Semantics and Morphosyntax of Double Perfects in Alemannic
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Phenomenon: This paper presents an analysis of the eventive double compound perfect construction (DCP) in the Zürich dialect of Swiss German, an Alemannic language spoken in Switzerland. DCP constructions consist of two perfect participles that give rise to a past perfect interpretation (Brandner 2008; Koeneman et al. 2011; Brandner et al. 2016; Salzmann and Schaden 2019). When only one perfect participle surfaces, the clause yields a simple past interpretation. The finite verb only surfaces with person and (seemingly) present tense morphology. The contrast is illustrated in (1) and (2):

(1) Ich ha d'Pflanze gosse
     I   have the plants watered.PRT
     'I watered the plants '

(2) Ich ha d'Pflanze gosse **ghaa**
     I   have the plants watered.PRT have.PRT
     'I had watered the plants '

Semantics: This paper hypothesizes that in configurations with present perfect morphology as well as double perfect configurations, each instance of a past participle corresponds to a separate functional projection and that each yields a semantic back-shift. In (1), there is only one backshifting operator in T^0. In (2), the additional backshift follows from perfect aspect. The denotations for past tense and perfect aspect (partially adopted from Pancheva and von Stechow 2004) are given in (3):

(3) a. $[\![\text{T: PST}]\!] = \lambda p_{\langle i,t\rangle}.\lambda t.\exists t' [t' < t \ \& \ p(t')]$

  b. $[\![\text{ASP: PRF}]\!] = \lambda p_{\langle v,t\rangle}.\lambda t'.\exists e[\tau(e) < t' \ \& \ p(e)]$

In (1) and (2), perfect participle morphology gives rise to a backshift, and the seemingly present tense on the finite auxiliary is not interpreted. Thus, the reference time is strictly in the past (crucially different from Standard German, cf. Musan 2001; von Stechow 2009, and English, cf. Klein 1992, a.o). This paper proposes that the finite verb itself is tenseless, and that if there is no perfect morphology, there is a covert operator in T^0 that indicates absence of past tense. Thus, present perfect morphology yields a simple past interpretation; present tense interpretations of e.g., present progressive constructions are derived by the covert non-past operator.

Morphosyntax: To account for the double perfect morphology in the past perfect configuration, this paper adopts Arregi and Klecha's (2015) feature transmission model in which feature bundles in the extended projection of the VP are transmitted down to the verbal head. Transmission is constrained by FEATURE CONFLICT: each head can maximally be specified for one feature of the same type (i.e., max. one INFL feature per head). Thus, when the verbal head is saturated and further transmission would cause a feature conflict, the remaining features get stranded and are realized in their respective places. Transmitted and stranded features get realized through Late Insertion (DM, Halle and Marantz 1994; Harley and Noyer 1999). In the case of the Alemannic double perfect construction, anteriority features that successfully transmit to the verbal head appear on the lexical verb; stranded features get realized as an independent participial verb. The feature-transmission procedure for (2) is illustrated in (4).

Conclusion: By adopting the denotations for present tense, past tense, and perfect aspect, as well as Feature Transmission, this paper is able to account (i) for the fact that the finite verb only inflects for person, (ii) for the spell-out of multiple participles in past perfect configurations, and (iii) for the simple-past interpretation of present perfects.

(4) *Feature Transmission*
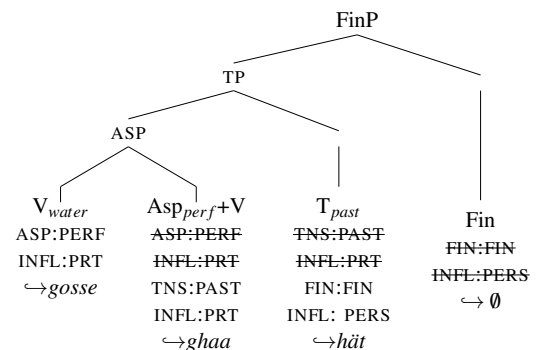
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