Parasitic morphology in Germanic: Consequences for the theory of feature checking

In this talk, I argue for a top-down definition of /Agree/, specifically the claim that an unvalued feature is valued by the closest c-commanding element with the appropriate valued feature. The evidence will come from various parasitic constructions in Germanic: double supine and tense copying in Swedish, parasitic participles in Frisian, and the German "Skandalkonstruktion" (Vogel 2009). Furthermore, I argue that different word orders in a verb cluster can be derived either by syntactic movement (in which case locality conditions have to be obeyed and new /Agree/(ment) relations are formed) or by PF-linearization of sister nodes (in which case no locality effects are observed and no new /Agree/(ment) relations are established). Lastly, I provide a preliminary account of the distribution and restrictions of the IPP.