

DIE second root clauses in the Ghent dialect

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1. In a nutshell. This paper provides a description and a new analysis of a remarkable set of data from the Flemish dialect of Ghent (East-Flanders), which were briefly discussed in Zwart (1997: 249-250). In this dialect, root clauses may feature an optional element, DIE, separating an adjunct from the finite verb, giving rise to a linear V3 order (1). The empirical data discussed offer compelling support for the articulated structure of the left periphery, they add significantly to the inventory of V2 patterns (Jouitteau 2007, 2010) shedding light on the analysis of the V2 phenomenon in general and revealing the non uniformity of the derivation of unexpected V3 orders in the Germanic V2 languages. Adopting the articulated structure of CP and endorsing the Poletto (2013) /Wolfe (2016) V2 typology, we propose that DIE is a root complementizer, spelling out of the head Force.

The empirical basis of the paper consists of authentic data drawn from corpora, anecdotal observations and native speaker elicitation.

2. The data. 2.1. *The core data.* In (1) *vroegeer* ('formerly'), the initial adjunct in the root clause is separated from the finite verb by a 'pleonastic' element (Vanacker 1980), DIE. The alternative without *die*, (2), is also acceptable. (1) is unacceptable in other varieties of Dutch.

(1) Vroegeer, **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) Vroegeer 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* are: 1) it requires an antecedent (Vanacker 1980: 77); 2) the syntactic category of the antecedent appears to be unconstrained (adverbial phrase, adverbial clause, PP, etc.), 3) the antecedent may encode adverbial concepts such as time, place, inference, (epistemic) modality, goal, conditionality, 4) though the antecedent is typically an adjunct, PP arguments can also antecede *die*, 5) 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?

Distributionally, pleonastic DIE differs significantly from the familiar specialised (Salvesen 2016) adverbial resumptives such as *dan/toen* ('then') and *daar* ('there') in Dutch/Flemish, and for which an analysis in terms of an 'adverbial CLD pattern' (Zwart 1997, Broekhuis and Corver 2016) would be appropriate.

3. Background assumptions. 3.1. *The split CP.* Our analysis is couched in the cartographic tradition, adopting the split CP (Rizzi 1997), with FinP as lowest left peripheral projection and ForceP, encoding illocutionary force, closing off the left periphery. 3.2. *V2-typology.* The analysis builds on 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 and the initial constituent satisfying the V2 condition moves via SpecFinP to SpecForceP. The transition of XP via SpecFinP creates the so called 'Bottleneck effect': once SpecFinP is filled, additional left-peripheral movements from within TP are blocked (Haegeman 1996, Roberts 2004, Biberauer and Roberts 2014, Holmberg 2015). From the Poletto/Wolfe typology it would follow that in Force-V2 languages, V3 patterns only arise through the merger of 'main clause-external' constituents (Broekhuis and Corver 2016) with ForceP. Concretely, we assume that in these V3 patterns the initial constituent is merged in Greco and Haegeman's FrameP, as in (6).

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- (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...]]]]

We will argue that the Ghent DIE pattern instantiates a different type of V3 pattern.

3.3. *The Ghent dialect.* We assume that the Ghent dialect is a Force V2 language, cf. (7): regular V2 sentences are derived by V movement to Force, and by movement of a constituent 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) considers Ghent pleonastic DIE as an alternative to other phrasal adverbial resumptives such as *dan* ('then'), *toen* ('then') and *daar* ('there'). We discuss the problems for this analysis; instead, we propose the head analysis in (8). In the left periphery of a pleonastic DIE sentence, the finite verb moves to Fin (and immediately precedes the canonical subject position), and pleonastic DIE is merged in Force. It follows that like V2, pleonastic DIE is a root phenomenon. Fin, the head hosting the finite verb, encodes the finiteness features of the clause. Since the finite verb is able to spell out complementizer agreement features on Fin, these are not instantiated on pleonastic DIE (differently from relative *die*).

- (8) [ForceP Morgen [Force *die*] [FinP *morgen* [Fin *komt*] [TP hij terug *komt*]].

The 'antecedent' of DIE is **not** main clause external: rather, it moves through SpecFinP (cf. Haegeman 1996) to SpecForceP, with the associated Bottleneck effect. The obligatory presence of a constituent to the immediate left of pleonastic DIE follows from the 'V2 requirement' on Force. Consequently, the label 'antecedent' is a misnomer, because pleonastic DIE does not 'reduplicate' or 'resume' the initial constituent. Rather, the constituent preceding DIE satisfies the 'Force V2' requirement ('DIE second') and the head Force happens to be spelt out by DIE. In other words, Ghent DIE could be looked at as an optional root complementizer. 4.2. *Support* for the head analysis of DIE comes from the observation 1) that pleonastic DIE cannot be modified by focusing particles, (9); 2) that DIE is restricted to the left peripheral slot, i.e. mid position is ungrammatical (10); 3) that DIE can co-occur with a specialized resumptive adverb, which we take to be a phrasal resumptive, (11).

- (9) *Als het regent, zelfs die ga ik te voet naar het werk.
 if it rains, even DIE go I on foot to the work

- (10) *Als het regent blijf die maar thuis.
 If it rains, stay DIE PART home

- (11) als ge spreekt dan die kunde da
 when you speak then DIE can you that

'If you speak, then you can do that.' (attested example, BV, August 2017)

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