

Main clause external constituents and the derivation of subject-initial verb second

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1. Introduction

Most speakers of StD consider examples such as those in (1), in which an adverbial clause precedes a regular main clause, as unacceptable.

- (1) a. *Als mijn tekst morgen klaar is, ik zal je hem opsturen.
when my text tomorrow ready is, I will you him send
'When my text is ready tomorrow, I will send it to you.'
- b. *Toen ik aankwam, de deur stond open en het licht was aan.
when I arrived, the door stood open and the light was on
'When I arrived, the door was open and the light was on.'

At first sight, the judgement is expected: typologically, Dutch is a Verb Second (V2) language, i.e. in main clauses the finite verb occupies second position and is preceded by exactly one constituent. The examples in (1) violate the V2 constraint because in each case two constituents, the subject and an adverbial clause, precede the finite verb. For instance, in (1a), the finite verb *zal* ('will') is preceded by the subject pronoun *ik* ('I') and by the conditional clause *als mijn tekst morgen klaar is* ('if my text is ready tomorrow'). In (1b), the initial constituent is a temporal clause. We will refer to what appear to be violations of the V2 constraint as 'V2 transgressions' (Catasso 2015). The alternative order in (2) is acceptable: the finite verb inverts with the subject, yielding the V2 order, the conditional (2a) or temporal (2b) clause is in initial position and adjacent to the finite verb.

- (2) a. Als mijn tekst morgen klaar is, zal ik je hem opsturen.
when my text tomorrow ready is, will I you him send
'When my text is ready tomorrow, I will send it to you.'
- b. Toen ik aankwam, stond de deur open en was het licht aan.
when I arrived, stood the door open and was the light on
'When I arrived, the door was open and the light was on.'

The adverbial clauses leading to V2 transgressions in (1) are what have been called 'central' adverbial clauses (Haegeman 2004, 2012), i.e. adverbial clauses expressing restrictions on the evaluation conditions of the matrix clause. It has been argued that such clauses are syntactically integrated in the clause they modify, which is what is indeed the case in (2). One might attribute the unacceptability of (1) to the fact that by being non-integrated in the V2 configuration, the initial adverbial clauses fail to interact with the syntax of the main clause and hence cannot modify the modal or temporal value of the clause.

At first sight, then, the ungrammaticality of (1) is unproblematic and is attributed to the absence of subject-verb inversion which itself points to a lack of syntactic integration of the adverbial clauses. However, two problems arise for a V2 account for (1). First, it is generally acknowledged that V2 transgressions not unlike those in (1) are not always excluded in Dutch. Acceptable V2 transgressions have been analysed as the combination of a V2 clause with a main clause external constituent (in the sense of Broekhuis and 2017: 1679-1733), yielding a V3 configuration. Given that, as we will detail below, some V3 transgressions are acceptable in standard Dutch, the degradation of (1) needs to be re-

examined: why is it that (1) cannot be an acceptable product of combining a main clause external adverbial clause with a regular V2 clause? Second, West Flemish dialect speakers actually do accept patterns like (1), and, as will be shown, the pattern is and has been for a long time attested in the dialect. Flemish and its dialects are also V2 languages. The variation in judgements suggests that to allow for micro-variation within Dutch, any account for the ungrammaticality of (1) must be more subtle.

Our account is couched in terms of the generative formalism. However, we have tried to keep formal implementations to a minimum, and we hope that the core of our analysis will remain accessible to readers from a wide range of frameworks.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 presents an overview of the licit V2 transgressions in standard Dutch, from now on to be abbreviated as StD. Section 3 presents an analysis of V2 transgressions in which peripheral adverbial clauses combine with a licit V2 clause and introduces a locality condition on the interpretation of such combinations. Section 4 explores the consequences of the generalization of the locality hypothesis postulated in Section 3 for the V2 transgressions in (1), in which the first constituent is a central adverbial clause. Section 5 presents the relevant data from West Flemish, in which patterns like (1) are acceptable and formulates the hypothesis that there is microvariation in the derivation of subject-initial V2 clauses. Section 6 summarises the paper.

2. Verb second and main clause external constituents: an inventory

While StD and its dialects are generally taken to be V2 languages, it is well known that V2 transgressions are possible in these languages. We first inventorize those StD V2 transgressions that will play a part in the discussion. For extensive discussion of other patterns, we refer the reader to Broekhuis and Corver (2017: chapter 14). We make an initial distinction between V2 transgressions in which a V2 root clause is preceded by a peripheral adverbial clause and those in which it is preceded by a central adverbial clause.

2.1. Peripheral adverbial clauses and V2 transgressions

In the examples in (3), a subject-initial V2 root clause is preceded by an adverbial clause that can be characterized as ‘peripheral’ in that the adverbial clauses are truth conditionally neutral with respect to the associated matrix clauses, i.e. they do not modify the truth conditions of the matrix propositions. Rather, the adverbial clauses express the felicity conditions of the main clause speech act. (3a) illustrates a relevance conditional: the truth of the main proposition ‘there is bread in the fridge’ is independent of that of the adverbial clause; regardless of whether the interlocutor is hungry or not, the main proposition is true. (3b) illustrates what D’Avis (2004) called an irrelevance condition: the main proposition ‘we are going for a walk’ is true and independent from the truth of the adverbial clause. The conditional clause in (3c) expresses the contextual frame in which the main proposition is relevant. In (3d), the conditional clause specifies the felicity conditions for the speech act: the speaker presents his speech act as complying with a (potential) request for information from the interlocutor.

- (3) a. Als je honger hebt, er ligt brood in de kast.
 if you hunger have, there lies bread in the cupboard.
 ‘If you are hungry, there is bread in the cupboard.’
 b. Of het nu regent of niet, we gaan zeker wandelen.
 whether it now rains or not, we go certainly walk

- ‘Whether it rains or not, we’re going for a walk.’
- c. Als je geïnteresseerd bent, ik kan kaartjes krijgen voor het optreden.
if you interested are, I can tickets get for the show
‘If you are interested, I can get us tickets for the show.’
- d. Als je het mij vraagt, Peter heeft geen schijn van kans.
if you it me ask, Peter has no shine of chance
‘If you ask me, Peter doesn’t stand a chance.’

Superficially, the examples in (3) display the same pattern as (1): a V2 clause is preceded by an adverbial clause and the V2 clause is subject-initial: the subject is in first position and immediately followed by the finite verb.

As (4) shows, peripheral adverbial clauses can also combine with non-subject-initial V2 clauses, including non-declarative ones.

- (4) a. Als je abstract toch klaar is, waarom heb je het niet opgestuurd?
if your abstract PART ready is, why have you it not sent
‘If – as you say – your abstract is ready, why haven’t you sent it?’
- b. Als je geïnteresseerd bent,
if you interested are,
morgen kan ik kaartjes krijgen voor het optreden.
tomorrow can I tickets get for the show
‘If you’re interested, tomorrow I can get us tickets for the show.’

In (4a) the root clause is a *wh*-interrogative, displaying a regular V2 pattern, with the initial *wh*-phrase *waarom* (‘why’) left-adjacent to the finite verb *heb* (‘have’). The conditional clause echoes a contextually relevant proposition (cf. Declerck and Reed, 2001:83, Haegeman 2002, 2003, 2004, 2012); the root *wh*-question is relevant in the contextual frame set by the conditional clause, ‘if (you say that) your abstract is ready’. In (4b) the root V2 clause is a declarative with a topicalised adjunct *morgen* (‘tomorrow’) followed by the finite verb *kan* (‘can’). Again the adverbial clause expresses a contextual frame for the speech act.

That peripheral adverbial clauses can combine with root V2 clauses is generally recognised and has been discussed in many frameworks (for the generative framework, which we will be adopting here, see a.o. Haegeman 2002, 2003, 2004, 2012, Frey 2012, te Velde 2013 among many others). The label ‘peripheral’, adopted here, already suggests an account for such patterns: these adverbial clauses are taken to be ‘outside’ the main clause and as a result of their non-integration, escape the V2 constraint (Broekhuis and Corver 2016: chapter 14). We elaborate an analysis for such patterns in Section 3, suffice it to say here that our main assumption will be that the peripheral adverbial clause is not integrated in the main clause syntax and that the mechanism underlying the combination of the peripheral adjunct with the matrix clause falls outside ‘syntax proper’.

2.2. Central adverbial clauses and V2 transgressions

One property that sets apart the acceptable V2 transgressions in (3), in which an adverbial clause combines with a subject-initial V2 clause, from the unacceptable examples in (1) is the nature of the adverbial clause. As discussed, in (3), the adverbial clause is peripheral and can hence be taken to be ‘outside the syntax’; by virtue of being peripheral, it escapes the V2 constraint. On the other hand, in (1), the initial adverbial clause is central: in (1a), the adverbial clause is a conditional modifier and in (1b), it is a temporal modifier. Central modifiers must be semantically and syntactically integrated in the main clause (Haegeman

2002, 2003, 2004) and hence, one might conclude that because such modifiers cannot be ‘outside the syntax’, they cannot escape the V2 constraint and hence never appear in V2 transgressions. However, this prediction would be incorrect: as shown by the examples in (6), *bona fide* central adverbial clauses do appear as first constituents in licit V2 transgressions:

- (6) a. Als ik klaar ben met de handout, aan wie moet ik hem tonen?
 if I ready am with the handout, to whom should I him show
 ‘When my handout is ready, to whom should I show it?’
 b. Als er morgen een probleem is, MIJ moet je niet bellen.
 if there tomorrow a problem is, ME must you not call
 ‘If there is a problem tomorrow, don’t call ME.’

In both examples in (6), an initial conditional clause restricts the modal coordinates of the main proposition. The conditional clauses combine with a full-fledged V2 clause, leading to a V2 transgression. In (6a), the V2 clause is non-declarative; in (6b), it is declarative. The examples in (6) are accepted by most speakers of Dutch¹ and (1) is not. The availability of (6) raises two questions. First, differently from (3) and (4), the V2 transgressions in (6) involve central adverbial clauses. If it is argued that peripheral adverbial clauses allow for V2 transgressions because, being semantically unintegrated, they escape the V2 constraint, this account cannot carry over to central adverbial clauses which are semantically ‘integrated’. In addition, if licit V2 transgressions do arise also with central adverbial clauses (6), the unacceptability of (1) becomes problematic: why can whatever allows the V2 transgression in (6) not license that in (1)?

A proviso needs to be added in relation to the data in (6). For some StD speakers, the data in (6) are in fact degraded: these speakers require the insertion of an appropriate resumptive adverbial - *dan* (‘then’) in the relevant examples - in the matrix clause (7). Speakers who do accept (6) also accept the variant with *dan*.

- (7) a. Als ik klaar ben met de handout, aan wie moet ik hem %(dan) tonen?
 when I ready am with the handout, to whom must I him then show
 ‘When my handout is read, to whom should I show it?’
 b. Als er morgen een probleem is, MIJ moet je %(dan) niet bellen.
 if there tomorrow a problem is, me should you then not call
 ‘If there is a problem tomorrow, don’t call me.’

We will not develop an account of the role of the resumptive adverb as such, but it is important to observe that for speakers who reject (6) and accept the alternative with *dan* in (7), inserting a resumptive adverbial (*dan* ‘then’ or *toen* ‘then’) in (1) does not render the examples acceptable: (8) remains strongly degraded for all speakers:

- (8) a. *Als mijn tekst morgen klaar is, ik zal je hem dan opsturen.
 when my text tomorrow ready is, I will you him then send
 ‘When my text is ready tomorrow, I will send it to you.’
 b. *Toen ik aankwam, de deur stond toen open en het licht was aan.
 when I arrived, the door stood then open and the light was on
 ‘When I arrived, the door was open and the light was on.’

2.3. Central adverbial clauses and subject-initial V2

While the V2 transgressions illustrated in (1), in which a central adverbial clause combines with a subject-initial V2 clause, are considered unacceptable by our StD informants, most of the same informants accept the following examples:

- (9) a. Als er morgen een probleem is, PIET zal ons niet helpen.
 if there tomorrow a problem is, Piet will us not help
 ‘If there is a problem tomorrow, Piet won’t help us.’
- b. Als er morgen een probleem is, wie zal ons helpen?²
 if there tomorrow a problem is, who will us help
 ‘If there is a problem tomorrow, who will help us?’

The difference in acceptability between the illicit V2 transgressions in (1) and the acceptable V2 transgressions in (9) seems to relate to the nature of the subject of the V2 root clause. In (1), the subject of the V2 clause is neutral: in terms of information structure, it is ‘undistinguished’ in the sense of Mikkelsen (2015) and Wexler (2013). In (9), on the other hand, the subject is distinguished in terms of information structure: it has a contrastive focus in (9a), it is a *wh*-phrase in (9b). While (1) shows that V2 transgressions with an information structurally undistinguished subject in initial position of the root V2 clause are unacceptable, (9) shows that, in contrast, a combination of a central adverbial clause with a subject-initial V2 clause with an information structurally distinguished subject is acceptable.

For completeness’s sake we add that informants who found (6) degraded also found (9a) degraded, and that for these speakers the insertion of a resumptive adverb *dan* (‘then’) again rendered the example acceptable (10a). As for (9b), it was accepted by all informants; speakers who found (9a) degraded felt there was a minor degradation (6 on a scale of 7) in (9b), and they expressed a slight preference for (10b) with resumptive *dan* (7/7).

- (10) a. Als er morgen een probleem is, PIET zal ons dan niet helpen.
 if there tomorrow a problem is, Piet will us then not help
 ‘If there is a problem tomorrow, PIET won’t help us.’
- b. Als er morgen een probleem is, wie zal ons dan helpen?
 if there tomorrow a problem is, who will us then help
 ‘If there is a problem tomorrow, who will help us?’

Though we do not discuss the role of *dan*, we remind the reader that, as was already pointed out in relation to (8), the insertion of a resumptive adverb in the examples in (1) fails to render them acceptable.

2.4. Summary

Table 1 summarize the status of V2 transgressions to StD: The table represents the majority judgements and does not take into consideration the role of the resumptive adverbial in (7) and in (10).

Table 1: V2 transgressions in StD

	V3	StD	Example number
<i>Peripheral adverbial</i>	Adj-SU-Vfin	√	(3)
	Adj- <i>wh</i> -Vfin	√	(4a)
	Adj-non-Subj-Vfin	√	(4b)
<i>Central adverbial</i>	Adj-undistinguished SU-Vfin	*	(1)
	Adj-distinguished SU-Vfin	√	(9)
	Adj- <i>wh</i> -Vfin	√	(7a)
	Adj-non-Subj-Vfin	√	(7b)

From Table 1, we conclude that the unacceptability of (1) for speakers of StD cannot simply be accounted for as a violation of the V2 constraint: in a range of contexts V2 transgressions are accepted. Specifically, V2 transgressions are generally allowed when a peripheral adverbial clause combines with a root V2 clause, including the case where the root V2 clause is subject-initial and has an informational structurally (from now on abbreviated as IS) undistinguished subject. V2 transgressions are also accepted when a central adverbial clause combines with a root V2 clause, with a non subject initial V2 clause or with a subject-initial V2 clause whose subject is IS distinguished. This picture raises the following questions:

- (i) With respect to **subject-initial V2 clauses with an IS undistinguished subject**: why can they combine with a peripheral adverbial clause and not with a central adverbial clause? Put differently: why and how does the IS status of the subject of a V2 clause play a role in availability of the combination with central adverbial clauses?
- (ii) Why is the contrast between **subject-initial and non subject-initial V2** clauses relevant for V2 transgressions with an central adverbial clause?
- (iii) Why is the **IS status of the subject in a subject-initial V2 clause** relevant for V2 transgressions with a central adverbial clause?

From the data pattern it emerges that subject-initial V2 sentences with an IS undistinguished subject have special status. We address this point in Section 4, but before doing so we outline our proposals for the syntax and interpretation of ‘licit’ V2 transgressions. In particular, we formulate a proposal for (i) the mechanism creating V2 transgressions and for (ii) the interpretive linking between the initial constituent and the V2 clause it combines with in a V2 transgression.

3. Main clause external constituents: a first analysis

This section develops a first analysis of V2 transgressions in which a regular V2 clause is preceded by a main clause external (in the sense of Broekhuis and Corver 2017) constituent. Section 3.1. focuses on the combination of a peripheral adverbial clause with a root V2 clause. We discuss V2 transgressions with a central adverbial clause as the first constituent in Section 3.2.

3.1. The syntax and interpretation of peripheral adverbial clauses in V2 transgressions

The examples we are interested in are those in (3) and (4), repeated for convenience in (11):

- (11) a. Als je honger hebt, er ligt brood in de kast.
 if you hunger have, there lies bread in the cupboard.
 ‘If you are hungry, there is bread in the cupboard.’

- b. Of het nu regent of niet, we gaan zeker wandelen.
 whether it now rains or not, we go certainly walk
 ‘Whether it rains or not, we’re going for a walk.’
- c. Als je geïnteresseerd bent, ik kan kaartjes krijgen voor het optreden.
 if you interested are, I can tickets get for the show.
 ‘If you are interested, I can get tickets for the show.’
- d. Als je het mij vraagt, Peter heeft geen schijn van kans.
 if you it me ask, Peter has no shine of chance
 ‘If you ask me, Peter doesn’t stand a chance.’
- e. Als je abstract toch klaar is, waarom heb je het niet opgestuurd?
 if your abstract PART ready is, why have you it not sent
 ‘If – as you say – your abstract is ready, why haven’t you sent it?’
- f. Als je geïnteresseerd bent,
 If you interested are,
 morgen kan ik kaartjes krijgen voor het optreden.
 tomorrow can I tickets get for the show
 ‘If you’re interested, tomorrow I can get tickets for the show.’

In the literature, there is a consensus that the initial peripheral adjunct in (11) does not jeopardize the V2 constraint because it is ‘outside’ the syntax. Indeed, in line with the hypothesis expressed in Broekhuis and Corver (2017) that they are ‘main-clause external’, peripheral adjuncts combine with main clauses with independent illocutionary force. In his survey paper on V2, Holmberg (2015) assumes that where “V more than 2” orders occur in the Germanic V2 languages the constituent immediately left-adjacent to the finite verb has been moved and additional constituents have been externally merged. We will explore the hypothesis that the initial constituent in the V2 transgressions is a main clause external constituent which is combined with the V2 clause and that the combination itself pertains to the domain of discourse building.

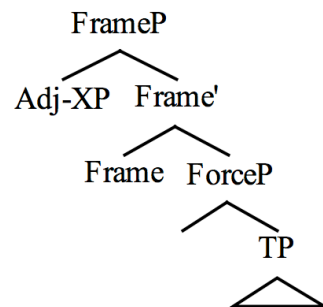
Across theoretical frameworks various formalisations have been elaborated to represent the clause external nature of the initial constituents in V2 transgressions. Some representations are given in (12). In terms of the template adopted in the traditional literature, the initial constituent occupies the ‘Vor-Vorfeld’ or the ‘pre vorfeld’ (‘pre frontfield’) (cf. Auer 1996), as in (12a), or it can be taken as corresponding to Skårup’s (1975: 179) ‘Extrapolation’ position, a position ‘outside the clause proper (“hors de la proposition”, p. 179) but nonetheless attached to the following clause (p. 416)’ (Donaldson 2012: 1028), as in (12b). In terms of the generative tradition, (12c) is used in Broekhuis and Corver (2017: 1679-1733), and Haegeman (2004, 2006, 2012) represents the position of the peripheral adjunct as in (12d), in which the regular root V2 clause is identified as ‘CP’ and in which the peripheral adjunct is adjoined to CP.

- (12) a. [Vor-Vorfeld³ [Vorfeld ... V_{fin}]]
 b. [Extrapolation] [Preverbal zone⁴ [VERBAL ZONE] [Postverbal zone]]
 c. [[MAIN CLAUSE]]
 d. [CP Peripheral adjunct [CP ... [TP]]]

Haegeman and Greco (2016) depart from these representations in proposing that the combination of the root V2 main clause and the peripheral adjunct be seen as the product of a discourse operation creating a construct ‘FrameP’. Their FrameP in (13a) corresponds to a number of proposals in the literature, including, among others, Banfield’s (1982) E-node, Emonds’s (2004) DiscourseP, Cinque’s (2008) HP (cf. Giorgi 2014, Frascarelli 2016),

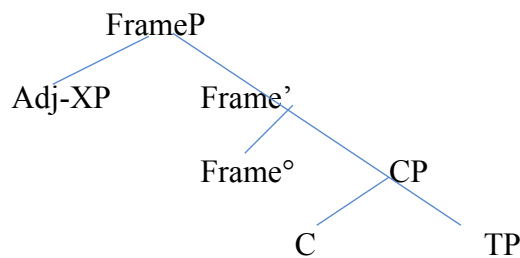
Koster's (2000) :P, DeVries (2009) and Griffiths and DeVries's (2013) ParP.⁵ We assume that FrameP instantiates the regular format adopted in formal syntax: i.e. the head Frame combines its complement ForceP with a specifier Adj-XP.

(13)a.



The constituent Adj-XP (13a) corresponds to Broekhuis and Corver (2017)'s clause external constituent in (12c). The constituent labelled ForceP is the root V2 clause, corresponding to Haegeman's 'CP' in (12d); Greco and Haegeman (2016) adopt the 'cartographic' label ForceP because, as demonstrated in (11), the clause which combines with Adj-XP may display various illocutionary forces. ForceP encodes illocutionary force. It dominates the TP layer, which encodes among other things temporal and modal properties of the clause. In this article, we replace Greco and Haegeman's cartographic label ForceP by the more neutral label CP (13b), but throughout the reader should bear in mind that the particular constituent encodes illocutionary force and is distinct from the propositional TP layer.

(13) b.



In the remainder of Section 3, we adopt (13b) and we discuss the interpretation of the peripheral adverbial in relation to the main clause proposition, here represented as CP. In Section 4 we will address the specific issues arising with the interpretation of main clause external central adverbial clauses.

When a peripheral adverbial clause realises Adj-XP in the V2 transgression, the two constituents of FrameP in (13b) are relatively independently construed: in particular, the denotation of the clause external Adj-XP does not impact on the truth conditions of the root clause, CP. This is, for instance, illustrated by the relevance conditional (11a). The proposition 'there is bread in the cupboard' holds independently of whether the addressee is hungry or not.⁶

Observe that a peripheral adjunct is interpreted in relation to the root clause (CP) that it combines with and that it cannot exclusively modify a constituent embedded at a lower level within that clause. This is clear, for instance, in an example such as (14a), in which the peripheral constituent *als je het moet weten* ('if you want to know') is a speech act modifier:



(14) a. Als je het moet weten, ze zei da-ze het niet ging betalen.

if you it must know, she said that-she it not went pay
 ‘If you must know, she told me she wasn’t going to pay for it.’

The conditional clause in (14a) modifies the speech act encoded by the root clause and, crucially, its domain of application cannot be restricted to the reported speech act. (14b), in which the initial adverbial clause is intended to be construed with the embedded CP, as shown by the choice of pronouns, is unacceptable. In other words, the clause external speech act modifier pertains to the root speaker/hearer relation, and not to the reported speaker/hearer relation.

- (14) b. *Als ik het moet weten, ze zei me [CP da-ze het niet ging betalen].
 if I it must know, she told me that-she it not went pay

We adopt the formalism in (14c) to represent the construal available for the adverbial clause in (14a). Crucially, non-local construal of the constituent in the SpecFrameP with the lower CP2 (14b), represented in (14d), is unavailable.

- (14) c. [FrameP Adj-XP [Frame^o] [CP ... [TP...]]]

 d. *[FrameP Adj-XP [Frame^o] [CP1 ... [CP2 [...]]]]


To capture the patterns in (14), Greco and Haegeman (2016) postulate that there is a locality restriction on the interpretation of the constituents in FrameP: also exploring empirical evidence drawn from West Flemish, they generalize this locality condition to all constituents in the specifier of FrameP, including central adverbial clauses.

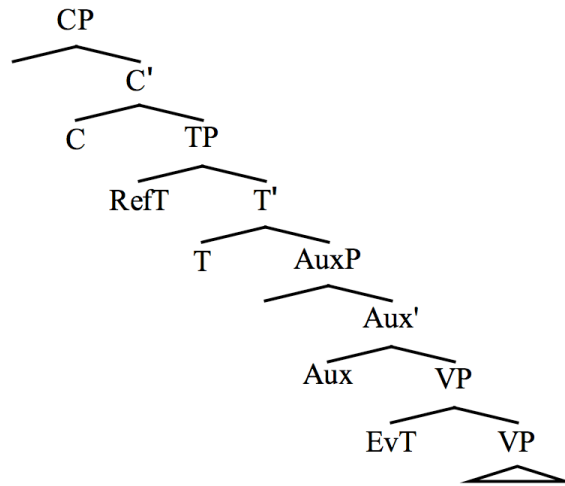
Section 4 will discuss how the locality condition applies to the interpretation of main clause external temporal or conditional constituents.⁷

3.2. A paradox: central adverbial clauses

In Section 3.1. we postulated a generalised locality constraint on the interpretation of the constituents of FrameP, illustrating how it restricts the interpretation of peripheral adverbial clauses in SpecFrameP. The constraint also governs the interpretation of central adverbial clauses in SpecFrameP, including the temporal and conditional modifiers in V2 transgressions. Concretely, our hypothesis is that a temporal or conditional clause in SpecFrameP can provide a value for a temporal or modal variable in the matrix clause provided it has a local relation with the temporal or modal value encoded in the main clause.

Following widespread assumptions in the framework we adopt, we assume that temporal and modal values of the proposition are encoded on specialised TP-internal temporal/modal functional projections (see a.o. Cinque (1999), Demirdache and Uribe Etxebarria (2004) Sigurdsson (2016), Barbiers this volume). Our implementation of this hypothesis is represented in (15). We assume a Reichenbach (1947) type approach to temporal interpretation, distinguishing Reference Time (RefT) from Event time (EvT). RefT is encoded in a functional projection TP; EvT is encoded in a lower functional, being associated more closely with the verbal predicate. Aspectual auxiliaries instantiate a functional head, provisionally labelled Aux, higher than the vP layer:

- (15)



Consider, for instance, (16a), in which an initial temporal clause, *als ik klaar ben met de handout* ‘when my handout is ready’, combines with a *wh*-interrogative:

- (16) a. Als ik klaar ben met de handout,
 if I ready am with the handout,
 [_{CP} aan wie moet ik hem tonen?]
 to whom should I him show
 ‘When my handout is ready, to whom should I show it?’

The temporal clause modifies the temporal coordinates of the associated matrix clause. In line with our generalised locality condition which governs the interpretation of constituents in FrameP, the required representation of (16a) should be (16b), in which the central adverbial clause XP locally relates to a temporal variable in the associated CP and in which coindexation represents the relation between the adverbial clause and the reference time. Observe crucially that a temporal variable contained within TP *a priori* does not meet the locality condition governing the interpretation of XP and hence could not be related to it (16c). However, this leads to a paradox: the temporal clause in the specifier of FrameP in (16a) must be able to be interpreted as constraining the temporal coordinates of the clause which are – by (15) – contained within TP, which would in fact mean that (16a) has the illicit representation in (16c). We somehow need to reconcile the illicit representation in (16c) with that required to fulfil the locality condition (16b).

- (16) b. [_{FrameP} Adj-XP_i [Frame^o] [_{CP} (λv_i) [_{TP}...]]]
- └──────────────────┬──────────────────┘
 ↑
- c. * [_{FrameP} Adj-XP_i [Frame^o] [_{CP}... [_{TP} (λv_i) ...]]]
- └──────────────────┬──────────────────┘
 ⋮

In Section 4 we will argue that the required representation (16b), which is conform with the locality condition postulated for the interpretation of FrameP and can yield a temporal reading for the central adjunct, is attained on the basis of (16c) through verb movement, which moves the verb out of the TP domain to C. Section 4.1. will discuss V2 transgressions such as (16a), in which a central adverbial combines with a root V2 clause. Section 4.2. turns to V2 transgressions with subject-initial V2 clause and we examine why subject-initial V2 clauses with an IS undistinguished subject are unacceptable in a V2 transgression. We argue that this

is due to the fact that precisely in the unacceptable cases (e.g. (1)), configuration (16b) cannot be attained.

4. V2 transgressions and the central adverbial clauses

4.1. Central adverbial clauses and inverted V2

Consider (16a), repeated as (17a). A conditional clause combines with a root V2 clause in which a *wh*-phrase *aan wie* ('to whom') has been fronted, the finite verb moves to the left periphery, giving rise to inversion. In (6b), repeated as (17b), a contrastively focussed object MIJ ('ME') is fronted and again the finite verb inverts with the subject.

- (17) a. Als ik klaar ben met de handout,
 if I ready am with the handout,
 aan wie moet ik hem tonen?
 to whom should I him show
 'When my handout is ready, to whom should I show it?'
- b. Als er morgen een probleem is, MIJ moet je niet bellen.
 if there tomorrow a problem is, me must you not call
 'If there is a problem tomorrow, don't call me.'

By hypothesis, the temporal and modal coordinates of the proposition are encoded TP-internally. For instance, as one concrete implementation of this idea, the root clauses in the examples in (17) could be represented as (18a), with RefT encoded in TP and Evt in VP. Merging representation (18a) with a central adverbial clause in FrameP creates (18b). Given that we are dealing with a central adverbial clause, the adjunct XP in the specifier of FrameP has to be interpreted as modifying the TP-internal temporal coordinates (here Ref-T, Ev-T), this is represented by coindexation.

- (18) a. $[_{CP} [_{TP} \text{Ref-T}_i [T^\circ] \dots [_{VP} \text{Ev-T} [_{VP} \dots]]]]$
 b. $[_{\text{FrameP}} \text{Adj-XP}_i [_{\text{Frame}^\circ}][_{\text{ForceP}} \dots [_{TP} \text{Ref-T}_i [T^\circ] \dots [_{VP} \text{Ev-T} [_{VP} \dots]]]]]$

Observe that, as already discussed in Section 3, the simple coindexation of Adj-XP with the TP-internal temporal coordinate (18b) results in the illicit configuration (16c): as shown in (18c), there is no local relation between Adj-XP_i and its temporal coordinate in T.

- (18) c. $[_{\text{FrameP}} \text{Adj-XP}_i [_{\text{Frame}^\circ}][_{CP} [C^\circ]] \quad [_{TP} \text{Ref-T}_i [T^\circ] \dots]$
 ⋮
 ⋮

(18c) thus violates the generalised locality condition on the interpretation of FrameP: the TP-internal temporal coordinate (here Ref-T_i) is inaccessible for construal with Adj-XP_i, the clause external constituent in SpecFrame. In the absence of the required local relation with TP, the adverbial clause cannot value the temporal relation and thus it is uninterpretable. (18c) must therefore be 'reconfigured' and supplanted by a representation that does achieve the desired locality relation in (16b). Our proposal is that in a pattern with inverted V2, the required configuration is a byproduct of the movement of the finite verb to the C-domain. As shown in (19), both examples in (17) display the inverted word order; the finite verb has exited TP and has moved to the left periphery, inverting with the subject. The finite verb targets C, the head of CP. Head-movement of the verb creates a head chain, C-T, and the

chain ‘indirectly’ establishes a local connection between the constituent in SpecFrame and the temporal coordinate of the clause.

- (19) a. $[\text{FrameP} [\text{als er morgen een probleem is}]_i$
 $[\text{CP aan wie } [C \text{moet}]_i [\text{TP ik ... } [T_i t_{\text{moet}}] [\text{VP ... } t_{\text{wie}}]]]]$
 b. $[\text{FrameP} [\text{als er morgen een probleem is}]_i$
 $[\text{CP MIJ } [C \text{moet}]_i] [j_e \dots [\text{TP ... } [T_i t_{\text{moet}}] [\text{VP ... } t_{\text{mij}}]]]]]$

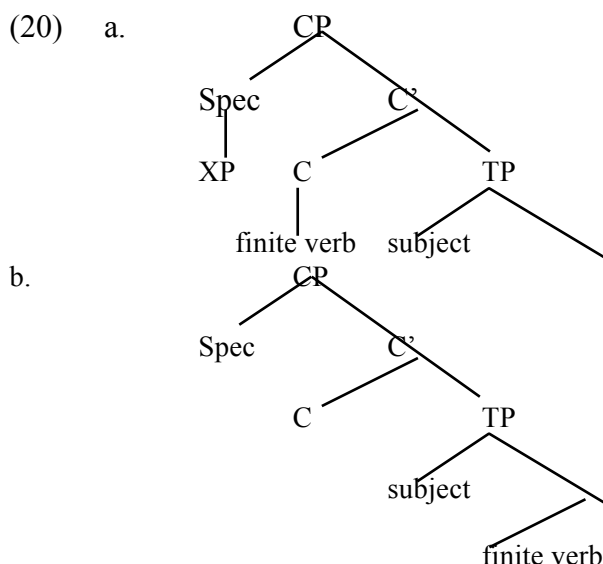
4.2. Central adverbial clauses and non-inverted V2

We have seen that subject-initial V2 clauses with IS undistinguished subjects cannot combine with central adverbial clauses to yield V2 transgressions (1). On the other hand, subject-initial V2 clauses with IS distinguished subjects can combine with central adverbial clauses yielding V2 transgressions (9). We address this contrast here.

4.2.1. Subject-initial V2

In the preceding section we have argued that in inverted V2 patterns, the movement of the finite verb to C creates a head chain between C, the head CP, and the TP-internal projection that hosts the temporal or modal coordinates which the central adverbial clause has to be related to. It is thanks to this chain that the adverbial clause attains the required local configuration allowing it to be interpreted as a temporal or modal modifier of the main clause proposition.

With respect to the derivation of subject-initial V2, there is a longstanding debate as to whether this pattern also involves verb movement to C. We refer the reader to the literature. For a very insightful recent survey see Mikkelsen (2015). According to one proposal, developed by Travis (1984) and applied to Dutch by Zwart (1997a,b), the inverted V2 patterns do indeed involve movement of the finite verb C, but in the non-inverted subject-initial pattern, in contrast, the subject remains in its canonical TP-internal position and the finite verb occupies a TP-internal head, say T.⁸ Pursuing the latter approach, we propose that inverted V2 patterns are derived as in (20a), and that subject-initial patterns have the derivation in (20b). Differently from the authors cited, we propose that in subject-initial V2 the CP layer encoding illocutionary force is projected above the TP layer hosting the subject-initial V2 configuration. For an alternative cartographic proposal along the lines of Poletto (2013) and Wolfe (2015) we refer to Greco and Haegeman (2016).⁹



4.2.2. V2 transgressions and subject-initial V2

Let us return to illicit V2 transgressions such as (1a), repeated in (21a), in which a central adverbial clause combines with a subject-initial V2 sentence with an IS undistinguished subject. Following our proposal above, the syntactic representation is as in (21b). (21b) is another instantiation of configuration (16c): the adverbial clause in SpecFrameP does not have access to the TP-internal temporal or modal coordinates. The unacceptability of (21a) is due to the fact that the adverbial clause in SpecFrameP cannot be interpreted in relation to the TP internal temporal value and thus remains uninterpreted.

- (21) a. **[Als mijn tekst morgen klaar is], ik zal je hem opsturen.*
 when my tekst tomorrow ready is I will you him send
 b. [_{FrameP} Adj-XP_i [Frame^o] [_{CP} [C^o] [_{TP} ik [_{T^o} zal +Ref-T_i] ...

V2 transgressions with IS distinguished subjects such as (9a) and (9b), repeated as (21), are acceptable for many of the speakers who rejected (1): in (21c) the subject is contrastively focussed, in (21d) it is a *wh*-phrase.

- (21) c. *Als er morgen een probleem is, PIET zal ons niet helpen.*
 if there tomorrow a problem is, PIET will us not help
 ‘If there is a problem tomorrow, PIET won’t help us.’
 d. *Als er morgen een probleem is, wie gaat ons helpen?*
 if there tomorrow a problem is, who goes us help
 ‘If there’s a problem tomorrow, who will help us?’

The acceptability of (21) follows if, with Mikkelsen (2015: 597, 628-9), we assume, that while in subject-initial V2 with an IS undistinguished subject, the subject remains TP-internally and the finite verb does not move to C, in contrast, IS distinguished subjects move to a position in the left periphery triggering verb movement to the C head.¹⁰

5. V2 transgressions and microvariation

5.1. The data

So far we have focused on StD judgements: our account captures the unacceptability of the V2 transgression in which a central adverbial clause precedes a subject-initial V2 clause in terms of a lack of locality relation between the initial temporal/modal modifier and the temporal/modal coordinates of the clause it is intended to modify.

However, the Dutch data are actually more complex in that it has long been known from the descriptive literature (Vercouillie (1885), Debrabandere (1976), Vanacker (1977)) that West Flemish varieties of Dutch do allow non-inverted V2 transgressions as illustrated in (22a) from Devos en Vandekerckhove (2006: 100). In this example, a temporal clause (*als ’t geijzeld is* ‘when it is frosty’) precedes the IS undistinguished subject (*ze* ‘she’), which in turn precedes the finite verb (*risschiert* ‘risks’). The regular inverted V2 order is also fully acceptable in West Flemish, abbreviated as WF, with no change of meaning (see Greco and Haegeman 2016, Haegeman and Greco 2017 for a more nuanced discussion) and it is indeed the unmarked variant (22b).

- (22) a. WF *Als ’t geijzeld is, ze risschiert heur niet buiten.*
 when it frosty is she risks her not outside
 ‘When it is frosty, she does not venture outside.’

- b. WF Als 't geijzeld is, risschiert ze heur niet buiten.
 when it frosty is risks she her not outside
 ‘When it is frosty, she does not venture outside.’

Additional illustrations of acceptable V2 transgressions are provided in (23): (23a) and (23b) are anecdotal attestations produced by WF speakers and collected by Liliane Haegeman, (23c) is a constructed example based on Liliane Haegeman’s judgments. It contrasts with its StD analogue (1b), which was not acceptable.

- (23) a. Om wieder een feestje geven by ons thus,
 when we we a party give at our house
m'en altijd over.
 we have always leftover
 ‘When we give a party at our place, we always have leftovers.’
 (Dominique Persoone; ° Bruges, TV-chef, *Njam*, 15 June 2016)
- b. Als je tegen dienen gast klapt,
 when you against that guy talk,
je merkt dat gewoon.
 you notice that simply
 ‘When you talk to that guy, you simply notice.’
 (overheard on the train, 19 November 2016, male speaker, 25-30, Knokke origin)
- c. Oan-k toekwamen, de deure stond open en de lucht was an.
 when I arrived, the door stood open and the light was on.
 ‘When I arrived, the door was open and the light was on.’

Data such as (23) have not often been taken into account in the formal literature, Zwart (1997b: 255) is one exception (see Haegeman and Greco 2017 for an evaluation). The most comprehensive recent work on non-inverted V3 are the papers by Saelens (2014) and Saelens *et al* (2016), who, based on a corpus of WF dialect recording composed in the 1960s, offer a quantitative overview of the pattern in a corpus of WF dialects from the 1960s. Saelens (2014) shows that, at the time, the non-inverted V3 pattern (22a, 23) was attested throughout the WF linguistic area, ranging from 30 per cent of examples in the easternmost areas of West Flanders to 85,4 per cent in the French Flemish dialect (see Ryckeboer 2004). For more details on the quantitative data and on the regional distribution see Saelens (2014) and Saelens *et al* (2016). For present day WF, the results of dialect questionnaires (DYNASAND, Barbiers *et al* 2005: 74, map 95a) might be interpreted to mean that the pattern has become extremely rare and is on its way to being extinct, except for the French Flemish area. For instance, the SAND test sentence 359, repeated here as (24), was accepted by only eleven out of 107 informants: the example was accepted by 8 out of 10 French Flemish speakers, but by only three out of the 20 WF informants:

- (24) Met zulk weer je kunt niet veel doen. 11/107 (=359)
 with such weather you can not much do
 ‘With such weather, you cannot do much.’

However, a number of considerations lead to the conclusion that for the WF speakers, this may well be due to underreporting and that the questionnaire format adopted for the SAND research is ill-suited to reveal such patterns. Both in relation to the Torhout dialect (location H116p) and to the Hooglede dialect (location NO34p), the SAND fieldworkers themselves point out that, while informants reject (24), non-inverted V3 patterns are found in

spontaneous speech. The reason for the low acceptance rate of the test sentence is probably the fact that the non-inverted V3 pattern arises in a restricted discourse context and, as shown in Greco and Haegeman (2016) and in Haegeman and Greco (2017), is associated with a specific style and with a precise packaging of information structure which is not easily evoked in an out of the blue context such as the experimental situation in which informants are presented with test sentences.¹¹ In contrast, the 1960 dialect corpus used by Saelens (2014) and by Saelens et al (2016) consists of natural recordings of dialect speakers who develop a narrative about their lives. In these contexts, speakers are highly involved in the narrative, the material contains longer stretches of talk often with enumerations of events. Such contexts favour the use of non-inverted V3. Given their particular flavour, it is not surprising that non-inverted V3 patterns are not easily elicited in acceptability tasks in which the speaker is confronted with a decontextualised isolated sentence.

Incidentally, the contemporary literature on Dutch usage does provide sporadic evidence that non-inverted V2 transgressions are licit for Flemish speakers. Drawing on the *CGN*, a corpus of spoken Dutch, Boogaert (2007) describes the use of conditionals with *moest/mocht* ('must/might') in contemporary Dutch and Belgian varieties. Among what Boogaert labels 'non-integrated' cases, he cites the attested Flemish examples in (25), a V2 transgression in which a conditional clause precedes a subject-initial V2 clause. Boogaert signals that the non-integrated V3 patterns are predominantly attested in the Flemish region (BNL) (Boogaert 2007: 7, see table 5).

- (25) a. Als dat de Ludo moest doen dieje las dat dus letter voor letter na.
 when that the Ludo had to do, that read that letter by letter
 'When Ludo had to do that, he read this character by character.'
 (Boogaert 2007: 7, (5))¹²
- b. Als ik rechter moest zijn
 if I judge should be
ze zouden d'r hier in België van beleven.
 they would there hier in Belgium of experience
 'If I were a judge, they would feel it in Belgium.'
 (Boogaert 2007: 7, (3))

5.2. Subject-initial V2 and microvariation

Earlier discussions on the syntax of the V2 phenomenon usually converged in assuming that all V2 languages have the same syntax of V2, and in relation to the derivation of subject-initial V2, arguments were put forward in favour of one position or the other: for instance Zwart (1997a,b) proposes the asymmetric view outlined above in Section 4.2.1. and Vikner and Schwartz (1996), and Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2007) argue for the alternative symmetric view according to which, in subject-initial V2, the verb also moves to C. Note though that the relevant authors used essentially arguments based on different types of empirical evidence which was – perhaps crucially - drawn from different dialects, with Zwart (1997a,b) mainly appealing to Dutch dialect data and Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2007) invoking Flemish data. For reasons of space, we will not repeat the arguments and the evidence here and we refer to their papers for discussion. See also recent discussion in Legate (2011) and Mikkelsen (2015).

However, one option not explored at the time of the earlier debate was that there may be cross linguistic variation in the derivation of subject initial V2. Recently, Postma (2011) has explored this hypothesis and, though our implementation differs from his own, we follow his intuition that there is micro variation in the derivation of subject-initial V2. We propose

that StD and WF differ in their derivation of subject-initial V2: Dutch is an asymmetric V2 language in which the verb attains C in non subject-initial V2 (26a), but fails to do so in subject-initial V2 (26b), while in WF we propose that the finite invariably moves to C.

- (26) a. StD subject-initial V2: $[_{CP} [_C [_{TP} \text{Subject} [\mathbf{V-fin}] \dots]]]$
 b. WF subject-initial V2: $[_{CP} \text{Subject} [_C \mathbf{V-fin}] [_{TP} t_{\text{subject}} \dots t_{\text{vfin}} \dots]]^{13}$

Given (26), the different status of V2 transgressions with subject-initial V2 follows: in StD, the locality condition on the interpretation of the constituent in FrameP cannot be met in subject-initial V2 patterns with IS undistinguished subjects, while thanks to generalised-to-C movement, it is met in WF.

- (27) a. *StD $[_{\text{FrameP}} [_{CP} \text{als mijn tekst klaar is}]_i [_{CP} [_C [_{TP} \mathbf{ik} [\mathbf{zal} \ i] \dots]]]$
 b. $\sqrt{\text{WF}}$ $[_{\text{FrameP}} [_{CP} \text{als mijn tekst klaar is}]_i [_{CP} \mathbf{ik} [_C \mathbf{zal} \ i] [_{TP} t_{\text{subject}} \dots t_{\text{vfin}} \dots]]]$

In (27a): the local relation between SpecFrameP and the TP-internal temporal projection of the proposition cannot be established in the absence of a head chain C-T. In (27b): the head chain C-T, created by V-movement to C, sets up the required local relation between SpecFrameP and the TP-internal temporal coordinates of the V2 clause and it enables the construal between the constituent in the specifier of FrameP and the propositional temporal projection.

6. Summary

The paper discusses V2 transgressions in Dutch. It starts from the observation that in StD a V2 transgression resulting from the combination of a central adverbial clause with a subject-initial V2 clause with IS undistinguished subject is unacceptable. We demonstrate that this cannot simply be explained as a V2 violation because an array of StD V2 transgressions are acceptable, in the form of both (i) the combination of a peripheral adverbial clauses with all V2 clauses, and (ii) the combination of a central adverbial clause with a non subject-initial V2 clause.

It is proposed that in V2 transgressions the constituent combining with the V2 main clause is main clause external. This external constituent and the V2 clause form a discourse unit ‘FrameP’. It is proposed that the interpretation of the constituents in FrameP is regulated by a locality condition. For central adverbial clauses, it is argued that the local relation making modal or temporal construal possible is attained by finite V movement to C. It is proposed that in StD the derivation of V2 clauses is asymmetric: while in inverted contexts the finite verb moves to C, in subject-initial V2 patterns with IS undistinguished subjects, the finite V does not move to C. As a result, in the latter clause type, the local relation between an external temporal adverbial clause and the matrix V2 clause fails to be established and the external clause remains uninterpreted.

To account for the observed variation between StD and WF, where licit V2 transgressions are shown to also arise with the combination of an external adverbial clause and a subject initial V2 clause with IS undistinguished subject, it is proposed that WF has a symmetric derivation of V2 patterns: the finite verb always moves to C, thus allowing for the setting up of the local relation between the initial clause and the temporal coordinates of the associated main clause in V2 transgressions.

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¹ We have obtained judgements from 10 speakers, 7 originating from the Netherlands and 3 from Belgium.

² Thanks to Fred Weerman for bringing these data to our attention. Observe that in (9b) (and also in (10b) below) Flemish speakers prefer *er* ('there') insertion. For Dutch speakers (i) and (ii) are degraded.

(i) %Als er morgen een probleem is, wie zal er ons helpen?
 If there tomorrow a problem is, who will *er* us help
 'If there is a problem tomorrow, who will help us?'

(ii) %Als er morgen een probleem is, wie zal er ons dan helpen?
 If there tomorrow a problem is, who will *er* us then help
 'If there is a problem tomorrow, who will help us?'

³ The *Vor Vorfeld* is also referred to as the 'pre frontfield', the *Vorfeld* is the 'Front field'.

⁴ The preverbal zone is also called 'fondement', i.e. 'foundation'.

5 Our take on (13) is distinct from those who would take the relevant V3 configurations as a further extension of the “Rizzian” articulated left periphery (cf. Holmberg 2015). Among the proposals listed, it remains to be seen whether our FrameP is equivalent to any specific proposal.

6 Te Velde (2013) proposes that the peripheral adverbial is associated with an unpronounced apodosis. (ia), his (29), is represented as (ib):

- (i) a. Wenn du Lust hast, wir gehen heute Abend ins Kino.
if you like, we go tonight to the movies.
b. [_{CP} Wenn du Lust hast] [_{XP} ...], wir gehen heute Abend ins Kino.

7 For the interpretation of the discourse layer, a feature set is inserted by the semantic interface.

The absence of low construal is documented in more detail in Greco and Haegeman (2016).

The construct FrameP being, by hypothesis, ‘outside syntax proper’, we might conceive of the generalized strict locality requirement governing its interpretation as a constrain on the building of discourse relations. In line with this position, we might further speculate that the syntactic relations such as Probe and Agree cannot apply at the discourse level, i.e. outside of the syntax, and that this is what ultimately precludes low construal. Thanks to Luigi Rizzi (p.c.) for bringing this point up. We do not develop it further in the present paper.

8 Many complications are left aside for expository reasons. See also note 9.

9 Additional options for implementation are available if a cartographic approach is adopted (Poletto 2013, Biberauer and Roberts 2015, Wolfe 2015, to appear). For instance, the asymmetric V2 patterns may be derived by the finite verb moving either to Fin or to Force. This means that in asymmetric languages too the verb would always leave TP. We don’t go into this issue here and refer the reader to Greco and Haegeman (2016) and the papers cited.

10 Some support for the proposal comes from the fact that for Flemish speakers wh-subjects require *er* insertion:

- (i) Wie heeft er dat boek gelezen
who has there that book read
‘Who has read that book?’

If *er* is an expletive in the canonical subject position then in (i) we must conclude that the finite verb *heeft* (‘has’) has moved to the left. We do not pursue this point here.

11 This raises a general methodological question concerning the reliability of questionnaires for dialect syntax. Breitbarth and Haegeman (2010, 2014) show a similar effect of under reporting in relation to the distribution of the negative particle *en*, which also had low acceptance rates in the SAND data. These authors show that the low acceptance rate of the negative particle *en* may also stem from the fact that this particle arises in a specific discourse context which is not evoked by the questionnaires. Some caution is thus recommended when relying exclusively on such questionnaires.

12 As mentioned by Boogaert (2007), the auxiliary *moest* in (6) may have a deontic or an irrealis reading. This is tangential to the present issue: what is important to us is that the conditional occurs in a non-inverted V3 sentence.

13 The question arises what is at the basis for the distinction in the derivation of subject-initial V2 sentences in these varieties of Dutch. We speculate that the movement of the finite verb to the left peripheral position in WF subject-initial V2 must be related to some other property or properties of the WF C system, which differs from that of other Dutch varieties as reflected, among others, in the fact that the language displays generalised complementizer agreement with the generalised spell out of finite C (leading to doubly filled comp patterns).