This talk hopes to shed some new light on a well-trodden field of Germanic syntax, i.e. the use of expletive pronouns in existentials. My main focus will be on microparametric differences between various dialects of Dutch, but this discussion will be used as the basis for excursions into the rest of Germanic. I argue that so-called specCP-expletives are spell-outs of C-heads of the type found in Celtic (cf. Jouitteau 2005/2010, 2007, 2011), while specTP-expletives of the locative type will be shown to be closely interwoven with the inflectional system (Freeze 1992, Ritter & Wiltschko 2009).