

DIE second root clauses in the Ghent dialect
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1. In a nutshell. This paper focusses on a remarkable set of data from the Flemish dialect of Ghent (East-Flanders), which are briefly discussed in Zwart (1997: 249-250). The empirical basis consists of data drawn from corpora, anecdotal observations and native speaker elicitation. In the Ghent dialect, root clauses with an initial adjunct feature an optional element, DIE, separating an initial adjunct from the finite verb, effectively leading to a linear V3 order (1). The Ghent data add significantly to the inventory of V2 patterns (Jouitteau 2007, 2010); they shed new light on the V2 phenomenon in general and in particular reveal the non-uniformity of (unexpected) V3 orders in the Germanic V2 languages. In addition, the data offer compelling support for the articulated structure of the left periphery. Adopting the articulated CP structure in line with the Poletto (2013) /Wolfe (2016) V2 typology, we analyse DIE as a root complementizer, spelling out a [+DECLARATIVE] Force head.

2. The data. *2.1. The core data.* In addition to the ‘regular’ Standard Dutch uses of *die* (demonstrative, relative, ...), the Ghent dialect features examples such as (1), in which an initial adjunct in a root clause, *vroeger* (‘formerly’), is separated from the finite verb *bakten* (‘baked’) by a ‘pleonastic’ element (Vanacker 1980), DIE. The alternative without *die*, (2), is also acceptable. (1) is unacceptable in other varieties of Dutch.

(1) *Vroeger, die bakten wij vier soorten brood*
formerly DIE baked we four sorts bread
‘We used to bake four kinds of bread.’ (Gijzenzele 0.28) (Vanacker 1980: 76)

(2) *Vroeger bakten wij vier soorten brood*
formerly baked we four sorts bread ‘We used to bake four kinds of bread.’

2.2. Core properties of pleonastic DIE. (i) The initial adverbial ‘antecedent’ is obligatory (Vanacker 1980: 77); (ii) Its syntactic category appears to be unconstrained (adverbial phrase, adverbial clause, PP, etc.), (iii) It encodes adverbial concepts such as time, place, inference, (epistemic) modality, goal, conditionality. (iv) Selected adverbial PPs can also antecede *die*. (v) In addition, some speakers also accept *wh*-adjuncts and *wh*-arguments (3) as antecedents.

(3) A: Hier zijn de bloemen voor de boeketjes.
These are the flowers for the bouquets

B: Hoeveel die moet ik er gebruiken per boeket?
How many DIE must I there use per bouquet?

Zwart (1997) assimilates the Ghent pattern to the ‘adverbial’ instantiation of the CLD pattern, which is independently available in the Ghent dialect. However, we will show that distributionally, pleonastic DIE differs significantly from the familiar specialised (Salvesen 2016) adverbial resumptives such as *dan/toen* (‘then’) and *daar* (‘there’) in Dutch/Flemish, for which the adverbial CLD analysis would be appropriate (Broekhuis & Corver 2016).

3. Background assumptions. *3.1. The split CP.* Couched in the cartographic tradition, our analysis adopts a split CP (Rizzi 1997), with FinP as lowest left peripheral (LP) projection and ForceP closing off the LP. Fin encodes clausal finiteness features, which spell out on C in embedded clauses and on the finite verb in root clauses; Force encodes illocutionary force.

3.2. V2-typology. The analysis adopts the Poletto (2013) /Wolfe (2015, 2016) typology according to which V2 languages are classified in terms of the locus of the V2 configuration: FinP (4) or ForceP (5). In Force V2 languages, the finite verb moves to Force (via Fin) and an initial XP constituent moves via SpecFinP to SpecForceP to satisfy V2. Once SpecFinP is filled, additional LP movements from within TP are blocked (the so called ‘bottleneck effect’, Haegeman 1996, Roberts 2004, Biberauer and Roberts 2014, Holmberg 2015). According to the Poletto/Wolfe typology, in Force-V2 languages, V3 patterns can only arise through the merger of ‘main clause-external’ constituents (Broekhuis and Corver 2016) with a ‘regular’ V2 root clause (=ForceP). For such V3 patterns, we assume that the initial constituent is merged in an extrasentential discourse building projection here labelled FrameP (following Greco & Haegeman to appear), as in (6).

- (4) [_{ForceP} _____ [_{TopP} _____ [_{FocP} _____ [_{FinP} XP [_{Fin°} V] [_{TP...}]]]]]
 (5) [_{ForceP} XP [_{Force°} V]... [_{FinP} XP... [_{TP...}]]]
 (6) [_{FrameP} ___ [_{ForceP} XP [_{Force°} V... [_{FinP} ... [_{TP...}]]]]]

3.3. *The Ghent dialect.* The Ghent dialect is a Force V2 language: the finite V moves to Force (via Fin), and a phrasal constituent moves to SpecForce via SpecFin as in (7).

- (7) [_{ForceP} Morgen [_{Force} komt] [_{FinP} morgen [_{Fin} komt] [_{TP} hij terug komt]]]

4. **The proposal** 4.1. *A head analysis of pleonastic DIE.* Zwart (1997) assimilates pleonastic DIE patterns to V3 patterns with adverbial resumptives such as *dan* ('then'), *toen* ('then') and *daar* ('there'), in which the adverbial resumptive is phrasal. Recast in the Poletto/Wolfe format, his analysis would be represented as in (8)a. Because a phrasal analysis of DIE raises problems (see 4.2.), we elaborate the alternative head analysis in (8b).

- (8) a. [_{FrameP} morgen [_{ForceP} **die** [_{Force} komt] [_{FinP} **die** [_{Fin} komt [_{TP} hij **die** terug komt]]]]]
 b. [_{ForceP} Morgen [_{Force} **die**] [_{FinP} morgen [_{Fin} komt] [_{TP} hij terug komt]].

In a pleonastic DIE sentence, the finite verb moves to Fin (and immediately precedes the canonical subject position); pleonastic DIE is merged in a [+DECLARATIVE] Force. In other words, Ghent DIE is an (optional) declarative root complementizer. Like V2, pleonastic DIE is a root phenomenon. In (8b) Fin hosts the finite verb, which spells out finiteness features on Fin; hence, these features are not instantiated on pleonastic DIE (differently from relative *die*). The obligatory presence of a phrasal constituent to the immediate left of pleonastic DIE results from the 'V2 requirement' on Force. Consequently, the label 'antecedent' is misleading: pleonastic DIE does not 'reduplicate' or 'resume' the initial constituent. Rather, the constituent preceding DIE satisfies the 'Force V2' requirement ('DIE second') on Force, which is spelt out by DIE. In (8b), the 'antecedent' of DIE is **not** main clause external: it moves via SpecFinP (cf. Haegeman 1996) to SpecForceP, hence the Bottleneck effect. The unexpected spell out of the Force head as *die* rather than *dat* ('that'), the regular declarative complementizer in the dialect, can be seen as an instantiation of a *dat/die* alternation due to the local movement of the initial constituent from SpecFin to SpecForce:

- (9) [_{ForceP} Morgen [_{Force} **dat => die**] [_{FinP} morgen [_{Fin} komt] [_{TP} hij terug komt]].

4.2. *Support* for our head analysis of DIE in (8b) comes from the observation (i) that pleonastic DIE cannot be modified by focusing particles, (10); (ii) that DIE is restricted to a LP position, i.e. mid position is ungrammatical (11); (iii) that DIE can co-occur with a specialized resumptive adverb, which we take itself to be phrasal, (12).

- (10) *Als het regent, zelfs die ga ik te voet naar het werk.
 if it rains, even DIE go I on foot to the work
 (11) *Als het regent blijf die maar thuis.
 If it rains, stay DIE PART home
 (12) Als ge spreekt dan die kunde da.
 when you speak then DIE can you that (attested, BV, August 2017)

References: Haegeman, L. & C. Greco. 2018. West Flemish V3 and the interaction of syntax and discourse. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* **Holmberg**, A. 2015. Verb second. *Syntax. An international handbook of contemporary syntactic research*. 2nd ed., eds. T. Kiss & A. Alexiadou. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Verlag. **Jouitteau**, M., 2010. A typology of V2 with regard to V1 and second position phenomena : An introduction to the V1/V2 volume. *Lingua* 120, 197-209. **Poletto**, C. 2013. On V2 types. *The Bloomsbury companion to syntax*, eds. S. Luraghi & C. Parodi. London: Bloomsbury. **Salvesen**, C. Meklenborg. 2016. Resumptive particles and Verb Second. Ms. UiO. **Vanacker**, V. F. 1980. Een Vlaams adverbiaal steuntje' J. Kruijsen (eds.), *Liber Amicorum Weijnen*. Assen: Van Gorcum. **Wolfe**, S. 2016. On the left periphery of V2 languages. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 38: 287-310. **Zwart**, J.-W. 1997. *Morphosyntax of Verb Movement. A Minimalist Approach to the Syntax of Dutch*. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht.