Main proposal: two stages of semi-lexicality

Main practices: how do we analyse elements that show both functional and lexical properties, i.e. ‘semi-lexical’ elements?

Theoretical assumptions:
1. A lexical item is a featureless root; a functional item is a bundle of functional features (Rädele & Marantz 1994, Harley & Noyer 1999, Bereza 2005).
2. Semi-lexicality is the result of a root being inserted in the functional domain of another root (Höven 2017, Cavirani-Pots 2020, Cavirani-Pots et al. 2021, see also Song 2019).

Today’s empirical domain: Dutch verbs

Verbs lexically select a to-complement.

The data
Based on a large-scale questionnaire study (459 speakers).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Agreement and valuation (semi-lexical stage I)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td>Agree step II and valuation (semi-lexical stage II)</td>
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<tr>
<td>[10] Agree step I (semi-lexical stage I)</td>
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</table>

The analysis: Hoeven in semi-lexical stage I

Root hoeven is used to add modality of (absence of) necessity. Dutch has no formal means yet to add this functional information.

In stage I (cf. [9]), the semi-lexical root is merged with a verbalizer, and then inserted low in the functional structure of the other root.

Prerequisites for the analysis

Three theoretical prerequisites:
1. Every verbal head enters the derivation with a unvalued [T]-feature; every functional verbal head has a valued [T]-feature corresponding to its semantic interpretation (e.g. as [T=Mod] Wurmbrand 2012).
2. Only a can spell out te, and only when its [t]-feature has been valued for [irrealis].
3. Verbal feature valuation in Germanic is the result of Reverse Agree (Wurmbrand 2012).

The analysis: Hoeven in semi-lexical stage II

Van de Velde (2017) shows that over the last 50 years, heeven is rapidly occurring more without it than with it.

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