**Aspect, not verbal particle: The syntax of doubling in motion verbs in Swiss German**
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**Problem**. In Swiss German, the motion verbs *gaa* 'go' and *choo* 'come' mark their infinitival clauses with particles that appear to be copies of the verb. For *gaa*, this particle is *go*; for *choo*, it is *cho.* These particles may appear in different sentential positions, as indicated by brackets in (1):

1a. Ich **gang** (**go**) em Ritter t'Ross  (**go**) chaufe  b. Ich chum (**cho**) em Ritter t 'Ross (**cho**) chaufe
    I    go    PRT the knight horses PRT buy       I    come  PRT  the knight horses  PRT  buy
    'I am going to buy horses for the knight.'        'I am coming to buy horses for the knight.'

This positional variance has complicated previous efforts at analysis. Prior accounts have either concluded, from clause-level evidence, that doubled particles are copies in a movement chain headed by the motion verb (van Riemsdijk, 2002), or, based on word order constraints present in Swiss German VPs, that doubled particles are not copies, but independent elements in situ (Brandner & Salzmann, 2009). However, neither analysis accounts for these particles' aspectual contribution (cf. Glaser, 2011; von Rotz, 2011).

**Proposal**. I argue that doubled *gaa* and *choo* serve an aspectual function in addition to a role as verbs of motion. This means that the Swiss German main clause makes available three merge/re-merge positions for the movement of doubling verbs. The simplified structure follows in (2):

2. [$_{CP}$ **gang** [$_{AspP}$ (**go**) [ [$_{VP}$…] $_{vP}$ (**go**) chaufe]]]

Each of these positions is independently motivated; together, they account for the variants in (1). In particular, after the main verb is merged in V, *gaa* or *choo* merge as a verb of motion, heading vP, whereafter they may incorporate the main verb (cf. Brannigan, 2010 for details). To represent aspect, they then raise to an aspectual category (AspP). Finally, they raise to C to produce the V2 order of Swiss German main clauses. The resulting "particles" are merely morphological markers expressing the semantic contribution of aspect, with their distributions mediated by incorporation.

**Analysis**. The distribution of doubled particles and doubling verbs requires three distinct syntactic positions. These positions include the head of vP (v) for the verb of motion, the head of AspP (Asp) to contribute aspect, and C for the canonical tensed verb position:

  i) The v-position follows from the placement of negation, from right-headed PP verbal complements, and from the position of doubled particles vis-a-vis high and low adverbials. These syntactic elements delineate VP from vP and isolate the rightward particle position (e.g. *go chaufe* in 1a).
  ii) The Asp-position follows from resumption-like effects that bracket complex VPs between two copies of the same particle, as well as from the patterning of doubling verbs with aspect-adjacent categories like modals. These phenomena isolate the leftward particle position (e.g. *gang go em Ritter* in 1a).
  iii) The C position is the standard account of Germanic V2.

**Conclusion**. This movement-based account not only predicts the locations of particles in a doubling verb's movement chain, but also reflects results from the field (e.g. von Rotz, 2011) which suggest that doubling verbs have aspectual effects. Consequences of this analysis include a functional explanation for why Swiss German speakers "drop" *gaa* or *choo* in verbal clusters containing modal verbs. If the leftward particle position is indeed aspectual, then the presence of a modal prevents movement to the tensed verb position in (iii).

# References

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