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1 Core data

The Ghent dialect features an adverbial V3 pattern, as in (1), typical of V2-languages (Salvesen 2016).

- (1) a. Vroeger, (die) bakten wij vier soorten brood.  
 before (DIE) baked we four kinds bread  
 'We used to bake four kinds of bread.'
- b. Den eersten zaterdag van december (die) is 't begonnen  
 the first Saturday of December (DIE) is it started  
 'It started on the first Saturday of December.'
- c. Os 't nodig is, (die) kunder u nog bij zetten.  
 if it necessary is (DIE) can.there you still with seat  
 'If it's necessary, you can still come and sit with us.'
- d. Bij Arsène (die) hebben ze zo niet vele waar?  
 With Arsène (DIE) have they so not many PART  
 'At Arsène's, they don't have so many of these, don't they?'

- ▶ Vanacker (1980) about DIE:
  - ▶ a 'pleonastic' adverbial prop
  - ▶ antecedent requirement
  - ▶ 'optional': no truth-conditional import

2 Claim

- Ghent DIE
- ▶ is not an adverbial phrasal resumptive, like Standard Dutch adverbial resumptives.
  - ▶ not an adverbial instance of CLD (pace Zwart 1997:249-250).
  - ▶ is a root declarative complementizer.
  - ▶ is an overt realisation of Force.

3 The 'antecedent' + DIE

interpretation	grammatical function	position
time, (1b)/ manner/ place (1d)	optional adjuncts, (1)-(2)	after antecedent
epistemic modality (2d)	argumental PPs (3)	*without antecedent
linking adverb (2c)	wh-words (4)-(5)	
goal (2a)		clause-internal (6)

- (2) a. Voor ulder hout te klieven die (h)adde(n) ze (h)ulder kliefmes  
 For their wood to cleave DIE had they their cleave.knife  
 'To cleave the wood, they used their cleaving knife.'
- b. 'Bijgevolg die moet da zu rap meu(ge)lijk dervan verwijderd wor(d)en  
 consequently DIE must that so quick possible there.of removed become  
 'Consequently, that has to be removed as quickly as possible.'
- c. Volgens de enquête, die is het stuk aan de Dampoort er het slechtst aan toe  
 following the enquiry, DIE is the stretch at the Dampoort R-PRON it worst at to  
 'According to the enquiry, the stretch of road at the Dampoort is worst affected.'
- d. Waarschijnlijk die is hij weeral ziek.  
 probably DIE is he again sick  
 'He is probably ill again.'
- (3) a. Op t derde verdiep die zou ik nie willen wonen.  
 on the third floor DIE would I not want live  
 'I would not want to live on the third floor.'
- b. In mijn stoverij die doe ik nooit peperkoek.  
 in my stew DIE do I never nutmeg loaf  
 'I never add nutmeg loaf to my stew.'
- c. In 1954 die is hij geboren.  
 in 1954 DIE is he born  
 'He was born in 1954.'
- (4) Wanneer die komt ze terug?  
 When DIE comes she back  
 'When will she be back?'
- (5) a. A: Hier zijn de bloemen voor de boeketjes.  
 these are the flowers for the bouquets
- b. B: Hoeveel die moet ik er gebruiken per boeket?  
 how.many DIE must I there use per bouquet?  
 'How many should I use per bouquet?'
- (6) a. Over drie jaar die willen ze nog eens verhuizen.  
 in three years DIE want they once again move  
 'In three years' time, they want to move again.'
- b. Over drie jaar willen ze nog eens verhuizen.  
 in three years want they once again move  
 'In three years' time, they want to move again.'

4 Contrastive Left Dislocation (CLD)?

Formative *die* (MASC, FEM, PL) or *dat* (NEUT) as pronominal resumptive in nominal CLD patterns with argumental DPs:

- (7) a. Maar Potter, den dienen is al wa te(g)engekomen ze  
 but Potter the DIE.AGR is already something across.come PART  
 'but things have already happened to Potter, you know.'
- b. E, mijnheer van de bureau die had naar de bank geweest  
 e, sir of the office DIE had to the bank been  
 'And the boss had been to the bank.'
- c. dat geld die gingd' in een dink  
 that money DIE went into a thing  
 'the money went into a thing'
- ▶ *dan*, *toen*, *daar* used as adverbial resumptives in adverbial CLD patterns:
- (8) a. Wanneer je terugkomt naar Griekenland, dan/\*toen moet je ons bezoeken.  
 when you back.come to Greece dan/\*toen must you us visit  
 'When you come back to Greece, you must visit us.' (Salvesen (2016:5))
- b. Toen ik thuis-kwam, \*dan/toen merkte ik dat ik mijn laptop vergeten was.  
 Toen I home-came, \*dan/toen noticed I that I my laptop forgotten was  
 'When I came home, I noticed I'd forgotten my laptop.'
- c. Bij Arsène daar hebben ze zo niet veel.  
 with Arsène there have they so not much  
 'At Arsène's, they don't have much.' (Leemans 1966)

4 Pleonastic generalised DIE vs. specialised resumptives

	specialized resumptive	generalized DIE	example
Middle field position (wh/imperative)	yes	no	(9)
Antecedent requirement	no	yes	(10)
wh antecedent	no	yes	(4)-(5)-(11)
Focal modifiers	yes	no	(12)
P stranding	yes	no	(13)
Co-occurrence			(14)

- (9) a. Als het regent, wat gaan we dan doen?  
 if it rains, what go we then do  
 'If it rains, what will we be doing then?'
- b. \*Als het regent wat gaan we die doen?  
 if it rains, what go we DIE do  
 'If it rains, what will we be doing?'
- (10) a. Dan gaan we wandelen.  
 Then go we walk  
 'Then we'll go for a walk.'
- (11) \*In welke periode toen woonde zij in Geneve?  
 in which period then lived she in Geneva
- (12) a. Als het regent, zelfs/just dan ga ik te voet naar het werk.  
 if it rains, even/right then go I on foot to the work  
 'When it rains, even/precisely then I walk to work.'
- b. \*Als het regent, zelfs die ga ik te voet naar het werk.  
 if it rains, even DIE go I on foot to the work
- (13) a. (Van) Exames, daar spreke wij nie van in de lesse.  
 (of) exams, there talk we not of in the class  
 'We do not talk about exams in class.'
- b. \*(Van) exames, die spreke wij nie (\*van) in de lesse.  
 Of exams, DIE speak we not (\*of) in the class
- (14) a. En dan die moeten we gaan kijken  
 And then DIE must we go watch  
 'and then we have to look'
- b. \*En die dan moeten we gaan kijken  
 And DIE then must we go watch

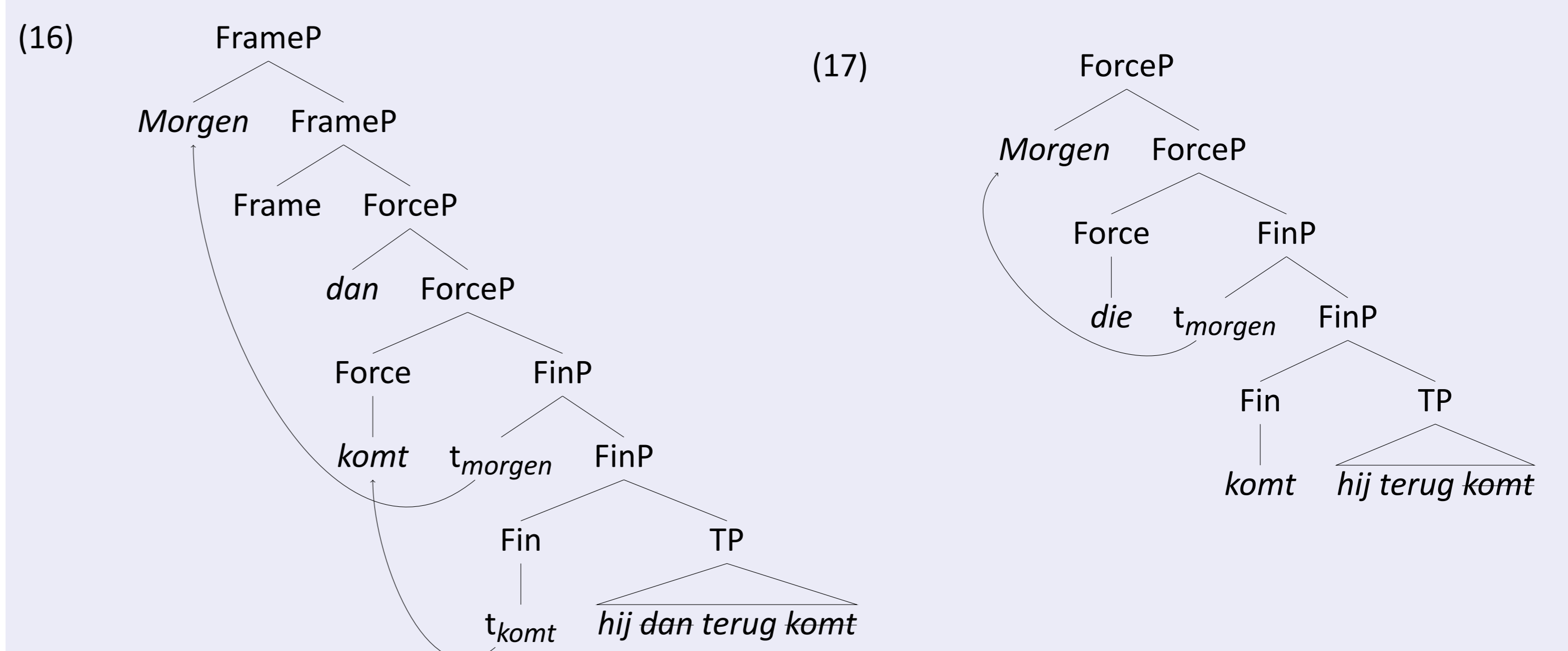
	specialized resumptive	generalized DIE
Categorial status	phrasal topic operator	head
Derivation of left peripheral position	internally merged	externally merged

5 Analysis: pleonastic DIE as a root complementizer

- ▶ The analysis in a nutshell
  - ▶ pleonastic DIE is inserted in Force
  - ▶ the obligatory presence of its antecedent is independent of the presence of DIE itself, but results from the Force V2 requirement.
- ▶ Poletto (2013) and Wolfe (2015): typology of V2 languages
  - ▶ Verb targets Fin in some V2 languages, accounting for abundance of V3 and V4 patterns → (15a).
  - ▶ Verb targets Force in some V2 languages → (15b).

- (15) a. [ForceP Force [TopP Top [FocP Foc [FinP XP [Fin° V] [TP ...]]]]
- b. [ForceP XP [Force° V] [FinP Fin [TP ...]]]

- ▶ 2nd position effect: 'bottleneck effect' (Haegeman 1996)
- ▶ compare derivation for adverbial CLD (16) and DIE (17):



6 Consequence and problems of the analysis

- Consequences
- ▶ 'antecedent' is not really an antecedent in (17)
  - ▶ Force DIE 2
  - ▶ prediction:
    - ▶ all constituents which can satisfy the Force V2 constraint can immediately precede pleonastic DIE
    - ▶ constituents which cannot satisfy the V2 constraint cannot immediately precede pleonastic DIE
- Problems
- ▶ imperatives and yes/no-questions are incompatible with DIE → root declarative complementizer
  - ▶ why not *dat*? → DIE repairs *dat*-trace violation caused by local movement of adjunct in (17).

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