

Unintroduced *dat* adverbials in Flemish varieties of Dutch

This paper offers a systematic description and a first analysis of the so far unnoticed Flemish patterns in (1), in which an unIntroduced *dat*-clause has an adverbial function. The patterns in (1) are only acceptable in spoken Flemish. Speakers from western Flanders are most tolerant, specifically those with a West Flemish background; in West Flemish the pattern is fully acceptable. In (1a) and (1b) the unIntroduced *dat* clause seems interpretively close to a temporal clause (cf. (Flemish) (2a) and (2b)). Other readings will also be illustrated.

- (1) a. Ik ben vroeger dikwijls naar Brugge geweest **dat** er geen toeristen waren.
I am formerly often to Bruges been that there no tourists were
'Often when I went to Bruges there were no tourists.'
- b. Ik ben haar nog tegengekomen **dat** ze al ziek was.
I have her part met that she already ill was
'I met her when she was already ill'
- (2) a. Ik ben vroeger dikwijls naar Brugge geweest **als** er geen toeristen waren.
'Often when I used to go to Bruges there were no tourists.'
- b. Ik ben haar nog tegengekomen **als** ze al ziek was.
'I met her when she was already ill.'

The *dat* clauses in (1) differ from (i) Flemish unIntroduced *dat* conditionals (3a) and Dutch/Flemish equivalents of German free *dass*-clauses (Reis 1997, Holler 2005) (3b).

- (3) a. We kunnen de tram nemen **dat** het moest regenen
we can the tram take that it should rain rain
- b. Ben je ziek, **dat** je er zo bleek uitziet?
Are you ill, that you so pale look

Interpretation UnIntroduced *dat* adverbials (U *dat*-adverbial) differ interpretively from adverbial clauses introduced by a subordinator (2). E.g., the temporal *als* ('when') clause in (2a) suggests that my visits to Bruges were located in a period of time in which there were no tourists; U *dat*-adverbials (1a) convey that often when I went to Bruges there (unexpectedly) happened to be no tourists. (1a) suggests that usually Bruges is usually full of tourists. In the spirit of Whelpton (2001), the content of the U *dat*-adverbial has an 'adversative' component which is the new information of (1a): it encodes a 'remarkable' (Whelpton 2001: 318) circumstance (the absence of tourists) of the event (a visit to Bruges); the main clause content 'raise[s] structured uncertainties' Whelpton (2001: 332), which the U *dat*-adverbial resolves.

Distribution. Formally, U *dat*-adverbials are like complement *dat* clauses (3a). But unlike these, the U *dat*-clause cannot front (with or without a resumptive element) and it cannot appear in the middle field, an option available to a subset of complement clauses (Barbiers 2000, Haegeman 2012) (cf. (4) vs (5)). Regular adverbial clauses are compatible with fronting (with or without resumptive element), and mid position (cf (5)):

- (4) a. Hij zegt niet **dat** er geen toeristen waren
'He doesn't say that there were no tourists'
- b. Dat er geen toeristen waren (dat) zegt hij niet
that there no tourists were (that) says he not
- c. Hij heeft **dat** er geen toeristen waren altijd ontkend
he has that there no tourists were always denied
- (5) a. ***Dat** er geen toeristen waren (dat/dan) ben ik nog naar Brugge geweest
that there no tourists were (dat/then) am I to Bruges been
- b. ***Ik** ben **dat** er geen toeristen waren nog naar Brugge geweest
I am that there no tourists were part to Bruges been
- (6) a. [**Als/*dat** er geen toeristen waren] (dan) ben ik nog naar Brugge geweest
when/*that there no tourists were (then) am I to Bruges been
- b. Ik ben [**als/*dat** er geen toeristen waren] nog naar Brugge geweest
I am when/*that there no tourists were part to Bruges been

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Relation to the matrix clause Unlike evidential *dat* clauses in (3b), which are only loosely or not syntactically integrated with the matrix clause (Reis 1997, Holler 2005), U *dat*-adverbials are syntactically integrated in the matrix domain. (i) There is no prosodic break. (ii) The U *dat*-adverbial can be embedded with the matrix domain (7). (iii) While they cannot front all by themselves (5), U *dat*-adverbials are pied piped by predicate fronting (8), suggesting that they are constituent of a vP/VP layer. Like regular adverbial clauses (and unlike a subset of complement *dat*-clauses) U *dat*-clauses are islands for extraction (to be illustrated in the presentation).

(7) Als [ge naar Brugge gaat **dat** er geen toeristen zijn], (dan) hebt ge geluk.

When you to Bruges go that there no tourists are, (then) have you luck
'If there are no tourists when you visit Bruges, you are lucky.'

(8) [Naar Brugge geweest **dat** er geen toeristen waren] (dat) ben ik nog niet

To Bruges been that there no tourists were (that) have I not

Scope U *dat*-clauses are in the scope of matrix operators. In (9a) the *yes-no* question raises the issue whether a visit to Bruges ever coincided with an absence of tourists, in (9b) the temporal *wh*-phrase *wanneer* ('when') raises a question about the timing of the visit to Bruges in the absence of tourists. U *dat*-adverbials are within the scope of clausal negation (cf. *nooit* in (10) or of other quantifiers (cf. *dikwijls*, 'frequently') in (1a).

(9) a. Zijt ge ooit naar Brugge geweest **dat** er geen toeristen waren?

'Did it ever happen that you went to Bruges and there were no tourists?'

b. Wanneer zijt gij naar Brugge geweest **dat** er geen toeristen waren,

'when was it that there were no tourists when you went to Bruges?'

(10) Ik ben nooit naar Brugge geweest **dat** er geen toeristen waren

I have never to Bruges been that there no tourists were

Principle C effects and pronoun binding (both to be illustrated in the presentation) also show that the U *dat*-clause is in the c-command domain of nominals in the matrix clause.

Focus The U *dat*-adverbial conveys new information, it can be the target of a middle field focal marker such as *zelfs* ('even'), *ook* ('also') but not *juist* ('just'). Unlike regular adverbial clauses (12a), the U *dat*-adverbial cannot be introduced by these focal markers, it cannot be the focus of an *it* cleft (12), nor can it function as a reply to a *wh*-question (13)

(11) Ik ben zelfs/ook/*juist naar Brugge geweest **dat** er geen toeristen waren

I have even/also/*just to Bruges been that there no tourists were

(12) Ik ben naar Brugge geweest zelfs/ook **als/*dat** er geen toeristen waren

I have to Bruges been just/even/also when/*that there no tourists were

(13) Het was **als/*dat** er geen toeristen waren dat ik nog naar Brugge geweest ben

It was when there were no tourists that I have been to Bruges

(14) A: Wanneer zijt gij naar Brugge geweest? 'When did you go to Bruges,'

B: **Als/*dat** er geen toeristen waren

When/*dat there no tourists were

Outline of the analysis Most U *dat* clause can also be introduced by the coordinating conjunction *en* (15) (=1a). Building on this observation I will explore an early Minimalist account of extraposition based on Kaan (1992), Rijkhoek (1998) Koster (2000) and De Vries (2011), in terms of 'specificational coordination': U *dat*-clauses are conjoined (with a silent coordinator :&P) to the functional layer encoding the event in the associated clause. I will explore an analysis according to which the *dat* clause is itself the complement of a silent Pred; resulting PredP is in a relation of specificational coordination with the matrix PredP.

(15) Ik ben vroeger dikwijls naar Brugge geweest **en dat** er geen toeristen waren.

'Often when I went to Bruges there were no tourists.'