Morphological selection when the morphology is displaced. Reconciling parasitic participles in Frisian/North Germanic with displaced morphology in German

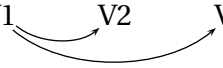
1. Abstract. Recent work has argued that Agree/valuation plays an important role in morphological selection (Adger 2003, Wurmbrand 2012). I contribute to this discussion by investigating phenomena that pose a challenge for morphological selection since the morphology is misplaced. The two major types of misplaced non-finite morphology in Germanic, viz., parasitic participles as in Frisian/North Germanic and displaced morphology in German seem to have contradictory implications for the theory of morphological selection: While parasitic participles argue for an account in terms of upward Agree as several dependent verbs receive their form from a single c-commanding auxiliary, displaced morphology argues against such an account since the placement of non-finite morphology is crucially affected by linear structure and adjacency. I will propose that the phenomena can be reconciled if (a) there is a functional head F above V that receives features via upward Agree and (b) languages differ in the way the features on F are passed onto the V, viz., by Lowering or by Local Dislocation.

1. Parasitic participles (PPtcp). PPtcps involve multiple realization of the participle morphology selected by an auxiliary (note that the modal normally selects a bare infinitive):

(1) Ik ben tankber dat ik sa folle dien$_3$ kinnen$_2$ haw$_1$.
I am thankful that I so much do.**PTCP** can.PTCP have
'I am grateful that I could do so much.' *Frisian*, cf. Wurmbrand (2012: 132)

In (1), the participial form is found not only on V2 as expected but also on V3 . The placement of participial morphology is schematically illustrated in (2):

(2) V1 V2 V3 *Parasitic Ptcp*



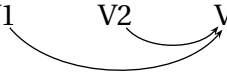
2. Displaced morphology in German. In German varieties (and older stages of German) non-finite morphology can be displaced, i.e. does not occur on the verb immediately dependent on the selector but rather on the last verb of the verb cluster:

(3) a. Er schiint$_1$ nüüt wele$_2$ **z** wüsse$_3$ dervoo.
He seems nothing want.INF to know.INF about.it 1 ... 23 *Zurich German*
'He does not seem to be interested in it.' Weber (1987: 244, fn. 1)

b. dez han$_1$ wir unser kunichlich Insigel an disen breiff haissen$_2$ gehenket$_3$
therefore have.1PL we our royal seal to this letter let.INF attach.**PTCP**
'Therefore we had our royal seal attached to this letter.' 123 *Middle High German*

In (3-a), V1 selects a *z*-Inf, but *z* is not realized on V2, but on V3. In (3-b), V1 selects a participle, but V2 appears as a bare Inf while the participial morphology is found on V3. The requirements of V1 are realized on V3, and I will show that those of V2 (which at first sight seem to be suppressed) need to be compatible with those of V2 for displacement to be felicitous. Displacement is schematically illustrated in (4):

(4) V1 V2 V3 *displacement*



3. Asymmetries. While pre-theoretically, both constructions seem to have in common that a non-finite form occurs in an unexpected location, there are crucial asymmetries suggesting that the two constructions cannot receive the same kind of analysis: (a) PPtcps involve multiple realization of a selected feature while in displaced morphology, the feature in question is only realized once. As a side effect, while V2 receives the regular morphology in Frisian, it appears in a default form (Inf) under displacement in German. (b) while PPtpcs occur in the default order in Frisian/Norwegian (descending/ascending), displacement in German is limited to (partially) ascending orders, i.e. those that deviate from the strictly descending 321 order (123, 132, 312). In 321 orders, the morphology occurs in the expected place, on the immediately dependent verb; there is never any displacement. This is illustrated in (5), a variant of (3-a) with a descending verb cluster where the *zu* selected by V1 ends up on V2:

(5) dass er nichts davon wissen$_3$ **zu** wollen$_2$ scheint$_1$
that he nothing of.it know.INF to want.INF seems
'that he does not seem to be interested in it' 321 *Standard German*

4. Analysis a: PPtcps. Since parasitic participles represent a restructuring configuration, Wurmbrand (2012) proposes that both dependent verbs bearing an [*u*T__]-feature probe upwards and receive the value [perf] from the c-commanding auxiliary (there being no other head in between that could supply non-finite features). This straightforward solution thus crucially relies on hierarchical structure (c-command, minimality).

4. Analysis b: displaced Morph. The placement of displaced morphology can be captured as follows: The features realized by non-finite morphology reside in separate functional heads above V like *Ptcp*, *zu*; shorthand: F. These FPs are the sisters of the selecting governor, morphological selection is thus checked in syntax. Given the head-finality of the German VP, F is linearized after its VP-complement. The non-finite morphology is associated with a V post-syntactically by Local Dislocation (LD, linear reordering + affixation under adjacency, Embick and Noyer 2001; cf. also Hinterhölzl 2009). If the verbs in the V-cluster occur in descending 321 order, the morphology selected by V1 occurs on the immediately dependent V2 as F will be adjacent to it ((6) is the derivation of (5) (for the absence of an FP for the infinitive, cf. 5):

(6) $[_{VP1}\ [_{FP}\ [_{VP2}\ [_{VP3}$ V3] V2] F] V1] → Vocabulary-Insertion + Local Dislocation: V3 **zu**+V2 V1

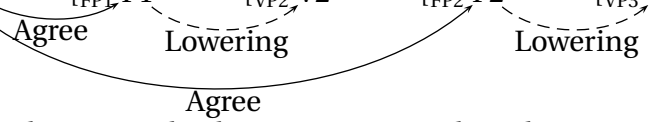
In ascending clusters, which for concreteness' sake I assume are derived by post-syntactic VP-inversion (Haegeman&vRiemsdijk 1986,Wurmbrand 2004) / flexible linearization (Abels 2016), a different V occurs adjacent to F so that the morphology appears to be displaced (cf. (3-a)):

(7) $[_{VP1}$ V1 $[_{FP}\ [_{VP2}$ V2 $[_{VP3}$ V3]] F]] → Vocabulary Insertion + Local Dislocation: V1 V2 **z**+V3

Crucially, there is no real displacement, the non-finite morphology is always placed in the same way; rather, "displacement" is a side-effect of cluster reordering. This solution thus crucially involves linear structure and adjacency.

5. Reconciliation. The conflicting implications of the two phenomena for morphological selection can be reconciled by combining insights of both analyses, viz. Upward Agree (as in Wurmbrand 2012) and different ways of relating morphological features to their verbal hosts: assume (a) there is a functional head F above V in both constructions that receives features via upward Agree from the selecting head and (b) languages differ in the way the features on F are passed onto the V: If this involves Lowering (= downward head-mvt), the morphology will end up on the head of F's complement, accounting for faithfully realized non-finite morphology as in Standard Dutch, where *te* always ends up on V1, as well as parasitic participles, where both V2 and V3 have an F-head above them that receives participial features from the auxiliary. In both cases, these features are lowered onto the head of their complement, viz., onto V:

(8) $[_{VP1}$ V1 $[_{FP1}$ F1 $[_{VP2}$ V2 $[_{FP2}$ F2 $[_{VP3}$ V3]]]]]



Languages with PPtcps also have a variant with V3 bearing infinitive; they arguably involve more structure, viz., an additional aspectual head that assigns Inf to F2 (Wurmbrand 2012).

Displacement in German can be handled as in 4b above, the only difference being that F starts out with an unvalued [*u*T__] feature which is valued by the superordinate verb. Furthermore, infinitival verbs do not select an FP, which avoids spreading in German; the absence of an FP with Inf-features is independently motivated as Inf-selecting verbs always allow for displacement. If V2 selects a marked form, however, displacement is only possible if the exponents selected by V1 and V2 are compatible. Inf-features are thus not present syntactically, in line with the general default function of the Inf: It occurs on verbs that do not receive functional morphemes as under displacement and in the IPP-effect.

Morphological selection thus always works the same, but there is variation w.r.t. the functional structure of non-finite complements and, crucially, the association of F with the verb.

6. Scope. I will argue that the scandal construction (Vogel 2009), where displacement patterns differently (312 with Part on V3, selected by V1), requires a completely different analysis.

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