

CHAPTER 16

INDEFINITE DETERMINER DOUBLING: DATA & METHODS

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1. Introduction

Syntactic doubling, expressing a constituent twice (or more) when a single occurrence should suffice, is surprisingly common, especially where functional elements are concerned (Barbiers 2008:5). Some well-known examples include multiple negation/negative concord, found in many languages, and double definiteness, found in some Scandinavian languages. In this chapter, we focus on doubling of indefinite determiners in the Germanic languages, that is, on nominal expressions in which the indefinite article occurs more than once within the same DP (determiner phrase, i.e. nominal expression). Such constructions are reported most extensively in varieties of German, such as Swiss German and Bavarian German (Weber 1948:203ff; Merkle 1975:89; Lindauer 1991; Leu, 2001:63; Plank 2003:366; Kallulli & Rothmayr 2008), but they are found more generally across the Germanic languages, in Standard English and regional English (Wood 2002:109; 2013), and in Scandinavian: Northern Swedish (Delsing 1993:142-145; Delsing 2003; Garbacz 2014), Northern Norwegian (Delsing 2003; Garbacz 2014), Standard Danish (Wood & Vikner 2011; 2013). For an overview see also Alexiadou (2014: 95-109).

Typical examples are shown below. Frequently, examples with two articles are found associated with degree words, as in (1) with *such*, as in (2) with the etymologically related *so*, and as in (3), with German *ganz*. There is also a northern Scandinavian type found with attributive adjectives, and in which more than two articles are permitted, as in (4) and (5).

- (1) En. My rules are to cut down drinking, control my temper if I am drinking, not to drink in a such a large group and not to waste much money.
(BNC, academic writing, 1991, quoted in Wood 2002:109)
- (2) Da. Og jeg vil gerne også kunne lave en så let en film som Frisørens
And I will like to also could make a so light a film as the-female-hairdresser's
mand, hvis jeg har lyst til det.
husband, if I have desire to that.
(KorpusDK, newspaper, 1991)
- (3) SGe. Ä ganz ä schönä Baum
a totally a beautiful tree (= 'a totally beautiful tree')
(Swiss German, Leu 2001:63)
- (4) NSw. En stor en ful en kar
a big a ugly a guy (= 'a big, ugly guy')
(Northern Swedish, Delsing 1993:143)
- (5) NNor. Æ hadde ei svart ei bok.
I had a black a ook.
'I had a black book.'
(Northern Norwegian, Garbacz 2014:48)

Our focus in this chapter is on examples of the type shown in (1), (2) and (3) which involve degree adverbs.

Although it has long been recognised that doubling of indefinite articles is attested in Germanic languages, the construction was, until recently, reported only in dialects of German and Scandinavian. Typical comments, from those confronted with data such as that above, mirrors that of Plank (2003:367), who writes that in Standard German, such examples "may now and then be encountered as slips of the tongue or perhaps even the pen". Consequently, there has been little systematic research outside of varieties of German and northern varieties of Swedish and Norwegian. For example, although example sentences of the types 'a black a horse' and 'a so black a horse' were tested among Norwegian, Swedish and Finland-Swedish informants when data was collected for the Nordic Syntax Database (Garbacz 2014:43), these sentences were not tested on Danish speakers. In this paper, we argue that doubling of indefinite article examples is more prevalent than originally thought, and that it is too frequent and widespread to be a "slip of the tongue". It is somehow able to slip in under the "radar" and, although it is not part of Standard English or Danish, it is not stigmatised in any way.

We first survey and compare different data collection methods in section 2, and argue that the doubling data are too systematic and too frequent to be "performance errors". We then, in section 3, compare languages and show that German and English are the least restrictive as to which lexical items allow doubling within a DP. In section 4 we test on our Danish and English data the hypothesis Kalluli & Rothmayr (2008:98) suggest for German as to when article doubling may occur. We find that the hypothesis needs to be revised in order to apply to Danish and English as well as German.

2. Data Sources

Linguists rely on data from a number of different sources, including elicitation, field work interviews, descriptive grammars, dictionaries and various corpora. Although internet searches are sometimes useful, it might seem that random Google searches can turn up almost anything these days. Such examples should not be taken in isolation as the sole source. We agree with the decision Kalluli & Rothmayr (2008:107) make about French. Concerning the French example in (6) below provided by a reviewer of their article, they note: "Not having been able to find any literature on this construction in the non-standard varieties of French in which it occurs, nor to locate any informants that speak such a variety, we will however not consider these data in the present paper".

- (6) Fr. C' est vrai que j' ai une belle une gueule.
It is true that I have a beautiful a face.

We also note that the French pattern shown in (6) is different from the German, English and Danish examples, as in those languages doubling occurs with a degree adverb. The French example is similar to the northern Scandinavian type in examples (4) and (5) which involve attributive adjectives.

Although indefinite determiner doubling is not considered part of the standard languages, we suggest that doubling data should be taken seriously in Standard English and Danish. We show that it occurs in many different genres and in formal as well as colloquial speech and writing.

2.1 Dialect grammars and historical dictionaries

Indefinite determiner doubling was first reported in German dialect grammars, giving the initial impression that it is somewhat "exotic". Generally, it is found in southern and western dialects of German. It is attested in Germany (Upper and Lower Bavaria, Upper Palatinate, Alemannic): Merkle (1976), Henn-Memmesheimer (1986); in Austria (Carinthia): Pohl (1989:62); in the Czech Republic (Bohemia): Schiepek (1989, cited in Kalluli & Rothmayr 2008:101) and in Switzerland: Weber (1948), Henn-Memmesheimer (1986). Typical examples are shown below.

- (7) SGe. Mer wöisched en rächt en gueten Apitit.
We wish a real a good appetite.

(Zürich German, Weber 1948:203)

- (8) Ba. A so a groBa Bua
a so a big boy (= 'such a big boy')

(Bavarian, Kallulli & Rothmayr 2008:97, (2a))

Not only are examples attested in dialect grammars of German, but examples from the Leicestershire dialect of English were reported in a 19th century description of that variety, as shown in (9) (Evans 1881). Doubling in this dialect

appears to have escaped general attention, although example (12) from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), found under the dictionary entry *gurry*, is cited in Wood (2002:109).

- (9) En. Shay's got a sich a tong.
She's got a such a tongue (= command of abusive language)
 (Evans 1881:276)

We should note then, that the OED also proves to be a useful source. Although the actual OED dictionary entries for *such* and *quite* do not report any examples of doubling, we found additional examples of 'a *such* a N' and 'a *quite* a N' in the definition text of the dictionary, (10) and, under the entry for other words, (11) and (12).

- (10) En. produced or obtained by a such a process, and therefore unpredictable in detail.
 (OED, Dictionary entry *random*, definition C.1.b)
- (11) En. There is a quite a telling mysticism in the wise men of the east, who are astrologising —studying the heavens—on their mountain, and first behold the wondrous star.
 (OED, Dictionary entry *astrologize*, 1883 L. Scott' *Renaissance of Art in Italy*)
- (12) En. I had a such a *gurry* on me as if I hadn't eaten nothink of a fortnit.
My stomach was so upset, as if I hadn't eaten anything for two weeks.
 (OED, Dictionary entry *gurry*, quoting Evans 1881:165, also quoted in Wood 2002:109)

Likewise, example (13), from 1839, is cited in *Ordbog over det Danske sprog* (ODS), the Danish counterpart to the OED, under the entry for 'Goliath'.

- (13) Da. Vel er jeg kun en lille David mod en saadan en Goliath, som I,
Admittedly am I only a little David against a such a Goliath as you,
 men jeg er rask, er jeg.
but I am fast, am I.
 (Christian Winther: *Hestprangeren*, first published 1839,
 here cited from *Samlede Digtinger*, vol 8, p. 53, published 1860)

We note that example (10) is particularly interesting, being a definition written by the dictionary compilers, and not an example sentence from an outside source. The compilers of the dictionary were literate, well-educated individuals, yet did not notice the extra article.

Although dialect grammars and dictionaries are a valuable resource, they are limited, and linguists have tended to use them as stepping stones for further investigation, e.g. by attempting to elicit examples from informants who speak the relevant regional varieties.

2.2 Elicitation

The sociolinguistic interview (Labov:1972) is a widely accepted and proven method for collecting spontaneous speech and stylistically varied data. However, syntactic examples are more difficult to collect from spontaneous speech than phonological ones, for the simple reason that instances of the target feature may not turn up in sufficient quantity, if at all. Therefore, elicitation is often a more efficient method. However, the disadvantage of elicitation is that people's conscious judgements are often affected by the standard. Although we have not found the doubling expressions that we are interested in proscribed in any grammars and style guides, once people's attention is drawn to them, they are usually judged to be ungrammatical. This makes it difficult to use elicitation for collecting data, particularly for the standard languages.

Nevertheless, elicitation data on doubling has been collected as part of the Nordic Syntax Database (NSD). Judgments by 924 Nordic dialect speakers from 207 places were collected, although, as mentioned, not all sentences were tested in each locality. Norwegian, Swedish and Finland-Swedish speakers were asked about the acceptability of the sentences below.

- (14) Sw. Vi såg en svart en häst.
We saw a black a horse.
 (Garbacz 2014:43, (3))

- (15) Sw. En så svart en häst har jeg aldrig set förr.
A so black a horse have I never seen before.

(Garbacz 2014:43, (4))

It was found that the test sentence (14) was accepted in all 3 regions, with higher acceptability in north-west Sweden (Garbacz 2014: 44, map 1). The test sentence (15) is widely accepted in parts of Norway and Sweden (Garbacz 2014: 48).

Associated with NSD is the Nordic Dialect Corpus (NDC). This contains 2.8 million words of spontaneous speech from Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Faroese, Icelandic and Övdalian. Doubling examples of the type as in (14) are found in Norway and Sweden, as well as examples with three articles, as was seen in (4), although there are few hits. Some of the informants participated in both the NSD and the NDC and, interestingly, although speakers in Ballangen and Sømna in northern Norway reject the test sentence (14), they do actually produce sentences of this type (Garbacz 2014:48), illustrating the point that was made above about the reliability of elicitation.

Turning to German, according to Kallulli & Rothmayr (2008:97), who elicited judgements from speakers of Bavarian German and Standard German, Bavarian German speakers strongly prefer doubling constructions although those living in Vienna show interference from the standard language. Doubling is optional for standard speakers and some find it ungrammatical. The degree adverbs *so*, 'so/such' as in (16), and *ganz*, 'quite' (Bavarian *gons*) are the most frequently occurring items in doubling construction.

- (16) Ge. Ein so ein großer Bub
a so a big boy (= 'such a big boy')

(Kallulli & Rothmayr 2008:97, (2b))

It is possible that the German speakers who found the expression unacceptable could have been biased by the fact that the word *Bub* is dialectal. It is, therefore, important to know on what basis test sentences are rejected.

Although reports have focused on non-standard varieties, i.e. regional German and Scandinavian, it is clear from the data in the following section that the indefinite article doubling construction is less exotic than first reported.

2.3 Corpora

As the discussion above has shown, eliciting judgements on doubling data is challenging. When asked for sentence judgments, some informants may be influenced by the standard language, and although spontaneous speech is more reliable, the data can be sparse or non-existent. Therefore, a data collection method of spontaneous speech and writing gives more reliable results, although a large amount of speech and writing is needed to be sure that we are not dealing with slips of the tongue or pen. This is where large corpora that have been assembled for language investigations have an advantage. As was mentioned, sentences of the type (14) and (15) above were not thought to occur in Danish, and therefore were not tested in Danish in the NSD and NDC projects above. Somewhat surprisingly, then, we found examples of doubling in KorpusDK. This corpus consists of 56 million words representing modern Danish speech (collected 1983-1992) and 1998-2002 from a variety of sources including publishing houses, newspapers, periodicals, schools, and private individuals. There is a total of 12 examples from novels and newspapers:

- five examples of *en sådan en* (common gender version of 'a such a')
- two examples of *et sådan et* (neuter version of 'a such a')
- three examples of *en så ADJ en* (common gender version of 'a so ADJ a')
- two examples of *et så ADJ et* (neuter version of 'a so ADJ a')

- (17) Da. Det modsatte er, at du er en sådan en smart fyr, der er meget ude om natten.
The opposite is that you are a such a smart guy who is much out at night.

(KorpusDK, novel, 1999)

- (18) Da. Men et så stort et projekt i byens hjerte kræver selvsagt
But a.neut so big.neut a.neut project in town-the's heart demands of-course

en langt højere informationsgrad.
a far higher information-degree.

(KorpusDK, newspaper, 2001)

Although we urged caution with data collected from Google searches, we nevertheless entertain the possibility of supplementing the Danish data with internet data as long as the researcher is discriminating. In the examples below, although some of these internet examples from Danish are colloquial as in (19), which is from a comments section on a newspaper website, it is evident from examples like (20), which is from a legal periodical, that Standard Danish is represented here as well.

- (19) Da. Nu er der jo altid 2 parter i en sådan en sag.
Now are there indeed always 2 parties in a such a case.
 (<http://newz.dk/cowi-skal-betale-en-halv-mio-i-bod>, 2013)
- (20) Da. Man kunne håbe på, at Justitsministeriet i det mindste kunne
One could hope on that the-Ministry-of-Justice in the least could
 komme til en sådan en konklusion, at ...
come to a such a conclusion that ...
 (from the legal periodical *Juristen*, June 30, 2010, p. 153)

Although the data above represents Standard Danish we are reasonably confident that doubling constructions are to be found in regional Danish also, for example, in Bornholm (p.c. Karen Margrethe Pedersen).

Turning to publically available corpora of English, we searched the *British National Corpus* (BNC) (written and spoken), the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) (written and spoken), the *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA) (exists as written only) and the *Corpus of American Soap Operas* (SOAP) (written to be spoken). The raw figures are shown in table xx-1.

corpus	no. of words	a such a	a quite a	a rather a	a many a	a still a
BNC spoken	10 mill.	6	46	8	0	3
BNC written	90 mill.	4	2	0	0	1
COCA spoken	109 mill.	14	22	3	0	9
COCA written	411 mill.	43	15	0	7	7
COHA (pre-1950)	400 mill.	6	2	0	8	0
COHA (post 1950)		11	4	0	0	0
SOAP	100 mill.	13	8	1	0	3

Table xx-1

There is a large number of written examples in American English compared with spoken examples. Since it is easier to monitor and edit written text, we would expect proportionally more spoken than written examples. This is additional evidence to show these "mistakes" go almost unnoticed. In British English, the number of spoken examples is greater than written, which is the expected result.

As far as text types go, there is no discernable bias. Taking examples of *such* it can be seen that newspapers are represented in both the BNC and COCA written components and an academic journal in COCA.

- (21) En. He had a such a legendary police career that Hollywood modeled a hard-boiled TV character after him.
 (COCA, News, *Associated Press*, 2002)
- (22) En. There was no foreseeable possibility of a such a scheme.
 (BNC, News, *Guardian*, 1989)
- (23) En. During our interview, he ticks off what he believes the daily life of a such a worker would have been like.
 (COCA, Academic Journal, *Archaeology*, 2010)

It is well known that the two corpora, BNC and COCA are not directly comparable. Similar text types are represented in part, for example newspapers, but the BNC contains a larger range of text types than COCA. The spoken components differ considerably. In COCA most of the spoken examples are from the Public Broadcasting Service and everyday conversation is not represented, whereas more colloquial speech is found in the BNC. In example (24), from COCA, the speaker is Sir Leon Brittan, educated at Trinity College Cambridge and former Member of the British Parliament. Example (25), from the BNC is from a recorded conversation. Notably, the four examples from everyday conversation in the BNC are from four different conversations with four different sets of participants.

- (24) En. If you are able to break a logjam that's existed for two or three years and achieve agreement on a such a complex detail but important matter as a single market in securities, that says that we're still in business.
(COCA, ABC Business Report, 1992)
- (25) En. He sounds like a such a wanker when he does it though.
(BNC, Conversation, around 1990)

The fact that the two corpora discussed above are not directly comparable is sometimes a disadvantage when comparing American and British English. In this case, we consider that fact that so many text types are represented across the corpora strengthens our argument that indefinite article doubling in English and Danish is not a slip of the tongue or pen. As the data in this section show, cases of indefinite article doubling are found in a wide variety of speakers, across different methods of data collection, and different genres and styles. We find that they are too frequent or too systematic to be false starts or performance errors.

3. What are the relevant cases of indefinite determiner doubling?

Recapitulating the data, we have:

- (i) Varieties of the Northern Swedish and Northern Norwegian type, (4) and (14). More than two articles are possible (i.e. not just doubling, but also tripling, etc.), each extra article accompanying its own adjective, and degree words are not necessary. We suggest that this is a different phenomenon, which has a separate explanation.
- (ii) Varieties that permit only doubling (no tripling).
- Standard Danish, where we have found doubling only with *so* and *such*.
 - German and English, where doubling also occurs with other degree words.
We have found examples of *a rather a (Adj) N*, *a quite a (Adj) N*, *a many a (Adj) N* and *a still a (Adj) N*, as well as *an even a (Adj) N*. These have the German equivalents *ziemlich*, *ganz*, *manch*, and *noch* (ambiguous between *even* and *still*).

Rather:

- (26) En. You realise that accountability is a rather a hot and fashionable word in education these days.
(BNC, radio, around 1990)
- (27) En. So I believe it is a rather a waste of money.
(BNC, radio, 1994)
- (28) SGe. Es esch en ziemlich en fine Tee.
It is a rather a delicate tea.
(Kalluli & Rothmayr 2008:104, (24))

Quite:

- (29) En. I note that there is a quite a demand for snake virus.
(OED, Dictionary entry *virus*, Bedford (Pa.) *Gazette*, 1909)
- (30) SGe. Ich wünsche üch en ganz a schöne abe.
I wish you a.MASC quite a nice evening.
(Kalluli & Rothmayr 2008:127, (86c))

Many:

- (31) En. "Done put away a many a friend and relative; ain't none upset me like this."
(COCA, Fiction, 1993)
- (32) Ge. ...ein manch ein Handball- Fan aus der Region.
a many a handball fan from the region.
(Kalluli & Rothmayr 2008:133, (ii))

Even:

- (33) En. it's an even a worse problem when the person is somebody you know, right?

(COCA, CBS 48 Hours, 1993)

- (34) Ba. a. ein noch wärmers Bier
an even warmer beer
 b. noch ein wärmers Bier
even a warmer beer
 c. ein noch ein wärmers Bier
an even a warmer beer

(Plank 2003:366, (100), the gloss is ours)

Still:

- (35) En. It's a still a very difficult situation. There are many challenges we have to overcome.
 (COCA, *PBS Newshour* 2012, speaker is David Cameron)
- (36) En. The New York area is a still a hub, and I think it's as good a bet as any.
 (COCA, *New York Times*, 1992, quoting direct speech)
- (37) En. ... but there is a still a long uphill battle to go for the cleanup and containment of this stuff.
 (COCA, *Fox Special Report*, 2010)
- (38) Ge. ... oder ob man für wenig Geld ein noch ein funktionierendes Altgerät erwerben kann.
or whether one for little money a still a functioning oldappliance acquire can
 (www.helkueb.de/dienstleistung/restauration-und-reparatur, 2015)

Finally, the first of the two indefinite articles can be replaced by quantifiers like *no* and *any*, resulting in structures of the type *no such a* and *any such a* as in the following.

- (39) En. ... and there was no, no such a thing as bales in those days, duckie. No such a thing as bales of straw, it was loose hay stacked.
 (BNC, oral history, around 1990, quoted in Wood 2002:110)
- (40) En. Japanese kinship had no such a rule, except for a very top echelon of the samurai class.
 (COCA, academic writing, 2004)
- (41) En. ... on the basis of any such a proposal or application form ...
 (BNC, 1992, quoted in Wood 2002 2002:110)

4. When does indefinite article doubling occur?

Kalluli & Rothmayr (2008:98, 108) observe that certain degree words like *so* 'so' and *ganz* 'quite' occur with doubling in Standard German and Bavarian, whereas other quantifying expressions like *sehr* 'very' and *irrsinnig* 'insanely' do not allow for determiner doubling. They therefore suggest that article doubling occurs only with elements that do not have to be adjacent to an adjective phrase.

The point is that *so* and *ganz* can modify an AdjP even when they are separated from this AdjP by an indefinite article, as shown by (42)b and (43)b. Consequently, doubling is also possible, as seen in (42)c and (43)c.

- (42) Ge. a. ein so großer Bub
 b. so ein großer Bub
 c. ein so ein großer Bub
a so a big boy

(Kalluli & Rothmayr 2008:97-98, (4a), (7a), (2b))

- (43) Ge. a. ein ganz blöder Fehler
 b. ganz ein blöder Fehler
 c. ein ganz ein blöder Fehler
a quite a stupid mistake

(Kalluli & Rothmayr 2008:97-98, (4b), (7b), (3b))

sehr and *irrsinnig*, on the other hand, can only modify an AdjP if they are adjacent to it, as shown by (44)a,b and (45)a,b. Consequently, determiner doubling is not possible, see (45)c and (46) c:

- (44) Ge. a. ein sehr großer Bub
 b. * sehr ein großer Bub
 c. * ein sehr ein großer Bub
 a very a big boy

(Kalluli & Rothmayr 2008:98, (5a), (8a), (6a))

- (45) Ge. a. ein irrsinnig blöder Fehler
 b. * irrsinnig ein blöder Fehler
 c. * ein irrsinnig ein blöder Fehler
 a insanely a stupid mistake

(Kalluli & Rothmayr 2008:98, (5b), (8b), (6c))

Strictly speaking, given the formulation by Kalluli & Rothmayr (2008:98, 108), namely that article doubling occurs only with elements that do not have to be adjacent to an adjective phrase, we would not expect doubling in English and Danish with *so* and *så*. This is because *so* and *så* are degree words that cannot be separated from the AdjP that they modify, i.e. the equivalent of (42)b is not possible in Danish or English, as seen in (46)b and (47)b.

- (46) Da. a. en så stor succes
 b. * så en stor succes
 c. så stor en succes
 (a) so (a) big (a) success

- (47) En. a. ?? a so big success
 b. * so a big success
 c. so big a success

Although the exact formulation in Kalluli & Rothmayr (2008:98, 108) thus does not hold for Danish and English, it might be that the more general idea could still be on the right track, namely that in order for doubling of an indefinite article to be possible, a single article has to be possible in each of the two doubling positions.

Given that both (46)a,c are possible in Danish, it would thus not be surprising that we found three examples of *en så ADJ en N* and two of *et så ADJ et N* (see also (18) above).

- (48) Da. Men detektivarbejdet har været en så stor en succes, at ...
 But detective-work-the has been a so big a success that

(KorpusDK, newspaper, 2001)

- (49) Da. Det var første gang, at den kommunistiske ledelse på så markant en plads
 That was first time that the communist leadership in so prominent a place
 tillod kritik af et så kontroversielt et projekt.
 permitted criticism of a.NEUT so controversial.NEUT a.NEUT project.

(KorpusDK, newspaper, 1999)

As for English, given the marginal status of (47)a, it would not be too surprising either that although our searches in the above mentioned English corpora failed to find any examples of *a so ADJ a*, we did find one internet example.

- (50) En. However, in a so long a process, the genetic variability, knowledge and know-how determine the vital capacity for genetic improvement in the future.

(www.actahort.org/books, 2015)

However, even this broader formulation (i.e. in order for doubling of an indefinite article to be possible, a single article has to be possible in each of the two doubling positions) runs into trouble when it comes to *such* in English.

- (51) En. a. * a such complex detail
b. such a complex detail
c. * such complex a detail

Although the indefinite determiner is only possible in one position, (51)b, doubling is nevertheless found here, as seen e.g. in (24) above, ... *agreement on a such a complex detail*¹

It therefore seems that all we can say is that in order for doubling of an indefinite article to be possible, it must be possible to have e.g. a degree word to the left of the article, i.e. either (46)b/(47)b or (46)c/(47)c must be possible.^{2 3}

5. Conclusion

We first surveyed and compared different data collection methods. We argued that the doubling data were too systematic and too frequent to be "performance errors".

We then compared languages and argued that the doubling type found only in Northern Swedish and Northern Norwegian was of a different type, which allowed not just doubling but also tripling (etc.) of articles, and which did not require a degree word. We then showed that within the doubling type that requires degree words, German and English were less restrictive than the Scandinavian languages, as to which lexical items (degree words) within a nominal allow doubling.

We also tested on Danish and English two hypotheses as to when article doubling may occur in German, concluding that all that is required for doubling of an indefinite article to be possible is that it must be possible to have a degree word to the left of the article.

Sources

British National Corpus (BNC)	http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc
Corpus of American Soap Operas (SOAP)	http://corpus.byu.edu/soap
Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)	www.americancorpus.org
Corpus of Historical American English (COHA)	http://corpus.byu.edu/coha
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¹ These data, i.e. (24) and (51) together, also show that the phenomenon cannot just be dismissed as the result of the speaker being confused. It is clearly not possible to claim that the speaker of (24) started out with (51)a, then forgot where he was and inadvertently switched to (51)b midstream, given that (51)a is clearly not an option to begin with.

² This still leaves open the question why doubling is not possible without an element intervening between the two occurrences of the article.

³ As for a detailed syntactic analysis, we refer to our suggestions in Wood & Vikner (2011, 2013).

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