

Double op: Doubling PPs in (Belgian) Dutch dialects

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OUTLINE OF THE TALK

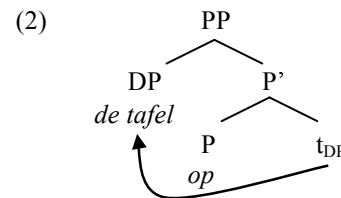
- 1 INTRODUCTION
- 2 PROPERTIES OF DOUBLING PPs
- 3 THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF DUTCH PPs
- 4 ANALYSIS, PART I: A REDUCED HIGHER P LAYER
- 5 ANALYSIS, PART II: A DEFECTIVE LOWER P LAYER
- 6 CONCLUSION AND FURTHER ISSUES

1 INTRODUCTION

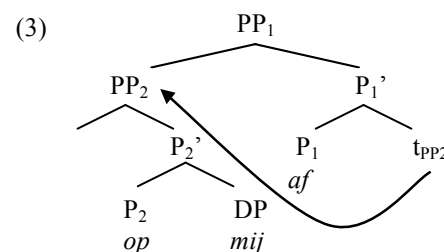
- Dutch exhibits three kinds of adpositions: prepositions, postpositions, and circumpositions.

- (1) a. Het boek ligt **op** de tafel. [preposition]
the book lies on the table
- b. De kat springt de tafel **op**. [postposition]
the cat jumps the table on
 ‘The cat jumps on(to) the table.’
- c. Hij loopt **op** mij **af**. [circumposition]
he walks on me from
 ‘He’s walking towards me.’

→ Postpositions are derived from prepositions by movement of the DP object
(see Koopman 1997, 2000, 2010; Helmantel 2002; den Dikken 2003, 2006, 2010)



→ Circumpositions are derived through PP movement:



- **Topic of this talk:** Certain (Belgian) Dutch dialects (Aalst, Asse, dialects from Pajottenland and Waasland) display circumpositions with an identical preposition and postposition.

- (4) dat hij **op** dem berg is **op** geklommen. [Asse Dutch]
that he on the hill is on climbed
 ‘that he has climbed up on the hill.’

The interpretation is parallel to the Standard Dutch counterpart with either a (directionally interpreted) preposition or a postposition (obligatorily directional).

- (5) a. dat hij **op** de berg is geklommen. [Standard Dutch]
that he on the hill is climbed
- b. dat hij de berg **op** is geklommen.
that he the hill up is climbed
 ‘that he has climbed up on the hill.’

2 PROPERTIES OF DOUBLING PPs

Properties:

- ① Distribution
- ② Movement
- ③ R-pronouns

① Distribution

PP doubling is only allowed with spatial PPs

- Helmantel (2002) distinguishes core spatial PPs from PPs selected by a verb.

- (6) a. De boeken zitten **in** de kast. [spatial]
the books sit in the cupboard
 ‘The books are in the cupboard.’
 b. Hij gelooft nog **in** sprookjes. [selected]
he believes still in fairytales
 ‘He still believes in fairytales.’

→ The P in selected PPs does not retain its core, lexical meaning: It is a fixed P that means something in combination with the verb selecting it.

- Doubling PPs are only allowed with spatial PPs, not with selected PPs:

- (7) a. Lili is **op** de kast **op** gekropen. [spatial]
Lili is on the cupboard on crawled
 ‘Lili crawled onto the cupboard.’
 b. Hij had **op** Lili (***op**) gerekend. [selected]
he had on Lili on counted
 ‘He had counted on Lili.’

PP doubling is only allowed with directional PPs¹

- Spatial (non-selected) PPs basically come in two flavours: locative and directional (Koopman 1997, 2000, 2010; den Dikken 2003, 2006, 2010).

- (8) a. Lola zit **op de stoel**. [locative]
Lola sits on the chair
 b. De kat springt **de kast op**. [directional]
the cat jumps the cupboard on
 ‘The cat jumps onto the cupboard.’

→ Postpositional PPs are always directional.

→ Prepositional PPs are usually locative, but can be directional when selected by verbs of motion (Koopman 1997):

- (9) Lola springt in het water.
Lola jumps in the water
locative: Lola is in the water, jumping up and down.
directional: Lola jumps into the water.

- Doubling PPs are obligatorily directional, not locative.

- (10) Lili springt **in** het water **in**.
Lili jumps in the water in
 ‘Lili jumps into the water.’ [directional]
 # ‘Lili jumps up and down in the water.’ [*locative]

② Movement

- In doubling PPs, the preposition and the DP object can undergo movement together, to the exclusion of the postposition:

¹ A few speakers allow doubling PPs with (predicative) locative PPs as well. In section 6 ‘Conclusion and further issues’ below we discuss these cases and provide a potential analysis.

- (11) a. **Topicalization**
Op dienen berg is Lili *t op* geklommen.
on that.MASC hill is Lili on climbed
 ‘That hill Lili has climbed up on.’
- b. **Wh-movement**
Op welken berg is Lili *t op* geklommen?
on which.MASC hill is Lili on climbed
 ‘Which hill has Lili climbed up on?’
- c. **Scrambling across negation**
 Lili is **op dienen berg op** niet *t op* geklommen.
Lili is on that.MASC hill not on climbed
 ‘Lili didn’t climb up on that hill.’

- The doubling PP as a whole – including the postposition – cannot move:

- (12) a. **Topicalization**
 * **Op dienen berg op** is Lili *t* geklommen.
on that.MASC hill on is Lili climbed
- b. **Wh-movement**
 * **Op welken berg op** is Lili *t* geklommen?
on which.MASC hill on is Lili climbed
- c. **Scrambling across negation**
 * Lili is **op dienen berg op** niet *t* geklommen.
Lili is on that.MASC hill on not climbed

- The postposition needs to be adjacent to the verbal cluster and can be incorporated into it (as is typical of postpositions, not prepositions in (Standard) Dutch):

- (13) Lili zal op dienen berg <op> moeten <op> klimmen.
Lili will on that.MASC hill on must on climb
 ‘Lili will have to climb up on that hill.’

③ R-pronouns

- In Standard Dutch a neuter pronoun in the complement of a PreP obligatorily transforms into an R-pronoun and precedes the P: ‘P + pronoun’ → ‘R-pronoun P’

- (14) a. op + iets → ergens op b. over + dat → daarover
on something somewhere on over that there.over
 ‘on something’ ‘over that/it’

- (15) a. Ze heeft het boek {ergens op /*op iets} gelegd.
she has the book somewhere on on something laid
 ‘She put the book on that.’
- b. De kat is {daarop /*dat op} gesprongen.
the cat is there.on that on jumped
 ‘The cat jumped up on that.’
- c. Hij is {eropaf /*op hetaf} gelopen.
he is there.on.from on itfrom walked
 ‘He walked towards it.’

- Dialects that display doubling PPs, allow the pronoun to stay in situ and not change form:

- (16) Lili is **op iets op** geklommen. [Asse Dutch]
Lili is on something on climbed
 ‘Lili climbed up on something.’

In fact, R-pronoun formation of the indefinite pronoun is even ungrammatical with doubling:

- (17) Lili is **ergens op (*op)** geklommen. [Asse Dutch]
Lili is somewhere on on climbed

Summary: Doubling PP properties

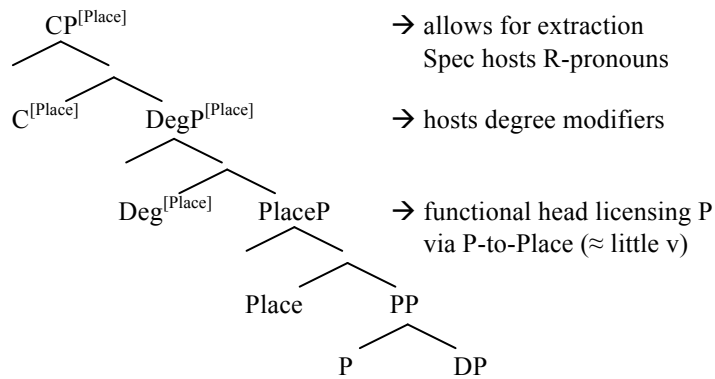
- ① P doubling is typically only allowed with directional (spatial) PPs
- ② The entire PP cannot move as a unit, but the Prepositional Phrase on its own can undergo movement.
- ③ Indefinite neuter pronoun objects stay in situ and do not undergo R-pronoun formation.

3 THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF DUTCH PPs

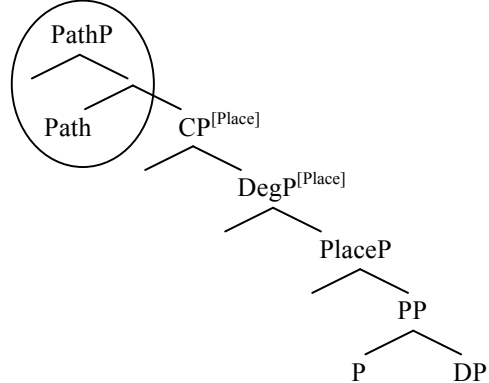
- van Riemsdijk (1978, 1990): PPs contain functional structure as well, parallel to the verbal/clausal and nominal domain
- Koopman (1997, 2000, 2010): + PathP as a functional layer in directional PPs

→ potential functional structure in PPs:

(18) Locative PPs



(19) Directional PPs: PathP

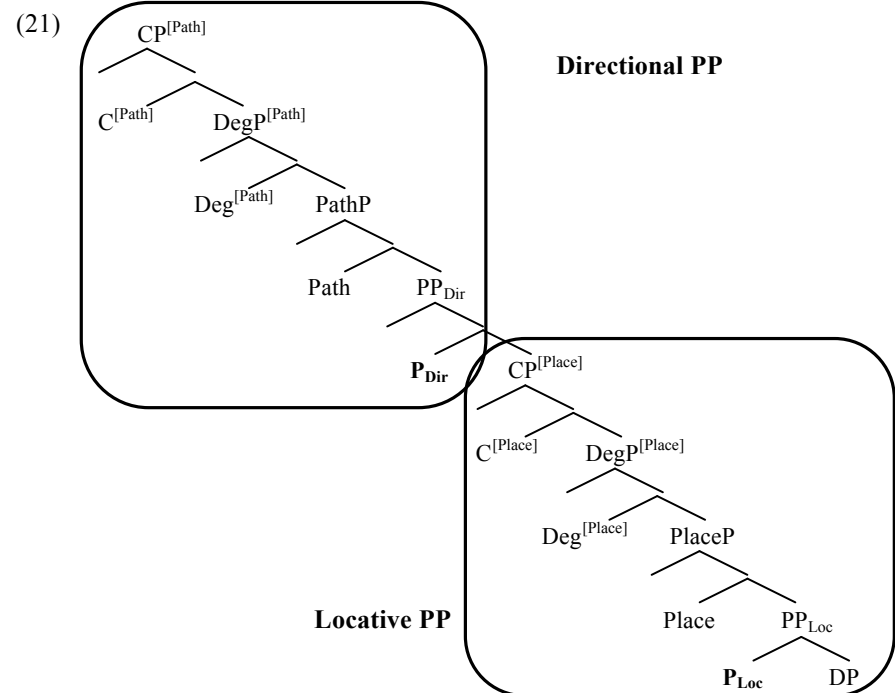


- den Dikken (2003, 2006, 2010): A lexical P_{Dir} instead of functional PathP

- (20) a. Locative PPs
 $[_{C(Place)P} C^{[Place]} [_{Deg(Place)P} Deg^{[Place]} [_{PlaceP} Place [_{PP} P_{Loc} DP]]]]$
 b. Directional PPs
 $[_{C(Path)P} C^{[Path]} [_{Deg(Path)P} Deg^{[Path]} [_{PathP} Path [_{PP} P_{Dir} [_{C(Place)P} C^{[Place]} [_{Deg(Place)P} Deg^{[Place]} [_{PlaceP} Place [_{PP} P_{Loc} DP]]]]]]]]]$

→ P_{Dir} has its own functional projections (allows for Degree modifiers etc)

Basic structure:



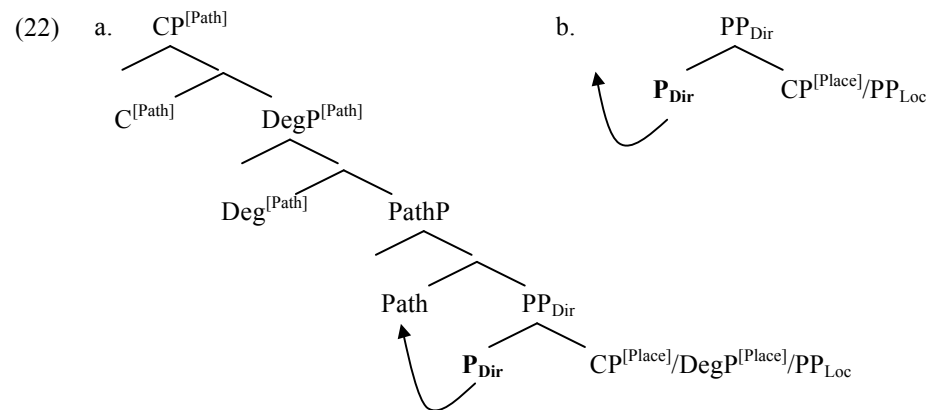
→ 6 possible PP structures in the complement of V (for argumentation, see den Dikken 2006, 2010)

4 ANALYSIS, PART I: A REDUCED HIGHER P LAYER

- 4.1 The P_{Dir} layer
- 4.2 Circumpositions
- 4.3 Doubling PPs

4.1 The P_{Dir} layer

Den Dikken (2006, 2010): Two options for P_{Dir}
 P_{Dir} can either have a full functional structure or none at all.



- Some consequences of **full structure**:
 - no incorporation into V: P_{Dir} moves to Path, but no higher.
 - entire PP can undergo movement as a unit, but lower PP cannot be subextracted from it (no CP layer or C-over-C violation).
- Some consequences of **no functional structure**:
 - obligatory incorporation of P_{Dir} into V
 - no movement of the entire PP as a unit, only of the complement of P_{Dir}

4.2 Circumpositions

- Doubling PPs resemble Standard Dutch circumpositions (with non-identical Ps):

- (23) a. Ik loop **om** het huis **heen**. [Standard Dutch]
I run about the house towards
 ‘I am running around the house.’
- b. Hij loopt **op** mij **af**.
he runs on me from
 ‘He’s running towards me.’

- Differences between doubling PPs and circumpositions:

Contra property ②:

There are (Standard Dutch) speakers who do not allow the prepositional PP in circumpositions to undergo movement on its own, but the entire [P DP P] string can undergo movement as a unit (den Dikken 2006).

- (24) a. % **Om welk huis** is Lola **heen** gelopen?
about which house is Lola towards run
- b. **Om welk huis heen** is Lola gelopen?
about which house towards is Lola run
 ‘Around which house has Lola run?’

These same (Standard Dutch) speakers do not allow the postposition to incorporate into the verb (den Dikken 2006):

- (25) dat Lola om het huis <**heen**> is <%**heen**> gelopen.
that Lola about the house towards is towards run
 ‘...that Lola ran around the house.’

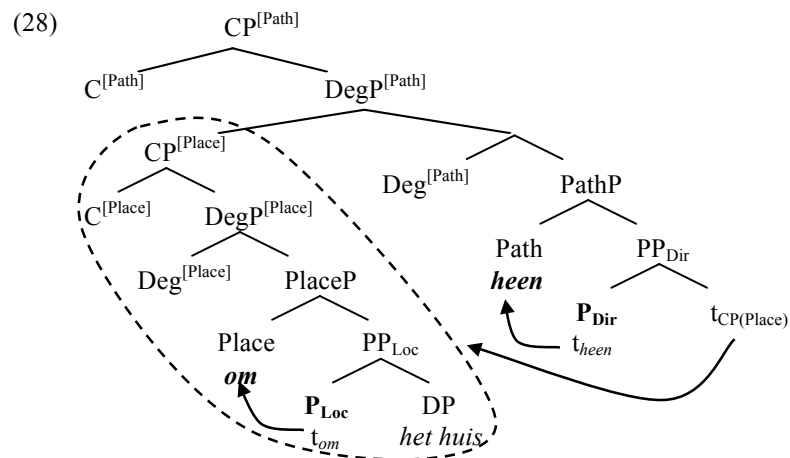
Contra property ③:

Circumpositions allow indefinite pronouns to stay in situ, but also allow R-word formation:

- (26) a. Lola is **om iets heen** gelopen.
Lola is about something towards run
 b. Lola is **ergens om heen** gelopen.
Lola is somewhere about towards run
 ‘Lola ran around something.’

• **Analysis:** Den Dikken (2006) proposes the following base structure for (non-doubling) circumpositions:

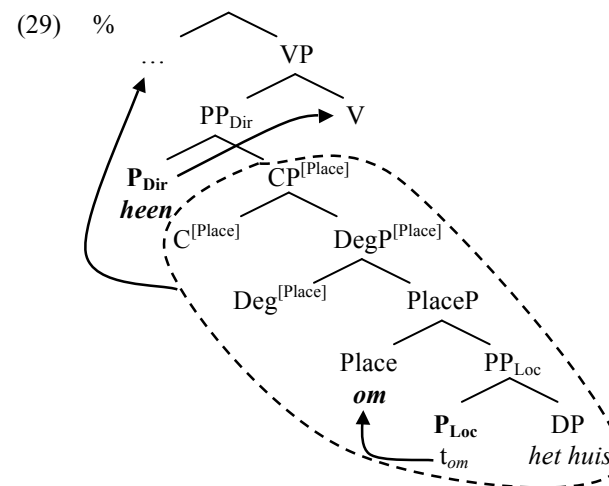
(27) $[_{C^{[Path]}} C [_{DegP^{[Path]}} Deg [_{PathP^{[Path]}} Path [_{PP^{[Dir]}} P_{Dir} [_{C^{[Place]}} C [_{DegP^{[Place]}} Deg [_{PlaceP^{[Place]}} Place [_{PP^{[Loc]}} P_{Loc} DP]]]]]]]]]]]$
 (= full extended projection for both P_{Dir} and P_{Loc})



- The preposition is basegenerated in P_{Loc} and moves to Place to be licensed. The postposition is basegenerated in P_{Dir} and moves to Path to be licensed. $CP^{[Place]}$ moves to a position preceding the postposition.
- This explains the movement/incorporation property (Ⓢ above): a full $CP^{[Path]}$ blocks movement of the lower $CP^{[Place]}$ and prevents incorporation into the verb.

- **! However:** Some speakers do allow for incorporation and prepositional movement (den Dikken 2006).

Solution: These are the speakers who allow for a reduced P_{Dir} (den Dikken 2006).



- The preposition in P_{Loc} moves to Place to be licensed. The postposition in P_{Dir} incorporates into the verb to be licensed. $CP^{[Place]}$ becomes the derived complement of the verb and comes to precede the postposition.

4.3 Doubling PPs

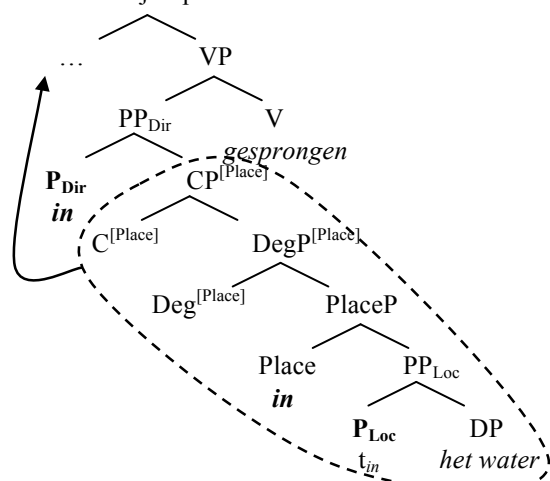
- Recall property Ⓢ: Our structure should allow for movement of the lower PP and incorporation of the postposition.

= parallel to the restricted structure for circumpositions

Analysis: Doubling PPs have a **reduced higher layer**: P_{Dir} does not project any functional phrases.

• Derivation:

- (30) a. Lili is in het water in gesprongen.
Lili is in the water in jumped
 ‘Lili has jumped into the water.’
 b.



→ The preposition is basegenerated in P_{Loc} and moves to Place to be licensed
 The postposition is basegenerated in P_{Dir} (and incorporated into V).
 CP(Place) becomes the derived object of the verb and precedes the postposition.

• **Consequences:** This captures property ① (distribution) and property ② (movement).

- ① The structure contains both a P_{Loc} and a P_{Dir}.
 → Doubling PPs are obligatorily interpreted directionally.
- ② The preposition (P_{Loc}) forms a constituent with the object to the exclusion of the postposition (P_{Dir}), which does not project any functional structure.
 → CP^[Place] (with the preposition and the object) can undergo movement on its own, without the postposition.
 → The postposition (P_{Dir}) can incorporate into the verb.

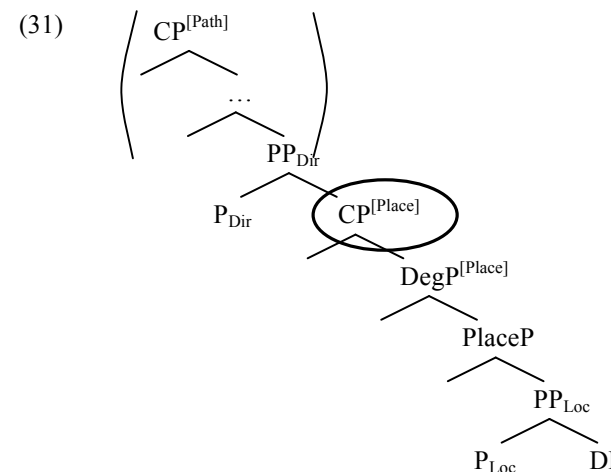
5 ANALYSIS, PART II: A DEFECTIVE LOWER P LAYER

- 5.1 The P_{Loc} layer
- 5.2 A defective lower layer
- 5.3 Extension: Circumpositions and R-pronouns

5.1 The P_{Loc} layer

Den Dikken (2006, 2010): 3 options for P_{Loc}
 P_{Loc} can either have a full structure, a Deg^[Place]P structure or no functional structure

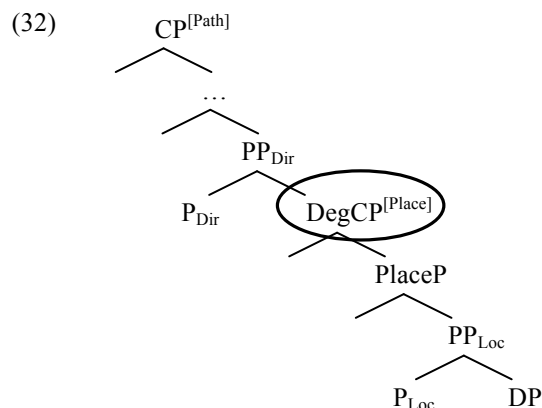
• **Full structure (CP^[Place])**



Some consequences of a **full structure**:

- R-pronouns allowed: Spec,CP (Koopman 2000, 2010)
- no incorporation into P_{Dir} or V: P_{Loc} moves to Place but no higher
- locative PP can undergo movement, unless selected by full P_{Dir}-structure

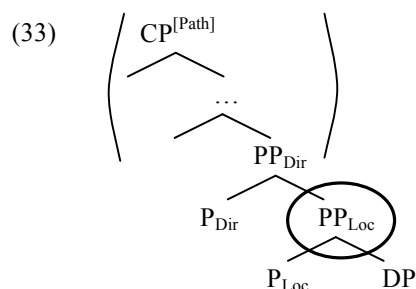
• **DegP**



Some consequences of a **DegP** structure:

- no incorporation into P_{Dir} or V: P_{Loc} moves to Place but no higher
- locative PP cannot be subextracted from the PP

• No functional structure: P_{Loc}



Some consequences of **no functional structure**:

- obligatory incorporation into P_{Dir} or V: P_{Loc} needs to be licensed
- DP object behaves like the object of a V: scrambling, topicalization...
- locative PP cannot undergo movement

5.2 A defective lower layer

- Recall property ③: the in situ indefinite pronouns

(34) Lili is **op iets** **op** geklommen. [Asse Dutch]
Lili is on something on climbed
 ‘Lili climbed up on something.’

→ Koopman (2000, 2010; den Dikken 2006, 2010):
 The landing site for R-pronouns is [Spec,CP^[Place]] in Standard Dutch.

→ In doubling PPs this landing site seems to be unavailable.

- **Claim:**
 C^[Place] is sometimes defective (C*^[Place])

Consequences:

- ① It lacks an EPP feature, i.e. it cannot attract elements to its Spec.
 → No landing site for pronouns → No R-word formation
- ② It needs to amalgamate with a local host in order to be licensed.
 This host needs to be featurally compatible with the defective C*.

C* is itself a member of the extended projection of P_{Loc} and is specified for P_{Loc}'s features: in the case of P_{Loc} *op* ‘on’, it is specified for *op*'s features.

In order to amalgamate with C*, P_{Dir} must be featurally compatible with it.

→ P_{Dir} must be specified for P_{Loc}(=*op*)'s features.²

→ P_{Dir} can only amalgamate with C* if it spells out identically to P_{Loc}.

→ **P_{Dir}'s selection of a defective C* demands identical Ps and hence, derives doubling.**

² We conceive of the locative/directional opposition as a privative one, with [dir] as the marked feature. P_{Dir}=*op* is hence specified for **all** of P_{Loc}=*op*'s features: there is no feature conflict between [loc] and [dir]; P_{Dir} is more richly specified than P_{Loc} and C*, but shares all of P_{Loc}'s and C*'s features, and can license C*.

Analysis, Part II:

Dialects that display doubling allow P_{Dir} to act as a host for the defective C:

$$(35) \quad [_{PP} \mathbf{P}_{Dir} [_{CP(Place)} C^{[Place]} [_{DegP} Deg^{[Place]} [_{PlaceP} Place [_{PP} \mathbf{P}_{Loc} DP]]]]]$$

→ Doubling allows for in situ pronouns (property ③).

- Analysis of (34): *Lilli is op iets op geklommen*.

Step 1: P_{Loc} moves to Place to be licensed (see Koopman 2010; den Dikken 2010)

$$(36) \quad [_{PP(Dir)} \mathbf{op} [_{CP} C^* [_{DegP} Deg [_{PlaceP} Place + \mathbf{op} [_{PP(Loc)} t_{op} \mathbf{iets}]]]]] \mathbf{klimmen}$$

Step 2: Because C is defective, [Spec, C^[Place]P] is not available → *iets* stays in situ:

$$(37) \quad [_{PP(Dir)} \mathbf{op} [_{CP} C^* [_{DegP} Deg [_{PlaceP} \mathbf{op} [_{PP(Loc)} t_{op} \mathbf{iets}]]]]] \mathbf{klimmen}$$

Step 3: Recall that P_{Dir} does not project any functional structure in doubling PPs (see Analysis, part I)

→ P_{Dir}+C* can incorporate into the verb and C^[Place]P becomes a derived complement of the verb.

$$(38) \quad [_{PP(Dir)} t_{op} [_{CP} t_{C^*} [_{DegP} Deg [_{PlaceP} \mathbf{op} [_{PP(Loc)} t_{op} \mathbf{iets}]]]]] \mathbf{op+klimmen}$$

= *op iets op klimmen*

5.3 Extension: Circumpositions and R-pronouns

- Recall that circumpositions allow both in situ pronouns and R-pronouns:

$$(39) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{a. Hij lijkt } \mathbf{ergens} \quad \mathbf{om} \quad \mathbf{heen} \quad \text{te draaien.} \\ \text{he seems somewhere about towards to turn} \\ \text{b. Hij lijkt } \mathbf{om} \quad \mathbf{iets} \quad \mathbf{heen} \quad \text{te draaien.} \\ \text{he seems about something towards to turn} \\ \text{'He seems to be rotating around something.'} \end{array}$$

- **Analysis:** When P_{Dir} projects functional structure of its own, the size of its complement can vary (see above, cf. den Dikken 2010).

P_{Dir} can select:³

- ① A full functional structure CP^[Place] (see above, cf. den Dikken 2006):
 $\dots [_{PP} \mathbf{P}_{Dir} [_{CP} C^{[Place]} [_{DegP} Deg^{[Place]} [_{PlaceP} Place [_{PP} \mathbf{P}_{Loc} DP]]]]]$
 → necessarily non-defective, because the Ps are not identical.
- ② A Deg^[Place]P (see above, cf. den Dikken 2006):
 $\dots [_{PP} \mathbf{P}_{Dir} [_{DegP} Deg^{[Place]} [_{PlaceP} Place [_{PP} \mathbf{P}_{Loc} DP]]]]]$

- Consequences for R-pronouns:

① Full CP^[Place]: R-pronouns

$$\dots [_{PP} \mathbf{P}_{Dir} = \mathbf{heen} [_{CP} C^{[Place]} [_{DegP} Deg^{[Place]} [_{PlaceP} Place [_{PP} \mathbf{P}_{Loc} = \mathbf{om} \quad DP = \mathbf{iets}]]]]]$$

Step 1: P_{Loc} moves to Place to be licensed (see Koopman 1997; den Dikken 2006)

$$(40) \quad \dots [_{PP(Dir)} \mathbf{heen} [_{CP(Place)} C [_{DegP} Deg [_{PlaceP} Place + \mathbf{om} [_{PP(Loc)} t_{om} \mathbf{iets}]]]]]$$

³ It can also select a bare PP_{Loc}, but for reasons of space, we do not discuss this option here.

Step 2: *Iets* can move to [Spec, C^[Place]P], forming an R-pronoun (Koopman 1997, 2000; den Dikken 2006, 2010)

(41) ... [PP(Dir) **heen** [CP(Place) **ergens** C [DegP Deg [PlaceP Place+om [PP(Loc) *t_{om}* *t_{iets}*]]]]]

Step 3: CP^[Place] moves around the P_{Dir} to form a circumposition (den Dikken 2006)

(42) ... [CP(Place) **ergens** ... [PP(Loc) **om** *t_{iets}*]]] [PP(Dir) **heen** *t_{CP(Place)}*]

= *ergens om heen*

② DegP: in situ pronouns

... [PP P_{Dir}= **heen** [DegP Deg^[Place] [PlaceP Place [PP P_{Loc}= **om** DP= *iets*]]]]]

Step 1: P_{Loc} moves to Place to be licensed (see Koopman 1997; den Dikken 2006)

(43) ... [PP(Dir) **heen** [DegP Deg [PlaceP Place+om [PP(Loc) *t_{om}* *iets*]]]]]

Step 2: There is no [Spec, C^[Place]P] → *iets* stays in situ:

(44) ... [PP(Dir) **heen** [DegP Deg [PlaceP Place+om [PP(Loc) *t_{om}* *iets*]]]]]

Step 3: Deg^[Place]P moves around the P_{Dir} to form a circumposition (den Dikken 2006)

(45) ... [Deg(Place)P ... [PP(Loc) **om** *iets*]]] [PP(Dir) **heen** *t_{Deg(Place)P}*]

= *om iets heen*

- Further implication: In situ pronouns and movement

When P_{Dir} does not project functional structure, the PreP can move on its own (i.e. the PP can be split) → doubling, and, for some speakers, circumpositions

+

When P_{Dir} does not project functional structure, it can only select CP, not DegP.

+

Only when P_{Dir} selects DegP, in situ pronouns occur in (non-doubling) circumpositions.

→ **Prediction:** When the PP is split, the pronoun cannot stay in situ, i.e. has to form an R-word.

Speakers who allow for (46)a, should reject (46)b, in contrast to (46)c:⁴

- (46)
- dat hij **ergens om** leek **heen** te lopen.
that he somewhere about seemed towards to run
 - dat hij **om iets** leek **heen** te lopen.
that he about something seemed towards to run
 - dat hij **om iets heen** leek te lopen.
that he about something towards seemed to run
'that he seemed to be running around something.'

⁴ Speakers who reject (46)a do not allow a P_{Dir} without functional structure in the complement of a directional verb, see above (cf. den Dikken 2006, 2010).

6 CONCLUSION AND FURTHER ISSUES

- Main claims:**
- ❶ Doubling PPs in Flemish Dutch dialects are the result of identical spell-outs of a P_{Loc} and a P_{Dir} .
 - ❷ The properties of doubling PPs are:
 - (i) It only occurs with spatial directional PPs
 - (ii) The entire [P DP P] string cannot undergo movement, but the prepositional part can subextract.
 - (iii) Indefinite pronouns stay in situ and do not form R-words.
 - ❸ To capture these properties we argue for the following structure:

$$[_{PP} \mathbf{P}_{Dir} [_{CP(Place)} C^{[Place]} [_{DegP} Deg^{[Place]} [_{PlaceP} Place [_{PP} \mathbf{P}_{Loc} DP]]]]]$$
 - (i) Both P_{Loc} and P_{Dir} are present → explains distribution.
 - (ii) P_{Dir} does not project any functional structure, capturing the movement properties.
 - (iii) P_{Loc} optionally projects a defective CP, which forces neuter pronouns to stay in situ and not form R-pronomena.

Further issues:

- ① Alternative approach: Doubling as multiple spell-out in a movement chain?

Doubling is sometimes argued to be the result of spell-out of several links in a movement chain (see among others Barbiers et al 2009 for *wh* doubling).

→ P_{Loc} moves to P_{Dir} and is realized in both positions.

Not tenable here:

The movement data require functional structure for P_{Loc} (+ also R-pronouns, Degree Phrases)

- The functional structure blocks movement from P_{Loc} to P_{Dir} (Koopman 2000)
- No movement chain, no multiple spell-out

- ② Why do some dialects allow for doubling (i.e. spell-out of P_{Dir})? What is the motivation/trigger for doubling?

To solve this question it is important to look into language evolution and see how the different dialects of Dutch/Flemish developed.

→ Link between doubling PP dialects and variants of Dutch allowing for bare P_{Dir} with circumpositions (as these have the same structure)?

→ Disambiguation of directional prepositional phrases?
Standard Dutch can disambiguate Ps that can be used both directionally and locatively (such as *in*, cf. *Lola springt in het water*) by using them as postpositions or prepositions respectively.

Maybe certain dialects developed doubling as a disambiguation strategy.
! Difficult to see if these dialects actually display postpositions.

→ Flemish dialects also allow P elements *van* ‘of’ and *voor* ‘for’ to be used as complementizers. Although the distribution of this use is wider than doubling PPs, we suspect there to be a link: dialects allowing for P complementizers are more likely to allow for the $P_{Dir}+C^*$ hybrid created in doubling.

- ③ Gradient grammaticalization of $P_{Dir}+C^*$ hybrid

Some speakers allow for doubling with (predicative) locative PPs:

- (47) a. % Hij wil **naast** dat meisje niet **naast** zitten.
he wants next that girl not next sit
‘He doesn’t want to sit next to that girl.’
- b. % De kleren hangen al een hele dag **aan** de
the clothes hang already a whole day on the
wasdraad **aan**.
washing.line on
‘The clothes have been hanging on the washing line all day.’

→ Possible analysis:

For some speakers the amalgamation or hybrid P/C has grammaticalized even further: P_{Dir} is reanalyzed as C and can lose its directional meaning. As a consequence of this grammaticalization, C itself can also be spelled out identically to P_{Loc}, in the absence of a P_{Dir}.

→ For these speakers, doubling can also occur in locative contexts.

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Research funded by FWO

