To place your *te* or not, and if so, where? Variation in *te*-placement in Dutch non-finite verb clusters

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Outline

1. The whole talk in a nutshell
2. Methodology
3. The data
4. Prerequisites for the analysis
5. The analysis
6. Conclusion and outlook

The whole talk in a nutshell

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New data on *te*-placement in Dutch verb clusters

(1) Koen zal niet [hoeven$_1$ *te* gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
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- The numbers indicate the hierarchical position of the verbs in the cluster (V1 selects V2, V2 selects V3)
- The verb in red: the verb that selects the *te*-infinitive
- The verb in blue: the verb on which *te* normally appears
- In (1), V1 *hoeven* 'need to' selects the *te*-infinitive *te gaan* 'to go'

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New data on *te*-placement in Dutch verb clusters

(2) Koen zal niet [hoeven$_1$ gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
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- V1 *hoeven* 'need to' selects a *te*-infinitive

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(2) Koen zal niet [hoeven$_1$ gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
Koen will not need.INF go.INF play.football.INF.
'Koen won't have to go and play football.'

- V1 *hoeven* 'need to' selects a *te*-infinitive
- Many Dutch speakers allow or even need *te* to be dropped, contrary to selection requirements: *te*-drop (2)

The whole talk in a nutshell

New data on *te*-placement in Dutch verb clusters

(3) Koen zal niet [*te* hoeven$_1$ gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
Koen will not to need.INF go.INF play.football.INF.
'Koen won't have to go and play football.'

- V1 *hoeven* 'need to' selects a *te*-infinitive

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(3) Koen zal niet [*te* hoeven$_1$ gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
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'Koen won't have to go and play football.'

- V1 *hoeven* 'need to' selects a *te*-infinitive
- Many Dutch speakers also allow *te* to appear on V1 instead of V2: *te*-raising (3)

The whole talk in a nutshell

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- V1 *hoeven* 'need to' selects a *te*-infinitive
- Many Dutch speakers also allow *te* to appear on V1 instead of V2: *te*-raising (3)
- In addition, we also find *te*-doubling

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- Many Dutch speakers also allow *te* to appear on V1 instead of V2: *te*-raising (3)

- In addition, we also find *te*-doubling
- Focus of this talk: *te*-drop and *te*-raising

The whole talk in a nutshell

Main points of the analysis

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- Dutch verb clusters are cases of functional restructuring (Cinque 2001; IJbema 2001; Wurmbrand 2001)

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Main points of the analysis

- Dutch verb clusters are cases of functional restructuring (Cinque 2001; IJbema 2001; Wurmbrand 2001)
- *Te*-raising is an instance of clitic climbing
- *Te*-drop is due to differences in structural complement size

- *Te*-raising thus fills a previously unexplained gap in the cross-linguistic distribution of restructuring phenomena across Germanic and Romance

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2. Methodology
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Methodology: design

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Large-scale questionnaire study

- Three types of clusters in 123-order were tested

Methodology: design

Cluster type I. *Te*-V1-V2-V3

(4) Anne zegt hier [*te* willen$_1$ blijven$_2$ zitten$_3$].
Anne says here to want.INF remain.INF sit.INF.
'Anne says that she wants to remain seated here.'

Methodology: design

Cluster type I. *Te*-V1-V2-V3

(4) Anne zegt hier [*te* willen$_1$ blijven$_2$ zitten$_3$].
Anne says here to want.INF remain.INF sit.INF.
'Anne says that she wants to remain seated here.'

- The finite verb *zegt* 'says' in verb second position selects a *te*-infinitive

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Cluster type I. *Te*-V1-V2-V3

(4) Anne zegt hier [*te* willen$_1$ blijven$_2$ zitten$_3$].
Anne says here to want.INF remain.INF sit.INF.
'Anne says that she wants to remain seated here.'

- The finite verb *zegt* 'says' in verb second position selects a *te*-infinitive
- The highest verb in the cluster (V1) is a *te*-infinitive

Methodology: design

Cluster type II. V1-*te*-V2-V3

(5) Koen zal niet [hoeven$_1$ *te* gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
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- V1 *hoeven* 'need to' selects a *te*-infinitive

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Cluster type II. V1-*te*-V2-V3

(5) Koen zal niet [hoeven$_1$ *te* gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
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- V1 *hoeven* 'need to' selects a *te*-infinitive
- The second verb in the cluster (V2) is a *te*-infinitive

Methodology: design

Cluster type III. V1-V2-*te*-V3

(6) Peter zal lang [moeten$_1$ zitten$_2$ *te* wachten$_3$].
Peter will long must.INF sit.INF to wait.INF.
'Peter will have to wait for a long time.'

Methodology: design

Cluster type III. V1-V2-*te*-V3

(6) Peter zal lang [moeten$_1$ zitten$_2$ *te* wachten$_3$].
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- V2 *zitten* 'sit' selects a *te*-infinitive

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(6) Peter zal lang [moeten$_1$ zitten$_2$ *te* wachten$_3$].
Peter will long must.INF sit.INF to wait.INF.
'Peter will have to wait for a long time.'

- V2 *zitten* 'sit' selects a *te*-infinitive
- The lowest verb in the cluster (V3) is a *te*-infinitive

Methodology: design

Goal of the questionnaire study:

- Test whether *te* can appear in a different position than it should appear in based on the selection requirements

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  - the 'correct' version (meeting the selection requirements)
  - *te* occurs on one of the other verbs of the cluster
  - *te* is absent

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Goal of the questionnaire study:

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- Different versions of the three cluster types were included in the questionnaire:
  - the 'correct' version (meeting the selection requirements)
  - *te* occurs on one of the other verbs of the cluster
  - *te* is absent
  - *te* occurs twice

Methodology: design

7 different versions of all cluster types:

1. *te*-V1-V2-V3
2. V1-*te*-V2-V3
3. V1-V2-*te*-V3
4. V1-V2-V3
5. *te*-V1-*te*-V2-V3
6. *te*-V1-V2-*te*-V3
7. V1-*te*-V2-*te*-V3

- 28 test items, 25 filler items, 5 practice items

Methodology: procedure

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Task

- Judgment task, using a 5-point Likert scale

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- Online written questionnaire, created in LimeSurvey©

Methodology: procedure

Task

- Judgment task, using a 5-point Likert scale
- Online written questionnaire, created in LimeSurvey©
- Test items presented in randomized order, preceded by a practice round (5 practice items, same order for all participants)

Methodology: procedure

Instructions

- Participants were asked to answer the following question on a 5-point Likert scale after reading the test sentence out loud:

  'Is this a possible sentence in Dutch as it is spoken in your immediate environment?'

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  - 'Immediate environment' was defined as 'friends, family, town or city'

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Instructions

- Participants were asked to answer the following question on a 5-point Likert scale after reading the test sentence out loud:

  'Is this a possible sentence in Dutch as it is spoken in your immediate environment?'

  - 'Immediate environment' was defined as 'friends, family, town or city'
  - 5 = 'certainly', 1 = 'certainly not'; they could also assign 2,3,4 or 'I don't know', and comment on their rating in a comment field

Methodology: participants

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  - 70 participants were excluded due to them having lived abroad for longer than 10% of their lives

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Participants

- 531 native Dutch speakers completed the questionnaire, 459 were included for analysis:
  - 70 participants were excluded due to them having lived abroad for longer than 10% of their lives
  - 2 participants were excluded due to inconsistent responses to the filler items

Methodology: participants

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- Mean age: 53 (*SD* 12,5; range: 18-99)

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- Gender: 250 female, 209 male

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Participants

- Mean age: 53 (*SD* 12,5; range: 18-99)
- Gender: 250 female, 209 male
- Place of birth:The Netherlands: 361, Belgium: 95 (other: 3)

Methodology: participants

Figure 1: Distribution of included participants

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The data: *te*-drop

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Terminology:

1. *Te* is present in the cluster, as required by selection: no *te*-drop

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Terminology:

1. *Te* is present in the cluster, as required by selection: no *te*-drop
2. *Te* is absent in the cluster, even though selection requires it to be present: *te*-drop

The data: *te*-drop

Type of cluster	**No *te*-drop**	**Optional *te*-drop**	**Obligatory *te*-drop**
I. *te*-V1-V2-V3	451 (98,3%)	8 (0,7%)	0 (0%)
II. V1-*te*-V2-V3	191 (41,6%)	187 (40,7%)	19 (4,2%)
III. V1-V2-*te*-V3	20 (4,4%)	152 (33,1%)	223 (48,6%)

Table 1: Frequency overview of *te*-drop per type of cluster

The data: *te*-drop

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Table 1: Frequency overview of *te*-drop per type of cluster

- 62 speakers (13,5%) rejected all versions of cluster type II
- 64 speakers (13,9%) rejected all versions of cluster type III

The data: *te*-drop

Te-drop

- *Te* cannot be dropped in cluster type I (7)

(7) Anne zegt hier [* *(te)* willen$_1$ blijven$_2$ zitten$_3$].
Anne says here to want.INF remain.INF sit.INF.
'Anne says that she wants to remain seated here.'

The data: *te*-drop

Te-drop

- However, in cluster type II (8) and cluster type III (9), *te* can or even has to be dropped

(8) Koen zal niet [hoeven$_1$ gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
Koen will not need.INF go.INF play.football.INF.
'Koen won't have to go and play football.'

(9) Peter zal lang [moeten$_1$ zitten$_2$ wachten$_3$].
Peter will long must.INF sit.INF wait.INF.
'Peter will have to wait for a long time.'

The data: *te*-drop

(10) Koen zal niet [hoeven$_1$ gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
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'Koen won't have to go and play football.'

- In cluster type II, 187 speakers (40,7%) show optional *te*-drop, i.e. for these speakers *te* can be dropped, but they also allow *te* in situ and/or *te*-raising

The data: *te*-drop

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- 19 speakers (4,2%) need *te* to be dropped in this cluster, i.e. they neither allow *te* in situ, nor *te*-raising

The data: *te*-drop

(11) Peter zal lang [moeten$_1$ zitten$_2$ wachten$_3$].
Peter will long must.INF sit.INF wait.INF.
'Peter will have to wait for a long time.'

- In cluster type III, 152 speakers (33,1%) show optional *te*-drop, i.e. these speakers allow *te* to be dropped, but also allow *te* in situ and/or *te*-raising

The data: *te*-drop

(11) Peter zal lang [moeten$_1$ zitten$_2$ wachten$_3$].
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- In cluster type III, 152 speakers (33,1%) show optional *te*-drop, i.e. these speakers allow *te* to be dropped, but also allow *te* in situ and/or *te*-raising
- 223 speakers (48,6%) need *te* to be dropped in this cluster, i.e. they neither allow *te* in situ, nor *te*-raising

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1. *Te* occurs in the position required by selection requirements: *te* in situ
2. *Te* occurs in a higher position within the cluster: *te*-raising

The data: *te*-raising

Te-raising

Type of cluster	**No**	**Optional**	**Obligatory**
I. *te*-V1-V2-V3	459 (100%)	-	-
II. V1-*te*-V2-V3	193 (51,1%)	165 (43,6%)	20 (5,3%)
III. V1-V2-*te*-V3	124 (72,1%)	39 (22,7%)	9 (5,2%)

Table 2: Frequency overview of *te*-raising per type of cluster

The data: *te*-raising

(12) Anne zegt hier [*te* willen$_1$ blijven$_2$ zitten$_3$].
Anne says here to want.INF remain.INF sit.INF.
'Anne says that she wants to remain seated here.'

- In cluster type I, *te* is already on the highest verb of the cluster; we thus do not find *te*-raising in this cluster

The data: *te*-raising

(12) Anne zegt hier [*te* willen$_1$ blijven$_2$ zitten$_3$].
Anne says here to want.INF remain.INF sit.INF.
'Anne says that she wants to remain seated here.'

- In cluster type I, *te* is already on the highest verb of the cluster; we thus do not find *te*-raising in this cluster
- All 459 speakers (100%) allow *te* in situ (i.e. *te* in the position required by selection requirements)

The data: *te*-raising

(13) ...[<te> hoeven$_1$ <te> gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
... to need.INF to go.INF play.football.INF.
'Koen won't have to go and play football.'

- In cluster type II, 193 (51,1%) of the speakers who allow *te* in this cluster, only allow *te* in situ (i.e. no *te*-raising)

The data: *te*-raising

(13) ...[<te> hoeven$_1$ <te> gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
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- In cluster type II, 193 (51,1%) of the speakers who allow *te* in this cluster, only allow *te* in situ (i.e. no *te*-raising)
- 165 speakers (43,6%) show optional *te*-raising, i.e. for these speakers *te* can be raised, but they also allow *te* in situ

The data: *te*-raising

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- In cluster type II, 193 (51,1%) of the speakers who allow *te* in this cluster, only allow *te* in situ (i.e. no *te*-raising)
- 165 speakers (43,6%) show optional *te*-raising, i.e. for these speakers *te* can be raised, but they also allow *te* in situ
- 20 speakers (5,3%) need *te* to be raised in this cluster

The data: *te*-raising

(14) ...[<te> moeten$_1$ <te> zitten$_2$ <te> wachten$_3$].
... to must.INF to sit.INF to wait.INF.
'Peter will have to wait for a long time.'

- In cluster type III, 124 (72,1%) of the speakers who allow *te* in this cluster, only allow *te* in situ (i.e. no *te*-raising)

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- In cluster type III, 124 (72,1%) of the speakers who allow *te* in this cluster, only allow *te* in situ (i.e. no *te*-raising)
- 39 speakers (22,7%) show optional *te*-raising, i.e. for these speakers *te* can be raised, but they also allow *te* in situ
- 9 speakers (5,2%) need *te* to be raised in this cluster

The data: *te*-doubling

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(15) Koen zal niet [*te* hoeven$_1$ *te* gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
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- In addition, we find cases of *te*-doubling

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- In addition, we find cases of *te*-doubling
- *Te*-doubling: *te* appears twice, whereas only one *te* is required by selection requirements

The data: *te*-doubling

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- In addition, we find cases of *te*-doubling
- *Te*-doubling: *te* appears twice, whereas only one *te* is required by selection requirements
- *Te*-doubling is attested in all three cluster types, but much less frequent in cluster type III than in cluster type I and II

The data: geographical distribution

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Figure 2: Linguistic differences mapped onto geographical space

- The darker the lines between locations, the more linguistically similar the varieties spoken in those locations

The data: geographical distribution

- There are no clear geographical patterns in the distribution of *te*-raising and *te*-drop

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- There are no clear geographical patterns in the distribution of *te*-raising and *te*-drop
- That is, both phenomena are widespread and not restricted to (a) specific area(s)

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Two main findings:

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   - For the largest group of speakers who allow *te*-raising, this raising is optional
   - I.e., for them the following *implicational relation* holds: if they allow *te*-raising, they also allow *te* in situ

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Two main findings:

1. *Te*-raising occurs in cluster types II and III, with higher frequencies for cluster type II than for cluster type III
   - For the largest group of speakers who allow *te*-raising, this raising is optional
   - I.e., for them the following *implicational relation* holds: if they allow *te*-raising, they also allow *te* in situ
   - For a small group of speakers, *te*-raising is obligatory

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   - For the largest group of speakers who allow *te*-raising, this raising is optional
   - I.e., for them the following *implicational relation* holds: if they allow *te*-raising, they also allow *te* in situ
   - For a small group of speakers, *te*-raising is obligatory
2. *Te*-drop occurs in cluster types II and III, with higher frequencies for cluster type III than cluster type II

The data: summary

Two main findings:

1. *Te*-raising occurs in cluster types II and III, with higher frequencies for cluster type II than for cluster type III
   - For the largest group of speakers who allow *te*-raising, this raising is optional
   - I.e., for them the following *implicational relation* holds: if they allow *te*-raising, they also allow *te* in situ
   - For a small group of speakers, *te*-raising is obligatory
2. *Te*-drop occurs in cluster types II and III, with higher frequencies for cluster type III than cluster type II

- In addition, we also find *te*-doubling (not the main focus of this talk)

Prerequisites for the analysis

Four theoretical tenets:

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1. Approach to verb clusters: functional restructuring

Prerequisites for the analysis

Four theoretical tenets:

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2. The size of the complement of Dutch modals: TP

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3. The position of *te*: merged in T
4. The morphosyntactic status of *te*: clitic vs. prefix

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Approach to verb clusters

- **Proposal**: Dutch non-finite verb clusters are cases of functional restructuring

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Approach to verb clusters

- **Proposal**: Dutch non-finite verb clusters are cases of functional restructuring
- Modal, aspectual and motion verbs are merged in functional heads above the lexical verb (Cinque 2001; Wurmbrand 2001)

Prerequisites for the analysis

The size of the complement of Dutch modals

- Dutch modals select a TP complement (Aelbrecht 2009)

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(16) *Gisteren* moest ik nog *volgende week* optreden
yesterday must.PAST I still *next* *week* perform
en nu zijn de plannen alweer een week opgeschoven.
and now are the plans again a week delayed.
'Yesterday, I still had to perform next week, and now the plans have been delayed by another week.'

Prerequisites for the analysis

The position and morphosyntactic status of *te*

- *Te* is merged in T (Bennis and Hoekstra 1989; Rutten 1991; IJbema 2001)

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The position and morphosyntactic status of *te*

- *Te* is merged in T (Bennis and Hoekstra 1989; Rutten 1991; IJbema 2001)
- We find conflicting judgments on the distributional properties of *te* (Zwart 1993; Bennis 2000; IJbema 2001)

Prerequisites for the analysis

Conflicting judgments on the distributional properties of *te*

- Zwart (1993: 104):

(17) a. Om in L.A. *te* leven en *(te)* sterven.
for in L.A. to live.INF and to die.INF.
'To live and die in L.A.'

b. Om in L.A. *ge-* boren en * *(ge-)* storven te zijn.
for in L.A. GE- born and GE- died to be.
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- IJbema (2001: 70): (17) shows that *te* is a clitic, as clitics can have scope over two elements in a coordination, whereas prefixes cannot (Miller 1991)

Prerequisites for the analysis

Conflicting judgments on the distributional properties of *te*

- Bennis (2000: 115) rejects coordinations with *te* taking scope over two infinitives (i.e. he argues that *te* is a prefix):

(18) De generaal moedigt het leger aan om *te* strijden
the general encourages the army PRT for to fight
en * (*te*) winnen.
and to win.
'The general encourages the army to fight and win.'

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The morphosyntactic status of *te*

- **My proposal**: *te* can be either a prefix or a clitic

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The morphosyntactic status of *te*

- **My proposal**: *te* can be either a prefix or a clitic
- Differing native speaker judgments reflect variation in the categorial status of *te*
- Consequently, speakers for whom *te* is a prefix, do not allow *te*-raising; speakers for whom *te* is a clitic, do

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(19) a. $<Ci>$ vorrei andar$<ci>$ con Maria.
there I.would.want go.INF.there with Maria.
'I would like to go there with Maria.'

b. $<{}^{*}Ci>$ detesterei andar$<ci>$ con Maria.
there I.would.hate go.INF.there with Maria.
'I would hate to go there with Maria.'

(Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 2004: 521)

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- Restructuring is a necessary condition for both Italian clitic climbing and Dutch *te*-raising
- I therefore propose that ***te*-raising is a case of clitic climbing**

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Further support: three parallels between Italian and Dutch restructuring

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Auxiliary switch

- A restructuring effect in which the auxiliary of the lower, lexical verb is selected, instead of the auxiliary that is associated with the higher, functional verb:

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- In (20), the auxiliary associated with lexical verb *andare* 'go' is selected instead (e.g. *sarei* 'would be' (*essere* 'be'))

The analysis: further parallels between Italian and Dutch restructuring

Auxiliary switch

- We see the same restructuring effect in verb clusters in (mostly Southern) varieties of Dutch:

(21) ...dat ik naar huis ben moeten gaan.
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- In (21), the auxiliary assiociated with lexical verb *gaan* 'go' is selected instead (e.g. *ben* 'am' (*zijn* 'be'))

The analysis: further parallels between Italian and Dutch restructuring

Clitic doubling

- Both in varieties of Italian (Cardinalletti & Shlonsky 2004: 251) and Dutch, we see clitic doubling patterns in restructuring contexts:

(22) A' ***m*** ***la*** dev leve ***m*** ***la***.
I to-me it must take-away.to-me it.
'I have to take it away.'

(23) Koen zal niet [***te*** hoeven$_1$ ***te*** gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
Koen will not to need.INF to go.INF play.football.INF.
'Koen won't have to go and play football.'

The analysis: further parallels between Italian and Dutch restructuring

Variation in optionality of clitic climbing

- *Recall*: In the Dutch data, we see three patterns: obligatory *te*-raising, optional *te*-raising, and no *te*-raising (i.e. *te* in situ)

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- Exactly these three patterns are also found for clitic climbing in restructuring contexts across varieties of Italian (see amongst others Cinque (2004))
  - Many northern varieties have obligatory clitic in situ
  - Standard Italian (and other varieties) has optional clitic climbing
  - Many southern varieties have obligatory clitic climbing

The analysis: *Te* in cluster type I.

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Cluster type I, *te*-V1-V2-V3

(24) Anne zegt hier [*te* willen$_1$ blijven$_2$ zitten$_3$].
Anne says here to want.INF remain.INF sit.INF.
'Anne says that she wants to remain seated here.'

- The finite verb *zegt* 'says' in verb second position selects the *te*-infinitive

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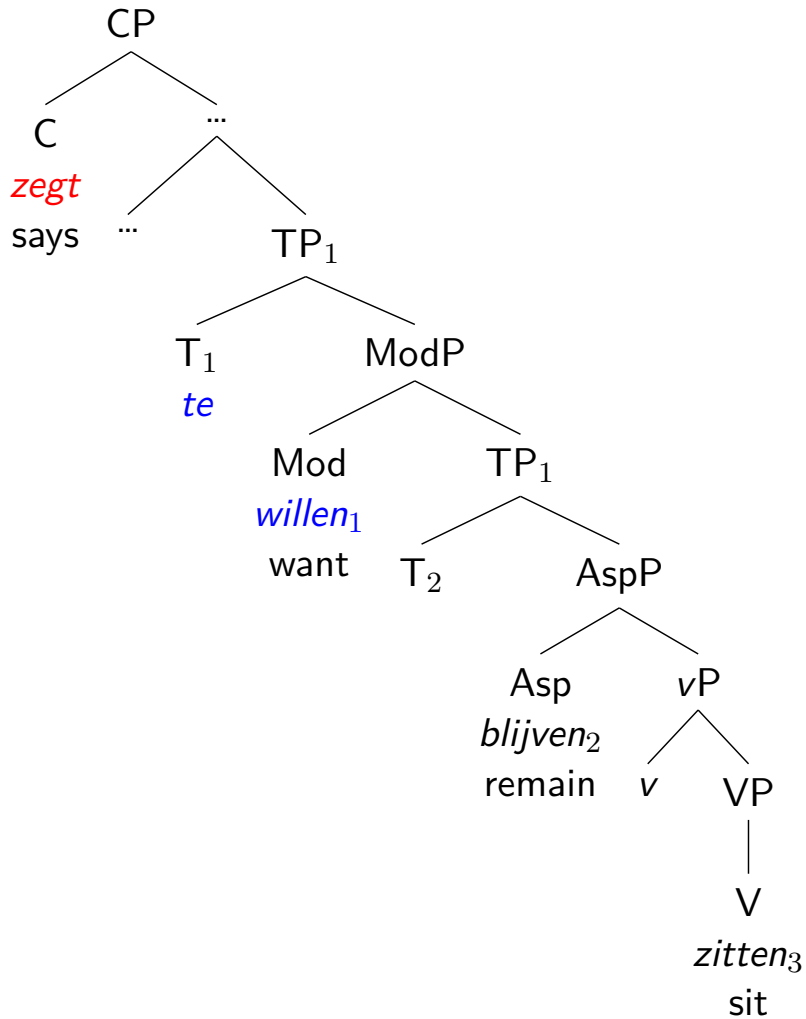
- V1 *willen* 'want' is in Mod, V2 *blijven* 'remain' in Asp and the lexical verb V3 *zitten* 'sit' is in V
- There is no *te*-raising and no *te*-drop in this cluster type

The analysis: *Te* in cluster type I.

The structure of cluster type I:

(25)



The analysis: *Te* in cluster type II.

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Cluster type II, V1-*te*-V2-V3

(26) Koen zal niet [hoeven$_1$ *te* gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$].
Koen will not need.INF to go.INF play.football.INF.
'Koen won't have to go and play football.'

- The highest verb in the cluster, V1 *hoeven* 'need to' selects the *te*-infinitive

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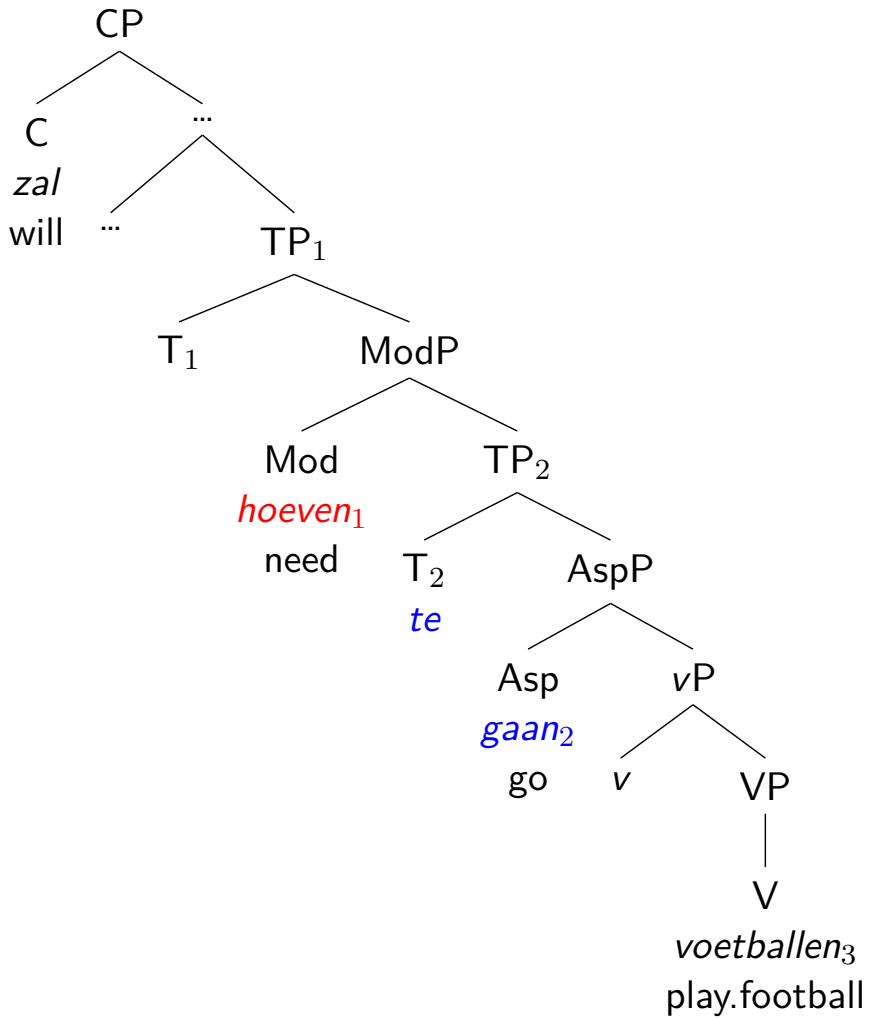

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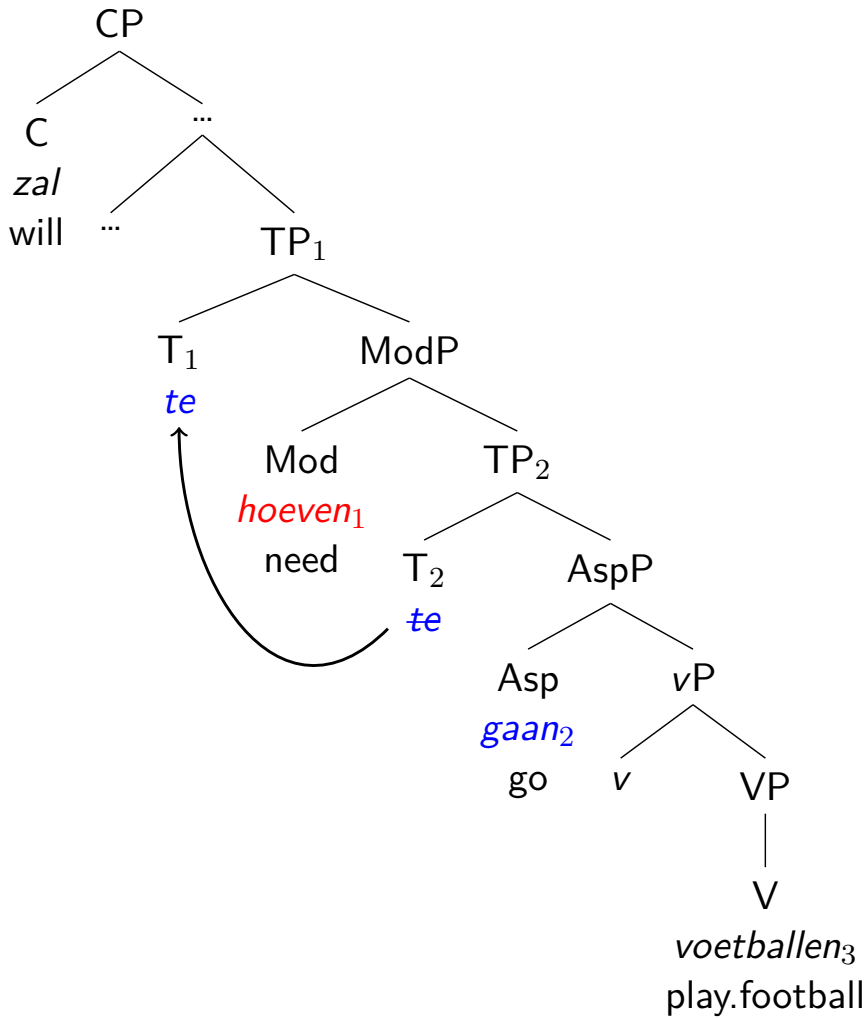
Te-raising in cluster type II:

(28)



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- *Recall*: there are also speakers who allow *te*-drop in cluster type II

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- The fact that this an ongoing language change is reflected by variation among speakers in allowing or disallowing *te*-drop in this cluster

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- 48 speakers allow *te*-raising in this cluster
- Furthermore, 152 speakers optionally drop *te* in this cluster, and for 223 speakers *te*-drop is obligatory

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- The structure of cluster type III thus has a ProgP layer

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- In the structure of cluster type III V2 *zitten* 'sit' is merged in v_{prog}

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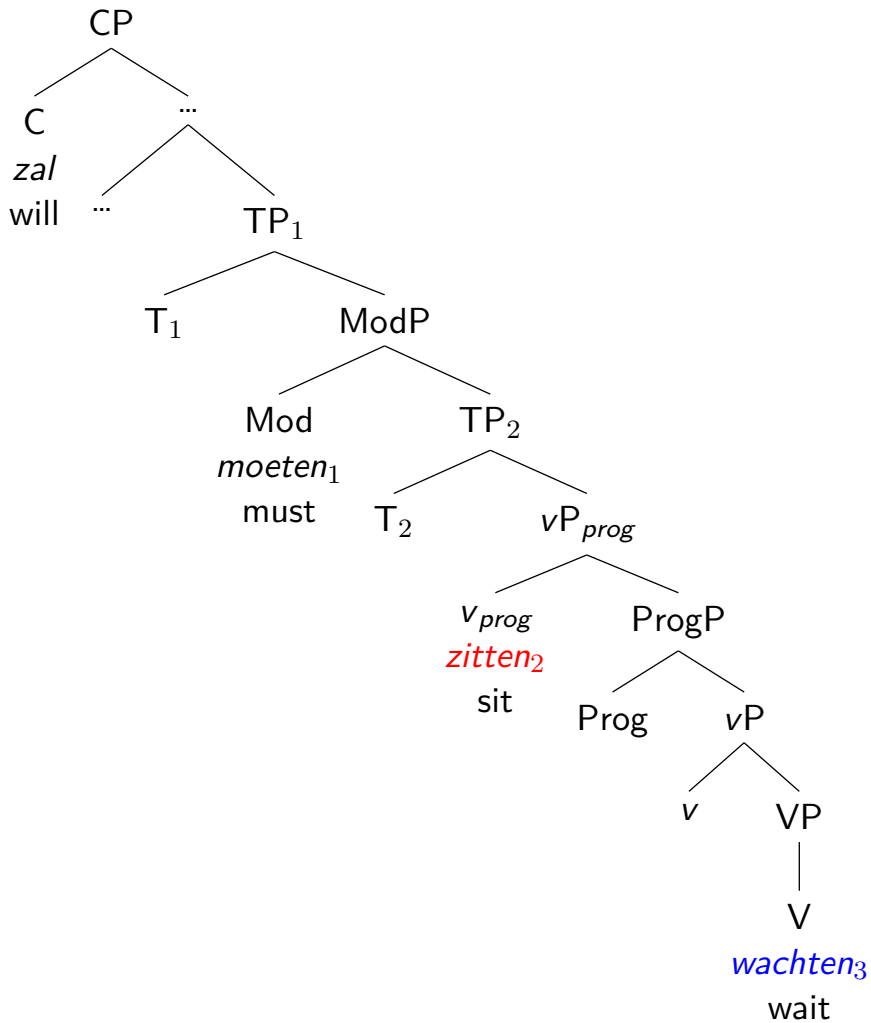
The structure of cluster type III:

(32)



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- There is no T-position below V2 *zitten* ‘sit’, which selects the *te*-infinitive
- The structure of cluster type III thus predicts that speakers do not allow *te* to occur in this cluster

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- The high frequency of obligatory *te*-drop follows from the structure of the cluster: there is no T-position below V2 *zitten* 'sit' for *te* to be merged in

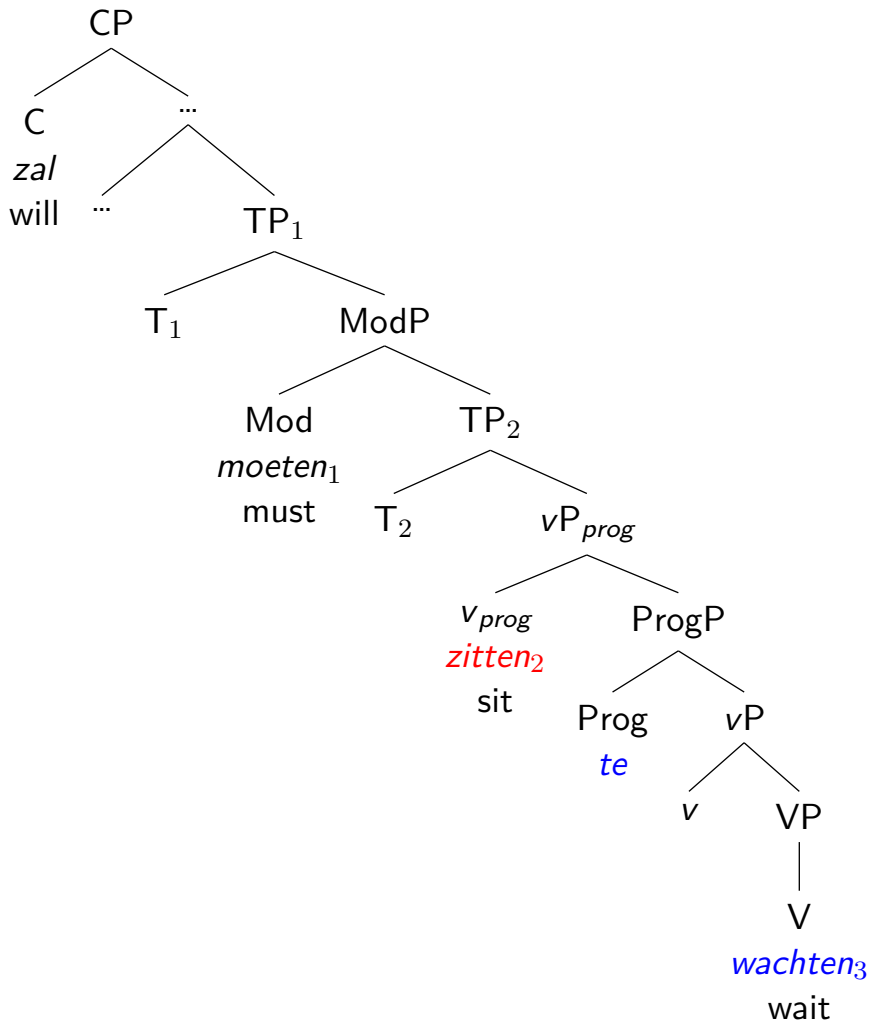
The analysis: *Te* in cluster type III.

- For the 172 speakers who do allow *te* in cluster type III, I propose that they can spell out Prog as *te*, i.e. these speakers have reanalysed *te* as a progressive marker

The analysis: *Te* in cluster type III.

Te in cluster type III:

(34)



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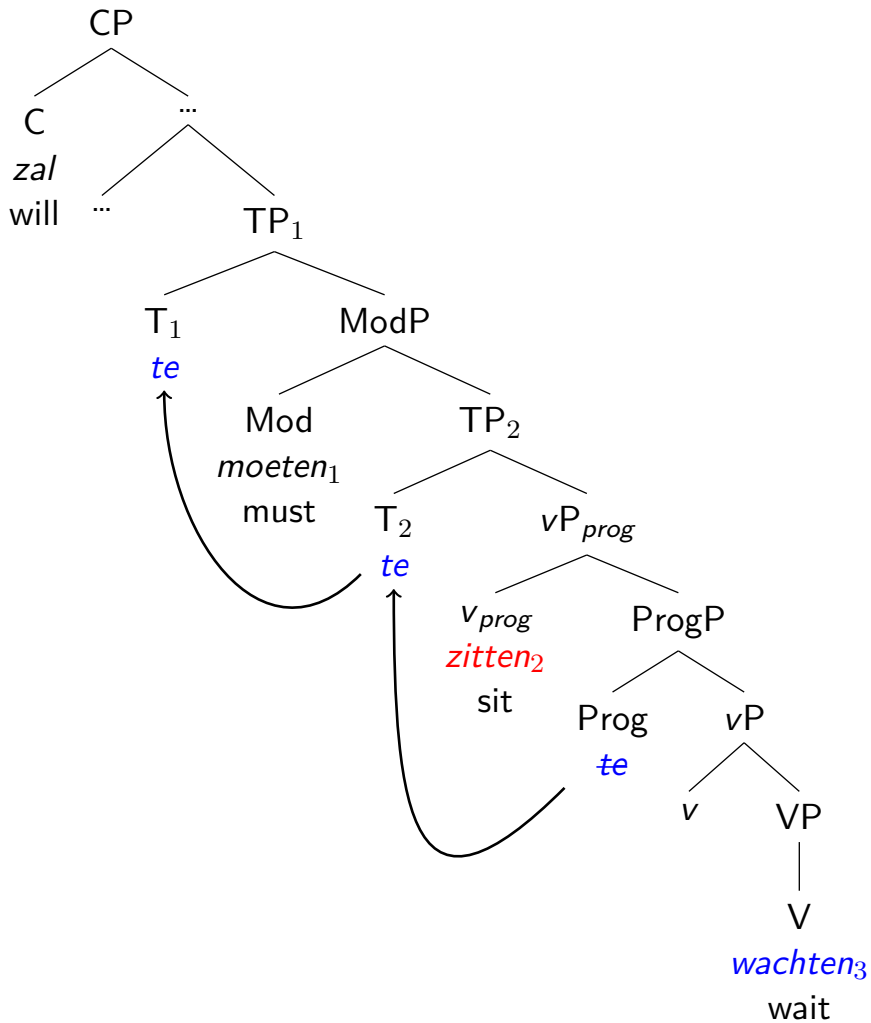
Te-raising to V2 or V1 in cluster type III:

(35)



Extension of the analysis: *te*-doubling

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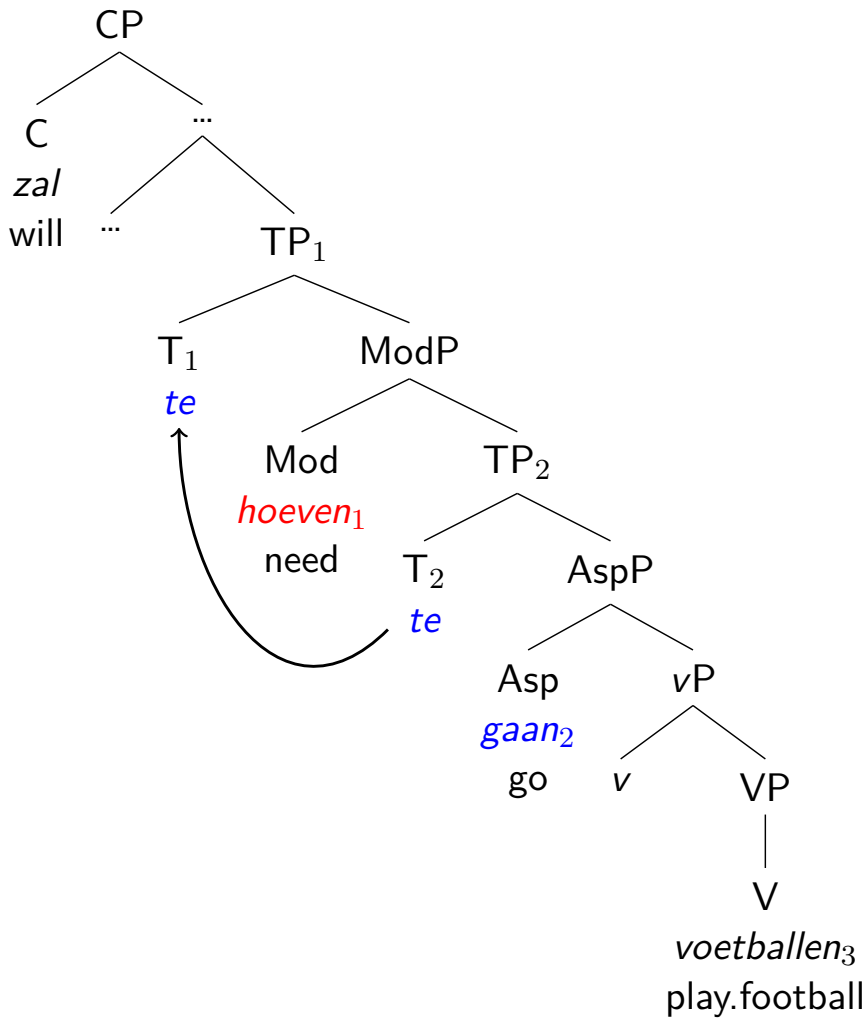
- *Implicational relation*: If speakers allow doubling, they also allow *te*-raising

Extension of the analysis: *te*-doubling

- I analyse *te*-doubling as cases of *te*-raising in which both copies of *te* are spelled out

(37)



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  - ***Te*-drop** is due to differences in structural complement size

Conclusion and outlook

Topic for future research:

- Different word orders are possible in Dutch verb clusters (without any semantic effect)

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- This study only focussed on variation in te-placement in three-verb clusters in 123-order
- **Future research**: investigate whether there is an interaction between *te*-placement and different cluster orders (i.e. 132, 213, 231, 312, 321)

- **Full paper**: www.bit.ly/Pots-te-raising
- www.crissp.be/activities
- **cora.pots@kuleuven.be**

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