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Chapter 4

INVARIANT DIE AND ADVERBIAL RESUMPTION IN THE GHENT DIALECT

Karen De Clercq, Liliane Haegeman

1. Scope and goals of the chapter

1.1. The V2 constraint

It is generally accepted that Standard Dutch (StD) and its dialects are *bona fide* Verb Second (V2) languages, meaning that in root clauses the finite verb is preceded by exactly one constituent. The V2 pattern is illustrated in (1): in the grammatical (1a), the finite auxiliary *heeft* ('has') is preceded by the direct object *zijn wagen* ('his car'). (1b) and (1c) are ungrammatical because the finite verb is preceded by two constituents. At first sight, (1d) might also seem to be a violation of the V2 constraint because the finite verb *heeft* ('has') is preceded by two constituents: the participle *verkocht* ('sold') and the object *zijn wagen* ('his car'), but the example is in line with the V2 constraint because the string *zijn wagen verkocht* can be analysed as one constituent, a (possibly extended) projection of V.

- (1)
- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|------------------|------------|------------------|-------------|
| a. | [Zijn wagen] | heeft | Jan | gisteren | verkocht. |
| | <i>his car</i> | <i>has</i> | <i>Jan</i> | <i>yesterday</i> | <i>sold</i> |
| | 'His car, Jan sold yesterday.' | | | | |
| b. | * [Zijn wagen] | [Jan] | heeft | gisteren | verkocht. |
| | <i>his car</i> | <i>Jan</i> | <i>has</i> | <i>yesterday</i> | <i>sold</i> |
| c. | * [Zijn wagen] | [gisteren] | heeft | Jan | verkocht. |
| | <i>his car</i> | <i>yesterday</i> | <i>has</i> | <i>Jan</i> | <i>sold</i> |
| d. | [Zijn wagen verkocht] | heeft | Jan | niet. | |
| | <i>his car sold</i> | <i>has</i> | <i>Jan</i> | <i>not</i> | |
| | 'Sell his car, John did not.' | | | | |

In (2), the initial constituent in the V2 configuration is an adjunct:

- (2)
- | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---------------------|------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|
| a. | Gisteren | heeft | Jan | zijn wagen | verkocht. | |
| | <i>yesterday</i> | <i>has</i> | <i>Jan</i> | <i>his car</i> | <i>sold</i> | |
| | 'Yesterday Jan sold his car.' | | | | | |
| b. | Misschien | heeft | Jan | zijn wagen | verkocht. | |
| | <i>maybe</i> | <i>has</i> | <i>Jan</i> | <i>his car</i> | <i>sold</i> | |
| | 'Perhaps Jan sold his car.' | | | | | |
| c. | Toen hij | in Gent was, | heeft | Jan | zijn wagen | verkocht. |
| | <i>when-3sg-he</i> | <i>in Ghent was</i> | <i>has</i> | <i>Jan</i> | <i>his car</i> | <i>sold</i> |
| | 'When he was in Ghent, Jan sold his car.' | | | | | |

However, in spite of being a V2 language, StD and the dialects display V2 ‘transgressions’ (Catasso 2015), i.e. patterns that seem to fall short of the V2 condition. In this chapter, we focus on one such pattern, labelled ‘resumptive V3’.¹

1.2. Resumptive V3

In resumptive V3 patterns, the finite verb is preceded by two elements: a ‘dislocated’ phrasal constituent which is itself followed by a resumptive element, a demonstrative that is anaphorically dependent on the left-adjacent constituent. The initial constituent may be an argument (1.2.1) of the predicate, a pattern which we refer to as argument resumption, or an adverbial element (1.2.2).

1.2.1. Argument resumption

Argument resumption is illustrated in the StD (3). In these examples, the finite verb in a linearly third position is preceded by a ‘dislocated’ phrasal constituent which is followed by a resumptive element, a demonstrative which is anaphorically dependent on the left adjacent constituent. For instance, in (3a) the dislocated non-neuter direct object DP, *Jan*, is followed by *die*, which corresponds to the StD demonstrative pronoun and looks at first sight as if it is also a resumptive element. In (3b), an initial neuter argument *dat boek* (‘that book’) is resumed by the neuter resumptive demonstrative *dat*. In (3c), the initial constituent is the PP *over taalkunde* (‘about linguistics’); it is resumed by the R-pronoun *daar* (‘there’) (Van Riemsdijk 1978, Koopman 2000, 2010, Noonan 2017), the complement of a stranded preposition, *over* (‘about’). In (3d), finally, the initial embedded clause is resumed by the neuter demonstrative *dat* (‘that’).

- (3)
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|--------------|-------------|----------|------------|-------------------|--|--|--|
| a. | Jan | die | kende | ik | niet. | | | | |
| | <i>Jan</i> | <i>that</i> | <i>knew</i> | <i>I</i> | <i>not</i> | | | | |
| b. | Dat boek | dat | kende | ik | niet. | | | | |
| | <i>that book</i> | <i>that</i> | <i>knew</i> | <i>I</i> | <i>not</i> | | | | |
| c. | Over taalkunde, daar | kan | ik | niet | over | praten. | | | |
| | <i>about linguistics,</i> | <i>there</i> | <i>can</i> | <i>I</i> | <i>not</i> | <i>about talk</i> | | | |
| d. | Dat hij in Gent woont, | dat | wist | ik | niet. | | | | |
| | <i>that he in Ghent lives,</i> | <i>that</i> | <i>knew</i> | <i>I</i> | <i>not</i> | | | | |

In the literature, the pattern in (3) is usually labelled Contrastive Left Dislocation (abbreviated as CLD), though a contrastive interpretation is not necessarily present for all speakers (cf. Broekhuis and Corver 2016, De Vries 2009 for insightful recent discussion). There is a considerable literature on the derivation of resumptive V3 patterns in the Germanic languages (Broekhuis and Corver 2016 for Dutch, Holmberg 2015, for Scandinavian, and the references cited in these works), which we cannot hope to summarize or evaluate here. The debate concerns a.o. the status of the resumptive constituent and how it is related to the initial constituent, the first merge position of the resumptive constituent, that of the first constituent *etc.* Most discussions also take into consideration the alternative resumptive patterns illustrated in (4), in which a matching pronominal resumptive element occupies a TP-internal position. In the literature, the latter

¹ For additional illustrations of non-resumptive patterns that violate the V2 pattern, see among many others, Haegeman and Greco (2018a,b) on West Flemish and Meinunger (2004) on German.

pattern is sometimes referred to as Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (Cinque 1977, 1990, for Scandinavian Holmberg (to appear), for Dutch specifically: De Vries 2009, and Broekhuis and Corver 2016: 1691).

- (4)
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|----------|-------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------------|--|--|
| a. | Jan | ik | ken | hem | niet. | | | | |
| | <i>Jan</i> | <i>I</i> | <i>know</i> | <i>him</i> | <i>not</i> | | | | |
| b. | Dat boek | ik | kende | dat | niet. | | | | |
| | <i>that book</i> | <i>I</i> | <i>knew</i> | <i>that</i> | <i>not</i> | | | | |
| c. | Taalkunde, | ik | kan | daar /er | niet | over | meepraten. | | |
| | <i>linguistics,</i> | <i>I</i> | <i>can</i> | <i>there</i> | <i>not</i> | <i>about</i> | <i>with-talk</i> | | |

Predicates can also be associated with resumptive elements, (5) provides some examples. As can be seen by these examples, the appropriate resumptive demonstrative for predicative elements is always the neuter demonstrative *dat*, whether this be with an AP (5a), a DP (5b) or a VP (5c) predicative element. Note in particular that the resumptive in (5b) does not match the gender of the initial constituent, *een knappe dame* ('a smart lady') being a feminine noun phrase. For early discussion of the use of *dat* see Rullman and Zwart (1996).

- (5)
- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|
| a. | Slim | dat | is ze | wel. |
| | <i>clever</i> | <i>that</i> | <i>is she</i> | <i>part</i> |
| b. | Een knappe dame, | dat | is ze | wel. |
| | <i>A smart lady,</i> | <i>that</i> | <i>is she</i> | <i>well</i> |
| c. | Hard werken, | dat | doen ze | niet. |
| | <i>hard work,</i> | <i>that</i> | <i>do they</i> | <i>not</i> |

We will set aside resumptive patterns with initial predicates for future study as these introduce a number of complications that would lead us too far.

1.2.2. Adverbial resumption

In the resumptive V3 patterns in (3), the resumed constituent corresponds to an argument of the predicate in the associated clause: in (3a) and in (3b), for instance, the initial constituent corresponds to the direct object of the lexical verb *kennen* ('know').

The resumptive pattern in (6) also linearly violates the V2 constraint. In these examples, the constituent left-adjacent to the resumptive constituent, here an adverb, does not correspond to an argument of the associated clause but rather to an adjunct. In (6a) the initial constituent is a place adjunct *in Gent* ('In Ghent'), in (6b) it is the temporal adjunct *volgende vrijdag* ('next Friday'), in (6c) it is the temporal adjunct *vorige week* ('last week'). As can be seen, the choice of the resumptive adverb (*daar* ('there'), *dan* ('then'), *toen* ('then')) co-varies with the dislocated adjunct.

- (6)
- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|------------|
| a. | In Gent, | daar | kan je | lekker | eten. |
| | <i>in Ghent,</i> | <i>there</i> | <i>can you</i> | <i>well</i> | <i>eat</i> |
| | 'You eat well in Ghent.' | | | | |
| b. | Volgende vrijdag | dan | komt ze | terug. | |
| | <i>next Friday</i> | <i>then</i> | <i>comes she</i> | <i>back</i> | |
| c. | Vorige week | toen | was ze | er | niet. |
| | <i>last week</i> | <i>then</i> | <i>was she</i> | <i>there</i> | <i>not</i> |

For StD, Zwart (1997), Hoekstra (1999) and Broekhuis and Corver (2016: 1134) analyse the patterns with a dislocated adjunct in (6) as the adverbial variant of CLD in (3). Linearly, the resumptive patterns in (6) again constitute V2-transgressions. Nevertheless, it has been noted in the literature that the availability of precisely this adverbial resumptive pattern seems to have a remarkable correlation with the V2 property. Meklenborg (2020) observes, for instance, that in the older stages of Romance languages with a V2 grammar such as Old French [6] (Vance, 1997; van Reenen and Schøsler, 2000; Ferraresi and Goldbach, 2003; Salvesen, 2013; Wolfe, 2015a), Old Florentine (Poletto, 2014), Old Neapolitan (Ledgeway, 2008), Old Perugian (Ledgeway, 2008), and Old Sicilian (Wolfe, 2015a). the use of a resumptive particle *si/si* was attested (see a.o. Vanelli et al. (1985); Salvi (2004); Benincà (2006); Ledgeway (2012); Wolfe (2015a)). (7) illustrates Old French.

- (7) Quant Erec l' ot, si l' an mercie.
when Erec it.CL heard si him.CL of-it thanks
 'When Eric heard that, he thanked him.' OFr, ErecKu, p.5f, v.1286 (Meklenborg 2020: 104)

By and large, adverbial resumption or adverbial V3 is absent from non V2 languages.

1.3. Resumption in the Ghent dialect

This chapter focusses on a specific instantiation of adverbial resumption in the Ghent dialect in which an adverbial adjunct is reprised by what looks like an invariant demonstrative pronominal *die*.

Our research is based on two transcribed recordings dating from the 1960s (Leemans 1966, Van Hoe 1981), supplemented with anecdotal data collected by the authors, as well as on consultation of native speakers and on elicitation by means of a questionnaire survey of native speakers.

The pattern will be illustrated in full in Section 1.3.2 but before doing so we briefly set a wider perspective by introducing the Ghent varieties of CLD.

1.3.1. Nominal CLD

By the term 'nominal CLD' we refer to resumptive strategies mainly involving nominal arguments. The label is an approximation and has no theoretical content. The Ghent dialect displays two varieties of nominal CLD, which we provisionally label CLD1 and CLD2. Both patterns are root phenomena. We will not explore argument CLD in detail, and there are several aspects of the patterns which at the moment we do not understand. We also will not consider resumption of predicate elements, as in (5).

In CLD1, illustrated in (8a), the resumptive *den dienen* (lit: 'the that') is a referential demonstrative: it consists of a combination of the masculine singular form of the definite determiner *den* ('the') and the masculine singular form of the demonstrative *dienen* ('that'). This combination corresponds to the referentially independent use of the demonstrative (8b). The resumptive constituent in (8a) matches the left-adjacent dislocated constituent for gender and number: masculine singular *den dienen* ('the that') alternates with feminine singular and plural *de die*; it also alternates with neuter singular *dat* ('that') (8c).

- (8) a. Maar Potter, den dienen is al wa te(g)engekomen ze,
but Potter the die-INFL is already something across come PART
 'but things have already happened to Potter, you know'. (Van Hoe, Melle, II: 59)
 b. Maar den dienen is al wa te(g)engekomen ze,
but the die-INFL is already something across come PART

‘Things have already happened to him, you know’.

- c. en da(t) schoolken, da(t) was een beetsen te klein geworden
and that school.dim that was a little too small become
 ‘And that little school had become a little too small.’ (Van Hoe, Melle, I: 11)

Though we have not done a statistical corpus analysis, it is our impression that CLD2, illustrated in (9), represents the majority of CLD instances in our corpus. This pattern features a ‘short’ form of the demonstrative, *die*; there is no gender or number matching with the left-adjacent nominal constituent: even with a neuter initial constituent, the formative *die*, rather than *dat*, is used (9b, c). In this respect, the Ghent dialect differs from many other Dutch varieties, which maintain gender matching.²

- (9) a. 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.’ (Leemans, Ghent, I, p. 3)
- b. dat geld die gingd’ in een dink,
that money die went into a thing
 ‘the money went into a thing’ (Leemans, Ghent, II: p 8)
- c. Speltbrood die koop ik enkel in het weekend.
spelt bread die buy I only at the weekend (CM, 14.9.2015)

1.3.2. Adverbial resumption

The Ghent dialect also displays the ‘adverbial’ resumption illustrated for StD in Section 1.2.2. In the attested (10), a sentence-initial dislocated adjunct is resumed by a left-adjacent adverbial (*tons* ‘then’, *daar* ‘there’) (cf. Hoekstra 1999, Broekhuis and Corver 2016: 1134). The resumptive element matches the dislocated constituent: *tons* (‘then’) and *dan* (‘then’) are temporal/conditional adverbs and in the corpus example (10a) and the attested (10b) they resume a conditional/temporal adverbial clause; *daar* (‘there’) is a locative adverb, in the corpus example (10c) it matches a locative dislocated PP *in ding in Oedelem* (‘in thingy in Oedelem’).

- (10) a. Os ge moet beginnen / u(w) stokken za(ge)n,
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)
- b. Als de zon zo begint binnen te zitten
when the sun so begins inside to sit
 dan wordt het echt warm.
then becomes it really hot

² Our informant graded (9c) with a score 6/7 on a 7-point Likert scale and signaled that *die* could be replaced by *dat*. (i), in which the initial constituent is picked up by neuter *dat*, should probably be taken as an instantiation of CLD1, i.e. with *dat* as the neuter variant of *den dienen* (cf. (8c)).

(i) Speltbrood dat koop ik enkel in het weekend.
spelt bread dat buy I only at the weekend (CM, 14.09.2015)

- (Peggy, Ghent female, 1968, 07.05.2018)
- c. In ding in Oedelem, daar zate(n) m(e) in de slag.
in thingy in Oedelem, there sat we in the battle
 ‘In Oedelem we were caught in the fighting’

(Van Hoe Melle Corpus III: 76)

The Ghent variety displays an additional pattern of adverbial resumption which sets it apart from the other Flemish and Dutch varieties and which is illustrated in (11a). In this example, an adverbial adjunct *volgende vrijdag* (‘next Friday’) is left-adjacent to what looks like a demonstrative pronoun *die* and the finite verb. At first sight, *die* seems to have the same function as the resumptive adverb *tons* (‘then’) in the resumption pattern in (10a) or as the resumptive adverb *dan* (‘then’) in the StD adverbial resumption pattern in (6b), repeated here for convenience in (11b). In (11b), StD *dan* cannot be replaced by *die*.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------|----------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-------|
| (11) | a. | Volgende vrijdag | die | komt | ze | terug. | Ghent |
| | | <i>next Friday</i> | DIE | <i>comes</i> | <i>she</i> | <i>back</i> | |
| | b. | Volgende vrijdag | dan/*die | komt | ze | terug. | StD |
| | | <i>next Friday</i> | <i>dan/DIE</i> | <i>comes</i> | <i>she</i> | <i>back</i> | |

The resumptive pattern with *die* is a root phenomenon.³ In this use *die* is invariant, it does not alternate with *dat* (see (67) in Section 4.4.1 for discussion). We label this use of *die* as ‘invariant *die*’. Invariant *die* does not only appear right-adjacent to a temporal adjunct (as in (11a)): it can follow a range of other dislocated adjuncts. (12) provides some examples: in (12a), the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* is a temporal adjunct, in (12b), it is a conditional adjunct, in (12c), it is a locative adjunct, in (12d), it is a goal adjunct, in (12e), it is a causal adjunct, in (12f) the constituent left-adjacent to *die* is a result adjunct:

- (12) a. Vroeger, die bakten wij vier soorten brood.
before die baked we fourkinds 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 still 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, is it?’
 (Leemans Ghent Corpus I, 30, 23)
- d. Voor ulder hout te klieven
for their wood to cleave

³ (i) is attested in other informal spoken varieties of Flemish. Our Ghent recordings contain no embedded occurrences of *die* resumption and our informant CM explicitly pointed out that she rejects *die dat* sequences:

(i) Ik vind die da zaterdag te laat is
 I find *die* that Saturday too late is
 ‘I think Saturday is too late.’ (Vet, AS, 22.11.2000 telephone conversation)

We will therefore not examine these examples here.

die (h)adde(n) ze (h)ulder kliefmēs.
die had they their cleave.knife
 ‘To cleave the wood they used their cleaving knife.’

(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 be
 ‘Consequently, that has to be removed as quickly as possible.’

(St. Martens-Latem I.239; Vanacker 1980:

76)

The analogues of (12) in which *die* is used as a resumptive element for the initial adjunct would be strongly ungrammatical in other varieties of Dutch, including StD.

1.4. Goals

This chapter focusses on adverbial *die* resumption in the Ghent dialect illustrated in (11a)-(12) and compares the pattern with StD adverbial CLD in (6) and in (11b) and with Ghent adverbial resumption in (10). Where relevant to the discussion, we will also occasionally refer to argument resumption in StD (3) and in the Ghent dialect (8) and (9), though this will not be the core focus of our chapter.

The first part of the chapter inventories the empirical facts. In the second part, we elaborate a formal syntactic analysis.

Section 2 first introduces Meklenborg’s distinction between specialized resumptives and generalized resumptives. The distinction refers to the matching restrictions, i.e. the restrictions imposed on the choice of resumptive element by the left-adjacent constituent. At first sight, on the basis of the criteria developed there, invariant *die* in the Ghent dialect functions as a generalized resumptive.

Section 3 inventories the properties of adverbial *die* resumption in the Ghent dialect, i.e. configurations in which *die* is found right-adjacent to an adverbial constituent, though we will also occasionally touch upon patterns in which invariant *die* is right-adjacent to an argument constituent. We will systematically compare the properties of invariant *die*, by hypothesis a generalized resumptive, with those of the specialized adverbial resumptives in StD and in the Ghent dialect. Exploring these properties, we will formulate some initial hypotheses of how the observed contrasts between the two types of resumption correlate with their syntactic representation.

Section 4 develops the cartographic analysis of *die* resumption. The proposed analysis further explores the concept of indirect satisfaction of the criteria associated with left-peripheral heads as first proposed in Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006, 2007) and developed in Haegeman and Danckaert (2017). Crucially, it relies on the idea that a left-peripheral head may be featurally enriched and that the enrichment allows the satisfaction of a lower head.

2. Adverbial resumption: specialized resumption vs. generalized resumption

2.1. Specialized resumptives

The patterns of adverbial resumption in the Ghent variety which we introduce in Section 1.3.2 reflect the distinction between specialized resumptives and generalized resumptives (Meklenborg 2020). This contrast has also been discussed in work by a.o. Eide and Sollid (2007), Sollid and Eide (2007), Nordström (2010), Eide (2011, Holmberg (2015, to appear) and Meklenborg (2020). StD (6) and Ghent (10) illustrate specialized resumptives and Ghent (11a) and (12) illustrate generalized resumptives.

With specialized resumptives, i.e. StD (6) and Ghent (10), the constituent functioning as the resumptive is a regular adverb which has retained its full original adverbial meaning (and – we speculate – function), i.e. it has the semantics of its non-resumptive adverbial use, and interpretively the resumptive adverbial matches the initial constituent. The specialized nature of the resumptive is clear from the StD data: the choice of the resumptive element co-varies with the semantics of the initial constituent. StD deploys the locative adverb *daar* ('there'), the manner adverb *zo* ('so'), the temporal adverbs, *dan* ('then') and *toen* ('then'). Temporal resumptive adverbs ((6b) and (6c)) show additional specialization: *dan* ('then') is used for future/conditional contexts, *toen* ('then') is reserved for past time contexts; this difference is replicated in the resumptive use. Specialization is also illustrated in the Ghent examples in (10): temporal *tons* ('then') matches a dislocated temporal adjunct and locative *daar* ('there') matches a dislocated locative adjunct.

The specialized resumptives right-adjacent to adverbial constituents are adverbs which can be used independently without overt left peripheral antecedent: for instance, StD *dan* ('then'), *toen* ('then'), *daar* ('there') and *zo* ('so') can be used in a regular V2 clause, either in initial position (13) or in mid-position (14). Given their demonstrative/deictic meaning they are anaphoric with an accessible antecedent in the discourse.

- (13) a. Daar kan je lekker eten.
there can you well eat
'You eat well there.'
- b. Dan kan je ze bezoeken.
dan can you them visit
'You can visit them then.'
- c. Toen merkte ik dat ik mijn laptop vergeten was.
toen noticed I that I my laptop forgotten was
- (14) a. Je kan daar lekker eten.
you can there well eat
'You eat well there.'
- b. Je kan ze dan bezoeken.
you can them then visit
'You can visit them then.'
- c. Ik merkte toen dat ik mijn laptop vergeten was.
I noticed toen that I my laptop forgotten was

Specialized resumption is widely attested. (15), based on Meklenborg (2020:96), illustrates the pattern in a sample of Germanic languages which all can deploy a specialized adverb, the equivalent of English *then*, to resume an initial temporal adverbial clause.

(15)	a. Hvis du er sein i morgen, <i>if you are late tomorrow,</i>	da	kommer du til å angre.	
	b. Om du är sen imorgon, <i>if you are late tomorrow,</i>	da	kommer du att ångra dig.	Norwegian
	c. Hvis du kommer for sent i morgen, <i>if you are late tomorrow,</i>	då	kommer du att ångra dig.	Swedish
	d. Wenn du morgen zu spät kommst, <i>if you tomorrow too late come,</i>	?da	vil du komme til at fortryde det.	Danish
	e. As jy more laat is, <i>if you tomorrow late is,</i>	da	will you come to regret it	German
		dann	wird dir das Leid tun.	
		dann	will to you that regret	German
		dan	sal jy jammer wees.	
		dan	will you sorry be	Afrikaans

While Meklenborg (2020) only discusses adverbial resumption, we can extend her notion of specialized resumption to the StD CLD patterns in (3) and to the Ghent CLD1 data in (8) because in such patterns too, the dislocated constituent is resumed by a right-adjacent matching resumptive: for instance, in Ghent CLD1 the ‘strong’ demonstrative resumptive *den dienen* matches the dislocated constituent for gender and number.

2.2. Generalized resumptives

Generalized resumptives differ from the specialized resumptives illustrated in Section 2.1.1 in that, possibly as a result of semantic bleaching, they have become compatible with a wider range of initial constituents. One example that has received a lot of attention is the Mainland Scandinavian resumptive *så* (‘so’) in (16), cf. Nordström (2010), Eide (2011); (16) should be compared with the specialized resumptive pattern in (15a-c) (cf. Nordström (2010: 48, her (10)) and Meklenborg (2020: 96)).

(16)	a. Hvis du er sein i morgen, <i>if you are late tomorrow,</i>	så	kommer du til å angre.	
	b. Om du är sen imorgon, <i>if you are late tomorrow,</i>	så	kommer du att ångra dig.	Norwegian
	c. Hvis du kommer for sent i morgen, <i>if you are late tomorrow,</i>	så	vil du komme til at fortryde det.	Swedish
		så	will you come to regret it	Danish

As illustrated in (12), the Ghent dialect can deploy an invariant form, *die*, to resume a wide range of dislocated adjuncts: a temporal adjunct (12a), a conditional adjunct (12b), a locative adjunct (12c), a goal adjunct (12d), a causal adjunct (12e), a result adjunct (12f). Our tentative hypothesis at this point is that Ghent invariant *die* is also a generalized resumptive. Pursuing this line of thinking, CLD2 in the Ghent dialect could also be categorized as an instance of ‘generalized’ resumption because, differently from CLD1, there is, for instance, no gender or number matching between the element *die* preceding the finite verb and the left adjacent constituent (see also Section 3.3.3 for additional discussion).

2.3. Specialized vs. generalized resumptives

Our discussion of the distinction between specialized and generalized resumptives is perhaps slightly misleading because it might be taken to imply that specialized resumptives and generalized resumptives are syntactically equivalent and that they constitute interchangeable alternatives merely differing in terms of

their degree of semantic specification and the corresponding range of constituents they can resume, as schematized in (17a):

- (17) a. Da jeg kom hjem, $\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{da} \\ \text{så} \end{array} \right\}$ var jeg sliten.
when I came home was I tired

While this would be a theoretical possibility, it remains an empirical question to what extent the generalized resumptive and the specialized resumptive are syntactically equivalent. It is also possible that the differentiation in semantics and in the matching restriction with respect to the constituent left-adjacent to the resumptive correlates with underlying syntactic differences. One diagnostic for the full equivalence of the generalized resumptive and the specialized resumptive as depicted in (17a) is to assess whether they are in complementary distribution. For the Norwegian pattern in (16a) the answer is negative: the specialized resumptive may co-occur with the generalized resumptive, and their relative order is fixed, as shown in (17b) and (17c).⁴ The same holds for Swedish *så* (16b), as demonstrated in Nordström (2010: 48, her (10)).

- (17) b. Da jeg kom hjem, da så var jeg sliten.
when I came home da temporal så general was I tired
 c. *Da jeg kom hjem, så da var jeg sliten.⁵
when I came home så general da temporal was I tired

Ghent invariant *die* can also be immediately preceded by a specialized resumptive, as shown in the attested (18). Again, the order is fixed, the invariant *die* follows the specialized resumptive.

- (18) a. Als ge spreek 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. 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: page

7)

That a generalized resumptive can co-occur with a specialized resumptive is clear evidence that the two items, though to some extent functionally similar, must be differentiated in the syntax.

We will investigate the use of invariant *die* in the Ghent dialect and compare it with that of specialized adverbial resumptives. Using a series of distributional and interpretive diagnostics, we first aim to present a survey of the similarities and differences between the specialized and the generalized resumptive. The diagnostics will shed light on to the nature of the resumptive constituent, and its relationship with the left-adjacent constituent. In particular, the evidence is expected to point to the constituent left-adjacent to the resumptive being either clause-external (in the sense of Astruc-Aguilera 2005, Broekhuis and Corver 2016: 1133-1134, Haegeman and Greco 2018a,b) or being part of the root V2 clause and it may reveal whether

⁴ Thanks to Terje Lohndal for judgements.

⁵ But see Sollid and Eide (2007:17) for Finland Swedish.

the resumptive has phrasal or head status. These findings obviously have ramifications for the derivation of the adverbial resumptive patterns.

While concentrating on adverbial resumption, we will also return at some places to the argument CLD2 pattern because a comparison with this pattern sheds additional light on the nature of generalized resumption. Based on the diagnostics in Section 3, we elaborate a cartographic analysis of Ghent invariant *die* in Section 4.

3. Invariant *die* in the Ghent dialect

3.1. The initial adverbial constituent

3.1.1. Categorial features

As shown in the Ghent examples in (11a) and (12), the adverbial constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* may instantiate a range of syntactic categories: it can be a nominal phrase (11a), an adverbial phrase (12a,f), a prepositional phrase (12c), a finite clause (12b,e), a non-finite clause (12d) *etc.* In this respect, the pattern is no different from that found with the specialized – i.e. semantically matched – resumptive: in the latter pattern too, semantic matching of the adverbial resumptive does not entail categorial matching. For instance, the StD temporal resumptive *toen* (‘then’) can resume a left-adjacent adverbial clause as in (19a), it can resume a PP, as in (19b), it can resume a nominal constituent (19c), or a temporal adverb (19d).

- (19) a. Toen ik thuiskwam, toen merkte ik
toen I home-came, toen noticed I
 dat ik mijn laptop vergeten was.
that I my laptop forgotten was
- b. Bij zijn aankomst, toen merkte hij
upon his arrival toen noticed he
 dat hij zijn laptop vergeten was.
that he his laptop forgotten was
- c. Vorige week, toen merkte hij
last week toen noticed he
 dat hij zijn laptop vergeten was.
that he his laptop forgotten was
- d. Even later, toen merkte hij
sometime later toen noticed he
 dat hij zijn laptop vergeten was.
that he his laptop forgotten was

3.1.2. Optionality

In all examples of adverbial resumption illustrated so far, those with a specialized resumptive as well as those with invariant *die*, the initial adverbial constituent is not related to a thematic role assigned by the predicate and as such it is ‘optional’ in relation to the clause, as is the corresponding resumptive. Optionality entails that the relevant constituents can be omitted, possibly entailing some further modifications. Three scenarios are briefly looked at here: (i) omission of the resumptive as well as the left-adjacent adjunct, (ii) retention of the resumptive and omission of the left-adjacent adjunct, (iii) omission of the resumptive element and retention of the left-adjacent adjunct.

(i) Omission of both the resumptive and the left-adjacent adjunct

Because of the V2 constraint, the simultaneous omission of the resumptive and the left-adjacent adjunct would lead to a change of word order. (20a) and (20b) rephrase the StD examples in (19) leaving out the initial constituent and its specialized resumptive. (20c) rephrases the Ghent example (11a), leaving out invariant *die* and the left-adjacent adjunct. In each case, to satisfy the V2 constraint, the finite verb is now preceded by another constituent, here the subject.

- (20) a. Ik merkte dat ik mijn laptop vergeten was.
noticed I that I my laptop forgotten was
- b. Hij merkte dat hij zijn laptop vergeten was.
he noticed that he his laptop forgotten was
- c. Ze komt terug.
she comes back

(ii) Omission of the initial adverbial constituent with retention of the resumptive

As the specialized resumptive is itself a contentful adverb, the presence of an immediately preceding matching constituent is not required. The examples in (21) will be licit as long as there is an accessible contextual antecedent for the demonstrative adverbs *daar* ('there'), *dan* ('then') and *toen* ('then'). Specialized resumptives in the Ghent dialect can thus appear as independent sentence-initial adverbial adjuncts. Incidentally, in (21) these adverbs also satisfy the V2 constraint.

- (21) a. Daar kan je lekker eten.
there can you well eat
'You eat well there.'
- b. Dan komt ze terug.
then comes she back
- c. Toen was ze er niet.
then was she there not

However, in the Ghent dialect, omission of the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* is not possible. This restriction was identified in Vanacker (1980: 77) and is labelled an 'antecedent requirement' in De Clercq and Haegeman (2018). The requirement is confirmed both by our corpora, in which all occurrences of invariant *die* are immediately preceded by an adverbial constituent, and by our informants who consider the exchange in (22) unacceptable. In spite of the fact that utterance (22A) would supply a plausible contextual antecedent ('because Myriam takes care of the cats tomorrow'), the continuation in (22B) is not acceptable.

- (22) 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
(1⁹ 2² 3⁰ 4⁰ 5¹)⁶

⁶ 12 informants from Ghent, who confirmed that they were users of the *die* pattern, have participated in our survey. Each informant rated 52 sentences containing *die* on a 5-point Likert scale, with 1 being unacceptable and 5 being fully acceptable. For every test sentence that we use we report how many of our informants gave a particular score:

The difference between the specialized resumptive pattern and the generalized resumptive pattern uncovered here is a first indication that the contrast between specialized resumptive and generalized resumptive correlates with additional differences and it implies that Zwart's (1997) assimilation of the two patterns, to be further discussed in Section 3.2, is untenable. In later sections, additional differences will come to light.

(iii) Omission of the resumptive

Finally, the specialized resumptive or the generalized resumptive itself can be freely omitted without change in word order and without loss of grammaticality: (23a) illustrates omission of the StD specialized resumptive *toen* ('then'), (23b) illustrates omission of the Ghent specialized resumptive *tons* ('then') and (23c) illustrates omission of invariant *die*:

- (23) a. Toen ik thuiskwam, (toen) merkte ik
toen I home-came, toen noticed I
 dat ik mijn laptop vergeten was.
that I my laptop forgotten was
- b. Os ge moet beginnen / u(w) stokken za(ge)n,
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)
- c. 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)

Omission of the resumptive results in a regular root V2 configuration with an adverbial constituent as the first constituent left-adjacent to the finite verb. Indeed, as we will see (Section 4.4.2), the initial constituent in the resumptive V3 pattern can invariably function as the initial constituent in a V2 configuration.

3.2. Discourse function of the resumptive patterns

In the literature, it has often been proposed that the dislocated constituent in the StD CLD pattern illustrated in (3) is topical (see Zwart 1997: 249-50, Hoekstra 1999). Regrouping argument and adverbial resumption, Hoekstra (1999: 60), for instance, refers to the StD doubling demonstrative pronouns *die* and *dat* and the doubling demonstrative adverbs *dan*, *daar*, *toen* etc. as topic pronouns.⁷ Because the relevant pronouns mostly begin with *d-*, he labels them D-pronouns (see also *d-words* in Zwart (1997) and Koster 1978). In this chapter, we examine among other things whether and to what extent the invariant *die* pattern in the

⁹ means that 9 informants considered the sentence unacceptable and gave it score 1. If informants gave 3, 4 or 5, we considered the sentence acceptable.

Some sentences were only judged by one or two speakers. In that case, the same 5-point Likert scale was used and the score per informant is indicated as for instance 3/5, if a 3 was given for a particular sentence.

⁷ For a comparison of the binding behavior of D-pronouns and personal pronouns, see among others Hoekstra (1999: 61-3) and the works cited.

Ghent variety of Dutch can be analyzed in terms of topicalization along the lines of the StD instantiations mentioned above and of their analogues in the Ghent dialect.

Our main focus will be on adverbial resumption patterns which feature invariant *die* in the Ghent dialect, but we will first briefly go over the properties of what we could informally refer to as ‘nominal CLD’, i.e. the pattern in which the dislocated constituent is a nominal, because this will reveal an interesting discrepancy between nominal CLD2 in the Ghent dialect on the one hand and StD nominal CLD and nominal CLD1 in the Ghent dialect on the other.

3.2.1. Nominal CLD

With respect to the analysis of StD nominal CLD, in which the constituent left-adjacent to the resumptive constituent corresponds to a clausal argument, one fairly common assumption in the literature is that the initial constituent is topical (Zwart 1997: 249-50). In addition, according to some analyses, the initial constituent occupies a clause-external position (cf. Koster 1978, Broekhuis and Corver 2016: 1133-1134).

Both topicality and clause-external position conspire to lead to the prediction that neither negative constituents nor *wh*-constituents are good candidates to function as first constituents in StD nominal CLD: on the one hand, quantificational constituents are not good candidates for topic status (see Rizzi 1997); on the other, if the relevant dislocated constituent in the CLD pattern were indeed clause-external, its very position would prevent it from taking clausal scope. (24) presents judgments on StD nominal CLD drawn from the literature.

- (24) a. *Niemand die heeft ze gekust.
 no one die has she kissed
 (Hoekstra (1999: 66), cf. Broekhuis and Corver (2016: 733, (260b), 1458, 1697, (49b)).
- b. *Wie die ga je dan uitnodigen?
 who die go you then invite (Broekhuis and Corver 2016: 1699, (54b))

In this respect, the StD resumptive CLD pattern contrasts with the regular root V2 pattern in which negative or quantificational constituents are suitable first constituents, as shown in (25). In these examples, the initial constituent can be construed as being focal; it can take clausal scope from a designated clause-internal position in the left periphery (e.g. SpecFocP). This entails that in (25), the initial constituents *niemand* (‘no one’) and *wie* (‘who’) are not clause-external.

- (25) a. Niemand heeft ze gekust.
 no one has she kissed
- b. Wie ga je dan uitnodigen?
 who go you then invite

Recall from Section 1.3.1 that the Ghent dialect displays two root patterns in which an initial nominal constituent is separated from the finite verb by what looks like a resumptive element. We label these CLD1 and CLD2, though we hasten to add that using this label, we are not committed to the view that the second pattern is a case of contrastive left dislocation.

In CLD1, a dislocated argument is resumed by a referential demonstrative consisting of the definite article and the demonstrative pronoun. Because it matches the dislocated constituent in terms of gender and number features, we proposed that the resumptive constituent in CLD1 qualifies as ‘specialized’. Like StD CLD, Ghent CLD1 is incompatible with a bare quantified nominal (26a) or with a *wh*-phrase (26b):

- (26) a. *Niemand den dienen komt daar naartoe
no one the dienen comes there to
 ‘No one goes to the other animals [in the zoo]’ (CM, 26.05.2009)
- b. *Wie de die wilt ge dan allemaal inviteren?
who the that want you then all invite

In CLD2, what looks like a resumptive constituent is an invariant form, *die*. Though further research is needed, this use of *die* may be tentatively viewed as that of a generalized resumptive because there is no matching with the initial constituent: regardless of the gender or number of the initial constituent. CLD2 with invariant *die* is compatible with a bare quantified nominal (27a,b), as well as a *wh*-phrase (27c,d) as the initial constituent.

- (27) a. Niemand die was tevoren bereid
no one die was before prepared
 om direkt da(t) groensel te kweken voor de vijand.
to directly that vegetable to grow for the enemy
 ‘and before no one was immediately willing to grow vegetables for the enemy’
 (Van Hoe, Corpus Melle, I, p. 5)
- b. Niemand die komt daar naartoe.
no one die comes there to
 ‘No one goes to the other animals [in the zoo]’ (CM, 26.05.2009)
- c. 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?
- d. A: ‘t is mijn verjaardag. Ik wil een feestje geven.
it’s my birthday. I want a party give
 B: Wie die wilt ge dan allemaal inviteren?⁸
who die want you then all invite (1⁰, 2¹, 3⁴, 4⁴, 5³)

These data bring to the fore a clear contrast between nominal CLD1 and CLD2 in the Ghent dialect on the one hand, and also between StD CLD and the Ghent nominal CLD2.

The compatibility of Ghent CLD2 with a quantified initial constituent has two ramifications: (i) the constituent left-adjacent to *die* in this configuration is not necessarily topical, quantifiers being incompatible with topic status. (ii) The constituent left-adjacent to *die*, can, at least in these patterns, not be main clause-external in the sense of Broekhuis and Corver (2016: 1133-1134) and Haegeman and Greco (2018a,b): a clause-external position would prevent the initial constituent from taking clausal scope (see Haegeman and Greco 2018a,b on scope restrictions with clause-external constituents).

⁸ Invariant *die* is not equally accepted with all *wh*-constituents: (i) in comparison with (27d) is of interest. It looks as if the presence of *dan* (‘then’) in (27d) facilitates the presence of *die*. Given that *dan* (‘then’) anchors the sentence to the discourse, this might suggest there is a D-linking effect. See also Section 4.5.2.2 for additional discussion.

(i) A: t Is mijn verjaardag. Ik wil een feest geven.
 ‘it’s my birthday. I want to give a party.’
 B: (*)Wie die wilt ge allemaal inviteren?
 who die want you all invite? (1⁶, 2², 3¹, 4⁰, 5²)

3.2.2. Adverbial CLD

As is the case for StD ‘nominal’ CLD (24a), StD adverbial CLD, in which an adjunct is left-adjacent to a specialized resumptive, is incompatible with a bare negative adverbial (28a,b), or with a *wh*-antecedent (28c,d). The same restriction holds for the Ghent pattern with a specialized resumptive adverb.

- (28) a. *Nergens daar verkopen ze nog kleine notebroodjes.⁹
nowhere there sell they part small nut rolls
- b. *Nooit dan kunt ge kleine notebroodjes krijgen.
never then can you small nut rolls obtain
- c. *In welke periode toen woonde zij in Geneve?
in which period then lived she in Geneva
- d. *In welke van die twee winkels daar verkopen ze biofruit?¹⁰
*in which of those two shops **daar** sell they biological fruit*

The incompatibility of the StD adverbial CLD pattern with such quantified initial constituents will follow both from the topical nature of the initial constituent and from the hypothesis that this constituent is clause-external and hence unable to take scope within the domain of the clause.

Again, the adverbial resumptive pattern with the specialized resumptive contrasts with regular V2 pattern in which both negative and *wh*-constituents qualify as first constituents as shown in StD (29). Provided that the initial constituents in (29) are clause-internal, they will be able to take clausal scope and can be associated with left peripheral focus.

- (29) a. Nergens verkopen ze nog kleine notebroodjes.
nowhere sell they PART small nut rolls
- b. Nooit kunt ge kleine notebroodjes krijgen
never can you small nut rolls obtain
- c. In welke periode woonde zij in Geneve?
in which period lived she in Geneva
- d. In welke van die twee winkels verkopen ze biofruit?
in which of those two shops sell they biological fruit

In contrast with the both the StD and the Ghent dialectal specialized adverbial resumptive, however, invariant *die* in the Ghent dialect is compatible with a left-adjacent negative adjunct, as in (30):

- (30) a. Nergens die verkopen ze nog kleine notebroodjes.
*nowhere **die** sell they PART small nut rolls*
- b. Nooit die vindt ge kleine notebroodjes.
*never **die** find you small nut rolls*

In addition, for some speakers, the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* can be a *wh*-constituent, (31):

⁹ This example is grammatical in an alternative parse in which *nergens daar* (‘nowhere there’) is one constituent meaning ‘nowhere in that place’. This is not directly relevant for the issue at hand.

¹⁰ Again, this example is grammatical with the alternative parse in which *daar* is part of one initial constituent, modifying *winkels* (‘shops’): ‘in which of those two shops over there’.

- (31) Wanneer die komt ze terug?
when die comes she back (1¹, 2⁴, 3¹, 4³, 5³)

These two patterns again show that invariant *die* must not be viewed as semantically and syntactically equivalent to the specialized resumptive (*pace* Zwart 1997: 249-50) and confirms our conclusion in Section 2.3 that the two patterns diverge (cf. also Section 3.2.1 where that conclusion is also partly confirmed in relation to StD nominal CLD and Ghent CLD1).

Because quantifiers are not likely candidates for topic status, the data suggest that the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* is not necessarily interpreted as a topic. The next section offers some additional evidence against assigning general topic status to the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die*.

In addition, the availability of negative and *wh*-adjuncts left-adjacent to invariant *die* leads to the conclusion that the relevant constituents cannot be clause-external in the sense of Broekhuis and Corver (2016: 1133-1134), because in a clause-external position they would be unable to scope over the clause and ensure clause typing. Following standard views, the data in (30) and (31) thus lead us to the conclusion that the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* occupies a clause-internal specifier position in the left periphery.

Additional evidence that the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* is clause-internal comes from the scope effects in (32). In these examples, the continuations force a reading in which the initial quantificational constituent is within the scope of the clausal negation, i.e. it is interpreted in its TP-internal reconstruction site below sentential negation. One speaker rejects (32c) while accepting (32a) and (32b).

- (32) a. Dikwijlsdie gaat hij niet naar de kerk op zondag, eigenlijk bijna nooit.
often die goes he not to the church on Sunday, actually almost never
 ‘He doesn’t OFTEN go to church on Sunday, in fact he hardly ever goes.’
 (Luc 4/5, CM: 3/5)
- b. Alle weken die koop ik geen groenten op de boerenmarkt,
all weeks die buy I no vegetables at the farmers’market
 maar toch zeker twee keer per maand.
but PART definitely two times a month
 ‘I don’t buy vegetables at the farmers’market every WEEK, but I do certainly twice a month.’
 (Luc 4/5, CM: 3/5)
- c. Alle weken die staat hij niet op de markt met zijn kraam,
all weeks die stands he not on the market with his stall
 maar toch zeker twee keer per maand.
but PART definitely two times a month
 ‘He doesn’t have a weekly stall on the market, but he’s definitely there twice a month.’
 (Luc 4/5, CM 2/5)

Reconstruction is also available for a regular V2 root clause with the quantified constituent in first position but without invariant *die*. One speaker finds the two patterns near-equivalent, the second speaker prefers the reconstruction patterns without *die*.¹¹

¹¹ The difference in judgements for CM, the second speaker, are of interest but we are not in a position to assess the cause here. The score 3/5 in (32a-b) points to the fact that these examples are acceptable for the informant. The degradation in these examples compared to the fully acceptable (33a-b) might, for instance, be due to the fact that

- (33) a. Dikwijls gaat hij niet naar de kerk op zondag, eigenlijk bijna nooit.
often goes he not to the church on Sunday, actually almost never
 ‘He doesn’t OFTEN go to church on Sunday, in fact he hardly ever goes.’
 (Luc 5/5, CM: 4/5)
- b. Alle weken koop ik geen groenten op de boerenmarkt,
all weeks buy I no vegetables at the farmers’ market
 maar toch zeker twee keer per maand.
but PART definitely two times a month
 ‘I don’t buy vegetables at the farmers’ market every WEEK, but I do certainly twice a month.’
 (Luc 5/5, CM: 5/5)
- c. Alleweken staat hij niet op de markt met zijn kraam,
all weeks stands he not on the market with his stall
 maar toch zeker twee keer per maand.
but PART definitely two times a month
 ‘He doesn’t have a weekly stall on the market, but he’s definitely there twice a month.’
 (Luc 5/5, CM: 5/5)

The reconstruction data thus further confirm that the constituent left-adjacent to *die* is not clause- external. We assume that like the initial constituent in the regular V2 pattern, it originates TP-internally and moves to the left-peripheral position. We generalize this conclusion to instances in which the initial constituent is not quantificational.

3.2.3. Arguments against the generalized topic analysis

Example (34) shows that the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* may provide an answer to a *wh*-question. This would be unexpected if this constituent is a topic, i.e. represents old or discourse given information, because the answer to a *wh*-question typically constitutes new information.

- (34) 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.’ (1¹ 2⁰ 3⁵ 4¹ 5⁵)

In addition, some adverbials which do not obviously constitute topics can precede invariant *die*. The epistemic modal *waarschijnlijk* (‘probably’) in (35) is a case in point (cf. also Broekhuis and Corver (2016: 1707) on *waarschijnlijk* in StD).

- (35) Waarschijnlijk die is hij weeral ziek.
probably die is he again sick

the context implies contrastive focus on the constituent left-adjacent to *die*. In the absence of more general data on the choice between sentences with and without invariant *die*, we do not speculate further.

‘He is probably ill again.’

(1² 2¹ 3² 4⁵ 5²)

3.2.4. An additional contrast between specialized resumptives and invariant *die*

(36) and (37) provide additional evidence that invariant *die* differs from the StD specialized resumptives such as temporal *dan* or locative *daar*. StD proximal adjuncts such as *nu* (‘now’) or *vandaag* (‘today’) cannot function as the left-adjacent constituents for resumptive *dan* or *daar* (see (36)).¹² The corresponding proximal adjuncts can licitly function as left-adjacent constituents for *die* in the Ghent dialect (37).

- (36) a. *Nu **dan** ga ik naar Gent.
now then go I to Ghent
b. *Vandaag **dan** heeft hij nog een vergadering.
today then has he another meeting
c. ??/*Hier **daar** zeggen we dat niet.
here there say we that not

- (37) a. Nu **die** ga ik bij haar.
now die go I to her (Arlette Berreman, 23.03.2017, 17.45
phone)
b. Vandaag **die** heeft hij nog een vergadering.
today die has he another meeting (1⁰, 2¹, 3⁴, 4⁴, 5³)
c. Hier **die** zeggen we dat niet.
here die say we that not (CM p.c. February 2019)

3.3. The resumptive constituent

3.3.1. Focusing

In StD CLD, the resumptive constituent itself is a full-fledged demonstrative which can be modified by focusing elements such as *net* (‘precisely’), *zelfs* (‘even’) or *alleen* (‘only’): (38a-c) illustrate examples with a nominal antecedent, (38d-f) illustrate the case of a PP antecedent with resumptive *daar* (‘there’).

- (38) a. De eerste aflevering, net die vond ik niet goed.
the first episode, precisely that found I not good
b. De eerste aflevering, zelfs die vond ik niet goed.
the first episode, even that found I not good
c. De eerste aflevering, alleen die vond ik niet goed.
the first episode, only that found I not good
d. Over zijn ziekte, net daar kunnen we niet over praten.
about his illness, precisely there can we not about talk
e. Over zijn ziekte, zelfs daar kunnen we niet over praten.
about his illness, even there can we not about talk
f. Over zijn ziekte, alleen daar kunnen we niet over praten.
about his illness, only there can we not about talk

¹² Thanks to Petra Sleeman for pointing out the relevance of these data.

Such focusing constituents can also modify the resumptive in adverbial specialized resumption, both in StD (39) and in the Ghent dialect (40):

- (39) a. Als het regent, juist dan ga ik te voet naar het werk.
if it rains, precisely then go I on foot to the work
 ‘When it rains, precisely then I walk to work.’
- b. Als het regent, zelfs dan ga ik te voet naar het werk.
if it rains, even then go I on foot to the work
 ‘When it rains, even then I walk to work.’
- c. Als het regent, alleen dan ga ik te voet naar het werk.
if it rains, only then go I on foot to the work
 ‘When it rains, even then I walk to work.’
- d. In Ledeberg, juist daar kan je nu lekker eten.
in Ledeberg, exactly there can you now nicely eat
- e. In Ledeberg, zelfs daar kan je nu lekker eten.
in Ledeberg, even there can you now nicely eat
- f. In Ledeberg, alleen daar kan je nu lekker eten.
in Ledeberg, only there can you now nicely eat
- (40) Als ’t regent, zelfs toens ga ’k te voete...
if it rains even then go I on foot
 ‘If it rains, even then I’ll go on foot.’

The compatibility of the specialized resumptives with focusing entails that these resumptives – at least in those configurations – have phrasal status.

On the other hand, the Ghent invariant *die* cannot be modified by focusing devices, (41). To capture the contrast with the specialized resumptive, De Clercq and Haegeman (2018) propose that invariant *die* spells out a functional head in the left periphery. Alternatively, one might argue that *die* is a weak pronominal element, possibly an expletive, whose semantics are incompatible with focusing (see also Section 4.3).¹³

- (41) a. *Als het regent,

¹³ Marcel den Dikken (p.c) points out that the phrasal status of specialized resumptives in StD is confirmed by their availability for coordination as shown in (i):

- (i) In mei in Gent, daar en dan wil ik een lezing geven
In May in Ghent, there and then want I a lecture give
 ‘In May in Ghent, there and then want I a lecture give’.

The Ghent data are, however, inconclusive. While indeed invariant *die* cannot be coordinated with a specialized resumptive (ii,a,b), our informants both rejected the coordination of two specialized resumptives in (ii,c):

- (ii) a. In mei in Gent, die en daar wil ik een lezing doen. (Luc 1/5, Claudine 1/5)
In May in Ghent, die and there want I a talk do
- b. In mei in Gent, dan en die wil ik een lezing doen. (Luc 1/5, Claudine 1/5)
In May in Ghent, then and there want I a talk do
- c. In mei in Gent, dan en daar wil ik een lezing doen. (Luc 1/5, Claudine 1/5)
In May in Ghent, dan and die want I a talk do

- if it rains,*
zelfs die ga ik te voet naar het werk. (1⁸, 2³, 3¹, 4⁰, 5⁰)
even die go I on foot to the work
 b. *Toen de bel ging, juist die ging ik vertrekken. (1⁸, 2³, 3¹, 4⁰, 5⁰)
when the bell went, just die went I leave

3.3.2. Mid-position of the resumptive

In StD argument V3 resumption with a nominal constituent in initial position, the resumptive demonstrative (*die* or *dat*) is not necessarily moved to a left peripheral position: whenever the left peripheral (henceforth LP) slot of the root clause which combines with the topical constituent is itself unavailable because another LP feature is independently activated, the resumptive demonstrative is located in a middle field position. This is illustrated in (42). We start from StD CLD (42a), in which the resumptive demonstrative *die* occupies the LP position. Let us assume that the initial constituent *je laptop* ('your laptop') is clause-external (in the sense of Broekhuis and Corver 2016: 1133-1134). The StD resumptive demonstrative *die* itself is then the leftmost constituent of the V2 root clause and immediately precedes the finite verb. In (42b), the *wh*-phrase *waar* ('where') occupies the first slot in the root V2 pattern; in this case, the LP slot is already occupied and hence the resumptive demonstrative *die* must remain in a middle field position (cf. Mikkelsen 2015). (42c) and (42d), in which both *waar* and *die* would occupy an LP slot, are ungrammatical. Even on the assumption that the initial constituent *je laptop* ('your laptop') is clause-external in (42c) and (42d), the examples would violate the V2 constraint, because the finite verb is preceded by two constituents.¹⁴

- (42) a. Je laptop, die mag je meebrengen.
your laptop, die may you with bring
 'Your laptop, you can bring it along.'
- b. Je laptop, waar heb je die gekocht?
your laptop, where have you die bought
 'Your laptop, where did you buy it?'
- c. *Je laptop, die waar heb je gekocht?
your laptop, die where have you bought
 'Your laptop, where did you buy it?'
- d. *Je laptop, waar die heb je gekocht?
your laptop, where die have you bought
 'Your laptop, where did you buy it?'

In imperatives too, the demonstrative resumptive occupies a middle field position (43a). This is compatible with the assumption that the LP of the imperative is activated, for instance by a non-overt operator, as represented in (43b). Again, the resumptive demonstrative cannot precede the imperative: (43c) and (43d) would violate the V2 constraint on the assumption that in addition to the fronted *die* the imperative also has an LP operator.

- (43) a. Je laptop, laat die maar thuis.
your laptop leave die PART home

¹⁴ For relevant discussion of Danish anaphora see also Mikkelsen (2015).

- ‘Just leave your laptop at home.’ (StD)
- b. Je laptop, OP laat die maar thuis.
your laptop OP leave die PART home
- ‘Just leave your laptop at home.’ (StD)
- c. *Je laptop, die OP laat maar thuis.
your laptop die OP leave PART home
- d. *Je laptop, OP die laat maar thuis.
your laptop OP die leave PART home

The distributional patterns displayed in the argument resumption carry over to specialized adverbial resumption: (44) shows that the presence of a *wh*-constituent in the LP forces mid-position for the resumptive tempo-conditional *dan*; (45) illustrates the same pattern in an imperative.

- (44) a. Als het regent, wat gaan we dan doen?
if it rains, what go we then 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
- (45) a. Als het regent blijf dan maar thuis.
if it rains stay then PART home
- b. *Als het regent dan blijf maar thuis.
if it rains then stay PART home

From the distributional restrictions above, we draw the conclusion that the specialized resumptive, whether ‘nominal’, i.e. realised by the demonstratives *die* or *dat*, or ‘adverbial’, i.e. realised by the adverbs *dan* (‘then’), *toen* (‘then’), *daar* (‘there’) etc., is merged in the middle field and that, probably by virtue of a discourse related feature, it must shift to the LP whenever it can (see Hoekstra 1999: 63-5 for some arguments from StD).¹⁵ When movement to the LP is unavailable due to the independent activation of another LP feature, the resumptive can remain in the middle field. A precise analysis of this distribution could be worked out along the lines of Mikkelsen (2015)’s proposal for the distribution of *det* in Danish.

¹⁵ Observe that the data are complex. Hoekstra (1999: 64) discusses (i), his (15b) as evidence that the initial constituent has not been moved from a mid-position. This is so because (ib) (his 15a) is ungrammatical.

- (i) a. Boeken lezen, dat doe ik niet.
books read, that do I not
 ‘I don’t read books.’
- b. *Ik doe niet boeken lezen.
I do not books read

What is puzzling and problematic about this proposal, though, is that binding into the initial constituent is possible in (ia) (Hoekstra 1999: (19a)):

- (i) c. Elkaars boeken lezen, dat doen ze niet.
each other’s books read, that do they not

If the initial constituent is merged in a peripheral position and does not reconstruct to a mid-position then the binding option is hard to account for. Hoekstra (1999: 66) offers additional evidence in which the ‘assumption that binding requires reconstruction to a simple c-command configuration might be mistaken’. We refer to his work for discussion.

With respect to the distributional properties outlined above, invariant *die* in the Ghent dialect again patterns differently: as shown in (46), mid-position is not available even in those contexts in which the LP is activated:

- (46) a. *Als het regent wat gaan we die doen. (1¹¹, 2¹, 3⁰, 4⁰, 5⁰)
 if it rains, what go we DIE do
- b. *Als het regent blijf die maar thuis. (1⁸, 2³, 3¹, 4⁰, 5⁰)
 if it rains, stay DIE PART home
- c. *Als de zon schijnt,
 when the sun shines,
 dan gaan we die wandelen. (1¹⁰, 2², 3⁰, 4⁰, 5⁰)
 then go we DIE walk

In line with the reasoning deployed above, we postulate that while specialized resumptives are merged TP-internally and move to the LP, invariant *die* is not merged TP-internally but instead, it is merged directly as an LP constituent.

Though we only focus on the use of invariant *die* with initial adverbial constituents, note that the conclusions carry over to *die* as used with nominal constituents too. (47) illustrates a case of CLD2 in which *die* follows a neuter nominal *speltbrood met noten* ('spelt bread with nuts'). As discussed in Section 1.3.1, in the CLD1 pattern the resumptive demonstrative matches the left-adjacent nominal argument antecedent in gender and number (*den dienen, de die, dat*), but in the CLD2 pattern with a nominal argument antecedent, right-adjacent invariant *die* does not display any matching effects. For an initial neuter nominal, the resumptive demonstrative expected in the CLD1 pattern would be *dat*; invariant *die* appears in the CLD2 pattern. In patterns in which the initial slot becomes unavailable to *dat* or to *die* because of the presence of a competing operator, *die* cannot and *dat* can be located TP-internally. Again the contrast between the acceptability judgements on *die* and those on *dat* suggests that while *dat* is merged as a complement and shifted to the left periphery, *die* is merged directly in the left periphery.¹⁶

- (47) a. Speltbrood met noten die koop ik enkel in het weekend.
 spelt bread with nuts dat buy I only at the weekend
 (LdG, 2.6.2020 4/5, CM 3/5, 5.6.2020)
- b. Speltbrood met noten, waar zoudt ge die kunnen kopen?
 spelt bread with nuts where would you that can buy
 (LdG, 2.6.2020 1/5, CM 5.6.2020, 2/5)

¹⁶ For completeness' sake, we add that one of our speakers does seem to allow some examples with non-matching *die* in mid position in the CLD2 pattern and accepted (ib) and (ic). The matching demonstrative in the CLD1 pattern would have been *den dienen* ('the that').

- (i) a. Uwen laptop, die moogt ge niet gebruiken in het examen.
 your laptop, die may you not use in the exam
- b. Oei: mijnen laptop, waar heb ik die nu gelaten?
 PART: my laptop, where have I die now left
- c. Uwen laptop, laat die maar thuis!
 your laptop, leave die PART home (Ghent, CM, p.c. 30.09.2017)

- c. Speltbrood met noten, waar zoudt ge dat kunnen kopen?
spelt bread with nuts, where would you that can buy
(LdG, 2.6.2020 4/5, CM 5.6.2020 5/5)
- d. Speltbrood met noten, leg die nooit in de frigo.
spelt bread with nuts put that never in the fridge
(LdG, 2.6.2020 1/5, CM 5.6.2020 2/5)
- e. Speltbrood met noten, leg dat nooit in de frigo.
spelt bread with nuts put that never in the fridge
(LdG, 2.6.2020 4/5, CM 5.6.2020 5/5)

(48a) is attested in our corpus, again it is an instance of CLD2 with invariant *die* right adjacent to a neuter subject nominal. The patterns in (48) are slightly different from those in (47). Our informants LdG and CM both gave the CLD2 example with left-peripheral *die*, (48a), a lower score (2/5) than that in (47a) above, while fully accepting the corresponding CLD1 pattern with *dat*, (48b). (48c) with *die* in the mid-position of an imperative clause receives 2/5 from one informant (CM) and receives 1/5 from the other informant. (48e) with a *wh*-constituent in initial position and *in situ die* is rated lower (LdG: 1/5, CM 1/5) than *in situ dat* (48f). Further investigation of the CLD2 pattern is needed: it is not clear what would account for the divergency in the judgements.

- (48) a. da geld, die ging in een zakske (Leemans II: 8, 24)
(LdG, 2.6.2020, 2/5, CM 5.6.2020 2/5)
that money that went in a pocket
- b. Da geld, dat ging in een zakske.
(LdG, 2.6.2020, 5/5, CM 5.6.2020 5/5)
that money that went in a pocket
- c. 't geld dat ge ontvangt, steek die in een zakske.
(LdG, 2.6.2020, 1/5, CM 5.6.2020 2/5)
the money that you receive put that in a pocket
- d. 't geld dat ge ontvangt, steek dat in een zakske.
the money that you receive put that in a pocket
(LdG, 2.6.2020, 5/5, CM 5.6.2020 5/5)
- e. en 't geld, waar werd die bewaard? (LdG, 2.6.2020, 1/5, CM 5.6.2020 2/5)
and the money where was that kept?
- f. en 't geld, waar werd dat bewaard? (LdG, 2.6.2020, 5/5, CM 5.6.2020 5/5)
and the money where was that kept?

3.3.3. P-stranding and resumptive V3 patterns

In StD CLD (49a), the initial constituent is a prepositional phrase (*over examens* ‘about exams’). Informally speaking, it corresponds to the complement of the lexical predicate, the verb *spreken* (‘talk’). The initial PP is resumed by the specialized resumptive R-adverbial *daarover* (‘there about’), which we assume is the complement of the verb *spreken*. The R-adverbial consists of the demonstrative *daar* and the preposition *over*. Schematically, for (49a) we postulate derivation (49b): the dislocated PP *over examens* (‘about exams’) is clause-external, the R-resumptive *daarover* originates as the complement of

the verb and moves to the LP. Observe that *daarover* ('thereabout') can be argued to be a specialized resumptive in that it matches the initial PP.

- (49) a. Over examens, daarover spreken wij niet in de les.
about exams, there about talk we not in the class
 b. [Over examens], [_{CP} daarover spreken wij niet ~~daarover~~ ...].



StD (50) is a variant of (49) which displays CLD with P-stranding. In (50a), the dislocated PP (*over examens* 'about exams') again corresponds to the complement of the lexical predicate, the verb *spreken* ('talk'). In this variant, the specialized resumptive is the bare R-word *daar* ('there'), which is the complement of the TP-internal stranded preposition *over* ('about'). For (50a) we postulate the partial derivation (50b): the PP *over examens* is clause-external, the R-resumptive *daar* originates as the complement of the preposition *over* ('about') and moves to the LP, stranding the preposition. The stranded preposition constitutes evidence for the movement analysis of the specialized resumptive *daar*.

- (50) a. Over examens, daar spreken wij niet over in de les.
about exams, there talk we not about in the class
 b. [Over examens], [_{CP} daar spreken wij niet over ~~daar~~ ___ in de les].



The parallel P-stranding facts in the Ghent dialect reveal two further contrasts between the specialized resumptive *daar* ('there'), which patterns with its StD analogue, and its invariant counterpart *die*.

- (i) like its StD analogue, the specialized resumptive *daar* in the Ghent dialect can strand a preposition; on the other hand, invariant *die* cannot strand a preposition.
- (ii) The specialized resumptive *daar* can be preceded either by a dislocated PP or by a dislocated DP; invariant *die* can only be preceded by a PP.

We discuss each contrast in turn, drawing relevant conclusions for the syntactic analysis.

The Ghent examples in (51) illustrate a V3 pattern in which a dislocated argument PP is resumed: *daar* ('there') functions as the specialized resumptive, it is an R-adverb which has stranded the preposition *van* ('of'). The examples are analogous to StD (50) and can be analysed in the same way: the dislocated PP occupies a clause-external position; the specialized resumptive is merged in the middle field as the complement of the preposition and subsequently moves to the LP slot. Observe that our informant (LdG) signals a clear prosodic break after the initial constituent, this is in line with our hypothesis that this constituent is clause-external.¹⁷

- (51) a. Van exâmes, daar spreke wij nie van in de lesse.
of exams, there talk we not of in the class
 b. Op (h)eur pensioen, daar peist ze-zij nog nie op.
on her pension, there thinks she not yet on

In the P-stranding pattern, the specialized resumptive *daar* in (52) cannot be replaced by invariant *die*:

¹⁷ (i) is an example produced by our informant LdG in an email:

(i) en van die eeuwige 'cookies' /die/ krijg ik wat !
and of those eternal 'cookies' die get I something
 'And those cookies, the give me the creeps.'
 (LdG, pc, email 5.6.2020)

- (52) a. *Van exâmes, die spreke wij nie van in de lesse.
of exams, DIE talk we not of in the class
 b. *Op (h)eur pensioen, die peist ze-zij nog nie op.
on her pension, DIE thinks she not yet on

The ungrammaticality of (52) is in line with our hypothesis: on the basis of the unavailability of mid-position for invariant *die*, we postulated in Section 3.3.2 that invariant *die* does not originate in the middle field. If this line of reasoning is correct, then invariant *die* can also not originate as the complement of the preposition entailing that in (52) the ‘stranded’ prepositions would lack a complement.

In (53), the dislocated constituent is a DP, the specialized resumptive *daar* (‘there’) is the complement of the stranded preposition.¹⁸ These examples can be viewed as cases of HTLD (Cinque 1990), with a dislocated ‘hanging topic’ in a clause-external position (plausibly SpecFrameP in the sense of Haegeman and Greco 2018, see also Eide (2011:198) for a similar proposal). Again, we can then assume that the specialized resumptive *daar* is first merged clause-internally as the complement of the preposition (*van* (‘of’) in (53a), *op* (‘on’) in (53b)), and is attracted to the LP, where it will function as the initial constituent of the root clause, hence it satisfies the V2 condition. Also here our informant (LdG) signals a clear prosodic break after the initial constituent, which is in line with our hypothesis that it occupies a clause-external position.

- (53) a. Exâmes, daar spreke wij nie van in de lesse.
exams, there talk we not of in the class
 b. (H)eur pensioen, daar peist ze-zij nog nie op.
her pension, there thinks she not yet on

Again, the specialized resumptive *daar* cannot be replaced by invariant *die* in the P-stranding context (54). In the absence of the stranded preposition, *die* remains unavailable with an initial nominal constituent: (54c) and (54d) are ungrammatical because there is no P complement for the relevant verbs. However, a slight modification to the verb *spreken* ‘talk’ in (54c) by means of prefixation with *be-* gives rise to a transitive verb with the same meaning without the need for a P-complement, thus allowing for the presence of *die*, as illustrated in (54e).¹⁹

¹⁸ The StD analogues of (53) are also grammatical (Marcel den Dikken, p.c):

- (i) a. Examens, daar spreken wij niet over in de les.
exams there speak we not about in the class
 b. Haar pensioen, daar denkt ze-zij nog niet aan.
her pension, there thinks she-she PART not of

¹⁹ In relation to the judgements in (i), our informant LdG confirms that in line with the judgements for (54a) and (54b), he would not use (ib), hence our *. However he points out that he can imagine it being used by younger speakers, which led to his scoring (ib) as 4/5. However, he also commented that speakers using (ib) would be less assured dialect speakers (“dialectonvast”), so the status of this example is unclear. For the present discussion, we continue to assume that (ib) is out, as is (ic). Incidentally, (ic) shows that a fronted nominal P-complement cannot strand the associated preposition, which is also the case for most speakers of Dutch.

- (i) a. Examens daar spreken we niet over in de les. (LdG 09.06.2020, 5/5)
Exams there talk we not of in the class
 b. *Examens die spreken we niet over in de les. (LdG 09.06.2020, 4/5)
exams die talk we not about in the class
 c. * Examens spreken we niet over in de les. (LdG 09.06.2020, 5/5)
exams talk we not about in the class

- (54) a. *Exâmes, die spreke wij nie van in de lesse.
exams, die talk we not of in the class
- b. *(H)eur pensioen, die peist ze-zij nog nie op.
her pension, die thinks she not yet on
- c. *Exâmes, die spreke wij nie in de lesse.
exams, there talk we not of in the class
- d. *(h)eur pensioen, die peist ze-zij nog nie.
her pension, there thinks she not yet
- e. Exâmes, die be.spreke wij nie in de lesse.
exams, die on.talk we not in the class

The ungrammaticality of the examples in (54a-b) is in line with our hypothesis (but see note 19 for a complication). Because *die* does not originate in the middle field, it cannot constitute the complement of the preposition or of the lexical verb.

Recall, though, that invariant *die* is compatible with a left-adjacent PP. This PP can also be argument. Relevant examples are given in (55): (55a) and (55b) were spontaneously constructed by our informant LdG, (55c-d-e) are attested, (55f) is scored 7/7 by our informant.

- (55) a. Van exâmes, die spreke wij nie in de lesse.
of exams, die speak we not in the class
- b. Op (h)eur pensioen, die peist ze-zij nog nie.
of her pension, die thinks she not yet
- c. midden daarop die stond de vuurpot
middle there.on die stood the fire.pot
 ‘In the middle on top of it stood the pot with fire’ (Vanacker 1980)
- d. In ding in Assene(de) /die e ... (h)e(d) kik
in thingy in Assenede die e... had I
 (e)ne kam .. (e)ne kameraad wonen
a friend ... a friend live
 ‘I had a friend living in Assenede’ (Van Hoe Melle Corpus III: page 7)
- e. Aan Cecile die vaart het hij ook natuurlijk ewaar.
to Cecile die fares it he also of course PART
 ‘Cecile is also affected, of course.’ (Leemans Ghent Corpus I: page 21)
- f. In de Sint Pieterskathedraal die ben ik al geweest.
in the Saint Peter’s cathedral die am I already been
 ‘I’ve already been in St Peter’s cathedral.’ (CM, p.c. 12.09.2015)

The initial PPs in (55) are selected by the lexical verbs: they cannot be omitted without change of meaning or loss of grammaticality. Though (56), for instance, would as such be grammatical, it has a different interpretation: (56) means ‘we are silent in class’.

- (56) Wij spreke niet in de lesse.
we talk not in the class

We therefore assume that the initial PP in (55) originates as the complement of the predicate. It is merged as

a vP-internal constituent and moved to a clause-internal LP position. In our earlier discussion (see Section 3.3.2), we formulated the hypothesis that invariant *die* is NOT first merged TP-internally. Rather, it is first merged in the LP.

The fact that invariant *die* does not block the movement of the PP to a position to its left can be accounted for in a number of ways. One option, pursued in De Clercq and Haegeman (2018) and discussed in Section 4.4, is that invariant *die* is first merged as an LP head; an alternative option would be to propose that invariant *die* is phrasal but that its feature composition is sufficiently distinct from that of the moved PP to ensure that there is no intervention effect. In particular, one might propose that *die* is a C-expletive element. We briefly explore and discard this option in Section 4.3.

3.4. Summary and outline of a derivation

Table 1 inventories the various points of comparison between the specialized adverbial resumptives (*dan*, *daar*, *zo*) in StD and in the Ghent variety on the one hand, and the invariant *die* with a left-adjacent adverbial constituent in the Ghent dialect on the other.

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

		Section	Specialized resumptive	Invariant <i>die</i>
	StD		Yes	No
	Ghent dialect		Yes	Yes
	Patterns			
(i)	Dislocated adjunct obligatory	3.1.2	No	Yes
(ii)	Negative quantifier antecedent	3.2.1, 3.2.2	No	Yes
(iii)	<i>Wh</i> -antecedent	3.2.1, 3.2.2	No	Yes
(iv)	Modal adverbial antecedent	3.2.3	No	Yes
(v)	Proximal antecedent	3.2.4	No	Yes
(vi)	Focal modifier on resumptive	3.3.1	Yes	No
(vii)	Middle field position (<i>wh/imperative</i>)	3.3.2	Yes	No
(viii)	P stranding	3.3.3	Yes	No

On the basis of these properties, we tentatively formulate the following conclusions and hypotheses:

- (i) Invariant *die* resumption in the Ghent dialect cannot be assimilated to specialized adverbial resumption in StD or in the Ghent dialect (*pace* Zwart 1997: 249-50).
- (ii) The specialized adverbial resumptive is a phrasal constituent which is first merged in a TP-internal position and is moved to the LP because of some specific feature, a plausible candidate being a topic feature. The movement also satisfies the V2 constraint. The dislocated constituent left-adjacent to the specialized resumptive is clause-external.

(iii) Invariant *die* is first merged in the LP. The left-adjacent constituent is merged TP-internally and is moved to an LP position. This movement is triggered by a topical feature or a focal/*wh*-feature and satisfies the V2 constraint.

The attested (57) shows that in the Ghent dialect the temporal adverb *dan* can be used without a matching temporal or conditional adverbial to its left, in which pattern it can be followed by invariant *die*. We assume that in (57a) the specialized resumptive originates TP-internally and moves to the LP. In this case too, invariant *die* follows the adverbial element and not the other way around, (57b).

- (57) 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

(57) and (58) show that the specialized resumptives and invariant *die* are not in complementary distribution. In (58a) an initial adverbial clause is left-adjacent to the specialized resumptive *dan* (‘then’), which is itself left-adjacent to invariant *die*. In (58b), the initial conditional clause is left-adjacent to specialized *toens* which is in turn left-adjacent to invariant *die*. In (18b), repeated as (58c), the locative PP *in Sint Kruis* is left-adjacent to the specialized adverbial resumptive *daar* (‘there’), which in turn is left-adjacent to invariant *die*. (58d) shows that the specialized resumptive *toens* (‘then’) can be modified by a focussing adverb, a pattern not available with invariant *die*, as shown in Section 3.3.1.

- (58) 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’ (Luc De Grauwe, pc. 16.08.2017)
- c. 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: page 7)
- d. 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.’ (Luc De Grauwe, p.c. 16.08.2017)

A more precise analysis will be elaborated in Section 4, but we already point out that the data in (58) are in line with our proposal that the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* has undergone movement from a TP-internal position. For these examples, we again assume that the constituent undergoing the movement is the specialized resumptive and that the constituent left-adjacent to the specialized resumptive is clause-external.

In Section 4, we explore the cartographic analysis of invariant *die* resumption.

4. The cartography of invariant *die* resumption

In this section we will first summarize the analysis developed in De Clercq and Haegeman (2018), which follows Poletto (2013) and Wolfe’s (2015a,b, 2016)’s typology of V2. This particular proposal deploys a fairly reduced left periphery for V2 languages and does not attempt to capture the discourse function of the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die*. In Section 4.5, maintaining the core ingredients of the earlier analysis, we elaborate an account in terms of an articulated left periphery in which the discourse function of the initial constituent is encoded.

4.1. The ingredients

Our analysis of invariant *die* resumption in the Ghent dialect explores the two hypotheses which we have elaborated so far on the basis of the empirical evidence and which are repeated here for the reader’s convenience.

- (i) invariant *die* is first merged in the LP;
- (ii) the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* is first merged TP-internally and is moved to an LP position.

First let us try to informally plot the position of the various left peripheral (LP) components associated with invariant *die*. Consider (11a), repeated in (59a). The subject of the clause *ze* (‘she’) is preceded by the inflected verb *komt* (‘comes’). Subject-verb inversion entails that the finite verb must occupy an LP head position. In addition, two constituents precede the finite verb, the initial adjunct *volgende vrijdag* (‘next Friday’) and *die*. The adjunct is phrasal; in Section 3.2.2 we concluded that the constituent left-adjacent to *die* occupies an LP specifier position and that it has been moved to this position.

One way of analysing these data in line with the V2 constraint would be to propose that the constituent left-adjacent to *die* forms a constituent with *die*. (59b) summarizes this proposal in templatic form.

- (59) a. Volgende vrijdag die komt ze terug.
next Friday die comes she back

b.	Specifier	Head	SpecTP	...
	Volgende vrijdag die	Komt	Ze	... terug

One might then propose that the initial position of the constituent *volgende vrijdag die* is the result of movement from a TP-internal position driven precisely by the presence of *die*, which would carry a LP feature.

While this analysis is fully compatible with our traditional understanding of the syntax of V2, it leads to an incorrect prediction. If *die* and the adjunct preceding it form one constituent, coordination of two such constituents would be expected to be possible, contrary to fact, (60a). Rather, a coordination of two adjuncts precedes a unique occurrence of *die*, as illustrated in (60b).

- (60) a. *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)
- b. Gisteren en eergisteren die heea ze thuisgewerkt .
yesterday and the day before yesterday die has she home-worked
(LdG: 28.11.18: 5/5)

If we discard hypothesis (59b), examples with *die* pose a challenge for the account of V2 in which the LP of a V2 root clause contains just two positions: the specifier hosting the initial constituent and the associated head hosting the finite verb. Assuming one specifier per head, the LP of (59a), repeated as (61a), must harbour at least two head positions: the head position whose specifier hosts the adjunct and a second head position hosting the finite verb. Invariant *die* is sandwiched between the phrasal specifier *volgende vrijdag* ('next Friday') and the head hosting the finite verb *komt* ('comes'), leading to the hypothesis of an articulated LP. (61b) summarizes these findings in templatic format.

(61) a. Volgende vrijdag die komt ze terug.
next Friday die comes she back

b.	Specifier	?	Head	SpecTP	...
	Volgende vrijdag	die	Komt	Ze	... terug

4.2. The options

In the light of the preceding discussion, a number of options can be envisaged for the analysis of invariant *die* resumption; they will be listed below and (62) provides a simplified representation for each. The provisional labels FP and F represent LP projections and heads. Obviously, in line with proposals for the articulated CP, the nature of these can be defined more precisely, a point addressed in Section 4.4.

- invariant *die* is a phrasal constituent in a LP spec position (62a);
- invariant *die* occupies a LP head position (62b) (in which it is either merged directly or to which it has been moved from a lower head position);
- combining the preceding options: invariant *die* is a phrasal constituent which moves from a LP spec position to a LP head position (62c);

(62) a. [_{F1P} Volgende vrijdag [_{F1}] [_{F2P} die [_{F2} komt] [_{TP} hij ~~volgende vrijdag~~ terug ~~komt~~]]]
 b. [_{F1P} Volgende vrijdag [_{F1} die] [_{F2P} [_{F2} komt] [_{TP} hij ~~volgende vrijdag~~ terug ~~komt~~]]]
 c. [_{F1P} Volgende vrijdag [_{F1} die] [_{F2P} ~~die~~ [_{F2} komt] [_{TP} hij ~~volgende vrijdag~~ terug ~~komt~~]]]

Below, we examine options (62a) and (62b). Option (62c) will not be explored: being a combination of (62a) and (62b) it suffers from the drawbacks to be presently identified for (62a).

4.3. Invariant *die* as a left peripheral expletive

Let us start with (62a). The proposal has various implementations, which for reasons of space we cannot all envisage here, but we show the main advantages and disadvantages of the proposal. The hypotheses are (i) that *die* is first merged in the LP, and (ii) that the initial left-adjacent adjunct is main clause-internal, it is first merged TP-internally and moves to its LP position.

A first problem for (62a) is why merging the (by hypothesis) phrasal constituent *die* in de LP does not block the movement of the initial constituent (*volgende vrijdag* 'next Friday'). Recall in particular that invariant *die* can be immediately preceded by *wh*-constituents and by negative constituents with sentential scope. To account for absence of a blocking effect by phrasal *die* for a constituent targeting a higher LP landing site, one might propose that its feature content is minimal, and that the constituent to its left can cross *die* by virtue of feature-based relativized minimality (Starke 2001, Rizzi 2004). Concretely, we could

analyze *die* as a pure LP expletive whose only role is to satisfy the V2 condition on F2. Being ‘contentless’, the incompatibility of *die* with focusing modifiers (property (vii) in Table 1) would follow.

If invariant *die* is a V2 phrasal expletive, the question arises, however, why it does not in itself allow the termination of the projection of the root clause (Section 3.1.2, (22)). Put differently, why is an additional constituent, the left-adjacent adjunct, mandatory?

The observed strict antecedent requirement would set invariant *die* apart from the specialized V2 expletive *t* (‘it’) in Flemish varieties of Dutch. In West Flemish, for instance, a specialized C-resumptive *t* occurs in the first position of existential root V2 clauses; its function seems to be that of satisfying the V2 requirement. Crucially, it is found in the initial position of root clauses only, as illustrated in (63a). In embedded clauses (63b), and in the inverted position to the right of the finite verb in root clauses (63c), the subject related expletive function is realized by *er* (‘there’), which we take to be the canonical TP-internal subject position.

- (63) a. *t* stonden vanuchtend a drie mensen.
it-stood this morning already three people
 ‘There were already three people.’
- b. dan-der vanuchtend a drie mensen stonden
that-3PL- there this morning already three people stood
 ‘that there were already three people
- c. Vanuchtend stonden-der a drie mensen.
this morning stood - there already three people
 ‘This morning, there were already three people.’ (West Flemish)

The West Flemish C-expletive *t* in initial position does not require the presence of an additional initial constituent; what is more, it is incompatible with LP fronting of a constituent, as shown in (64). To illustrate this constraint, we use a fronted *wh*-phrase (64a) and a fronted negative adverb (64b), because WF independently allows non-inverted V3 patterns with non-quantificational adverbials (see Haegeman and Greco 2018a,b).

- (64) a. *Wanneer *t* stonden vanuchtend a drie mensen.
when it-stood this morning already three people
- b. *Nooit *t* stonden meer dan drie mensen.
never it-stood more than three people

If invariant *die* is an expletive satisfying the V2 constraint, the presence of an additional left adjacent constituent remains unexplained. For this reason, we discard this hypothesis.²⁰

4.4. Invariant *die* as a left peripheral head

4.4.1. Invariant *die* as a root complementizer

Let us now explore hypothesis (62b), according to which *die* spells out a LP head. For a similar proposal for Scandinavian *så* (‘so’) see Eide (2011)). Before elaborating our analysis, we sketch our assumptions for

²⁰ Observe in passing that the Ghent particle *die* is here seen to differ from the Welsh declarative particles *fe* and *mi* (Borsley, Tallerman and Willis 2007: 35, Roberts 2005) or the Breton particle *e* (Jouitteau 2005, 2008), which can themselves satisfy the V2 requirement (see Holmberg to appear).

De Clercq and Haegeman (2018) view the alternative spell out of the Force head as *die* as a by-product of derivation (66b). (68a) would be the same derivation as (66b), but with the Force head realised as *dat* instead of *die*. In (68b), the movement of the constituent from SpecFinP to SpecForceP across the complementizer *dat* yields a representation superficially containing a *that*-trace violation (Chomsky and Lasnik 1977), i.e. the pattern in which the complementizer *dat* is left-adjacent to a trace. One could view the replacement of *dat* by *die* as a rescue strategy in which invariant *die* spells out a variant of the complementizer enriched with the features to allow the trace to survive, (68c).

- (68) a. *_[ForceP] Volgende vrijdag _[Force] dat
 _[FinP] ~~volgende vrijdag~~ _[Fin] komt] _[TP] hij ~~volgende vrijdag~~ terug ~~komt~~]]]
 b. *_[ForceP] Volgende vrijdag _[Force] dat] _[FinP] t _[Fin] komt] _[TP] hij t terug t]]]
 c. _[ForceP] Volgende vrijdag _[Force] dat =>die] _[FinP] t _[Fin] komt] _[TP] hij t terug t]]]

The *dat-die* alternation is also found in the case of subject extraction in the Ghent dialect, as shown by (69), in which the relativizer *die* displays complementizer agreement. See also Section 4.4.2.

- (69) en ge hebt daar die cafes dien ton zo inspringe
 and you have there those pubs that.AGR then so set.back
 ‘and there are those pubs that are slightly set back’ (Leemans I: p.3)

Haegeman (1984) views the *dat/die* alternation in West Flemish as the West Flemish counterpart of the French *que/qui* alternation, illustrated in French (70). In (70a), subject extraction across *que* (‘that’) is ungrammatical, while object extraction is licit. Subject extraction is made possible by replacing the complementizer *que* (‘that’) by the alternative form *qui* in (70c). See also the discussion in Section 4.5.2.

- (70) a. *Qui_i crois-tu que _[SubjP] ____i va partir?
 who think-you that will leave
 b. Que_i crois-tu que _[SubjP] Jean a fait ____i]?
 what think-you that Jean has done
 ‘What do you think (that) John did?’
 c. Qui crois-tu qui va partir?
 who think-you qui will leave
 ‘Who do you think will leave?’

However, while (68b) does present a linear *dat*-trace sequence, the nature of the data is quite different from that associated with the *dat/die* alternation. In the latter case, replicating the French *que/qui* effect, replacing *dat* by *die* is a rescue strategy to facilitate a subject trace in SpecTP, and in all the analyses of the alternation the subjecthood of the trace plays an important part. Indeed, the relevance of subjecthood has become a core property in recent work in the cartographic tradition (Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006, 2007). In (68b), though, the constituent trace is not obviously associated with subjecthood, but rather it occupies SpecFinP and is basically the result of the transiting of the initial constituent in the V2 pattern. At this point there seem to be no restrictions on the nature of what would be the offending trace and the analysis in De

Clercq and Haegeman (2018) also does not make any suggestions as to the properties or features of *die* that would be at stake in the alleviation of the alleged *dat*-trace violation.²¹

For completeness ‘sake we acknowledge that the hypothesis that *die* is a LP head does not as such preclude a movement analysis whereby *die* or some component originates TP-internally and moves to the LP in the spirit of a *d*- complementizer in Germanic (Leu 2015) or the analysis of emphatic topicalization in Bavarian (Lutz 2014) in Samo (2019: 172). However, as far as we can see, the Ghent data do not provide any specific empirical evidence in favour of any of these approaches.

4.4.2. Some predictions of the analysis

The analysis proposed in De Clercq and Haegeman (2018) leads to a number of predictions, some of which we elaborate on in this and the following sections.

- Like regular V2 (=V movement to the LP) in the Ghent dialect, *die* resumption, whose derivation implies that the finite verb moves to Fin, is correctly predicted to be a root phenomenon (see Section 1.3.2).
- (71a) shows that *die* resumption can co-occur with a (fronted) specialized resumptive (Section 2.3, examples (17)/(58)), which we assume to be phrasal. (71a) is derived as in (71b). Our hypothesis is that the specialized resumptive, *daar* (‘there’), is merged TP-internally and moves to the LP. The constituent left-adjacent to the specialized resumptive is merged in a clause-external position (Broekhuis and Corver 2016). Concretely, following Haegeman and Greco (2018a,b), we propose that it occupies the specifier of the clause-external projection FrameP.

- (71) a. In Sint Kruis, daar die hebben we ...
in Sint Kruis there die have we
- b. [FrameP in Sint Kruis [ForceP daar [Force die] [FinP [Fin hebben [TP we ~~daar~~ ...]]]]]

- While in the Ghent dialect the regular complementizer (*dat* (72a)) may display complementizer agreement, invariant *die* is incompatible with complementizer agreement (72b).

- (72) a. A ze zegge dan de autobuase der kome•...
they say that-PL the coaches there come
 ‘they say that there will be coaches’ (Leemans, Ghent Corpus I: 3)
- b. Een jaar nadien die/*dien waren ze al gescheiden.
*one year after die/*die AGR were they already divorced*
 ‘One year later they were already divorced.’ (judgement: CM, 24.2.2015)

The absence of complementizer agreement is predicted. In terms of the Wolfe/Poletto V2 typology, C-agreement is most plausibly located in Fin (73a). In *die* resumption, the finite verb has moved to Fin and will spell out the phi features (73b).

- (73) a. [ForceP [Force *da-/die-*] [FinP [Fin phi] [TP ...]]]
 b. [ForceP [Force *die*] [FinP [Fin V_{fin} phi] [TP ...]]]

- According to the analysis, the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* satisfies the V2 condition associated with Force. This leads to two predictions:

²¹ We thank Marcel den Dikken for pointing out this shortcoming.

- (i) constituents that fail to qualify as the first constituent in a V2 pattern will not qualify as initial constituents for invariant *die*;
- (ii) constituents that qualify as the first constituent in a V2 pattern are predicted to be licit first constituents for invariant *die*.

Below we discuss one correct prediction not discussed in De Clercq and Haegeman (2018). See De Clercq and Haegeman (2018) for additional predictions.

There is considerable literature on the external syntax of adverbial clauses which we cannot go into. We focus on those adverbial clauses that, following Frey's (2016) classification, are taken to be syntactically unintegrated, abbreviated as NiC. NiCs modify some aspect of the speech act (e.g. its relevance, its timing etc.), rather than the content of the proposition contained in it. Typically, NiCs cannot constitute the first constituent in a V2 configuration; rather, they combine with a regular V2 clause. Among NiCs we cite, for instance, relevance conditionals (74) and speech act modifiers (75) (see also d'Avis 2004). These systematically give rise to linear V3 patterns.

NiCs are correctly predicted not to be able to immediately precede invariant *die*. In (74a) a relevance conditional combines WITH a regular V2 clause; (74b) shows that when interpreted as a relevance conditional, the conditional clause *als je honger hebt* ('if you are hungry') does not itself constitute the first constituent in the V2 configuration. As predicted, a conditional clause with a relevance reading cannot appear left-adjacent to invariant *die*. The pattern is illustrated for an adverbial clause bearing on the timing of the speech event in (75).

- (74) a. Als g'honger hebt - der ['daar, er'] ligt nog brood in de kast.
if you hunger have there lies PART bread in the cupboard
(LdG, 28/11/2018, score 5/5)
- b. (*)Als je honger hebt, ligt er nog brood in de kast.²²
if you hunger have lies there PART bread in the cupboard
- c. * Als je honger hebt, die ligt er nog brood in de kast.
if you hunger have die lies there PART bread in the cupboard
(LdG, 28/11/2018, score 1/5)

- (75) a. Voor we met de les beginnen,
before we with the lesson start
ik geef volgende week geen les.
I give next week no class
'Before we start, I am not teaching next week.' (LdG, 28/11/2018, score 5/5)
- b. *Voor we met de les beginnen,
before we with the lesson start
geef ik volgende week geen les.
give I next week no class
- c. *Voor we met de les beginnen,
before we with the lesson start
die geef ik volgende week geen les.
die give I next week no class (LdG, 28/11/2018, score 0/5)

²² In its acceptable form, the conditional clause in (53b) does not have the intended relevance reading.

4.4.3. Verb first, null operators and invariant *die*

By De Clercq and Haegeman's (2018) account summarized above, constituents qualifying as the first constituent in a V2 pattern should invariably be able to appear left-adjacent to the invariant *die*. As is well known, among root sentences in V2 languages, *yes/no* questions (76a) and imperatives (76b) depart from the linear V2 order and display a linear Verb first order. One hypothesis is that such patterns conform to the V2 constraint because a null operator satisfies the V2 condition on Force (76c, d) (cf. Holmberg 2016, for relevant discussion).

- (76) a. Komt Jan vanmiddag naar de vergadering?
comes Jan this afternoon to the meeting
- b. Kom vanmiddag maar naar de vergadering!
come this afternoon PART to the meeting
- c. [_{ForceP} OP [_{Force} Komt] [_{FinP} ~~OP~~ [_{Fin} ~~komt~~]
 [_{TP} Jan vanmiddag naar de vergadering ~~komt~~]]]?
- d. [_{ForceP} OP [_{Force} Kom] [_{FinP} ~~OP~~ [_{Fin} ~~komt~~] [_{TP} Ø vanmiddag naar de vergadering ~~komt~~]]]!

All things being equal, the De Clercq and Haegeman's (2018) analysis would lead to the prediction that *die* resumption is available with *yes/no* questions and with imperatives, effectively leading to a pattern without an overt antecedent.²³ However, such patterns are not attested in the corpus. On the contrary, *yes/no* questions and imperatives are judged incompatible with *die* resumption (77), also in those cases in which what would be a suitable initial constituent is supplied (78):

- (77) 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
- (78) 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 de 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

To account for the incompatibility of invariant *die* with the null operator in imperatives and in *yes/no* questions, De Clercq and Haegeman (2018) propose that *die* spells out a declarative Force head, i.e. it is a declarative root complementizer.²⁴ This revised hypothesis obviously leads to at least one empirical

²³ Thanks to Giuseppe Samo (p.c.) for bringing up this point.

²⁴ Thanks to Luc de Grauwe for very helpful discussion of these examples.

problem because we have seen that *die* resumption is compatible with *wh*-questions as in (31), repeated in (79).

- (79) Wanneer die komt ze terug?
 when *die* *comes* *she* *back* (1¹, 2⁴, 3¹, 4³, 5³)

De Clercq and Haegeman (2018) speculate that (79) is licit because the complement of *wanneer* ('when') is in fact presupposed. For this proposal to go through, the concept 'declarative' should not be defined in terms of 'assertion' but rather it should be negatively defined as the default value of clause typing for clauses that are neither *yes/no* questions nor imperatives (cf. Roberts and Roussou (2002: 141)). Observe that this definition would be in line with the observation that, for instance, clausal complements of factive verbs or finite adverbial clauses though presuppositional, are also 'declarative' (Haegeman and Ürogdi (2010a,b) and references cited there). However, this solution is only partial since the complementizer *dat* is also present in the Ghent dialect in embedded *yes/no* questions, as shown in (80). While one may, of course, be tempted to associate the restriction to 'declarative' mood to just *die*, it remains the case that if – as is also proposed – *die* is a reflex of *da*, the data in (80) are at least puzzling.

- (80) 'k weet nie' of da'k 'em nog zou kennen.
 I know not *if that-I him* *still* *would* *know*
 'I don't know if I would recognize him.'
 (Dialect recording, Ghent University, Afsnee, 22 September 1966, page 6, line 6)

In the next section, we reconsider the cartographic analysis of invariant *die* in terms of a more richly articulated left periphery.

4.5. Enriching the Wolfe/Poletto hypothesis: an articulated left periphery

De Clercq and Haegeman (2018) opt for the Wolfe/Poletto derivational typology of V2 which conceives of an impoverished LP featuring only ForceP and FinP. They leave out of consideration any specialized projections that encode discourse properties such as TopP and FocP (cf. Rizzi 1997), which means that no specific discourse properties are associated with the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die*.

However, the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die*, which is assumed to occupy SpecForce, is often associated with a specific discourse function (topic, *wh*, new information focus, etc) which, as it stands, is not formally encoded. In this section, we will elaborate an alternative derivation for invariant *die* resumption which remedies this shortcoming and aims at encoding the discourse function of the initial constituent.

4.5.1. The articulated left periphery and indirect satisfaction of the criteria

In line with 'classical' cartographic approaches, let us assume that discourse functions associated with the initial constituent in the invariant *die* resumption patterns are encoded in a LP functional projection. We will combine this hypothesis with the Poletto/Wolfe Force-Fin typology of V2 languages. From the account above we maintain the following ingredients:

- (i) following Wolfe (2015a, b, 2016) the Ghent variety of Dutch is a Force-V2 language, thus requiring the Force head to be spelt out,
- (ii) in *die* resumption, the finite verb halts in Fin,

- (iii) invariant *die* ultimately spells out the topmost head, i.e. Force.
- (iv) the appearance of invariant *die* rather than *dat* as a Force head is an effect of a *dat/die* alternation.

While the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* could be argued to occupy SpecForceP, its discourse property is more naturally represented in association with a specialized LP projection, say Top or Foc. A first partial LP representation of *die* resumption with a topical constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die*, would be as in (81a).

(81) a. $[_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{Force}} \text{die}] [_{\text{TopP}} [\text{Top}] [_{\text{FinP}} [_{\text{Fin}} \text{V}_{\text{fin}}] [\text{TP} \dots]]]]]$

If, in line with De Clercq and Haegeman (2018), the V2 requirement in Germanic is associated with both the heads Fin and Force. This means that the topical constituent matching the criterial topic feature of Top will first move to SpecFinP, it should then target the projection TopP and it should ultimately end up in SpecForceP as shown in derivation (81b), in which XP_{top} stands for the relevant topic constituent. However, (81b) is not licit: the feature [topic] being criterial, SpecTopP is a halting position and once XP_{top} has attained SpecTopP, it will be frozen there (cf. Rizzi 2006) (see Hsu 2017:13 for a similar argument).

(81) b. $*[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{XP}_{\text{top}} [_{\text{Force}} \text{die}] [_{\text{TopP}} \text{XP}_{\text{top}} [\text{Top}] [_{\text{FinP}} \text{XP}_{\text{top}} [_{\text{Fin}} \text{V}_{\text{fin}}] [\text{TP} \dots]]]]]$

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

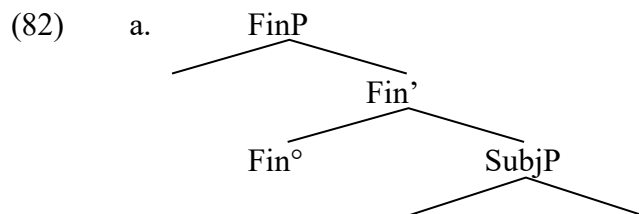
4.5.2. Satisfying the LP criteria by enriched Force

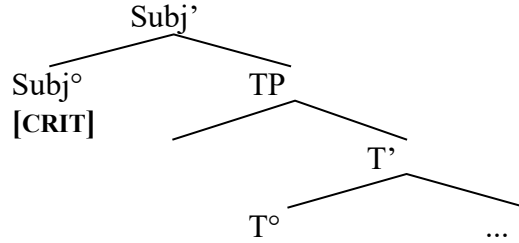
In an attempt to tie the V3 pattern with *die* to the satisfaction of LP criterial features as well as with the Force/Fin V2 hypothesis, we explore an alternative implementation inspired by Rizzi and Shlonsky's (2006, 2007) work on modes of satisfaction of the Subject criterion, which we briefly introduce before presenting our analysis.

Rizzi and Shlonsky's (2006, 2007) proposal concerning criterial satisfaction shows how the one-feature-one-head maxim inherent in the cartographic enterprise can be circumvented by virtue of a bypassing strategy and featural enrichment. For another application of the same idea see also Haegeman and Danckaert (2017).

4.5.2.1. SubjP, the Subject Criterion and subject extraction

In one cartographic implementation, the layer of the clause containing the canonical subject position has been decomposed into three structural layers: TP, SubjP and the LP FinP, (82). In Rizzi & Shlonsky's (from now on R&S) approach to subject extraction, SubjP is a criterial projection, that is a projection whose head comes with a criterial requirement, defined as in (82b) (R&S 2006: 138, their (53)):

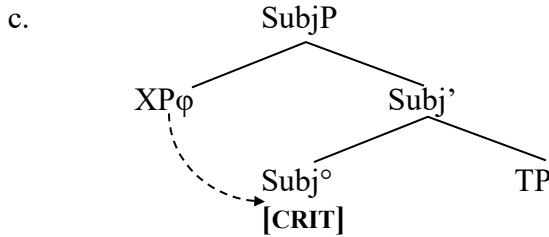




(82) b. For [+F] a criterial feature, $X+F$ is in a Spec-head configuration with $A+F$.

Criterial features comprise among others, [*wh*], [Top], [Foc], [Rel] and [Subj]. Criterial projections are halting positions: a constituent which has satisfied the Subject criterion by moving to SpecSubjP is frozen in place, (82c).

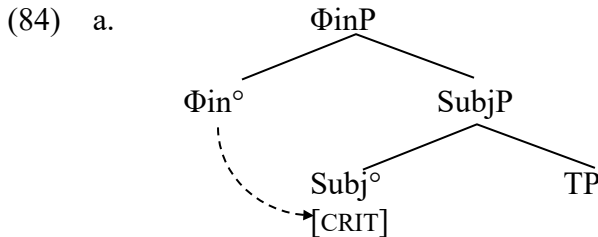
(82)



In principle the Subject criterion requires that SpecSubjP cannot be skipped. In other words, the Subj criterion would block all extraction of subjects because once a subject nominal has landed in SpecSubjP, it will be halted there. R&S (2006, 2007) propose that the replacement of *que* by *qui* in French (70) is a reflex of a special mechanism for the satisfaction of the Subject criterion which allows the subject to skip SpecSubjP. (83) repeats the relevant patterns:

- (83) 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?’

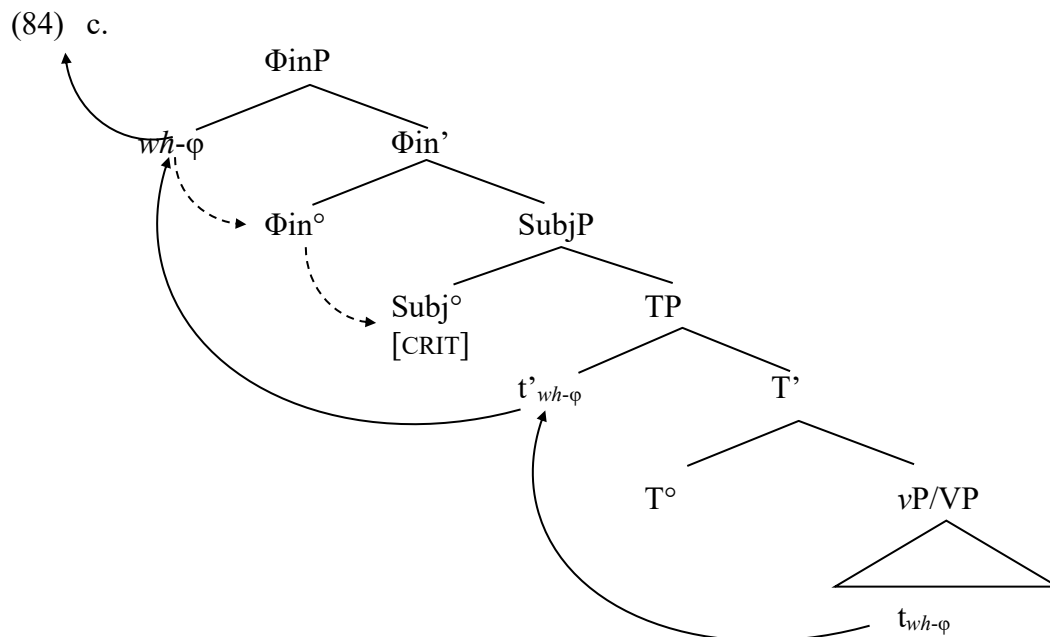
For R&S (2007), *qui* in French (83b) is a manifestation of the functional head Fin enriched with φ-features. Haegeman and Danckaert (2017) represent the enriched Fin as ‘Φin’. By locally c-commanding the head Subj, the φ-features on Φin satisfy the Subject criterion, as shown in (84a):



The relation of SpecSubjP with Subj in (82c) is geometrically identical to that between Φ_{in} and Subj in (84a). R&S (2007: 138-139) restate the criterial condition as in (84b).

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

For R&S, the φ -features on enriched Φ_{in} have to be independently licensed. The licencing is achieved by the *wh*-moved subject; on its way to its ultimate LP landing site, the *wh*-subject moves through Spec Φ_{in} and licenses the φ -features of Φ_{in} .



4.5.2.2. Enriching Force

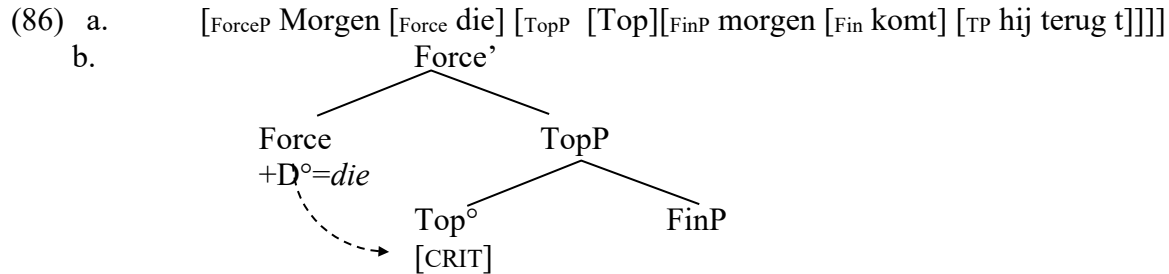
We now review the invariant *die* pattern in the light of the preceding discussion and recast our analysis according to whether the spell out of the LP head by *die* is a reflex of the *dat/die* alternation (cf. Section 4.4.1).

Consider (85a), with the adjunct *morgen* ('tomorrow') left-adjacent to invariant *die*. Let us assume that *morgen* ('tomorrow') carries a criterial topic feature which has to be associated with a LP criterial TopP. Let us also continue to follow Wolfe's proposal (2015a,b, 2016) that the V2 property of Force-V2 languages requires that Force be overtly spelt out and that it must have a specifier. (85b) is not a licit derivation because once *morgen* has satisfied the Top criterion SpecTopP, it should be frozen for movement.

- (85) a. Morgen die komt hij terug.
tomorrow die comes he back
- b. *_{[ForceP Morgen _{[Force dat/die] _{[TopP morgen _{[FinP morgen _{[Fin komt] _[TP hij terug t]]]]]]]]]}}}}}

The licit derivation for (85a) leads to an apparently paradoxical situation because it should allow satisfaction of the Topic criterion while at the same time moving *morgen* directly to SpecForceP, without transiting through SpecTopP. We propose that this is achieved through insertion of *die* in Force, i.e. the appearance of

die is a reflex of R&S's alternative bypassing mechanism now deployed to satisfy the Topic criterion. Specifically, assume that *die* differs from the complementizer *dat* in that it has a deictic D-feature which encodes discourse relatedness and that the D-feature on Force suffices to satisfy the Topic criterion in the projection TopP which it selects. Put differently, adding the feature 'D' to Force 'enriches' Force in the way that adding nominal features enriches Fin in order to allow for indirect satisfaction of the Subject criterion. The enriched Force spells out as *die*:



In line with Rizzi and Shlonsky, the enriched Force head must be licensed independently, and this is achieved by the movement of the constituent *morgen* to its specifier. On its way to SpecForce *morgen* skips TopP, but it indirectly contributes to the satisfaction of the Topic criterion because it licenses the enriched head Force by virtue of its D-feature.

The grammars of speakers allowing for both topical constituents and focal constituents left adjacent to *die* might be taken to allow Force to be enriched either with a D-feature and with a Q-feature. The contrast between the judgements for (87a) and (87b) already pointed out in footnote 8 suggest that the presence of *die* entails a D-linking effect. It appears that the presence of *dan* ('then') in (87a) facilitates the presence of *die*. Given that *dan* ('then') anchors the sentence to the discourse, this might suggest there is a D-linking effect, i.e. that *die* is compatible with D-linked *wh*-constituents. In (87b), the hypothesis would be that the D-linked interpretation of *wie* is facilitated by the presence of *dan*. This needs further study.

- (87) 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 (1⁰, 2¹, 3⁴, 4⁴, 5³)
 b. B: (*)Wie die wilt ge allemaal inviteren?
who die want you all invite (1⁶, 2², 3¹, 4⁰, 5²)

For speakers rejecting *wh*-specifiers in *die* patterns, we might narrow down the possible featural make up of Force/*die* to, for instance, being just D.

If D-linking is crucial in licensing *die*, the incompatibility between invariant *die* and imperatives and *yes/no* questions as discussed in Section 4.4.3 could then be related to the hypothesis that the relevant null operators in such cases are not D-linked.

That the featural enrichment of Force, spelt out as *die*, is licensed by the specifier of Force reintroduces a closer relation between the initial constituent and Force than that which we proposed in the analysis developed in Section 4.4.

As it stands, there unfortunately remains an undesirable redundancy in the system developed here. 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 Force is featurally enriched and the added feature has to be licensed. We need to examine in future work how this redundancy can be eliminated.

We briefly look at the ramifications for the derivation of V2 in general in the next section.

4.5.2.3. The derivation of Force-V2

In De Clercq and Haegeman's (2018) analysis outlined in Section 4.4.1 and summarized in (88a), with an impoverished LP, the discourse property of the constituent left-adjacent to invariant *die* was not syntactically encoded. In the alternative analysis developed in the present section and illustrated in (88b), the discourse status of the initial constituent is encoded via a LP projection. The initial constituent *morgen* ('tomorrow') bypasses TopP in (88b) but it indirectly contributes to the satisfaction of the Topic criterion because it licenses the enriched head Force.

- (88) a. $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{Morgen} [_{\text{Force}} \text{die}] [_{\text{FinP}} \text{morgen} [_{\text{Fin}} \text{komt}] [_{\text{TP}} \text{hij } \text{morgen} \text{terug}]]]$
 b. $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{Morgen}^{+\text{D}} [_{\text{Force}+\text{D}} \text{die}] [_{\text{TopP}} [\text{Top} [_{\text{FinP}} \text{morgen} [_{\text{Fin}} \text{komt}] [_{\text{TP}} \text{hij } \text{morgen} \text{terug} \text{komt}]]]]]$

In the light of (88b), we need to return to the derivation of regular V2 sentences. As a first proposal, we might adopt derivation (89), according to which a byproduct of V movement to Force is the formation of a complex head which recruits the discourse feature resident in the LP and which allows the satisfaction of the LP criterion at the level of ForceP: (89) exemplifies the derivation with a LP topic feature.

- (89) $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{XP}_{\text{top}} [_{\text{Force}+\text{Top}+\text{Fin}} \text{V}_{\text{fin}}] [_{\text{TopP}} [\text{Top} \text{V}_{\text{fin}}] [_{\text{FinP}} \text{XP}_{\text{top}} [_{\text{Fin}} \text{V}_{\text{fin}}] [_{\text{TP}} \dots]]]]]$

(88b) and (89) differ subtly in terms of the way the Topic criterion is satisfied. In (88b), the Force head, enriched with a discourse feature, satisfies the Topic criterion. In (89) the initial constituent satisfies the Topic criterion in a specifier head relation with the complex head Force.

5. Summary

In this chapter, we analyze resumptive strategies in the Ghent dialect, focussing on patterns in which an initial adverbial constituent in a V2 clause is separated from the finite verb (which would be expected to be in second position) by what at first seems to be a resumptive demonstrative element. We examine the distribution of specialized and generalized resumptive constituents, focussing the discussion on the syntax and semantics of the Ghent invariant *die*, which we compare with the specialized resumptive adverbs *dan*, *toens*, *daar* 'then, then, there' and with the corresponding specialized resumptives for adverbial material in StD.

We show that given the distributional differences between the specialized resumptives in StD and in the Ghent dialect on the one hand and invariant *die* in the Ghent dialect on the other, the two patterns should not be analysed in the same way. A first analysis of the material which is summarized here was couched within the Poletto/Wolfe typology of V2, according to which the Germanic languages, and hence also in the Ghent dialect, are characterised by a Force-V2 requirement, which means that the finite verb must move to Force. The finite verb moves to Force via Fin.

We continue to endorse the main ingredients of that analysis. For the syntax of specialized resumptives like *dan* it is proposed – in line with the literature – that they are phrasal, they are merged TP-internally, they move from within TP to SpecForceP via SpecFinP and they satisfy the V2-constraint in Force. Any constituent preceding a specialized resumptive is assumed to be clause-external. We propose that invariant

die in the Ghent dialect is a head directly merged in Force. Because Force is spelt out by *die* the finite verb halts in Fin. The invariant *die* pattern thus represents a variant on the Wolfe's Force-V2 patterns. This initial analysis of the data used a representation of the LP in the V2 languages which was devoid of any encoding of discourse functions of the initial constituent.

The final part of the chapter develops a fully cartographic analysis of the Ghent *die* resumption pattern deploying an articulated left periphery with two novel ingredients. First the analysis explores the D-linking function of *die* as a prime ingredient, and in addition it is proposed that *die* spells out of an enriched Force head which is responsible for the indirect satisfaction of LP criteria on Top and Foc. The analysis attempts to reconcile the one feature one head maxim underlying the cartographic approach with the empirical observation that in V2 languages the root CP layer seems to be impoverished, which might suggest that the left peripheral discourse functions are not encoded in terms of featurally specialized functional heads.

In theoretical terms, our proposal extends the implementation of the concept of indirect satisfaction of the LP criteria first proposed in Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006, 2007) and also developed in Haegeman and Danckaert (2017) to a new empirical domain.

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