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THEMATIC ARTICLE

Inside or outside the clause: the syntax of V3

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Abstract
This article discusses the syntactic analysis of V3 patterns in a V2 language in relation to the articulated left periphery familiar from work in the cartographic tradition. V3 patterns in Dutch or in German have been analysed as involving a regular V2 pattern with an initial sentence external constituent. This type of analysis has been invoked, for instance, for CLD patterns in Dutch. This article shows how one distinctive V3 pattern in the Ghent variety of Dutch provides support for a fine-grained structure of the left periphery. In this pattern, an initial adverbial adjunct is followed by an invariant *die* which is itself followed by the finite verb. We provide evidence that this pattern must not be equated with adverbial CLD in Dutch or the Ghent variety. We show that the constituent preceding *die* is not main clause-external. Invariant *die* is analysed as the spell out of a featurally enriched left peripheral head, more specifically an instantiation of a D-enriched Force encoding discourse anchoring.

Résumé
Cet article traite de l'analyse syntaxique des schémas V3 dans une langue V2 en relation avec les structures périphériques gauches articulées qui sont familières aux travaux de la tradition cartographique. Les schémas V3 en néerlandais ou en allemand ont été analysés comme impliquant un schéma V2 régulier avec un constituant externe de phrase initiale. Ce type d'analyse a été invoqué, par exemple, pour les schémas CLD en néerlandais. Cet article montre comment un modèle V3 distinctif dans la variété gantoise du néerlandais apporte un soutien à une structure fine de la périphérie gauche. Dans ce modèle V3, un adjuvant adverbial initial est suivi d'un formatif invariable *die* qui est lui-même suivi par le verbe fini. Nous démontrons que ce modèle ne doit pas être assimilé au CLD adverbial dans le néerlandais ou dans la variété gantoise. Nous montrons que le constituant précédant *die* n'est pas externe à la clause principale. L'invariant *die* est analysé comme le spellout d'une tête de la périphérie gauche enrichie sur le plan des traits, plus précisément comme une instanciation de Force enrichie en D, codant l'ancrage discursif.

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1. Introduction: The empirical data

This article focuses on empirical data such as (1a), which looks like a V3 pattern. These data are found in the Ghent variety of Flemish and are quite common with speakers of the dialect. In (1a), the finite verb *komt* 'comes' is in third position: it appears to the right of an adjunct *volgende vrijdag* 'next Friday' and what looks like the demonstrative pronoun *die*. The pattern is of interest because the Ghent variety of Flemish displays all the typical characteristics of a bona fide V2 language. The pattern discussed here is ungrammatical in other related V2 languages such as Standard Dutch (StD henceforth) (1b) or other Flemish dialects. The pattern in (1c) with the demonstrative adverb *dan* as a resumptive is acceptable in all variants.

(1)	a.	Volgende vrijdag	**die**	komt	ze	terug.	(Ghent variety)
		next Friday	*die*	comes	she	back	
	b.	*Volgende vrijdag	**die**	komt	ze	terug.	(StD)
		next Friday	*die*	comes	she	back	
	c.	Volgende vrijdag	**dan**	komt	ze	terug.	(StD + Ghent variety)
		next Friday	then	comes	she	back	

We will refer to the Ghent pattern as 'invariant *die*'. We will discuss the invariant *die* data against the overall background of the syntactic analysis of V2 patterns and their diversions, focusing on other V3 sequences in Dutch and its varieties and showing how the data may shed light on the syntax of V2. We relate the analysis of the data and its relevance for the V2 phenomenon to theoretical developments for the analysis of the left periphery (LP henceforth) and, in particular, the issues raised by the articulated cartography of the LP as developed in seminal work by Rizzi (1997) and many after him.[1] One issue that arises is the extent to which empirical data such as those in (1a) can be invoked as direct evidence for an articulated LP, given that, at first sight, the subject position is preceded by three left peripheral (LP) elements.

The empirical data used for this article consist of two transcribed recordings dating from the 1960s (Leemans 1966, Van Hoe 1981); a collection of anecdotal attestations; some acceptability judgments elicited by means of a questionnaire, and additional information obtained through consultation of native speakers.[2]

We first establish that the Ghent pattern of *die* resumption is sharply distinct from the Dutch CLD pattern familiar from the literature, in which the finite verb is preceded by a topicalized constituent followed by a matching resumptive element. The pattern is illustrated in (1c), in which the finite verb *komt* 'comes' appears in third position and is preceded by an initial adjunct (*volgende vrijdag* 'next Friday') and a matching resumptive element, the temporal deictic adverb *dan* 'then'. We adopt Zwart's (1997) analysis of the *dan* resumption pattern in (1c) as the adverbial case of CLD, according to which the constituent preceding *dan* is an extrasentential constituent. Our analysis of invariant *die* (1a) departs from Zwart's proposal: he assumes that the invariant *die* pattern can be analyzed in the same way as (1c). We argue that in invariant *die* patterns, the initial adjunct is clause-internal and that in spite of appearances (1a) instantiates the

[1] We use the abbreviation LP both for 'left periphery' and 'left peripheral'.

[2] Our thanks go especially to Professor Emeritus Luc De Grauwe, whose judgments and numerous constructed examples and observations have helped us tremendously in our research.

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V2-pattern. This analysis entails that the invariant *die* pattern necessitates the implementation of an articulated LP. Thus the data actually offer some support for assuming an articulated LP also in the Germanic V2 languages. We explore this point further in this article.

The article is organized as follows. Section 2 is a general introduction to the theoretical background, introducing among other things the idea that apparent V3 patterns may involve extra-sentential constituents and remain ultimately compatible with the classical analysis of V2. In section 3 we discuss adverbial resumption in StD, introducing Meklenborg's (2020) distinction between specialized and generalized resumption. Section 4 discusses the syntax of the core Ghent data, arguing that Ghent invariant *die* sharply differs from specialized resumptives in this variety. Section 5 first presents an analysis of the Ghent *die* pattern in line with the Wolfe-Poletto typology of Verb Second, starting from an LP crucially featuring the projections FinP and ForceP. This initial analysis is then integrated into a more elaborate cartographic model with a more richly articulated LP. Section 6 concludes.

2. The articulation of the Left Periphery

2.1. X-bar theory

In the 1980s (Chomsky 1986, for instance), it was assumed that the clause was articulated around three heads: the verb (V), the inflection (I) and the complementizer (C) – the formulation of the X-bar format led to the structural hierarchy in (2):[3]

(2)



Verb Second languages display a well-known root restriction according to which the finite verb occupies a second position and is preceded by exactly one constituent, be this the subject (3a), a complement (3b) or an adjunct (3c). As shown in StD (3), while

[3]In the original Chomskyan model, English was the main focus of discussion. In (2) all layers of structure are head-initial. However, given the observed variation in word order, allowance has to be made for clause-final verb patterns, as those found in the SOV languages. This can be achieved in several ways. Either the framework allows for variation in the head-complement ordering, or alternatively, following the Kaynian model (Kayne 2003) all apparent head final orders are achieved through movement derivations. We do not take up this point here.

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all major constituents of the clause can occupy an initial position, only one such constituent can precede the finite verb: any combination of more than one constituent is ungrammatical (3d–f).

(3) a. Zij komt volgende vrijdag naar Gent
She comes next Friday to Ghent
'She's coming to Ghent next Friday.'

b. Naar Gent komt ze volgende vrijdag
to Ghent come she next Friday
'To Ghent, she's coming next Friday.'

c. Volgende vrijdag komt ze naar Gent
next Friday comes she to Ghent
'Next Friday, she's coming to Ghent.'

d. * Naar Gent zij komt volgende vrijdag
to Ghent she comes next Friday

e. * Volgende vrijdag zij komt naar Gent
Next Friday she comes to Ghent

f. * Volgende vrijdag naar Gent komt zij.
Next Friday to Ghent comes she

In a seminal analysis of these and other data, den Besten (1983) exploits the fact that the CP layer in (2) is limited to exactly two positions, the specifier position of CP and the head C, to derive the V2 pattern elegantly. The first constituent of the V2 pattern is the specifier of CP, the finite verb is at C, and this configuration exhausts the CP layer.

In the literature it is generally acknowledged that even *bona fide* V2 languages display 'exceptional' patterns in which the finite verb is preceded by more than one constituent.[4] We refer to Broekhuis and Corver's (2016) detailed overview for discussion and additional references. As such, these patterns might be invoked as evidence for a more fully articulated LP, at least if all three elements preceding the subject position are contained in the LP: they could then be taken as evidence that the LP must contain more than just one specifier and one head. However, one common stance in the literature has been that in these apparent 'exceptions to V2' the (additional) initial constituent is analyzed as an extra-sentential constituent ('satellite', cf. Koster 1978). For Dutch, illustrations of these patterns concern, among other things, Dutch C(ontrastive) L(eft) D(islocation) with resumption by a demonstrative, as in (4a,b), speech act modifiers (4c,d), and irrelevance conditionals (d'Avis 2004) (4e). If one adopts this approach,

[4]There are also V1 patterns: in particular root polar questions (ia) and imperatives (ib) are verb-first:

(i) a. Komt Jan vanmiddag naar de vergadering?
comes Jan this afternoon to the meeting
Is Jan coming to the meeting this afternoon?

b. Kom vanmiddag maar naar de vergadering!
come this afternoon PART to the meeting
Come to the meeting this afternoon!

We return to these in section 5.2.4.2.

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then these V3 patterns do not bear on the issue of the articulation of the LP, as they remain compatible with a parsimonious LP restricted to just Spec,CP and the C-head.

(4) a. Dat boek dat kende ik niet.
that book that knew I not
'That book, I didn't know that.'

b. Volgende vrijdag dan komt ze terug.
next Friday dan comes she back
'Next Friday she'll be back.'

c. Eerlijk gezegd, hij moet het zelf maar weten.
honestly said, he must it self part know
'Honestly, that is HIS problem.'

d. Als je het per se moet weten,
if you it definitely must know,
ik ben al 2 maand gescheiden.
I am already two months separated
'If you must know: I have been separated for 2 months.'

e. Of het nu regent of niet,
if it now rains or not,
we gaan wandelen.
we go walk
'Whether it rains or not, we'll go for a walk.'

2.2. Cartography and the articulated LP

In the cartographic programme, initiated by Rizzi (1997) and Cinque (1999), clause structure is decomposed into fine-grained articulations reflecting the semantic and/or pragmatic contribution of the structural layers, and, among other things, the unitary CP is replaced by what has come to be known as the articulated LP, where the Force layer which closes off the projection encodes the illocutionary force of the utterance and the Fin layer encodes the finiteness properties of the clause as replicated in the inflectional morphology on the verb. Additional projections encode discourse-related features such as [topic] and [focus]. Example (5), based on Rizzi (1997), is but one variant of a range of proposals for the decomposition of the LP.

(5) ForceP > TopP > FocP > TopP > FinP (Rizzi 1997)

Underlying 'maximalist' proposals for the richly articulated structures is the one feature-one head hypothesis, which maximalizes structure by postulating that each grammatically encoded interpretive feature is encoded on a distinct functional head.

With the advent of the articulated LP, the V2 phenomenon becomes of renewed interest. The minimal CP in (2) captured the V2 pattern elegantly, because the system provided just two positions: a unique specifier and a single head in the C-domain. On the other hand, the articulated CP – as in its implementation in (5) – potentially allows for five heads and related specifiers (or more, given recent proposals (see Rizzi and

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Bocci (2017) and the references cited there)) and hence does not naturally account for the two constituent restrictions in the LP in V2 languages.

2.2. Proposals

There have been many attempts to reconcile the richly articulated LP structures with the structural restrictions regulating the V2 pattern. One such proposal, originally due to Haegeman (1996), is sometimes referred to as the 'bottleneck' effect. This author proposed that in root clauses the finite verb moves to the head Fin, and that by virtue of the V2 condition, the root Fin requires a specifier. Movement from V to Fin would be triggered by the finiteness features of Fin. In embedded clauses, these are reflected in the phenomenon of agreeing complementizers (see section 5.2.1 for a brief discussion). Locality restrictions mean that the filling of SpecFin blocks all additional LP movement, and FinP thus becomes a bottleneck. Haegeman's proposal is adopted and adapted in Poletto (2013) and Wolfe (2015a, 2016). These authors develop a typology of V2 patterns based on the locus targeted by the finite verb and the accompanying initial constituent: Fin or Force. They distinguish Fin-V2 languages (6a) from Force-V2 languages (6b). In Force-V2 languages the finite verb moves to Force via Fin, and the initial constituent moves to SpecForceP via SpecFinP.

(6) a. [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ _____ [$_{\text{TopP}}$ _____ [$_{\text{FocP}}$ _____ [$_{\text{FinP}}$ **XP** [$_{\text{Fin°}}$ **V**] [TP...]]]]]

b. [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ **XP** [$_{\text{Force°}}$ **V**]…[$_{\text{FinP}}$ ~~XP~~ [$_{\text{Fin°}}$ ~~V~~]…[$_{\text{TP}}$...]]]

c. [$_{\text{FrameP}}$ ___ [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ **XP** [**Force°** **V**]…[$_{\text{FinP}}$ ~~XP~~ [**Fin°** ~~V~~] [$_{\text{TP}}$ …]]]]

The predictions of the Wolfe/Poletto typology are that in Fin-V2 languages (6a), multiple access to the LP remains available, leading to attestations of V3 and V4 orders, as exemplified among others in Romance varieties (cf. Benincà and Poletto 2004; Benincà 2006, 2013 for illustration and discussion). In Force-V2 languages, the movement from SpecFinP to SpecForceP would be blocked by the additional LP movement of a constituent from within TP (Haegeman 1996; Roberts 2004; Holmberg 2015, 2020). Directly merging an additional constituent in the CP area is also blocked, because such a constituent would hypothetically be inserted to satisfy a criterial feature and hence could not itself move to SpecForce. Once inserted, the constituent will then again block XP-movement from SpecFinP to SpecForceP. 'Diverging' V3 patterns will only arise when main clause-external constituents combine with ForceP (=(6c)) (cf. Broekhuis and Corver 2016 for 'main clause-external'; Zwart 2005 for 'extra cyclic'; Astruc-Aguilera 2005 for 'extra-sentential'; Haegeman and Greco 2018 and Greco and Haegeman 2020 for 'frame setter').

2.3. The LP and invariant die *in the Ghent dialect*

Obviously, the question arises how the Ghent example (1a) complies with the V2 constraint. Note that the sequence adjunct+*die* also requires that the finite verb precede the subject: (7a) with non-inverted subject verb order is ungrammatical. If we assume that (1a), repeated in (7b), satisfies the V2 constraint, the coordination data in (7c) and (7d) show that this is not because invariant *die* forms a constituent with the initial constituent.

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(7)	a.	*Volgende vrijdag	**die**	ze	komt	terug.		(Ghent variety)
		next Friday	*die*	she	comes	back		
	b.	Volgende vrijdag	die	komt	ze	terug		
		next Friday	*die*	comes	she	back		
		'Next Friday, she's coming back.'						
	c.	Gisteren en eergisteren			die	heea	ze	thuisgewerkt
		yesterday and the day before yesterday			*die*	has	she	home-worked
								(LDG: 28.11.18: 5/5)
		'Yesterday and the day before she worked from home.'						
	d.	*[Gisteren die]	en	[eergisteren	die]	heea	ze	thuisgewerkt
		yesterday *die*	and	the day before	*die*	has	she	home-worked
								(LDG: 28.11.18: 0/5)

Zwart (1997) assimilates the Ghent *die* pattern to StD CLD (4a) and interprets it as a form of adverbial *dan* resumption (4b), with the initial constituent clause-external and *die* the first element in the V2 configuration, as schematized in (8a,b). For Zwart, then, invariant *die* in the Ghent variety has the same function as the resumptive adverb *dan* (8c).

(8)	a.	Dat boek	[CP	dat	kende		[TP ik niet		…]]	
		that book		*that*	knew		I not			
				1	2					
	a'	XP	[CP	**dat**	Vfin		[TP subject		…]]	
	b.	Volgende vrijdag		[CP	dan	komt	ze	terug.		(StD)
		next Friday			*dan*	comes	she	back		
	b'	XP			[CP *dan*	Vfin		[TP subject		…
					1	2				
	c.	Volgende vrijdag		**dan/die**		komt	ze	terug.		(StD/Ghent)
		next Friday		dan/*die*		comes	she	back		
	c'	XP	[CP	**dan/die**V_{fin}		[TP subject		…	]]	
		X_{max}		X_{max}		head				
				1		2				

While agreeing with Zwart's analysis of *dan* resumption and the idea that the initial constituent preceding *dan* is an extrasentential constituent, we will argue that in patterns with invariant *die* ((1a) and (7b)), the initial constituent is clause-internal (9). The pattern will be shown to be compatible with the V2 constraint provided we adopt an articulated CP. Thus the data actually offer some support for assuming an articulated CP also in the Germanic V2 languages.

(9)	[CP	XP	*die*	Vfin	[TP subject	…
		X_{max}	head	head		

3. Adverbial resumption in StD

In this section, we discuss adverbial resumption in StD, with a focus on the distinction between specialized and generalized resumption as proposed in Meklenborg (2020).

3.1. An extrasentential constituent

In the literature, resumptive root V3 patterns in which an adverbial adjunct precedes a demonstrative adverbial, which in turn precedes the finite verb, as illustrated in (10),

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are often viewed as the adverbial analogue of the better known CLD patterns (Zwart 1997, Hoekstra 1999, Broekhuis and Corver 2016).[5] Typically, a matching requirement determines the choice of adverbial: *daar* 'there' resumes locatives, *dan* 'then' and *toen* 'then' resume temporals. The patterns in (10) can then be seen as an instance of specialized resumption, in which the deictic adverb that resumes the initial constituent is specialized in that it matches the semantics of the initial constituent.

(10)		**XP**	**demonstrative**	**Vfin**	**subject**			(StD)
	a.	In Gent,	**daar** PLACE	kan	je	lekker	eten.	
		in Ghent,	there	can	you	well	eat	
		'You eat well in Ghent.'						
	b.	Volgende vrijdag	**dan** FUT	komt	ze	terug.		
		next Friday	then	comes	she	back		
	c.	Vorige week	**toen** PAST	was	ze	er	niet.	
		last week	then	was	she	there	not	

According to some prevalent analyses, the initial adjunct in these 'V3 patterns' is 'extrasentential', as shown schematically in (11). Crucially, this constituent is not merged clause-internally at any stage of the derivation and is inserted at the level of 'discourse syntax' (cf. Greco and Haegeman's 2020 FrameP). XP in (10) is a topical constituent, and as a consequence, the resumptive demonstrative pronouns (*die, dat*) and deictic adverbs (*dan, daar, toen*) are labelled variously topic pronouns (Hoekstra 1999), D-pronouns (Hoekstra 1999), or d-words (Koster 1978, Zwart 1997). The topical interpretation as well as the clause-external position of the initial constituent led to the correct prediction that neither negative constituents (12) nor *wh*-constituents (13) can function as first constituents in StD CLD, (12a) and (13a), or in adverbial (12b,c) and (13b,c) V3 resumption. This is so because (i) quantificational constituents are not suitable as topics (see Rizzi 1997) and (ii) the clause-external position is not subject to reconstruction.

(11)		XP	[CP demonstrative	Vfin	subject …		
(12)	a.	*Niemand	**die**	heeft	ze	gegroet.	
		no one	*die*	has	she	greeted	
		(Hoekstra (1999: 66), Broekhuis and Corver (2016: 733, 1458, 1697).					
	b.	*Nergens	**daar** verkopen	ze	nog	kleine notebroodjes.	
		nowhere	there sell	they	PART	small nut rolls	
	c.	*Nooit **dan**	kunt ge	kleine notebroodjes		krijgen.	
		never then	can you	small nut rolls		obtain	
(13)	a.	*Wie **die**	ga je dan	uitnodigen?			
		who *die*	go you then	invite			
		(Broekhuis and Corver 2016: 1699)					
	b.	*In welke periode **toen**	woonde zij	in Geneve?			
		in which period then	lived she	in Geneva			
	c.	*In welke van die twee winkels **daar**	verkopen ze	biofruit?			
		in which of those two shops	daar sell they	biological fruit			

[5] Meklenborg (2020) introduced the opposition specialized vs. generalized resumption in relation to V3 patterns with adverbial resumption. We would include V3 patterns with argumental CLD as a case of specialized resumption: the resumptive element is an independent pronoun which also displays a matching requirement in terms of number and gender features. For reasons of space, we do not discuss CLD here.

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Obviously, there are no such restrictions for regular V2 in which the initial constituent is clause-internal and may be focal, as illustrated in (14), as well as topical:

(14) a. Niemand heeft ze gegroet.
no one has she greeted
'No one did she greet.'

b. Nergens verkopen ze nog kleine notebroodjes.
nowhere sell they PART small nut rolls
'Nowhere do they sell nut rolls these days.'

c. Wie ga je uitnodigen?
who go you invite
'Who are you going to invite?'

d. In welke periode woonde zij in Geneve?
in which period lived she in Geneva
'Which period did she live in Geneva?'

3.2. *Adverbial resumption: specialized resumptives vs. generalized resumptives*

The resumptive patterns illustrated above illustrate what, following Meklenborg (2020), we will call 'specialized' resumption. The main properties of adverbial specialized resumption are the following: (i) the specialized resumptive element (StD *dan, toen, daar*, etc.) is a regular adverb with its original adverbial meaning (i.e., it has the semantics of its non-resumptive adverbial use); (ii) the specialized resumptive adverb also occurs as an independent adverb in a V2 clause, both in initial (15) or mid-position (16); and (iii) the specialized resumptive adverb matches the initial constituent in terms of its semantic features.

(15) a. **Daar**$_{\text{PLACE}}$ kan je lekker eten. (StD)
there can you well eat
'You eat well there.'

b. **Dan**$_{\text{FUT}}$ moet je ons bezoeken.
dan must you us visit
'You must visit us then.' (Salvesen 2016: 5)

c. **Toen**$_{\text{PAST}}$ merkte ik dat ik mijn laptop vergeten was.
then noticed I that I my laptop forgotten was
'Then I noticed that I had forgotten my laptop.'

(16) a. Je kan **daar** lekker eten. (StD)
you can there well eat
'You eat well there.'

b. Je moet ons **dan** bezoeken.
you must us then visit
'You must visit us then.' (Salvesen 2016: 5)

c. Ik merkte **toen** dat ik mijn laptop vergeten was.
I noticed then that I my laptop forgotten was
'I noticed then that I had forgotten my laptop.'

What Meklenborg (2020) labelled generalized resumptives are resumptive elements which are not subject to a matching requirement and are compatible with a wider range

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of initial constituents; the typical example is Mainland Scandinavian *så* 'so' (cf. Eide 2011), illustrated by Norwegian (17):

(17) Hvis du er sein i morgen, så kommer du til å angre.
if you are late tomorrow, *så* come you to regret it
'If you're late tomorrow, you'll be sorry.'

At first sight, the generalized resumptive *så* in (17) might be thought of as a 'bleached' resumptive which takes over the function and position of all the specialized resumptives, as schematized in (18a), which would lead to the prediction that specialized resumptive *da* and generalized resumptive *så* are in complementary distribution, contrary to fact. As shown in (18b), these two resumptives may co-occur and they will then occupy different positions, with *da* obligatorily preceding *så*, given the ungrammaticality of (18c). The fact that the specialized resumptive *da* and the element *så* can co-occur raises the question to what extent both are 'resumptives': if *da* resumes the initial adverbial clause, then what does *så* itself 'resume'? Though clearly Meklenborg's (2020) distinction between *da* and *så* is a valid one, we will refrain from adopting her term 'generalized resumptive' in our article to refer to elements, like *die*, that are compatible with a range of different initial constituents.

(18) a. Da jeg kom hjem, {da / så} var jeg sliten.
when I came home was I tired
'When I got home, I was tired'.

b. Da jeg kom hjem, da *da* $_{temporal}$ så *så* $_{general}$ var jeg sliten.[6]
when I came home was I tired

c. *Da jeg kom hjem, så *så* $_{general}$ da *da* $_{temporal}$ var jeg sliten.
when I came home was I tired

(Nordström 2010: 48; cf. Sollid and Eide 2007: 17 for Finland Swedish)

4. The syntax of invariant *die* in the Ghent variety

In this section, we discuss the syntax of Ghent *die* and show how its syntax differs from specialized resumptives.

4.1. *Invariant* die *is not a specialized resumptive*

Ghent invariant *die* is not a specialized resumptive because it is compatible with a range of different adjuncts: temporal (19a), conditional (19b), locative (19c), goal (19d), causal (19e), result (19f), and rationale (19g). Analogues of (19) with *die* resumption are sharply ungrammatical in all other varieties of Dutch.

[6] Thanks to Terje Lohndal for judgments.

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(19) a. Vroeger, **die** bakten wij vier soorten brood.
before *die* baked we four kinds bread
'We used to bake four kinds of bread.' (Gijzenzele 0.28) (Vanacker 1980: 76)

b. Os 't nodig is, **die** kunder u nog bij zetten.
if it necessary is *die* can you PART with sit
'If it's necessary, you can still come and sit with us.'
(Evergem: I. 200) (Vanacker 1980: 76)

c. Bij Arsène **die** hebben ze zo niet vele waar.
with Arsène *die* have they so not much PART
'At Arsène's, they don't have so many of these, do they? '
(Leemans Ghent Corpus I, 30, 23)

d. Voor ulder hout te klieven
for their wood to cleave
die (h))adde(n) ze (h)ulder kliefmes.
die had they their cleave.knife
'To cleave the wood they used their cleaving knive.'
(Oostakker I.202; Vanacker 1980:76)

e. Doordat er iets verkeerd gelopen is
because there something wrong went
die is die beschrijving verloren gegaan.
die is that description lost gone
'Because something went wrong, the description has been lost.' (FM, 09.12.2009)

f. Bijgevolg **die** moet da zu rap meu(ge)lijk
consequently *die* must that so quick possible
dervan verwijderd wor(d)en
there.of removed become
'Consequently, that has to be removed as quickly as possible.'
(St. Martens-Latem I.239; Vanacker 1980: 76)

g. Omdat mijn hond altijd zo veel haar krijgt,
because my dog always so much hair gets
die moet ik er voortdurend mee naar de kapster.
die must I there continuously with to the groomer
'Because my dog's hair grows so quickly, I continuously have to get her groomed.'
(Female Ghent speaker, reported by LDG, December 2022)

The pattern in Norwegian (18b) in which the specialized resumptive is followed by *så* is replicated in the Ghent dialect: a specialized resumptive (*dan/daar*) can co-occur with invariant *die,* showing that the Ghent dialect does not have the two elements in complementary distribution either, as shown in (20).

(20) a. Als ge spreekt dan die kunde da.
when you speak then die can-you that
'If you speak, then you can do that.' (attested, BV, August 2017)

b. Maar e wel ja in Sint Kruis /, daar die ...
but PART PART PART in Sint Kruis/ there die
die (h)e(bben) me d(e) ee(r)ste Duitse tons+ gezien.
die have we the first Germansthen seen
'but, well, in Sint Kruis we saw the first Germans' (Van Hoe III: 7)

In the next section, we first look at specialized adverbial resumption patterns in the Ghent variety and then compare them with the patterns with invariant *die.*

4.2. *Specialized adverbial resumption in the Ghent variety and invariant* die

Recall that specialized resumptive adverbs are available as independent adverbs, and that the resumption pattern is subject to a strict matching requirement. As shown

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in (21), the specialized resumptives *tons/dan/daar* team up with a matching initial adjunct:

(21) a. In ding in Oedelem, **daar** zate(n) m(e) in de slag. G
in thingy in Oedelem, there sat we in the battle
'In Oedelem we were caught in the fighting' (Van Hoe, Melle Corpus III: 76)

b. Os ge moet beginnen / u(w) stokken za(ge)n, G
if you must start your sticks saw
en beginnen rond maken/ en u(w) (h)oor(n)s beginnen za(ge)n/
and begin round make and your horns begin saw
tons + en kunder nie(t) komen
then *en* can=you -there not come (Van Hoe, Melle Corpus : III 98)
'If you need to start sawing your sticks, and start to round them, and you need to saw your horns, then you cannot go there.'

c. Als de zon zo begint binnen te zitten G
when the sun so begins inside to sit
dan wordt het echt warm.
then becomes it really hot
'When the sun gets into the house, then it is really getting too hot.'
(Peggy, Ghent female, born 1968, 07.05.2018)

We will assume that the pattern in (21) is the adverbial analogue of StD CLD (in line with Koster 1978, Zwart 1997, Hoekstra 1999, and Broekhuis and Corver 2016). The initial dislocated XP is 'clause-external' and is the resumptive constituent that fulfils the first constituent requirement of a V2 language, as schematized in (22):[7]

(22) XP [$_{CP}$ resumptive Vfin subject

In contrast with the patterns in (21), invariant *die* is not subject to a matching requirement. In addition, invariant *die* is not used as independent adverb (23) (Vanacker 1980). Our informants do not accept an antecedentless occurrence of invariant *die*. In all its attestations in our database, invariant *die* is immediately preceded by an adverbial constituent.[8]

(23) A: Myriam komt morgen voor de katten zorgen.
Myriam comes tomorrow for the cats care
'Myriam will take care of the cats tomorrow.'

B: * **Die** kunnen we met een gerust hart naar de cinema gaan.
die can we with a peaceful heart to the movies go

The constituent preceding invariant *die* may be one of the adverbs that also function as specialized resumptives. In all examples in (24), *die* is optional, and the specialized resumptive itself can function as an adverb:

[7] Observe that movement analyses of the same patterns do exist. See for instance Grohmann (2000a, 2000b, 2002). We do not explore those here.

[8] See however section 5.2.4.1. for the strong form *dieë*.

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(24) a. **Doar** (**die**) vind' alles !
there *die* find-you everything
'You find everything there.'

b. **(E)zuu** (**die**) en gaode niet vinde
this-way *die* NEG go-you nothing find
'This way you won't find it.'

c. A: Wa goade derachter doen ?
what go-you thereafter do
'What are you doing afterwards?'
B : (Ah), **toens** (**die**) goa 'k goan wandele!
Ah, then *die* go I go walk
'Ah, then I go for a walk.'

(LDG, 09.11.2022)

4.2.1. *The constituent left adjacent to invariant* die *is not a topic*

In contrast with specialized (adverbial) resumptives (12), invariant *die* is compatible with a left-adjacent negative adjunct (25). Likewise, for some speakers, invariant *die* is compatible with a left-adjacent *wh*-constituent (26), again in contrast with the specialized resumptive (13):

(25) a. Nergens **die** verkopen ze nog kleine notenbroodjes.
nowhere *die* sell they PART small nut rolls
'Nowhere do they sell small nut rolls.'

b. Nooit **die** vindt ge kleine notenbroodjes.
never *die* find you small nut.rolls
'Never do you find these small nut rolls.'

c. In geen enkele winkel **die** verkopen ze dat nog.
in no single shop *die* sell they that PART
'In not a single shop do they sell that.'

(LDG, 28.11.2018)

(26) %Wanneer **die** komt ze terug? (1[1], 2[4], 3[1], 4[3], 5[3])[9]
when *die* comes she back
'When is she going to come back?'

The compatibility of invariant *die* with a quantificational constituent to its left and the fact that such quantificational constituents are not natural topics entails that the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* is not necessarily interpreted as a topic. This means, in turn, that invariant *die* is not (semantically and syntactically) equivalent to the specialized resumptives *dan/tons/daar* (pace Zwart 1997).

Pursuing this observation, the compatibility of negative and *wh*-adjuncts as initial constituents with invariant *die* leads us to the conclusion that the constituents left-adjacent to invariant *die* are not clause-external in the sense of Broekhuis and Corver (2016). If they were clause-external, they would be unable to scope over

[9]The numbers associated with some of the examples reflect the grammaticality ratings that 12 informants gave for the sentences on a 5-point Likert scale, with 1 being unacceptable and 5 being fully acceptable. These data are from De Clercq and Haegeman (2018). We refer the reader to this article for more details regarding the survey.

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the clause or ensure clause typing. Put differently, then, the pattern with invariant *die* is closer to 'regular' V2, which also allows for quantificational constituents in initial position (cf. StD (14)), and we propose that the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* occupies a left-peripheral specifier, a proposal we generalize to all occurrences of invariant *die*, including those with a non-quantificational left-adjacent constituent.

There are two pieces of additional evidence that the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* is not necessarily a topic. First, the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* can constitute an answer to a *wh*-question (27). This would be unexpected if this constituent were topical, that is, if it represented old or discourse given information: the answer to a *wh*-question typically constitutes new information.

(27) Q: Wanneer komt ze terug?
when comes she back
'When is she returning?'
A: Volgende vrijdag **die** komt ze terug.
next Friday *die* comes she back
'She's coming back next Friday.' ($1^1\ 2^0\ 3^5\ 4^1\ 5^5$)

Second, epistemic adverbs such as *waarschijnlijk* 'probably' or speaker oriented adverbials such as *spytig genoeg* 'sadly' do not constitute obvious topics and are incompatible with (specialized) *dan* resumption (28a), but are compatible with invariant *die* (28b) (cf. Broekhuis and Corver 2016).

(28) a. Waarschijnlijk (*dan) is hij alweer ziek. (StD)
Probably then is he again sick
'He is probably ill again.'
b. Waarschijnlijk **die** is hij weeral ziek. G
probably *die* is he again sick
'He is probably ill again.' ($1^2\ 2^1\ 3^2\ 4^5\ 5^2$)
c. Spytig genoeg (die/*tons) waren de tickets al uitverkocht G
sadly enough (*die*/then) were the tickets already sold out
'Unfortunately, the tickets were already sold out.'

These observations lead us to conclude that the pattern with invariant *die* differs interpretively and syntactically from that with the specialized adverbial resumptive. We postulate that while it may look like a V3 pattern, the *die* pattern can be assimilated to the regular V2 pattern.

4.2.2. *The resumptive in adverbial CLD vs. invariant* die

On the basis of the coordination patterns in (7), we concluded that invariant *die* does not form a constituent with the adjunct to its left. De Clercq and Haegeman (2018, 2021, 2023) propose that invariant *die* is merged as a head in an LP position, as shown schematically in (29).

(29) $[_{CP}$ XP *die* Vfin $[_{TP}$ subject …
X_{max} **head** **head**

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Specialized resumptives are compatible with focusing elements such as *juist* 'precisely', *zelfs* 'even' or *alleen* 'only', both in StD (30) and the Ghent variety (31). Specialized resumptives can also receive focal stress (LDG, p.c., 25.10.2023).

(30) a. Als het regent, juist/zelfs/alleen **dan** ga ik te voet naar het werk. (StD)
if it rains, precisely/even/only then go I on foot to the work
'When it rains, precisely/even/only then I walk to work.'

b. In Ledeberg, juist/zelfs/alleen **daar** kan je nu lekker eten.
in Ledeberg, exactly/even/only there can you now nicely eat
Even/ only/ precisely in Ledeberg it is nice to eat out.

(31) Als 't regent, zelfs **toens** ga 'k te voete… (Ghent)
if it rains even then go I on.foot
'If it rains, even then I'll go on foot.' (LDG, p.c.)

We conclude that the specialized resumptive has phrasal status. In contrast, invariant *die* is incompatible with focusing elements or with focal stress (LDG, p.c., 25.10.2023), in line with our proposal that *die* is a head:

(32) a. *Als het regent,
if it rains,
zelfs **die** ga ik te voet naar het werk. (1^8, 2^3, 3^1, 4^0, 5^0)
even *die* go I on foot to the work
'If it rains, even then I don't walk to work.'

b. *Toen de bel ging, juist **die** ging ik vertrekken. (1^8, 2^3, 3^1, 4^0, 5^0)
when the bell went, just *die* went I leave
'I was going to leave just when the bell rang.'

Both in StD and in the Ghent variety, the specialized resumptive adverb moves to the LP when it can; if the LP slot of the root clause which combines with a dislocated adjunct is unavailable because another LP feature has independently been activated (e.g., *wh*-feature, imperative, etc.), the specialized resumptive adverb will remain in a middle field position, as in (33a) and (34a). These data suggest that the specialized resumptive is merged in the middle field (see Hoekstra 1999 for some arguments from StD).

(33) a. Als het regent, wat gaan we **dan** doen? (StD)
if it rains, what go we then do
'If it rains, what are we going to do?'

b. *Als het regent, **dan** wat gaan we doen?
if it rains, then what go we do

c. *Als het regent, wat **dan** gaan we doen?
if it rains, what then go we do

(34) a. Als het regent blijf **dan** maar thuis. (StD)
if it rains stay then PART home
'If it rains, then just stay at home.'

b. *Als het regent **dan** blijf maar thuis.
if it rains then stay PART home

In contrast with the specialized resumptive, invariant *die* is incompatible with a mid-position, even when the LP is independently activated, as shown in (35):

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Table 1. specialized resumptive (*dan/tons/*demonstrative pronoun) vs. invariant *die*

		Section	Specialized resumptive	Invariant *die*
	StD		Yes	No
	Ghent variety		Yes	Yes
(i)	Initial adjunct obligatory	4.2.	No	Yes
(ii)	Negative quantifier antecedent	4.2.1.	No	Yes
(iii)	*Wh*-antecedent	4.2.1.	No	Yes
(iv)	Modal adverbial antecedent	4.2.1.	No	Yes
(v)	Focal modifier/stress with resumptive	4.2.2.	Yes	No
(vi)	Middle field position (*wh*/imperative)	4.2.2.	Yes	No

(35) a. *Als het regent wat gaan we **die** doen. (1^{11}, 2^{1}, 3^{0}, 4^{0}, 5^{0})
if it rains, what go we *die* do
b. *Als het regent blijf **die** maar thuis. (1^{8}, 2^{3}, 3^{1}, 4^{0}, 5^{0})
if it rains, stay *die* PART home

Following the reasoning above, these data show that invariant *die* is not merged TP-internally; we propose that invariant *die* is a head merged directly in the LP.

Table 1 summarizes the main properties of specialized resumptives and of invariant *die*.

On the basis of the differences listed above, we conclude that the invariant *die* pattern in the Ghent variety must not be assimilated to specialized resumption (pace Zwart 1997). The two patterns are differentiated along the following lines:

(i) The specialized resumptive is a phrasal constituent merged in a TP-internal position and (being topical) is moved to the LP. It is the moved specialized resumptive that satisfies the V2 constraint; the constituent to the immediate left of the specialized resumptive is clause-external.
(ii) Invariant *die* is merged as an LP head; the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* is merged TP-internally and is moved to the LP. It is the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* that satisfies the V2 constraint and hence the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* is not clause-external.

The fact that a specialized resumptive and invariant *die* may co-occur is compatible with the proposed analysis. In (36) *dan* is a regular adverb filling the first position of the V2 pattern. It co-occurs with invariant *die*. Example (37) shows how deictic adverbs with a resumptive function remain compatible with invariant *die*.

(36) a. En **dan** **die** moeten we gaan kijken
and then *die* must we go watch
'and then we have to look' (FM, 09.12.2009)
b. *En **die** **dan** moeten we gaan kijken

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(37) a. 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)

b. moar ois 't regent, **toens die** gomme nie
but when it rains then *die* go-we not
'but if it rains, then we won't go' (LDG, p.c., 16.08.2017)

c. Als 't regent, zelfs **toens die** ga 'k te voete…
if it rains even then *die* go I on foot
'If it rains, even then I'll go on foot.'(LDG, p.c., 16.08.2017)

d. Maar e wel ja in Sint Kruis /, **daar die ...**
but PART PART PART in Sint Kruis/ there *die*
die (h)e(bben) me d(e) ee(r)ste Duitse tons+ gezien
die have we the first Germans then seen
'but, well, in Sint Kruis we saw the first Germans' (Van Hoe III: 7)

In what follows we explore how our analysis can be handled in a cartographic approach to the LP.

5. A first analysis: FinP and ForceP

Using the Ghent invariant *die* data, we now explore how the hypothesis of the richly articulated LP can be made to work given the observed 'poverty' of the LP in V2 languages. The analysis is done in two stages: in section 5.1, we adopt a fairly restricted version of the articulated LP, with only two LP projections, ForceP and FinP, and in section 5.2 we examine how a more articulated LP with more projections available could work to accommodate the data.

5.1. The Wolfe-Poletto typology of V2 languages

Our hypothesis is that in terms of the Wolfe/Poletto typology of V2 languages (section 2.2), the Ghent variety of Dutch is a Force-Fin-V2 language: regular V2 root clauses are derived by V movement to Force via Fin, and by movement of a constituent to SpecForce via SpecFin (38):

(38) [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ Morgen [$_{\text{Force}}$ komt] [$_{\text{FinP}}$ ~~morgen~~ [$_{\text{Fin}}$ ~~komt~~] [$_{\text{TP}}$ hij terug ~~komt~~]
tomorrow comes he back
'He's coming back tomorrow.'

Based on the evidence presented in relation to (i) scope and (ii) clause typing, we have concluded that the antecedent of invariant *die* must be clause-internal. Given its incompatibility with modification, we hypothesized that invariant *die* is not a phrasal operator, leading us to the hypothesis that *die* is inserted as an LP head in Force. In invariant *die* sentences, the finite verb itself obligatorily inverts with the subject (7a), leading us to the conclusion that it also occupies an LP head position, in other words, Fin:

(39) [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ Morgen [$_{\text{Force}}$ **die**] [$_{\text{FinP}}$ ~~morgen~~ [$_{\text{Fin}}$ komt] [$_{\text{TP}}$ hij terug ~~komt~~]]]

The derivation in (39) can be summarized as follows: the lowest LP head Fin encodes the finiteness properties of the clause and attracts the finite verb (which will be

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left-adjacent to the subject position); the topmost LP head Force is occupied by invariant *die*. The obligatory presence of a constituent to the immediate left of invariant *die*, a "*die* second" constraint, follows from the V2 requirement associated with Force. In the dialect considered, V2 (V movement to LP) is restricted to root clauses; likewise, invariant *die* is a root phenomenon.

When invariant *die* resides in Force, the finite verb must move to Fin, as shown by the fact that it precedes the subject. This confirms that the Ghent variety is a Force/Fin-V2 language. We tentatively extend this analysis to other V2 patterns in Flemish, the only difference being that in the absence of *die*, the Force requirement is met by the finite verb.

In (37), invariant *die* co-occurs with a fronted specialized resumptive (section 4.1), which we assume to be phrasal. In (37d), repeated for convenience as (40), the specialized resumptive is locative *daar*; it is clause-internal. The PP *in Sint* Kruis, the 'antecedent' of the specialized resumptives itself is clause-external (Broekhuis and Corver 2016). Following Greco and Haegeman (2020), we assume that it occupies the specifier of the clause-external projection FrameP.

(40) [$_{\text{FrameP}}$ in Sint Kruis [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ **daar** [$_{\text{Force}}$ **die**] [$_{\text{FinP}}$ [$_{\text{Fin}}$ hebben] [$_{\text{TP}}$… ~~daar~~ .]]]]

5.2. Integrating the analysis into a richly articulated LP

The preceding account develops the Wolfe/Poletto derivational typology of V2. As it stands, the account deploys only the projections ForceP and FinP, but ignores the one-feature-one head hypothesis underlying the cartographic enterprise in which discourse-related features such as [topic] and [focus] are associated with specialized heads and are at the basis of projections such as TopP and FocP (cf. Rizzi 1997). At least in some cases, the constituent preceding invariant *die* is clearly associated with a specific discourse function, most notably perhaps in case of *wh*-items, such as those illustrated in (14c,d). Assuming the articulated CP, one may well wonder how – if at all – the additional projections in (5) come into play. Retaining our assumptions that *die* is located in Force and that the finite verb remains in Fin, our representation of *die* resumption with a *wh*-constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* would be as in (41); this is not in line with the hypothesis that fronted *wh*-phrases, like focused constituents, are associated with the LP SpecFocP.

(41) [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ *wh*-phrase [$_{\text{Force}}$ **die**] [$_{\text{FinP}}$ [$_{\text{Fin}}$ V$_{\text{fin}}$] [$_{\text{TP}}$ …]]]

5.2.1. The enriched CP and criterial positions

Deploying the fully articulated LP entails enriching (41) with the relevant discourse-related projections, here FocP, i.e. a dedicated projection for focused constituents, which will host the wh-phrase. which will host the *wh*-f. If the V2 requirement in Germanic necessarily implicates both the heads Fin and Force, as argued above, the *wh*-constituent, which consists of a matching focus feature which moves to SpecFinP, and should then move further to SpecFocP. However, in order to satisfy the Force-V2 requirement, it should ultimately end up in SpecForceP, as shown in (42a), in which '*wh*-phrase' stands for the relevant constituent. But (42a) is not a licit derivation. The

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feature [wh] is criterial in the sense of Rizzi (1997, 2006) defined as in (42b): criterial features comprise, among others, [wh], [Top], [Foc], [Rel] and [Subj]. Crucially, the specifiers of criterial heads are halting positions: a constituent which has satisfied the *wh*-criterion by moving to SpecFocP is frozen in place (see also Hsu 2017).

(42) a. *[ForceP *wh*-phrase [Force die] [FocP ~~*wh*-phrase~~ [Foc] [FinP ~~*wh*-phrase~~ [Fin Vfin] [TP …]]]]

b. For [+F] a criterial feature, X +*F* is in a Spec-head configuration with A +*F*.

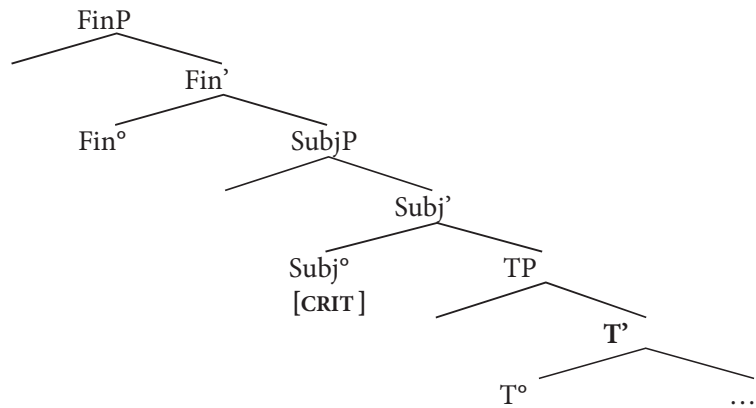
The same problem arises if the constituent left-adjacent to *die* is a topical constituent, of course. The next section explores how this derivational paradox can be overcome.

Our proposal is inspired by Rizzi and Shlonsky's (2006, 2007) work on modes of satisfaction of the Subject criterion, which we briefly summarize before presenting our analysis. Rizzi and Shlonsky's (2006, 2007) proposal includes the hypothesis that the one-feature-one-head maxim inherent in the cartographic enterprise can be circumvented by virtue of a bypassing strategy and featural enrichment. For additional application of the same idea, see also Haegeman and Danckaert (2017).

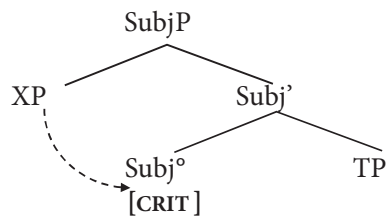
5.2.2. SubjP, the Subject criterion and subject extraction

In line with the cartographic tradition, Rizzi and Shlonsky decompose the unique subject layer of the clause into two layers: TP and SubjP, (43). SubjP is a criterial projection: its head comes with a criterial feature, defined as in (42b) (Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006: 138). In (43b), we see how the Subject criterion is satisfied:

(43) a.



b.



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By virtue of the Subj-criterion, the position SpecSubjP has to be filled and its filler has to remain in place. This requirement blocks all subject extraction. This effect of the Subject criterion can be observed in French, in which extraction of a subject across the complementizer *que* is illicit (44a). Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006, 2007) propose that the replacement of *que* by *qui* in (44b) is a reflex of a special mechanism for the satisfaction of the Subject criterion which allows the subject to skip SpecSubjP.

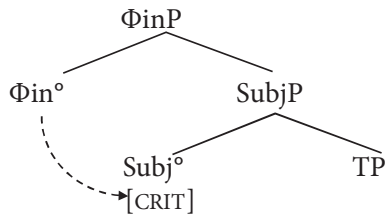
(44) a. *Qui$_i$ crois-tu que [$_{SubjP}$ ___$_i$ va partir]?
who think-you that will leave

b. **Qui** crois-tu qui va partir?
who think-you qui will leave
'Who do you think will leave?'

For Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007), *qui* in (44b) lexicalizes the lowest LP head Fin, which has been enriched with φ-features. Haegeman and Danckaert (2017) represent the enriched Fin as 'Φin'. The head-to-head relation between Φin and Subj in (45a) is strictly local, and geometrically it is identical to that between SpecSubjP with Subj in (43b). By virtue of the local relation of Φin and Subj, the φ-features on Φin satisfy the Subject criterion, as shown in (45a). Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007: 138–139) restate the condition for criterial satisfaction (42b) in terms of a locality requirement as in (45b), by which a sufficiently local and enriched head can also satisfy the criterion.

(45)

a.

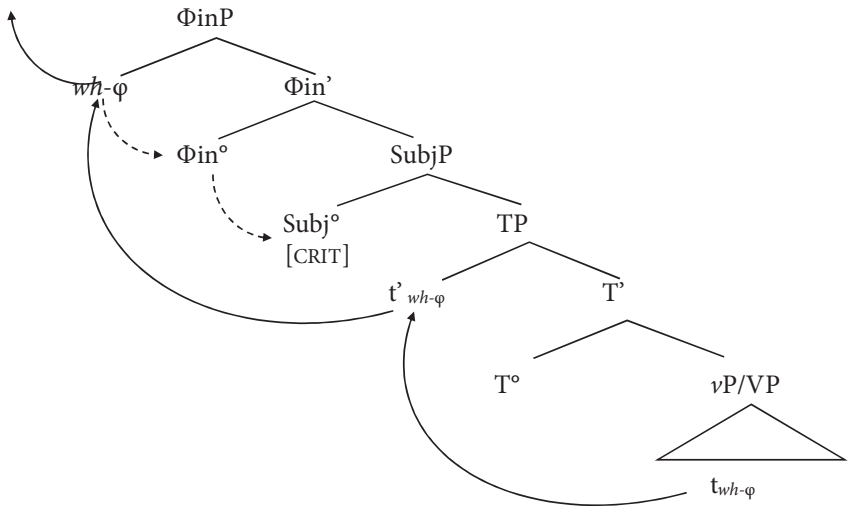


b. For [+F] a criterial feature, X+F is locally c-commanded by A+F.

Rizzi and Shlonsky postulate an additional requirement for those cases in which the criterion is satisfied by a local head, here Φin: the φ-features on Φin which serve to satisfy the Subject criterion have to be independently licensed. The additional licensing is achieved by the moved subject, here a *wh*-phrase: on its way to the LP landing site which hosts the criterial *wh*-feature, the subject moves through SpecΦin and licenses the φ-features of Φin. Spec Φin is not criterial, so the subject can move further.

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(45) c.



5.2.3. *Invariant* die *and enriched Force*

Consider (46a), with the *wh*-phrase *wanneer* 'when' left-adjacent to invariant *die*. Let us assume that *wanneer* 'when' carries a criterial *wh*-feature that has to be associated with an LP criterial FocP. Let us also continue to follow Wolfe's proposal (2015a, 2015b, 2016) that the V2 property of Force-V2 languages requires that Force be overtly spelt out and that it must have a specifier. As discussed, (46b) is not a licit derivation because once *wanneer* has satisfied the criterion in SpecFocP, it should be frozen for movement.

(46) a. Wanneer **die** komt ze terug.
when *die* comes she back
'When is she coming back?'

b. *[ForceP wanneer [Force die] [FocP ~~wanneer~~ [FinP wanneer [Fin komt] [TP zij terug t]]]]

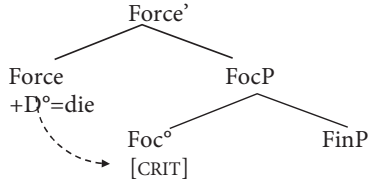
The problem for deriving (46a) is that the derivation should satisfy the *wh*-criterion in FocP while at the same time satisfying the Force-V2-condition by moving *wanneer* to SpecForceP. These two movements are incompatible because once in SpecFocP, *wanneer* satisfies the *wh*-criterion and is frozen in place.

We propose that the double requirement (*wh*-criterion, V2 requirement on Force) is achieved by an alternative satisfaction of the *wh*-criterion in FocP. Let us assume that *die* in Force is not just a neutral head but may also host discourse features, encoded as a D-feature. D-enriched Force spells out as *die*. Inserting *die* in Force enriches Force in the same way that adding Φ-features on Fin enriches Fin. In the same way that Φ-enriching Fin allowed for indirect satisfaction of the Subject criterion, we assume that D-enriched Force can satisfy a criterial condition associated with the functional projection it selects. In the example under discussion, D-enriched Force can locally satisfy the wh-criterion in Foc.

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(47) a. [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ wanneer [$_{\text{Force}}$ die] [$_{\text{FocP}}$ [Foc][$_{\text{FinP}}$ ~~wanneer~~ [$_{\text{Fin}}$ komt] [$_{\text{TP}}$ ze terug t]]]]

b.



In line with Rizzi and Shlonsky, we take it that the D-enriched Force head must be licensed independently; this is achieved by the movement of a discourse-related constituent to SpecForce, in other words, the *wh*-constituent *wanneer* moves to SpecForcP where it will satisfy the Force-V2 condition. On its way, the *wh*-phrase skips FocP; it indirectly contributes to the satisfaction of the *wh*-criterion because it licenses the D-enriched head Force.

Example (48) reveals an interesting contrast in judgments between the higher acceptability ranking of sentence (48a), which includes a sentence medial deictic adverb *dan* 'then', and the lower ranking of (48b), which lacks this adverb. The impact of the presence of the deictic adverb on the acceptability of the example suggests that the presence of *die* entails a D-linking effect on the *wh*-phrase. Assuming that *dan* 'then' anchors the sentence more explicitly to the discourse, the effect noted here leads us to suggest that the presence of *die* contributes a D-linking effect, in other words that *die* is specifically compatible with D-linked *wh*-constituents. This needs further study.

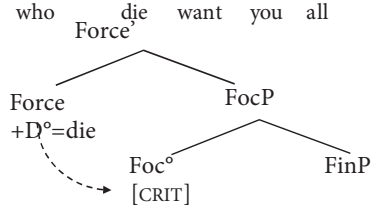
We assume that the D-feature on *die* is invariably present and encoded in Force, and that the D-enriched Force head in conjunction with the constituent in its specifier will satisfy the criterial condition of the projection it dominates. For speakers rejecting *wh*-specifiers in *die* patterns, we would assume that D-enriched Force cannot satisfy the *wh*-criterion.

(48) A: 't is mijn verjaardag. Ik wil een feestje geven.
it's my birthday. I want a party give

a. B: Wie die wilt ge dan allemaal inviteren?
who ***die*** want you then all invite (1^0, 2^1, 3^4, 4^4, 5^3)

b. B: (*)Wie *die* wilt ge allemaal inviteren?
who die want you all invite (1^6, 2^2, 3^1, 4^0, 5^2)

c.



With adjunct-initial examples such as (49), two options arise. One is that the initial constituent *morgen* 'tomorrow' could be taken to be topical: it bypasses TopP in (49b), but it indirectly contributes to the satisfaction of the Topic criterion because it licenses the D-enriched head Force. Alternatively, the adjunct *morgen* does not give rise to a criterial condition and simply moves to SpecForceP to license the D-feature on Force.

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(49) a. [ForceP Morgen [Force **die**] [FinP ~~morgen~~ [Fin komt] [TP hij ~~morgen~~ terug]]]
tomorrow *die* comes he back
b. [ForceP Morgen [Force+D **die**] [TopP [Top]
[FinP ~~morgen~~ [Fin komt] [TP hij ~~morgen~~ terug ~~komt~~]]]]
c. [ForceP Morgen [Force+D **die**]
[FinP ~~morgen~~ [Fin komt] [TP hij ~~morgen~~ terug ~~komt~~]]]

Epistemic or speaker-oriented adverbials such as *waarschijnlijk* 'probably' and *spytig genoeg* 'sadly' are compatible with invariant *die*. These adverbials are not plausible topics, witness the fact that they resist *dan*-resumption in StD and its varieties, as shown in (28). We assume that in such cases as well, the adverbials merely move to SpecForceP to license the D-feature on Force.

Unfortunately, as it stands, there arises an unfortunate redundancy in our account. SpecForceP has to be filled for two distinct reasons: (i) on the one hand, SpecForceP has to be filled because the Ghent dialect is a Force-V2 language in Wolfe's typology; (ii) on the other, SpecForceP has to be filled because, when realized as invariant *die,* Force is D- enriched and its D-feature has to be independently licensed. We need to examine in future work how this redundancy can be eliminated.[10]

5.2.4. *The nature of invariant* die

Our reliance on the availability of a D-feature on *die* raises the question as to the nature of that D-feature. At the moment, our intuition remains rather vague, but we assume the D-feature functions as a discourse connector, explicitly anchoring the sentence into the ongoing discourse. The discourse anchoring function of *die* might be confirmed by the following anecdotal observation from our informant Professor Emeritus Luc De Grauwe:

> 'bij ontmoetingen (met mezelf of in ruimer familieverband) viel soms een keertje een korte stilte in het gesprek/de small talk. Dan had mijn tante de gewoonte, telkens als eerste die stilte te doorbreken door het uitspreken van het enkele woordje dieë (met langgerekte eerste lettergreep) – dit gewoon om het gesprek weer op gang te (laten) brengen, eventueel met een ander onderwerp.'
>
> in the course of meetings (with myself or in the larger family circle), it would happen that a sudden silence occurred in the conversation/small talk. Then my aunt had the habit of being the first to interrupt that silence by pronouncing the word *dieë* (with long first syllable) – with the sole purpose of getting the conversation going again (possibly on a different topic) (Luc De Grauwe, p.c., 16.08.2017; translation by the authors).[11]

The longer form *dieë*, which is used in isolation, can be analyzed as the strong form of invariant *die*, employed in an elliptical context: *dieë* spells out the head Force of an

[10]Note that it would not arise in those cases in which an initial constituent is an adverbial that is neither focal nor topical. Though we do not have statistical evidence, observe that the latter cases are the large majority featuring invariant *die*.

[11]Liliane Haegeman has also observed the same 'floorholding' use of *dieë* by a neighbour.

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utterance whose content remains implicit. The use of isolated *dieë* as a conversational move could be seen as a way of ensuring a minimal illocutionary act. *Dieë* can be seen as the overt encoding of the speaker's engagement with the communicative situation and the ongoing discourse, be it as a way of taking or of holding the floor.

Noted exceptions to the V2 generalization are *yes/no* questions (50a) and imperatives (50b), which display a linear Verb first order. One hypothesis is that such patterns conform to the V2 constraint because a null operator satisfies the Force-V2 condition (50c,d) (cf. Holmberg 2015, 2020, for relevant discussion).

(50) a. Komt Jan vanmiddag naar de vergadering?
comes Jan this afternoon to the meeting
'Is Jan coming to the meeting this afternoon?'

b. Kom vanmiddag maar naar de vergadering!
come this afternoon PART to the meeting
'Come to the meeting this afternoon!'

c. [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ OP [$_{\text{Force}}$ Komt] [$_{\text{FinP}}$ ~~OP~~ [$_{\text{Fin}}$ ~~komt~~] [$_{\text{TP}}$ Jan vanmiddag naar de vergadering ~~komt~~]]]?

d. [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ OP [$_{\text{Force}}$ Kom] [$_{\text{FinP}}$ ~~OP~~ [$_{\text{Fin}}$ ~~kom~~] [$_{\text{TP}}$ Ø vanmiddag naar de vergadering ~~kom~~]]]]!

By our account, constituents qualifying as the first constituent in a V2 pattern appear to the immediate left of invariant *die.* All things being equal, our analysis might be taken to predict that invariant *die* is available with *yes/no* questions and with imperatives, effectively leading to a pattern without an overt antecedent.[12] However, the pattern is not attested in the corpus, and *yes/no* questions and imperatives are judged incompatible with *die* resumption (51), also in those cases in which what would be a suitable initial constituent is supplied (52):

(51) a. *__Die__ zou hij volgende week komen?
die would he next week come

b. *__Die__ bel Stef misschien eerst in verband met de onderzoeksdag.
die call Stef perhaps first in connection with the research day

(52) a. *In de supermarkt **die** hebben ze (daar) shampoo?
in the supermarket *die* have they (there) shampoo

b. *In Geneve **die** heb je (daar) ook aan de Universiteit gewerkt?
in Geneva *die* have you (there) also at the University worked

c. *Vroeger **die** verkochten ze (tons) shampoo in the supermarkt?
before *die* sold they (then) shampoo in the supermarket

d. *In de oorlog **die** hadden de mensen (dan/tons) nog groenten?
in the war *die* had the people (then/then) still vegetables

e. *Als de les gedaan is **die** kom (dan) maar langs!
when the lesson finished is *die* come (then) PART along

In an earlier account (De Clercq and Haegeman 2018), we proposed that resumptive *die* spells out a declarative Force head – in other words, that it is a declarative root complementizer.[13] This hypothesis leads to at least one empirical problem in that *die* resumption is compatible with *wh*-interrogatives. We now propose that the incompatibility between invariant *die* and imperatives and *yes/no* questions arises

[12]Thanks to Giuseppe Samo (p.c.) for bringing up this point.

[13]Thanks to Professor Emeritus Luc De Grauwe for very helpful discussion of these examples.

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because the relevant null operators are not able to license the D-feature on D-enriched Force.

5.2.5. *Force-V2 without* die*: a first sketch*

In the light of our proposals, we also need to re-examine the derivation of regular V2 sentences which do not display invariant *die*, such as (53a). Derivation (53b) is our first attempt. Assume that *wanneer* 'when' carries the *wh*-feature. We assume that in *die*-less varieties of V2, the finite verb moves up to Force. FocP is projected. We take it that V-to Force movement transits through Foc and picks up the Foc-head and the Foc feature encoded on it. The newly created complex head Fin-Foc-Force allows for delaying the satisfaction of the LP criterion at the level of ForceP: (53) exemplifies the derivation.

(53) a. Wanneer komt hij terug?
when comes he back
'When is he coming back?'

b. $[_{\text{ForceP}}\ \text{XP}_{\text{foc}}$ wanneer $[_{\text{Force+foc+Fin}}$ komt$]$ $[_{\text{FocP}}\ [_{\text{Foc}}$ ~~komt~~$]$ $[_{\text{FinP}}$ ~~wanneer~~ $[_{\text{Fin}}$ ~~komt~~$]$ $[_{\text{TP}}$ …$]]]]$

6. Conclusion

This article discusses the syntactic analysis of V3 patterns in a V2 language in relation to the articulated LP structures familiar from work in the cartographic tradition. In many cases, V3 patterns in Dutch or in German have been analyzed as involving a regular V2 pattern with an initial sentence external constituent. The analysis has been invoked, for instance, for CLD patterns in Dutch and its variants, including those in which the initial adverbial constituent is resumed by a matching adverbial demonstrative. Such patterns then would not bear on the V2 generalization and its relation to the articulated structure of the LP, since the initial constituent is taken to be outside the regular LP, meaning that the LP of the relevant clause would just be spelt out by just two constituents. As such then, such 'V3' patterns remain in line even with a parsimonious view of the LP.

Our article shows how one distinctive V3 pattern in the Ghent variety of Dutch provides support for a fine-grained structure of the LP. In this pattern, an initial adverbial adjunct is followed by an invariant formative *die* which is itself immediately followed by the finite verb, leading effectively to a V3 pattern. We provide evidence that this pattern must not be equated with adverbial CLD in StD or the Ghent variety.

We show that the constituent preceding *die* is not main clause-external. Invariant *die* is analyzed as the spell out of a featurally enriched LP head, more specifically an instantiation of a D-enriched Force encoding discourse anchoring. Interpretively, we postulate that the D-feature on *die* explicitly anchors the utterance to the discourse. We examine some implications of the analysis for the syntax of V2 languages, some of which await future research.

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