

Structure Removal Counterfeeds Status Government

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Abstract

This paper develops an account of German non-finite verbal inflection in terms of (Upward) Agree. I argue for a special treatment of the *zu*-infinitive, traditionally known as ‘second status’, on the basis of its distribution. Bech (1955) noted that the bare infinitive and the participle have to be licensed by a structurally higher verb within a locality domain, whereas the *zu*-infinitive does not. Under the present analysis, this follows because the second status is the default value for an inflectional feature otherwise valued by a higher goal, where the default appears if the Agree relationship fails to be established in the relevant locality domain. I also discuss to what extent this morphological dependency informs our understanding of restructuring constructions, which involve the same mechanism to determine verbal inflection. I show that an analysis of restructuring as involving true reanalysis or ‘structure removal’ is compatible with the morphology for optionally/lexically restructuring verbs, but not in most cases of obligatory/functional restructuring.

1. Introduction

Non-finite verbs in German occur in three different morphologically distinct forms. The relevant classification goes back to Bech (1955) and distinguishes the first, second, and third status.

(1)	<hr/>		also known as
	first status	arbeiten	(bare) infinitive
	second status	zu arbeiten	zu-infinitive
	third status	gearbeitet	(past) participle

Which of these three forms appear is determined based on the context; specifically, it is determined by a structurally higher element, often the next higher

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verb. Consider the initial examples, each is a finite subordinate clause containing two verbs. In each case, the morphological form of the non-finite verb 'arbeiten' (to work, in boldface) is dependent on the second verb. In the glosses, I, II and III refer to the first, second, and third status respectively.

- (2) a. dass wir Basti **arbeiten** sahen
 that we Basti work.I saw
 'that we saw Basti work'
- b. dass Anna **zu arbeiten** versprach
 that Anna work.II promised
 'that Anna promised to work'
- c. dass Caro **gearbeitet** hat
 that Caro work.III has
 'that Caro has worked'

This dependency can be thought of as *morphological selection*: the higher verb selects for a verb with a specific morphological form in its complement. Which form is selected is, broadly speaking, a lexical property of the selecting verb. I argue that these dependencies are established in syntax before they are expressed morphologically: following Adger (2003) and in particular Wurmbrand (2012a,b), this is seen as an implementation of morphological selection rather than an alternative to it.

I propose that in sequences of non-finite verbs in German, first and third status (bare infinitives and participles) are licensed by an Upward Agree operation with the next higher verb. The second status (zu-infinitive) is inserted as a default when this Agree operation fails to take place within the CP. The observation that second status is special goes back to Bech (1955), who notes that first and third status have to be *governed* by another verb in a locality domain. For Bech, this locality domain is the 'Kohärenzfeld' (coherence field). Stechow (1984, 1990) shows that this locality domain is in relevant aspects equivalent to the clause. In light of this locality restriction, my goal is to explain why government of first and third status is clause-bounded, while the second status is free to occur without a governing verb as a clause-mate. I propose that this asymmetry follows if German non-finite inflectional morphology arises through Upward Agree for feature values [INFL:I] and [INFL:III] (cf. Wurmbrand 2012a,b), but that second status is inserted as a default if the probe for status on a verb has failed to locate a goal within the (CP-)phase. I relate

this analysis of status government to a recent proposal about restructuring in German, where optionally restructuring control verbs uniformly embed a CP whose CP-projection is later removed (Müller 2017). Optionally restructuring verbs always govern second status, and insertion of second status is contingent on the presence of a CP boundary under the present approach. We learn about the interaction of structure removal in restructuring and status government that structure removal *counterfeeds* status government. If structure removal were involved in other restructuring contexts such as with modals, verbs of perception and auxiliaries, we would expect second status in all of these constructions, clearly contrary to fact. This is consistent with earlier claims in the literature (especially Wurmbrand 2001 et seq. and other strictly monoclausal approaches to restructuring, but also Müller 2017) that these verbs embed a smaller-than-CP complement from the start. In the absence of a CP, they are then able to govern first and third status. The next section introduces a few additional data points. I present my analysis in section 3. Section 4 discusses the interaction of restructuring and status government and includes a new proposal about raising verbs as involving obligatory restructuring through structure removal for some speakers of German.

2. Some instances of status government

We have seen in the introduction that status government is a process where non-finite verbal inflection is determined by a structurally higher element, typically another verb. This section provides an overview of the different contexts in which status government occurs: in clusters of several verbs, but also with certain complementizers, adjectives and nominals if these categories embed a non-finite verb. First, let us look at status government in periphrastic tense and passive constructions.

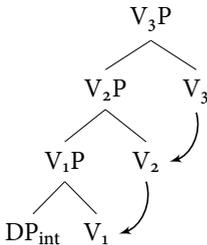
- (3) a. dass der Delfin Zeitung **gelesen** hat
 that the dolphin newspaper read.III has
 ‘that the dolphin has read the newspaper’
- b. dass der Delfin **beobachtet** wurde
 that the dolphin watch.III was
 ‘that the dolphin was watched’
- c. dass jeder Roman **gelesen worden sein** wird
 that every novel read.III become.III be.I will
 ‘that every novel will have been read’

A comparison of (3a) and (3b) shows that both the perfective auxiliary *haben* ('have') and the passive auxiliary *werden* ('be', 'become') govern the third status (often referred to as the (past) participle). It also becomes apparent that the third status has different morphological realizations. The choice of the correct allomorph depends on verb class and word stress, all in all, there are seven different forms.

I refer to the non-finite verb form that is part of the passive and perfective construction as the 'third status' throughout for two reasons. Firstly, because it corresponds to Bech's original terminology (the term 'participle' is reserved for non-verbal forms) and will help us see the crucial contrasts between first, second, and third status. More importantly, it signals the abstract nature of the formal property 'being third status' that these forms share, even when they differ both in their selection (belonging, as in (3a) and (3b), to different constructions) and in their surface realization.

We see in (3c) that status government occurs on all non-finite verbs in a complex cluster. For each verb, its status is determined by the next higher verb in the structure.

(4)



Verb clusters like this can also include modals, as in (5) (German is different from English in allowing more than one) and other so-called restructuring verbs, as in (6) (more on restructuring below).

- (5) a. dass er **gescheitert sein** mag
 that he fail.III be.I may
 'that he may have failed'
- b. dass er **lesen können** sollte
 that he read.I can.I should
 'that he was supposed to be able to read'

- (6) a. dass der Pinguin Netrebko **singen** hörte
 that the penguin Netrebko sing.I heard
 ‘that the penguin heard Netrebko sing’
- b. dass der Pinguin die Arie **zu singen** versuchte
 that the penguin the aria sing.I tried
 ‘that the penguin tried to sing the aria’
- c. dass der Pinguin seinen Job **aufgegeben zu haben** bedauerte
 that the penguin his job give up.III have.II regretted
 ‘that the penguin regretted giving up his job.’

In these more complex examples, we again see the inflectional morphology of each non-finite verb determined by the next higher verb. Furthermore, (6c) shows that some infinitival complement clauses can be extraposed, the highest non-finite verb in the cluster appears in second status in both the extraposed and the non-extraposed version of the sentence. In fact, extraposition is *only* possible for infinitival complements in second status, if we try to do the same with (6a), the result is ungrammatical.

- (7) *dass der Pinguin hörte Netrebko singen
 that the penguin heard Netrebko sing.I

We are starting to uncover an asymmetry between second status on the one hand and first and third status on the other. A further piece of evidence for this asymmetry is that some non-verbal elements such as certain complementizers, adjectives and nominals can also embed non-finite verbs, which always appear in the second status.

- (8) a. ohne es **zu verstehen**
 without it understand.II
 ‘without understanding it’
- b. dass der Delfin **zu helfen** bereit war
 that the dolphin help.II ready was
 ‘that the dolphin was ready to help’
- c. dass mein Plan **zu kochen** vereitelt wurde
 that my plan cook.II foiled was
 ‘that my plan to cook was foiled’

Here and elsewhere, this asymmetry is assumed to reflect an important connection between the type of infinitival complement embedded in a given

construction and the possibility to govern status and thereby determine the morphological realization of the non-finite verb in the same construction. This is reflected in the rule of coherence, stated in Bech (1955) and investigated in Stechow (1984, 1999).

(9) *Rule of coherence:*

- a. Verbs governing the first or the third status are always coherently constructed. (Bech 1955, Stechow 1984)
- b. If a verb actually governs a status, then it is coherently constructed. (Stechow 1990)

In the literature on German syntax, a subordinating construction is ‘coherent’ if it does not embed a sentence, i.e. a CP. Only CPs can be extraposed in German, and only the second status can appear in these extraposed CPs, a generalization the analysis in this paper aims to capture. In the relevant sense, the locality domain we are concerned with can thus be understood to be CP. Government of the first and third status is clause-bound, whereas the second status can appear without a governor in the same clause, as is most obviously the case if it is extraposed. In the next section, we will see a way to implement the notion of status government with the technical machinery of present-day linguistic theory within the Minimalist Program. Specifically, we will characterize status government as a clause-bound Upward Agree relation between verbs.

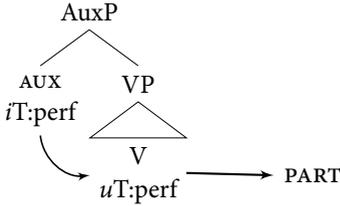
3. A special status

In line with Wurmbrand (2012a,b, see also Adger 2003, Bjorkman 2011) I analyze morphological selection in the verbal domain as Upward Agree.¹ In her approach to participle licensing, Wurmbrand (2012a,b) posits that participles are verbs which enter the derivation with an unvalued inflectional feature. By Reverse Agree (downward valuation, conceptually closely related to upward probing as in the approach below), the verbs then receive a feature value from a higher head. For example, the participle is valued as [uT:perf] by the

¹A wrinkle: Wurmbrand develops this analysis for participle licensing in Germanic in general and later claims that German actually works differently: in her view, German participles enter the derivation with the feature that will determine their realization as a participle already valued. I will follow the general line of thinking, not this specific point.

higher perfect auxiliary, as illustrated in (10). This feature value is later realized morphologically as the participle.

(10)



I propose a similar analysis that extends to bare infinitives and *zu*-infinitives, i.e. from the third to the first and second status. The approach below thus differs from Wurmbrand's in empirical focus. Furthermore, I make different assumptions about the involved feature values. Rather than [perf] or [pass], I will assume entirely abstract feature values [I], [II], and [III]. There are several reasons for this departure from Wurmbrand's proposal. I propose to follow the Bechian tradition more strictly than previous approaches by treating the alternation under discussion as purely morphological, the features as purely formal and their realizations as non-meaningful (uninterpretable in the literal sense). I represent this choice by naming the feature values [I], [II] and [III], where [I] corresponds to the first status and so on. Somewhat similarly, Sternefeld (2015) characterizes status government with the feature values [INF], [ZU], and [PART]. An important notion in the literature is that status government instantiates the morphological realization of uninterpretable tense/aspect features (eg. [uT:perf] for third status, see above, cf. also Adger 2003). Even if we were to accept the idea that third status should sometimes correspond to 'being passive', sometimes to 'being past' or 'being perfective', with the identity in form reduced to accidental syncretism, the bigger problem with this featural representation is that it does not very naturally extend to first and second status, with the result that purely formal feature values like [ZU] for second status or [INF] for first status find their way into this literature as well. It is unclear to me if there is a real difference between uninterpretable feature with and without an interpretable counterpart (Bjorkman 2011:60 raises the same question), but I see no reason to include both types in the same analysis unless this difference can be motivated independently.

The second set of background assumptions concerns German clause structure. In what follows, all verbs that serve as goals or probe for status will be labeled

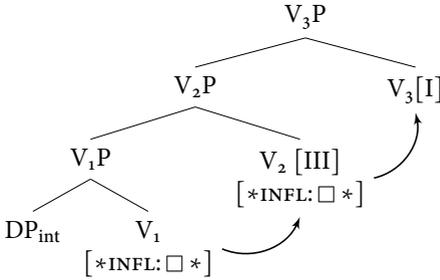
simply as V. German lexical and 'functional' verbs tend to behave very much alike, contrary to observations for English that have led to the common practice of assuming that auxiliaries and modals are fundamentally different from lexical verbs and merged in fixed functional projections in the clause. Importantly, status government is one of the properties that unifies these classes of verbs, as they all participate in this relation. As an intuitive example, consider the fact that there is no infinitive 'to must' and no participle 'musted' in English, which has been argued to reflect the Merge-site of the modal, namely T, where it can never co-occur with 'to' or receive an inflectional feature of the kind under discussion in this paper (see e.g. Adger 2003). The German modal 'müssen', on the other hand, can occur in all three statuses, and it can be embedded, for example in future tense and perfective aspect and under other modals. In fact, empirically evidence for T in German is scarce more generally. Aside from the missing evidence from distributional effects such as the one described above, there is also no obligatory EPP-movement of the subject to SpecTP in German and it is impossible to see a positional effect of verb movement to T because such movement is string-vacuous due to head-finality in the verbal domain. Considerations like these lead Haider (2010) to claim that German simply does not have a T projection. For mostly theory-internal reasons², I will continue to assume that T is part of the German clause.

One specific assumption about T that I will crucially not adopt here is that second status *zu* is an instantiation of it (Evers 1990). *zu* cannot be separated syntactically from the verb and occurs within particle verbs, both facts are easily dealt with if *zu* expones inflectional features located on or directly above the lexical verb, rather than building *zu*-infinitives through obligatory verb raising and complex head formation in T. As to the exact location of the inflectional features, Salzmann (2019) provides arguments from displacement phenomena for a separate head F above each verb that is combined with it in the morphology. I take this to be correct but will continue to represent the inflectional features directly on the verbs for simplicity, since no such displacement facts will be considered in this paper.

I propose that verbs probe upward to receive a feature value for inflection.

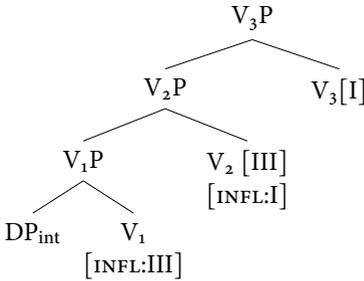
² A convincing, but rather indirect piece of empirical evidence can be found in Müller (2017) and concerns unstressed pronoun fronting.

(11)



Valued by the next higher verb, these features will be spelled out with the appropriate morphological realization.

(12)



The relevant syntactic operation is Upward Agree, defined as follows:

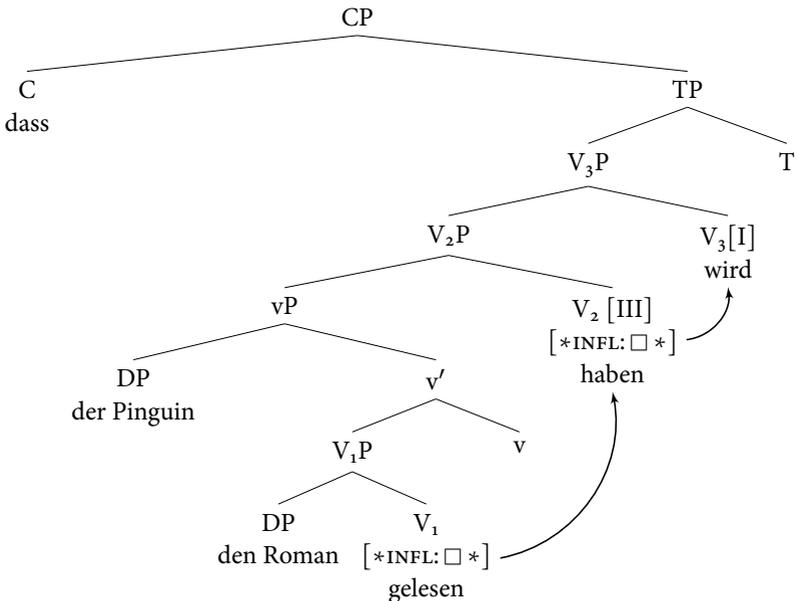
- (13) *Upward Agree* (based on Georgi 2014):
 Agree between a probe P and a goal G applies if
- a. G asymmetrically c-commands P
 - b. P has an unvalued feature [$*F: \square *$] and G has a matching valued feature [F]
 - c. G is the closest matching goal for P
 - d. Result: G values P.

I also assume a locality condition on Upward Agree:

- (14) *Locality condition on Upward Agree*
 If a probe P fails to locate a valued goal within the phase, a fixed default value is inserted.

The locality condition stops the probe from probing across its own phase head, i.e. the head of the phase in which it is contained. Under the assumption that this phase is the CP, the locality condition stops the probe from probing a higher clause domain. Depending on our conception of the phase and upward impenetrability, this may or may not be necessary. Typically and by design, phase impenetrability blocks syntactic operations from outside the phase from interacting with material contained within the phase. It is less clear if it also blocks syntactic operations from within the phase from interacting with material outside it. The questionable period in the derivation consists of the steps between Merge of the phase head and spell-out of the associated phase. There is no reason a priori why a probe should stop to probe upward before it has been sent to the interfaces. I view the locality condition on Upward Agree as a fail-safe to ensure that the probe cannot access material outside the phase even if spell-out is delayed or the phase-head subsequently removed (see next section). Further investigation of the relationship between the phase impenetrability and Upward Agree may obviate the need for such a condition. Turning to the relevant derivations, in a sequence of verbs, the higher verbs assign inflectional feature values, specifically, they serve as goals and carry the feature values [I] and [III] for first and third status respectively.

(15)



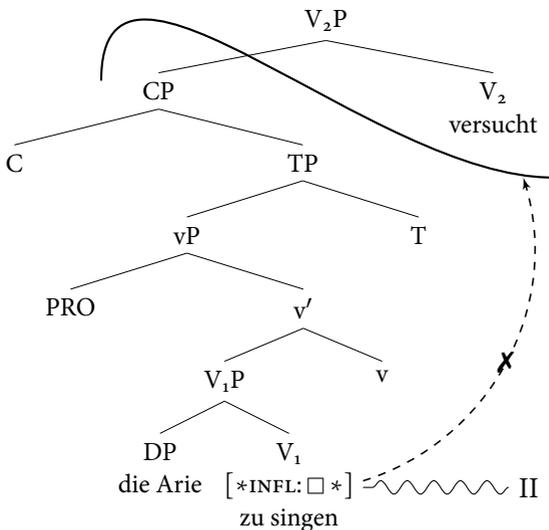
What is different about second status? Recall that its distribution with regard to its syntactic context is different from first and third status. We return to the rule of coherence.

(16) *Rule of coherence:*

- a. Verbs governing the first or the third status are always coherently constructed. (Bech 1955, Stechow 1984)
- b. If a verb actually governs a status, then it is coherently constructed. (Stechow 1990)

We have seen that the second status can appear in incoherent constructions, for example in extraposed CPs. The first clause of the rule of coherence is expected if status government is implemented as a phase-bound Agree operation: only within a coherent construction will it be possible for the Agree relation to be established successfully. Consequently, the second status must have a way of arising that does not involve a successful Agree operation, or successful status government. Indeed, the second clause of the rule of coherence invites the more radical conclusion that the second status never arises through successful probing: in the terminology of Bech and Stechow, the second status is not actually governed at all. Within the present analysis, I propose that [II] is inserted as a default feature value when the verb has probed a completed CP without locating a goal, as required by the locality condition on Upward Agree.

(17)



The insertion of this default value happens in syntax and is not merely the realization of an unvalued feature by morphology in the sense of Preminger (2009, 2011), for two reasons: Firstly, there is independent evidence from eg. the IPP (infinitivus pro participio, also Ersatzinfinitiv) that the *first* status is the morphological default, applied when something goes wrong in morphology (Salzmann 2019), and more importantly, verbs remain in second status even if a goal becomes available at a later stage in the derivation (as in restructuring, which we will examine in the next section), that is, syntactic processes counterbleed the realization of the second status where they might be expected to bleed it if the probe was still unvalued by the time a potential goal becomes available. Under the assumption that the default value is inserted syntactically, it does not only rescue the derivation, but also deactivates the probe permanently.

Before turning to the interactions of restructuring and status government, let us quickly examine the implications of the proposed analysis for the occurrence of non-finite verbs embedded in non-verbal contexts. Recall from section 2 that complementizers, adjectives and nouns, always appear with the non-finite verb in the second status:

- (18) a. ohne es **zu verstehen**
 without it understand.II
 ‘without understanding it’
- b. dass der Delfin **zu helfen** bereit war
 that the dolphin help.II ready was
 ‘that the dolphin was ready to help’
- c. dass mein Plan **zu kochen** vereitelt wurde
 that my plan cook.II foiled was
 ‘that my plan to cook was foiled’

Under the present analysis, the uniform behavior of these embedding categories follows with the added assumption that non-verbal categories are never lexically specified to govern a specific status, i.e. are not endowed with a status feature that could serve as a goal for a probe on a lower verb. In the absence of such a goal, [II] will always be inserted as soon as a phase-boundary is reached. More generally, the wider distribution of second status follows because it appears in the absence of a successful application of Agree.

4. Restructuring as structure removal

I have claimed in the previous section that the second status in sentences with optionally restructuring control verbs such as *versuchen* ('try') in (19) depends on the presence of a CP-phase boundary that induces default insertion of a feature value.

- (19) dass der Pinguin die Arie zu singen versuchte
 that the penguin the aria sing.I tried
 'that the penguin tried to sing the aria'

Whether or not a CP is projected in this construction has been the subject of much debate in the literature; as summarized in Müller (2017, see also references therein), there seems to be evidence both for the presence and the absence of a CP, i.e. for monoclausal and biclausal analyses.

4.1. Mono- and biclausality in restructuring

On the one hand, several arguments can be made for the absence of a CP, a monoclausal structure, these arguments include the availability of scrambling and unstressed pronoun fronting, availability of multiple sluicing, and wide scope of embedded negation. As an example for the availability of scrambling out of a restructured infinitival complement, see (20):

- (20) dass den Fritz₁ keiner [t₁ zu küssen] versuchte
 that the Fritz no-one kiss.II tried
 'that no-one tried to kiss Fritz'

Since scrambling is generally clause-bound in German, (20) should not be possible if the matrix verb embeds a CP. On the other hand, several arguments point to the presence of a CP, a biclausal structure, including the conceptually appealing uniformity of embedding (all of the optionally restructuring control verbs can occur in unambiguously biclausal constructions), licensing of PRO in the embedded clause, the absence of new binding domains, and the availability of extraposition in the so-called Third Construction. To illustrate the relevance of the availability of extraposition in the Third Construction, consider that we just saw that scrambling indicates restructuring, and that we said earlier that only CPs can undergo extraposition in German:

- (21) dass sie ihn₂ t₁ versucht [_{CP} t₂ zu küssen]
 that she him tries kiss.II
 ‘that she tries to kiss him’

In this example, an infinitival complement has been extraposed, so it must be a CP, and consistent with the analysis in this paper, it appears in the second status. However, the direct object has clearly scrambled out of the embedded clause, indicating a smaller-than-CP structure. Müller concludes that there is convincing evidence for the mono- and biclausal analyses, sometimes within the same construction. For this reason, he proposes a ‘true’ restructuring analysis, in which both types of structures are actually present at different stages in the derivation. He reconciles evidence for monoclausal and biclausal structure in restructuring contexts by innovating the syntactic operation *Remove*. This operation works to remove structure previously build by *Merge*. It reconciles conflicting syntactic evidence because it applies after a structure has been built and may have been accessible for operations in need of and in accordance with this bigger structure, which is then shrunk by *Remove*, yielding a smaller structure that may enable different syntactic processes. *Remove* is feature-driven, with the features specifying which head or phrase they remove. If a head is removed, its specifier and complement will re-attach within the structure.

In the context of restructuring, this approach means that we have both the biclausal and the monoclausal structure at some stage of the derivation: first, the restructuring verb uniformly takes a CP-Complement. This stage in the derivation accounts for the evidence for a biclausal structure. However, the verb may come with features that require the subsequent removal of the C, T, and possibly *v* heads. Optionally restructuring verbs can come with or without these features. If the CP- (and TP-)layers are removed, the result is a monoclausal structure. We can easily see that this will have no effect on status government in the embedded clause:

to be dealt with and receive a default value. It may well be that the CP-layer will be removed in the very next step of the derivation, but without invoking some kind of look-ahead, the unvalued feature cannot have the information that it will soon be accessible for valuation once again. Therefore, it has to be valued with a default value as soon as the CP is built. In the realm of status government, that default value is second status. It now follows that even if the CP-layer is subsequently removed, the feature is already valued for second status and will no longer probe.

4.2. Obligatory restructuring in raising verbs

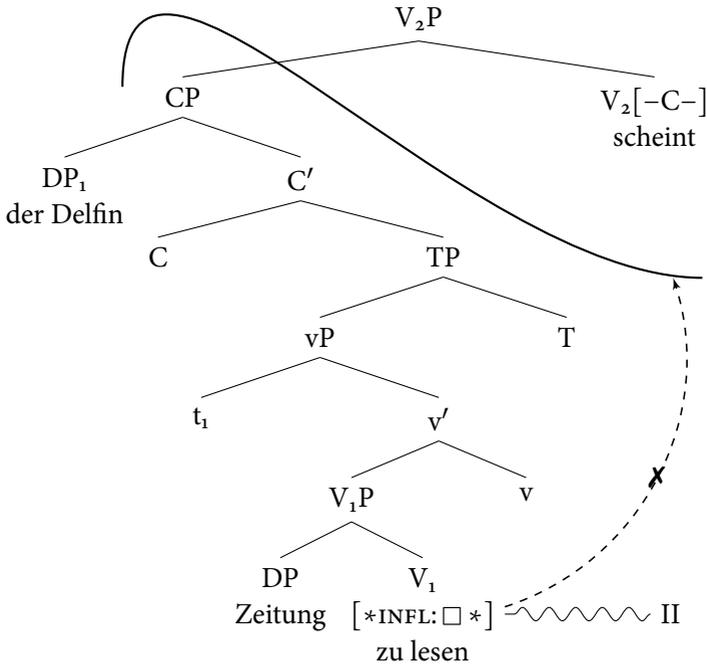
The second status morphology governed by optionally restructuring verbs is compatible with a structure removal approach to restructuring, and indeed neatly follows from uniform CP-embedding in this approach, as demonstrated in the previous subsection. I will now discuss the implications of this analysis for a second class of restructuring verbs that governs the second status. This class consists of a small number of raising verbs: *scheinen* ('to seem'), *pflügen* ('to usually do', 'to be in a habit of'), *drohen* ('to threaten') and *versprechen* ('to promise')³. Müller (2017) does not adopt a structure removal account for these verbs, following Wurmbrand (2001), he assumes that they, along with all other non-optionally restructuring verbs, embed smaller complements from the beginning because they do not display the same evidence for biclausality that we have seen sketched above for optionally restructuring verbs. How then do the verbs in the complement of these raising verbs receive second status? It would be an option to abandon the idea that second status *only ever* arises as a default value, and then to posit that these verbs simply govern the second status. However, Müller's structure removal approach actually opens up a different option. Recall that optionally restructuring verbs are optionally endowed with features that trigger subsequent removal of the higher projections of the complement. It is unclear what excludes lexical items that carry these features obligatorily. Obviously such items need not be excluded if they in fact exist, and raising verbs like *scheinen*, *pflügen*, *drohen* and *versprechen* are obvious candidates.

³ All of these verbs have homophonous counterparts with different syntactic properties and a different meaning in other verb classes: *scheinen* and *pflügen* also occur as lexical verbs with respective meanings 'to shine' and 'to take care of', *drohen* and *versprechen* have subject control counterparts.

- (24) dass der Delfin Zeitung zu lesen scheint
 that the dolphin newspaper read.II seems
 ‘that the dolphin seems to read the newspaper’

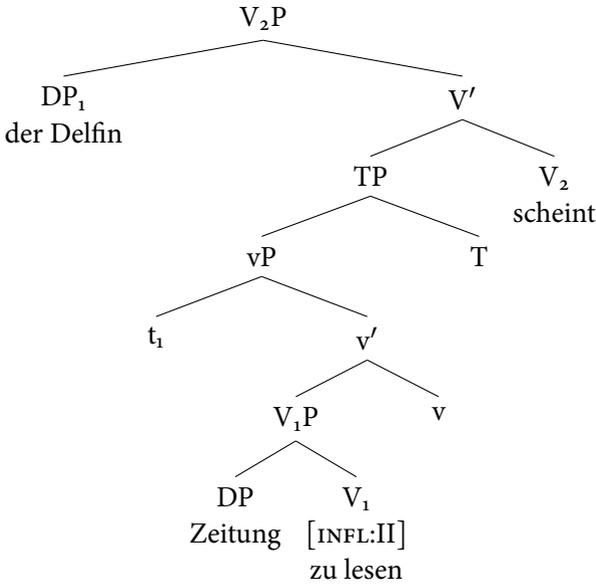
Under this analysis, the derivation proceeds in the same way that it did with optionally restructuring verbs, except that *scheinen* carries the removal feature obligatorily.

(25)



Exactly as before, we get the second status on the embedded verb before Remove applies.

(26)



From the perspective of status government, the assumption that raising verbs involve obligatory restructuring through structure removal appears unproblematic. A potential problem arises with regards to extraposition. We have seen that the complement clauses in optional restructuring can be extraposed even if they do undergo restructuring in the Third construction. Müller (2017) suggests that extraposition takes place after the CP is built and before it is removed, such that the generalization that only CPs undergo extraposition in German can be maintained. German speakers differ in their judgments of the corresponding extraposition in raising constructions, which we currently predict to be grammatical.

(27) ?dass der Delfin scheint Zeitung zu lesen
 that the dolphin seems newspaper read.II

For the speakers who allow extraposition in these cases, the analysis of raising verbs as involving an intermediate biclausal stage receives further support. My own judgement, however, aligns with the more traditional view in the literature that this example is ungrammatical. For this second group of speakers, obligatory removal of the C head and the CP projection must be ordered

before extraposition, such that extraposition is blocked.⁴ Under this analysis of the *scheinen*-class as involving obligatory restructuring and the derivational presence of a CP-boundary, the stronger clause of the rule of coherence can be maintained: the second status arises exclusively through default valuation and never through the successful application of Agree.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have implemented Bech's (1955) notion of status government as an Upward Agree operation that takes place between verbs in the syntax. Concerning the second status, the *zu*-infinitive, I have proposed that it arises as a default when the Agree operation fails to apply within the phase. I take this to explain the wider distribution of the second status and its tendency to occur in clausal complements. For occurrences of the second status in constructions that are arguably monoclausal, i.e. in restructuring, we have seen that they remain predicted under an approach that features the intermediate projection of a CP, such an approach is proposed by Müller (2017) for optionally restructuring control verbs and is here extended to the class of obligatorily restructuring raising verbs such as *scheinen*. In these contexts, the insertion of a default feature value upon completion of the CP permanently blocks the probe - structure removal counterfeeds status government. An open question concerns the containment relationship between the morphological realizations of first and second status, where the first status is contained in the second. It would be in the spirit of the present analysis to take this at face value, given the strong role that the surface forms of non-finite verbs are given within the syntax. Intuitively, it seems appealing to say that *zu* in the second status is itself a goal in status government and values its complement as [I]. However, this idea is not straightforwardly compatible with the present analysis because this form-internal status government would necessarily be counter-cyclic, given that second status itself does not arise until a fairly late point in the derivation. The alternative is to make the first status a morphological default, realized in the context of the syntactically default *zu*; the implications of this strategy remain to be investigated.

⁴I'm grateful to Andy Murphy for this suggestion.

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