Restructuring non-finite verb clusters in Dutch

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  - Dutch verb clusters are cases of functional restructuring (Cinque 2001; IJbema 2001; Wurmbrand 2001)
  - *Te*-raising is an instance of clitic climbing

Outline

1. The data
2. Prerequisites for the analysis
3. The analysis
4. Conclusion and outlook

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The data

Example:

(1) Koen zal niet [**hoeven**$_1$ ***te*** **gaan**$_2$ **voetballen**$_3$].
Koen will not need.INF to go.INF play.football.INF.
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Example:

(2) Koen zal niet [***te* hoeven$_1$ gaan$_2$ voetballen$_3$**].
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Three types of clusters in 123-order:

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

(3) 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: *te* should appear on V1

The data

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

(4) Koen zal niet [**hoeven**$_1$ ***te*** **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: *te* should appear on V2

The data

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

(5) 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: *te* should appear on V3

The data

- Large-scale questionnaire study, 459 native Dutch speakers participated

Type of cluster	***Te* in situ**	***Te*-raising**
I. *te*-V1-V2-V3	459	-
II. V1-*te*-V2-V3	378	185
III. V1-V2-*te*-V3	172	48

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

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

- *Implicational relation*: if speakers allow *te*-raising, they also allow *te* in situ

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- I take Dutch non-finite verb clusters to be cases of functional restructuring
- Modal, aspectual and motion verbs are merged in functional heads above the lexical verb (Cinque 2001; Wurmbrand 2001)
- I assume *te* to be merged in T (Bennis and Hoekstra 1989; Rutten 1991; IJbema 2001)

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(6) ***Gisteren*** **moest** ik nog ***volgende week*** **optreden** en nu zijn de plannen alweer een week opgeschoven.
Yesterday **must.PAST** I still ***next*** ***week*** **perform** and now are the plans again a week delayed.
'Yesterday, it was still planned that I would perform next week, and now the plans have been delayed with another week.'

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The analysis: *Te*-raising is clitic climbing

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(7) 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.
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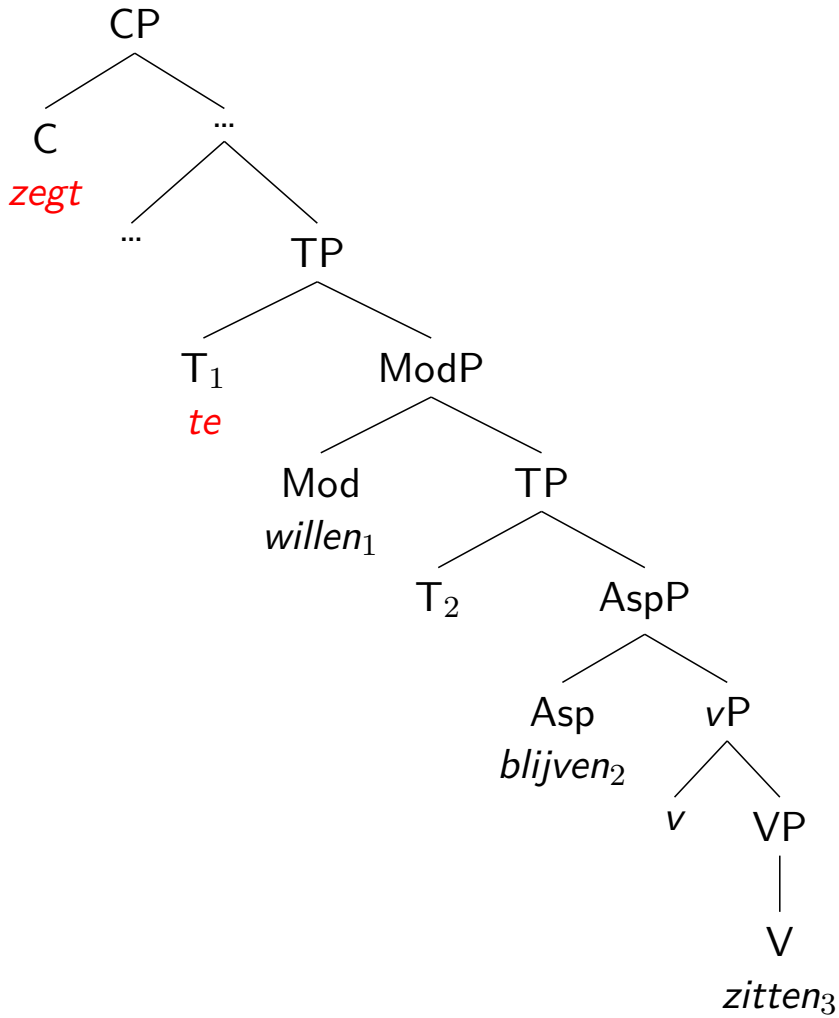
- *Recall:* implicational relation: if *te*-raising, then also *te* in situ
- Similarly here: if clitic climbing, also clitic in situ

The analysis: Position of *te* in cluster type I.

The structure of cluster type I, V1-*te*-V2-V3:

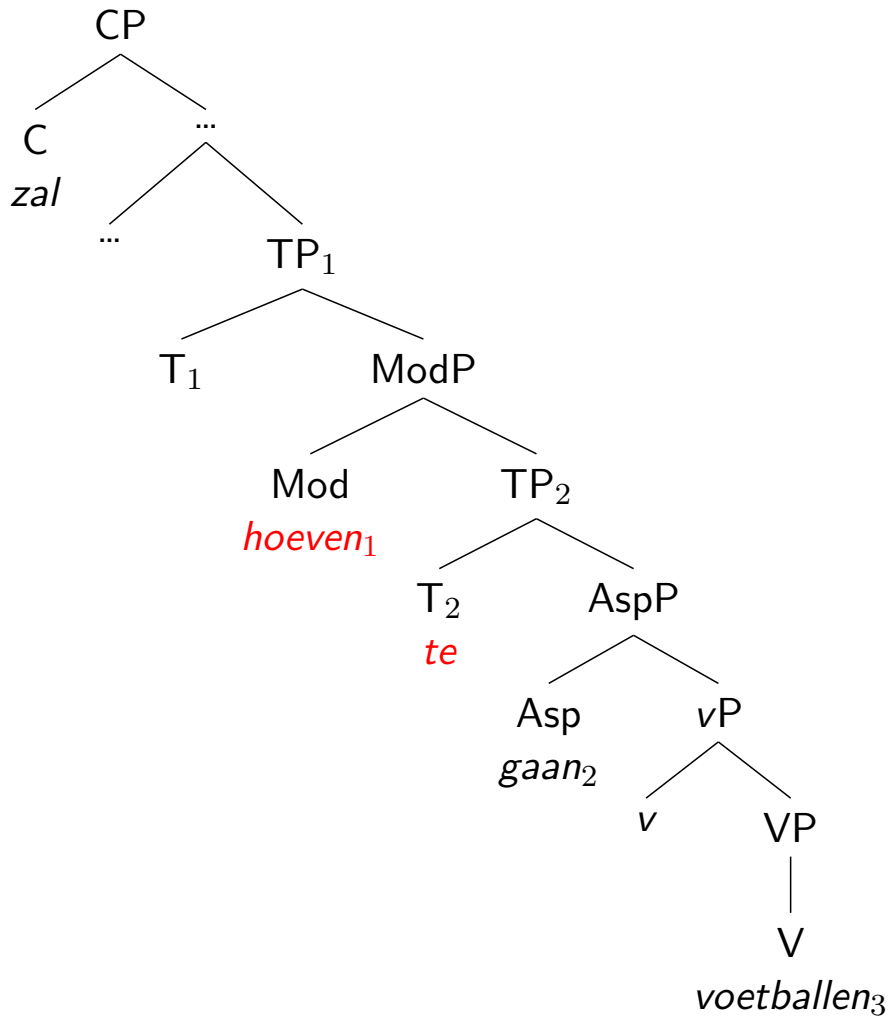
(8)



The analysis: Position of *te* in cluster type II.

The structure of cluster type II, V1-*te*-V2-V3:

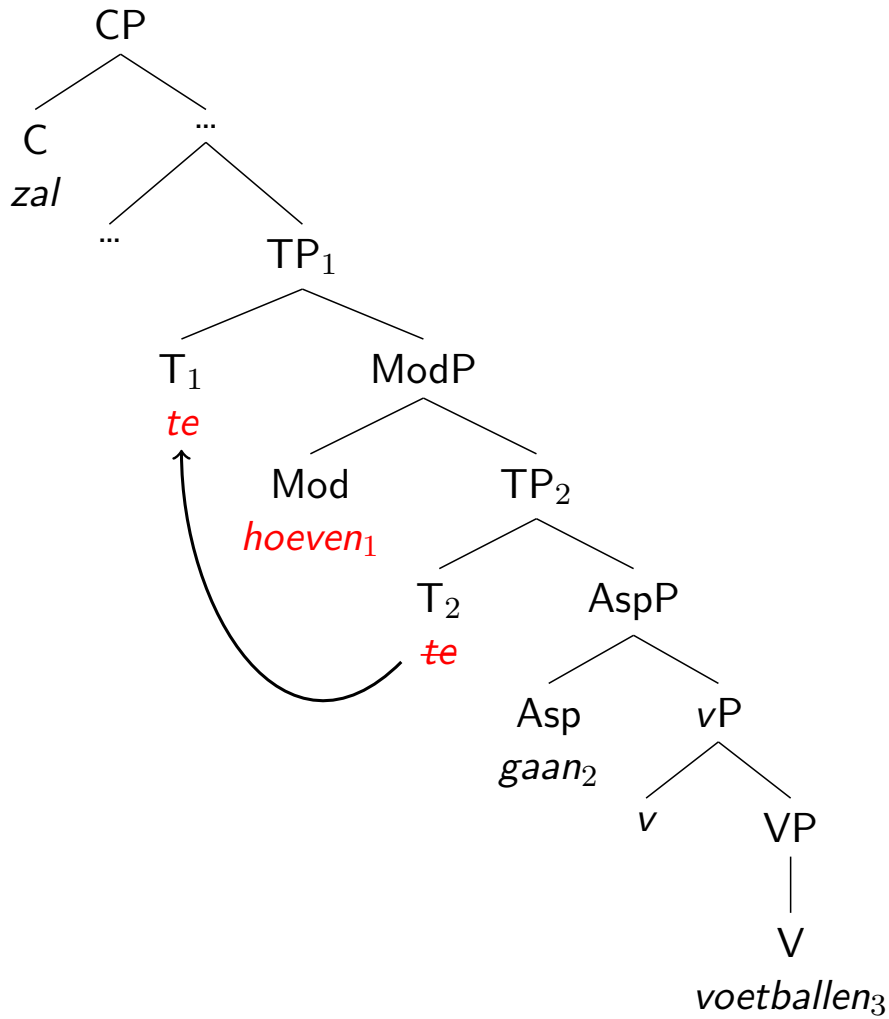
(9)



The analysis: Position of *te* in cluster type II.

Te-raising in cluster type II, V1-*te*-V2-V3:

(10)



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- The structure of cluster type III, V1-V2-*te*-V3 thus has a ProgP layer

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- I follow Harwood (2013) in assuming there to be a vP_{prog} above ProgP
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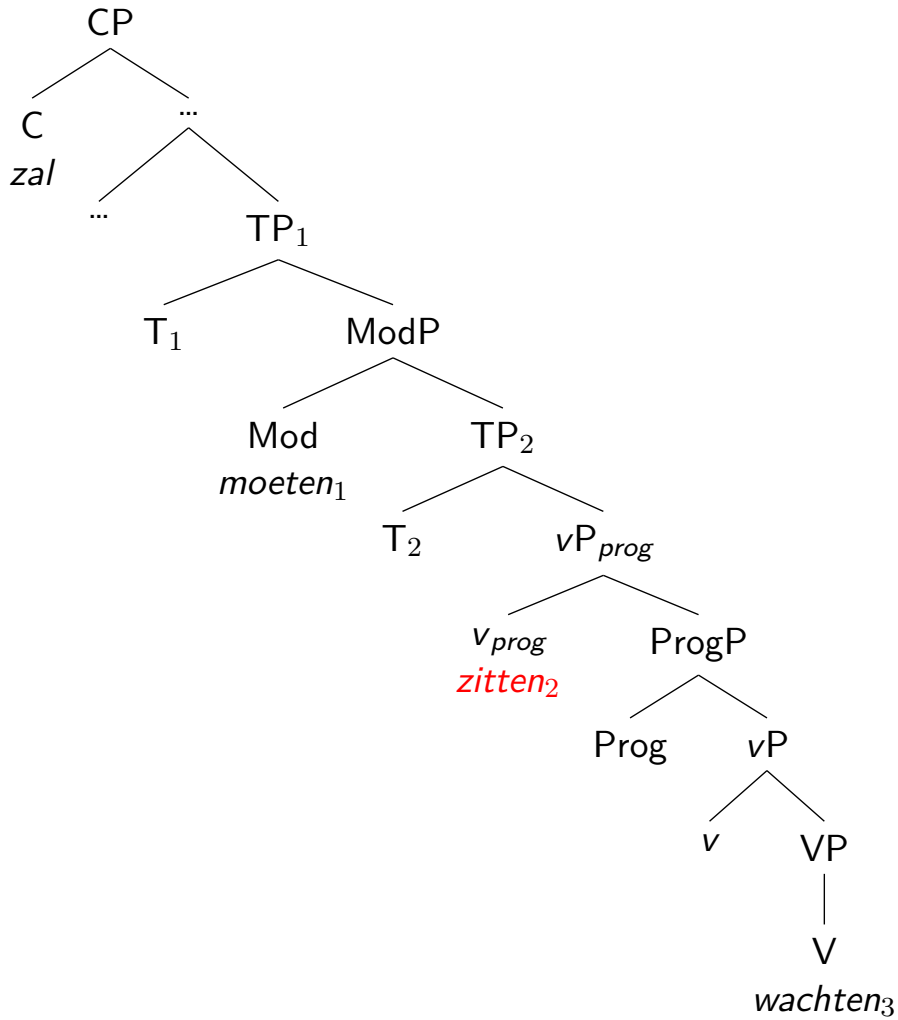
The structure of cluster type III, V1-V2-*te*-V3:

(12)



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- There is no T position below V2 *zitten* 'sit', which selects the *te*-infinitive
- The structure of cluster type III, V1-V2-*te*-V3, thus predicts that speakers do not allow *te* to occur in this cluster

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

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- These speakers have reanalysed *te* as a progressive marker

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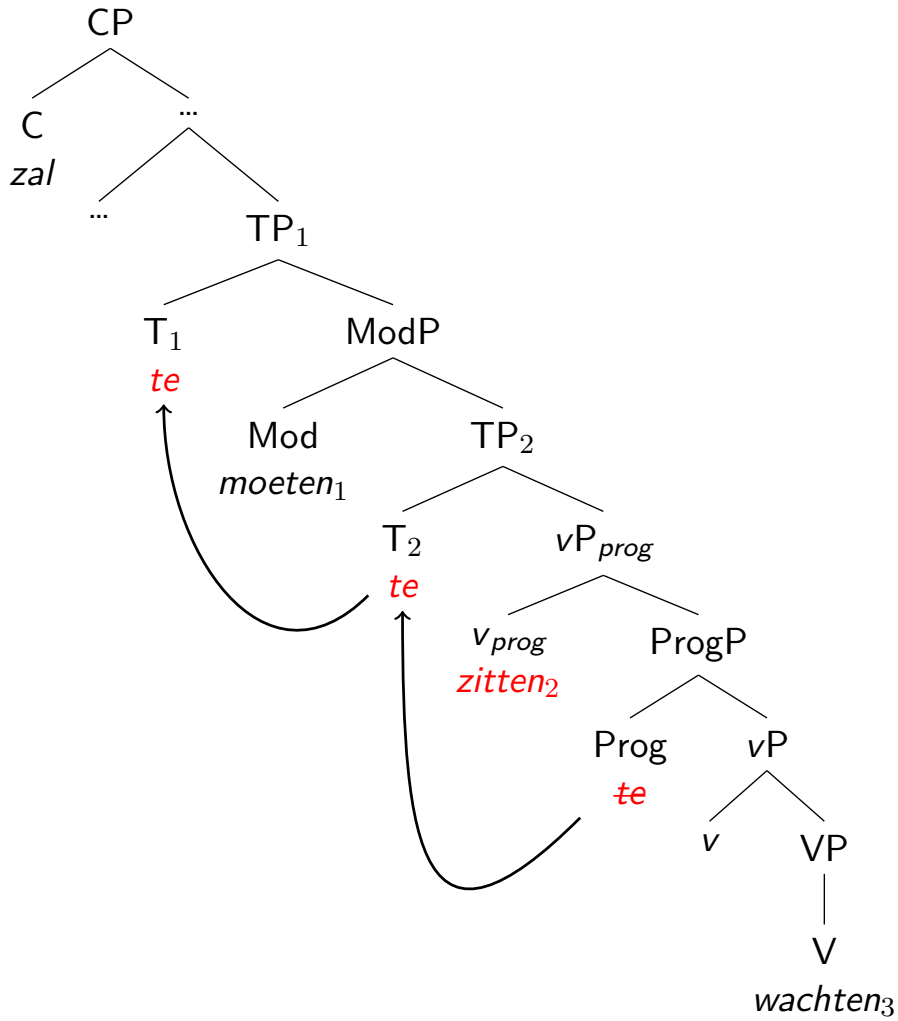
Te-raising to V2 or V1 in cluster type III, V1-V2-*te*-V3:

(14)



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- The data show that *te* can also be doubled:

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- If speakers allow doubling, they also allow *te*-raising, i.e. in *te*-doubling, both copies of *te* are spelled out

Conclusion and outlook

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

References

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