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Not another book on Verb Raising

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APPENDIX A

Applying Hawkins' theory to the data

1-2-3 (...dat) iedereen moet ₁	kunnen ₂	zwemmen ₃		
1	2		PCD _{VP1} : 2/2:	100 %
	1	2	PCD _{VP2} : 2/2:	100 %
		1	PCD _{VP3} : 1/1	100 %
1	2	3	θ-roles S by V3: 2/4: 50.0%	
1	2		φ-agreement: 2/2: 100 %	
1		3	Relation V1-V3: 2/3: 66.7%	
	1	2	Relation V2-V3: 2/2: 100 %	
<i>Unless percolation changes the θ-relations:</i>				
1	2		θ-role S by V1: 2/2: 100 %	
1-3-2 (...dat) iedereen moet ₁	zwemmen ₃	kunnen ₂		
1	2	3	PCD _{VP1} : 2/3: 66.7%	
	1	2	PCD _{VP2} : 2/2: 100 %	
		1	PCD _{VP3} : 1/1	100 %
1	2	3	θ-roles S by V3: 2/3: 66.7%	
1	2		φ-agreement: 2/2: 100 %	
1		2	Relation V1-V3: 2/2: 100 %	
	1	2	Relation V2-V3: 2/2: 100 %	
<i>Unless percolation changes the θ-relations:</i>				
1	2		θ-role S by V1: 2/2: 100 %	
2-1-3 (...dat) iedereen kunnen ₂	moet ₁	zwemmen ₃		
1	2		PCD _{VP1} : 2/2: 100 %	
1	2	3	PCD _{VP2} : 2/3: 66.7%	
		1	PCD _{VP3} : 1/1	100 %

1	2	3	4	θ -roles S by V3: 2/4: 50.0%
1	2	3		φ -agreement: 2/3: 66.7%
		1	2	Relation V1-V3: 2/2: 100 %
	1	2	3	Relation V2-V3: 2/3: 66.7%
<i>Unless percolation changes the θ-relations:</i>				
1	2			θ -role S by V2: 2/2: 100.0%
<hr/>				
2-3-1 (...dat) iedereen kunnen ₂	zwemmen ₃	moet ₁		
		3		PCD _{VP1} : 2/3: 66.7%
	1	2		PCD _{VP2} : 2/2: 100 %
		1		PCD _{VP3} : 1/1 100 %
1	2	3		θ -roles S by V3: 2/3: 66.7%
1	2	3	4	φ -agreement: 2/4: 50.0%
			1	Relation V1-V3: 2/2: 100 %
		1	2	Relation V2-V3: 2/2: 100 %
<i>Unless percolation changes the θ-relations:</i>				
1	2			θ -role S by V2: 2/2: 100.0%
<hr/>				
3-1-2 (...dat) iedereen zwemmen ₃	moet ₁	kunnen ₂		
		2		PCD _{VP1} : 2/2: 100 %
	1	2		PCD _{VP1} : 2/3: 66.7%
		1		PCD _{VP3} : 1/1 100 %
1	2			θ -roles S by V3: 2/2: 100 %
1	2	3		φ -agreement: 2/3: 66.7%
	1	2		Relation V1-V3: 2/2: 100 %
	1	2	3	Relation V2-V3: 2/3: 66.7%
<hr/>				
3-2-1 (...dat) iedereen zwemmen ₃	kunnen ₂	moet ₁		
		2		PCD _{VP1} : 2/2: 100 %
	1	2		PCD _{VP2} : 2/2: 100 %
		1		PCD _{VP3} : 1/1 100 %
1	2			θ -roles S by V3: 2/2: 100 %
1	2	3	4	φ -agreement: 2/4: 50.0%
	1	2	3	Relation V1-V3: 2/3: 66.7%
	1	2		Relation V2-V3: 2/2: 100 %
<hr/>				
1-2-3 (...dat) s o ADV moet ₁	hebben ₂	gemaakt ₃		
	1	2		PCD _{VP1} : 2/2: 100 %
		1	2	PCD _{VP2} : 2/2: 100 %
			1	PCD _{VP3} : 1/1 100 %
1 2 3	4	5	6	θ -roles s&o by V3: 3/6: 50 %
1 2 3	4			φ -agreement: 2/4: 50 %
		1	2	Relation V1-V2: 2/2: 100 %
			1	Relation V2-V3: 2/2: 100 %
1	2	3	4	Relation ADV-V3: 2/4: 50 %
<i>Unless percolation changes the θ-relations:</i>				
1 2 3	4			θ -roles s&o by V1: 3/4: 75 %
<hr/>				

1-3-2 (...dat) s o ADV moet ₁	gemaakt ₃	hebben ₂		
1	2	3	PCD _{VP1} : 2/3:	66.7%
	1	2	PCD _{VP2} : 2/2:	100 %
		1	PCD _{VP3} : 1/1	100 %
1 2 3	4	5	θ-roles s&o by V3: 3/5:	60 %
1 2 3	4		φ-agreement: 2/4:	50 %
	1	2	Relation V1-V2: 2/3:	66.7%
		1	Relation V2-V3: 2/2:	100 %
1	2	3	Relation ADV-V3: 2/3:	66.7%
<i>Unless percolation changes the θ-relations:</i>				
1 2 3	4		θ-roles s&o by V1: 3/4:	75 %
2-1-3 (...dat) s o ADV hebben ₂	moet ₁	gemaakt ₃		
1	2		PCD _{VP1} : 2/2:	100 %
1	2	3	PCD _{VP2} : 2/3:	66.7%
		1	PCD _{VP3} : 1/1	100 %
1 2 3	4	5	θ-roles s&o by V3: 3/6:	50 %
1 2 3	4	5	φ-agreement: 2/5:	40 %
	1	2	Relation V1-V2: 2/2:	100 %
	1	2	Relation V2-V3: 2/3:	66.7%
1	2	3	Relation ADV-V3: 2/4:	50 %
2-3-1 (...dat) s o ADV hebben ₂	gemaakt ₃	moet ₁		
1	2	3	PCD _{VP1} : 2/3:	66.7%
1	2		PCD _{VP2} : 2/2:	100 %
		1	PCD _{VP3} : 1/1	100 %
1 2 3	4	5	θ-roles s&o by V3: 3/5:	60 %
1 2 3	4	5	φ-agreement: 2/6:	33.3%
	1	2	Relation V1-V2: 2/3:	66.7%
	1	2	Relation V2-V3: 2/2:	100 %
1	2	3	Relation ADV-V3: 2/3:	66.7%
<i>Unless percolation changes the θ-relations:</i>				
1 2 3	4		θ-roles s&o by V2: 3/4:	75 %
3-1-2 (...dat) s o ADV gemaakt ₃	moet ₁	hebben ₂		
	1	2	PCD _{VP1} : 2/2:	100 %
1	2	3	PCD _{VP1} : 2/3:	66.7%
	1		PCD _{VP3} : 1/1	100 %
1 2 3	4		θ-roles s&o by V3: 3/4:	75 %
1 2 3	4	5	φ-agreement: 2/5:	40 %
	1	2	Relation V1-V2: 2/2:	100 %
	1	2	Relation V2-V3: 2/3:	66.7%
1	2		Relation ADV-V3: 2/2:	100 %
3-2-1 (...dat) s o ADV gemaakt ₃	hebben ₂	moet ₁		
	1	2	PCD _{VP1} : 2/2:	100 %
1	2		PCD _{VP2} : 2/2:	100 %
	1		PCD _{VP3} : 1/1	100 %
1 2 3	4		θ-roles s&o by V3: 3/4:	75.0%
1 2 3	4	5	φ-agreement: 2/6:	33.3%
	1	2	Relation V1-V2: 2/2:	100 %

	1	2	Relation V2-V3: 2/2: 100 %
	1	2	Relation ADV-V3: 2/2: 100 %

APPENDIX B

Search using PaQu

Since the hierarchic orders are presumably the same for different verb orders, this search was crucially based on linear orders, rather than hierarchic orders. Furthermore, in order to exclude sentences in which the finite verb occupies the verb second position, the search was restricted to embedded clauses. This has the advantage that most results are syntactically similar with the test sentences.

An example of a search through Lassy Groot using XPath involves three verbs that are in the same embedded clause and where the finite modal verb is immediately followed by an infinite modal verb, which is immediately followed by an infinite non-auxiliary verb is depicted in (151).

(151) //node[@pos="verb" and @wvorm="pv" and (@lemma="kunnen" or @lemma="moeten" or @lemma="hoeven" or @lemma="mogen" or @lemma="willen") and (some \$x in ancestor::node[@cat="ssub"] satisfies (some \$y in \$x//node[@pos="verb" and @wvorm="inf" and (@lemma="kunnen" or @lemma="moeten" or @lemma="hoeven" or @lemma="mogen" or @lemma="willen")], \$z in \$x//node[@pos="verb" and @wvorm="inf" and not(@lemma="kunnen" or @lemma="moeten" or @lemma="hoeven" or @lemma="mogen" or @lemma="willen" or @lemma="zullen" or @lemma="laten" or @lemma="doen" or @lemma="hebben" or @lemma="zijn" or @lemma="worden" or @lemma="blijven" or @lemma="gaan" or @lemma="komen" or @lemma="zien" or @lemma="staan" or @lemma="zitten" or @lemma="durven" or @lemma="beginnen" or @lemma="leren")] satisfies \$y/number(@begin)=number(@end) and \$z/number(@begin)=\$y/number(@end)))]

Since this search involves linear orders, I got some false results, for instance because the sentence included verb clusters across different phrases and there should be a

comma to separate the verbs. For that reason, I manually checked results fewer than 25 sentences.

APPENDIX C

Acceptability judgements on adverbs inside the verb cluster

The informants were asked to rate the following sentences on a five-point scale, where the lowest score indicates a sentence that sounds bad and the highest score indicates a sentence that sounds good.

- (152) a. Jan weet dat hij vrijdag moet helaas werken.
Jan knows that he Friday must unfortunately work
'Jan knows that he unfortunately has to work on Friday.'
- b. Jan weet dat hij morgen moet zeker werken.
Jan knows that he tomorrow must definitely work
'Jan knows that he definitely has to work tomorrow.'
- c. Moeder zegt dat haar favoriete team moet straks winnen.
Mother says that her favorite team must later win
'Mother says here favorite team has to win later.'
- d. De baas zegt dat Jan moet misschien werken.
The boss says that Jan must maybe work
'The boss says that Jan maybe has to work.'
- e. Ik weet dat iedereen moet onvermijdelijk werken.
I know that everyone must necessarily work
'I know that everyone necessarily has to work.'
- f. De baas waarschuwt dat iedereen moet mogelijk werken.
The boss warns that everyone must possibly work
'The boss warns that everyone possibly has to work.'
- g. Ik weet dat iedereen moet gewoonlijk werken.
I know that everyone must usually work
'I know that everyone usually has to work.'

- h. Ik weet dat Jan moet nog steeds werken.
I know that Jan must yet still work
'I know that Jan still has to work.'
- i. Ik weet dat Jan moet altijd werken.
I know that Jan must always work
'I know that Jan always has to work.'
- j. Ik weet dat Jan moet bijna werken.
I know that Jan must almost work
'I know that Jan almost has to work.'
- k. Ik weet dat Jan moet verplicht werken.
I know that Jan must voluntarily work
'I know that Jan has to work voluntarily.'
- l. Ik vind dat Jan de brief moet volledig typen.
I think that Jan the letter must completely type
'I think that Jan completely has to type the letter.'
- m. Om dit probleem op te lossen weet ik dat Jan wel moet wijs handelen.
For this problem up to solve, know I that Jan AFF must wisely act
'In order to solve this problem, I know that Jan has to act wisely.'
- n. Jan wil niemand storen. Hij weet dat hij daarom moet zacht Jan want nobody disturb. He know that he therefore must quietly praten.
talk
'Jan does not want to disturb anyone. He knows that he will have to talk quietly.'

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