

## V3 patterns in Germanic V2 languages: the case of the Ghent dialect

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**1. Focus** This paper focusses on resumptive V3 patterns in the Flemish dialect of Ghent, a *bona fida* V2 language. The empirical data are drawn from corpora, anecdotal observations and native speaker elicitation.

In the Ghent dialect, root clauses with an initial adjunct may feature an optional resumptive element, DIE, separating the initial adjunct from the finite verb, effectively leading to a V3 order (1). (1) is unacceptable in other varieties of Dutch.

(1) Vroeger, **die** bakten wij vier soorten brood  
formerly DIE baked we four sorts bread

‘We used to bake four kinds of bread.’ (Gijzenzele 0.28) (Vanacker 1980: 76)

These data add to the inventory of V2 patterns (Jouitteau 2005, 2008); in particular they reveal the non-uniformity of linear V3 configurations in the Germanic V2 languages

### 2. V3 resumption

In the Ghent dialect, the V3 pattern in (1) alternates with (2) a regular V2 pattern in which the resumptive element is absent and with the V3 pattern in (3), in which the temporal adjunct is resumed by the temporal adverb *dan*. While (1) may seem to fit the dislocation pattern in (3), closer inspection reveals that it is much closer to the regular V2 pattern (2).

(2) Vroeger bakten wij vier soorten brood  
formerly baked we four sorts bread

‘We used to bake four kinds of bread.’

(3) Vroeger dan bakten wij vier soorten brood  
formerly then baked we four sorts bread

‘We used to bake four kinds of bread.’

For StD, Broekhuis and Corver (2016: 1134) analyse the patterns with a dislocated adjunct in (3) as the adverbial variant of CLD in (4), in which a dislocated clause-external constituent is replicated by a matching resumptive. (4) would illustrate nominal CLD, (3) would illustrate adverbial CLD. With respect to nominal CLD, a common assumption is that the initial constituent is topical (Zwart 1997: 249-50).

(4) Dat boek, dat ken ik niet  
that book, that know I not  
‘I don’t know that book.’

The resumptive patterns (1) and (3) differ in terms of several diagnostics summarized in the following table:

Table 1: Adverbial CLD (3) vs. resumptive DIE

		<i>Adverbial CLD</i>	DIE
(i)	Middle field <b>position</b> of resumptive ( <i>wh/imperative</i> )	Yes	No
(ii)	Resumptive used <b>without antecedent</b>	No	Yes
(iii)	<b>Quantificational</b> antecedent	No	Yes
(iv)	<b>Modal</b> adverbial antecedent	No	Yes
(v)	<b>Modification</b> of the resumptive	Yes	No
(vi)	<b>P stranding</b>	Yes	No

### 3. Analysis

Based on the divergencies between (1) and (2) we propose:

(i) *die* resumption cannot be assimilated to adverbial CLD (*pace* Zwart 1997: 249-50).

(ii) In adverbial CLD (3), the resumptive constituent is phrasal. It is first merged TP-internally and is moved to a left peripheral topic position. The movement satisfies the V2 constraint. The dislocated constituent preceding the resumptive is clause-external.

(iii) Resumptive *die* in (1) is first merged in the LP. The constituent to its immediate left is merged TP-internally and is moved to an LP position. This movement is triggered by a topical feature or a focal/*wh*-feature.

A tentative cartographic analysis will be developed to capture the data.

## References

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