubled:

   (27)   **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 as arguments (28) or as adjuncts (29)) cannot be pronoun doubled:

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

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

aside: do locative clitics exist? van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2007): the only elements that can intervene between the two parts of a clitic doubled subject are other (object) clitics:

   (30)   *da ze   { n   / * em   } zaai   gezien eit.*
          that she$_{clitic}$ him$_{DO.clitic}$ him$_{DO.weak}$ she$_{strong}$ seen has
          'that she saw him.'

   (31)   *da ze   zaai   { * n   / em   } gezien eit.*
          that she$_{clitic}$ she$_{strong}$ him$_{DO.clitic}$ him$_{DO.weak}$ seen has
          'that she saw him.'

→ the reduced form of the locative pronoun, i.e. *er* can also occur in this position, suggesting that this form is in fact a clitic:

   (32)   *da ze   er zaai   gewoendj eit.*
          that she$_{clitic}$ there she$_{strong}$ lived   has
          'that she has lived there.'

- locative adverbs (whether as arguments (33) or as adjuncts (34)) cannot be clitic doubled

   (33)   **da ze   er   zaai   dui gewoendj eit.*
          that she$_{clitic}$ there she$_{strong}$ there lived   has
          INTENDED: 'that she has lived there.'

(34)   **da ze   er   zaai   dui   Jef gezien eit.*
     that she$_{\text{clitic}}$ there she$_{\text{strong}}$ there 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: expletives as part of the pronominal system

3.1   Strong vs. deficient expletives

→ Wambeek Dutch uses the weak locative form *er* 'there' (sometimes realized as *t'r* or *d'r*, always glossed as ER) as its expletive pronoun

(35)   *D'r stui   ne vantj inn   of.*
     ER   stands a   man in.the garden
     'There's a man in the garden.'

(36)   *Stuit   t'r ne vantj inn   of?*
     stands ER a   man in.the garden
     'Is there a man in the garden?'

(37)   *da   t'r ne vantj inn   of   stuit.*
     that ER a   man in.the garden stands
     'that there is a man in the garden.'

however the strong form of the locative pronoun, *dui* 'there' can also be used as an expletive:

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

   support for the expletive analysis:

- this *dui* is compatible with conflicting locative expressions:

(39)   *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.'

- this *dui* imposes a definiteness restriction on the subject:

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

- this *dui* can occur in purely existential sentences:

(41)   *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.'

> **Wambeek Dutch has both a strong and a deficient expletive pronoun, completely parallel to its pronominal subject system**

moreover the choice between the strong and the deficient expletive parallels that between a strong and a deficient subject pronoun: the former imposes emphasis or focus

(42)   *Kom ze   mergen?*
     comes she$_{\text{deficient}}$ tomorrow
     'Is she coming tomorrow?'

(43)   *Kom zaai   mergen?*
     comes she$_{\text{strong}}$ tomorrow
     'Is SHE coming tomorrow?'

(44)   *Zen er mo vier priemgetalle   klanjer as tien?*
     are   ER only four prime.numbers smaller as ten
     'Are there only four prime numbers smaller than ten?'

(45)   *Zen dui   mo vier priemgetalle   klanjer as tien?*
     are   there only four prime.numbers smaller as ten
     'Are yoursure that there only four prime numbers smaller than ten?'

3.2 Subject doubling of expletives

→ *dui* can appear twice in the same clause → in the non-locative reading an example like (46) looks like pronoun doubling of an expletive:

(46)   *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:

(47)   *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 pronoun doubling, cf. (13) and (14)) *dui*-doubling obligatorily has a locative reading:

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

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

- the first *dui* can be replaced by the deficient expletive pronoun (compare with (51)):

(50)   *D'r eit dui niemand me Jef geklapt.*
       ER has there no-one with Jef talked
       'No-one spoke with Jef (there).'

(51)   *Ze ei zaai ie niks te zieken.*
       $she_{deficient}$ has she_{strong} here nothing to seek
       INTENDED: 'She has no business being here.'

- when the second *dui* is replaced by the deficient expletive pronoun, the locative reading becomes obligatory (compare with (53)):

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

(53)   **Zaai ei ze ie niks te zieken.*
       she_{strong} has $she_{deficient}$ here nothing to seek
       INTENDED: 'She has no business being here.'

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

(54)   *dat er dui nen boek op tuifel ligt.*
       that ER there a book on tafel lies
       'that there is a book (there) on the table.'

    support for an analysis in terms of clitic doubling:

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

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

- this configuration imposes a definiteness restriction on the subject:

(56)   **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.'

- the order of deficient and strong pronoun cannot be inverted (compare with (58)):

(57)   */?? *dat   dui d'r nen   boek op   tuifel ligt.*
       that there ER a   book on   tafel lies
       'that there is a book *(??there) on the table.'

(58)   **omda   zaai   ze   ma guid elpen.*
       because she~strong~ she~deficient~ me goes help
       INTENDED: 'because she's going to help me.'

Wambeek Dutch expletive pronouns can be both pronoun doubled and clitic doubled, again completely paralleling the pronominal subject system

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moreover just as was the case with subject pronouns, clitic doubling and pronoun doubling of expletive pronouns can be combined in a single example, leading to expletive tripling (59) (compare to (25)):

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

3.3   Expletive *here*?

first impression: the proximate locative adverb *ie* 'here' is always, only, and necessarily locative in nature:

(60)   *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:

(61)   *#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 (63)):

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

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

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

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

however *ie* can be doubled:

(65)   *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 (67)):

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

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

→ in fact, *ie* can even be tripled:

7

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

but even when doubled, *ie* retains its locative meaning, e.g. it remains incompatible with conflicting locative expressions:

(69)   *#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.'

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

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

→ and it can be tripled in subject-initial main clauses:

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

> The Wambeek Dutch proximate locative adverb *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 locative meaning (≉ expletives)

4   Towards a new analysis of *there*-expletives

take-home lessons from the Wambeek Dutch data: (i) expletive pronouns are fully integrated into the subject system, and (ii) expletives can make use of/recycle material from lower down in the structure

starting point for an analysis: the Standard Dutch expletive pronoun *er* can be left out when followed by the locative adverbs *daar* 'there' or *hier* 'here' (see Bennis (1986:214), Zwart (1992), Lipták (1998), Lightfoot (2002:95n4)), and in particular Klockmann et al. (2015), from which the following data are taken):

(72)   *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):

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

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

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

    (75)   *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:

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

- and that for many speakers even locative PPs don't have the same effect:

(77)   *Werd*   *%(er*   *) in het park gedanst?*
       becamse   there   in the park danced
   'Was there dancing in the park?'   (Standard Dutch)

Klockmann et al. (2015): in the absence of another filler of specTP, the locative adverbs *hier* 'here' and *daar* 'there' can move into this position → I generalize this proposal to all Wambeek Dutch expletives, and add pronominal doubling

(78)   *Dui*   *woentj dui*   *niemand.*
       there lives   there no-one
       'No-one lives there.'

(79)
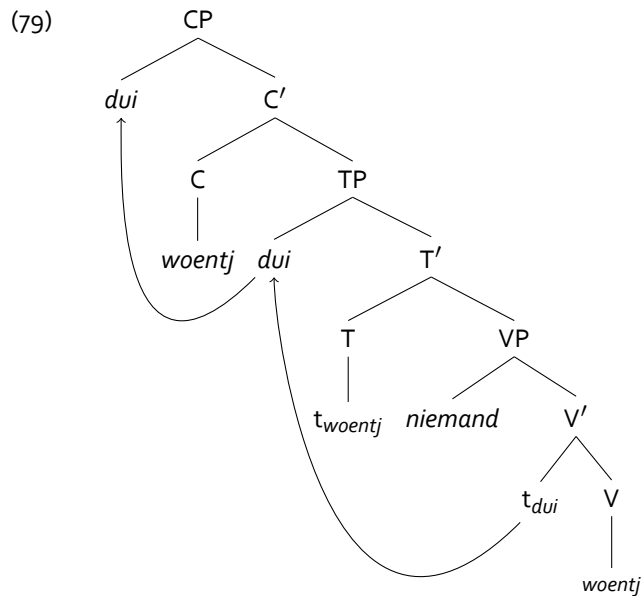
in addition: the existence of expletive clitic doubling (80) suggests that locative adverbs are morphologically complex, and that the deficient form *d'r* can be analyzed as a structural subset of the strong forms *dui* and *ie* (cf. also Rooryck (2003))

(80)   *dat er dui*   *nen boek op tuifel ligt.*
       that ER there a   book on tafel lies
       'that there is a book (there) on the table.'

(81)
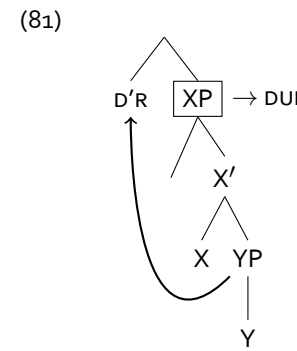
5   Summary and conclusion

- dialect Dutch expletives behave completely parallel to pronominal subjects: they come in strong and deficient forms, and they can be pronoun and clitic doubled

- even the proximate locative *here* can partake in this pattern (while at the same time retaining its locative meaning)

- this supports an analysis of expletives whereby they raise from a clause-internal, genuinely locative position into specTP

9

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