

Lexical Nature of Functional Projections

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Main clause V2

- (1) a. Max shikt *nit* avek dem brif.
 M. sends not away the letter
 'Max doesn't mail the letter.' (Yiddish)
- b. Jón keypti *ekki* bókina.
 J. bought not the.book
 'John didn't buy the book.' (Icelandic)
- c. Peter drikker *ofte* kaffe.
 P. drinks often coffee
 'Peter often drinks coffee.' (Danish)
- d. Johan köpte *inte* boken.
 J. bought not the.book
 'John didn't read the book.' (Swedish)

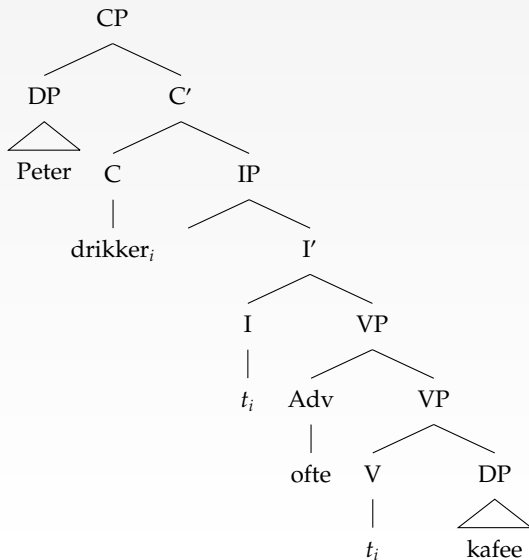
(cf. Rohrbacher 1999:12)

Embedded clause

- (2) a. ... að Jón borðar *oft* tómata.
 that J. eats often tomatoes
 '... that John often eats tomatoes.'
- b. *... að Jón *oft* borðar tómata. (Icelandic)
- c. ... az Jonas est *oft* pomidorn.
 that J. eats often tomatoes
- d. *... az Jonas *oft* est pomidorn. (Yiddish)
- (3) a. ... at Johan *ofte* spiser tomater.
 that J. often eats tomatoes
- b. *... at Johan spiser *ofte* tomater. (Danish)
- c. ... at Jón *ofta* etur tomatir.
 that J. often eats tomatoes
- d. *... at Jón etur *ofta* tomatir. (Faroese) (Vikner 1997:189)

V-to-C

(4)

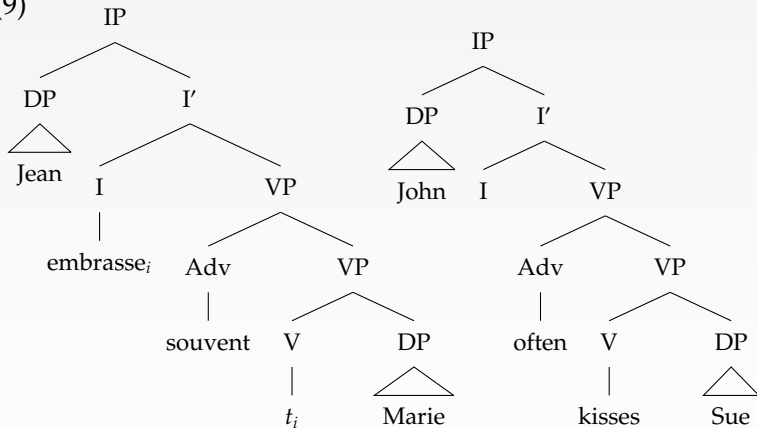


- (5) a. Dos bukh shik ikh avek.
the book send I away
'I mail the book.' (Yiddish)
- b. Dette spørsmålet skjønte Jens ikke.
this question understood J. not
'This question John didn't understand.' (Norwegian)
- c. Igår köpte Lena en ny bok.
yesterday bought L. a new book
'Yesterday Lena bought a new book.' (Swedish)
- (Rohrbacher 1999:12–3)

V-to-I

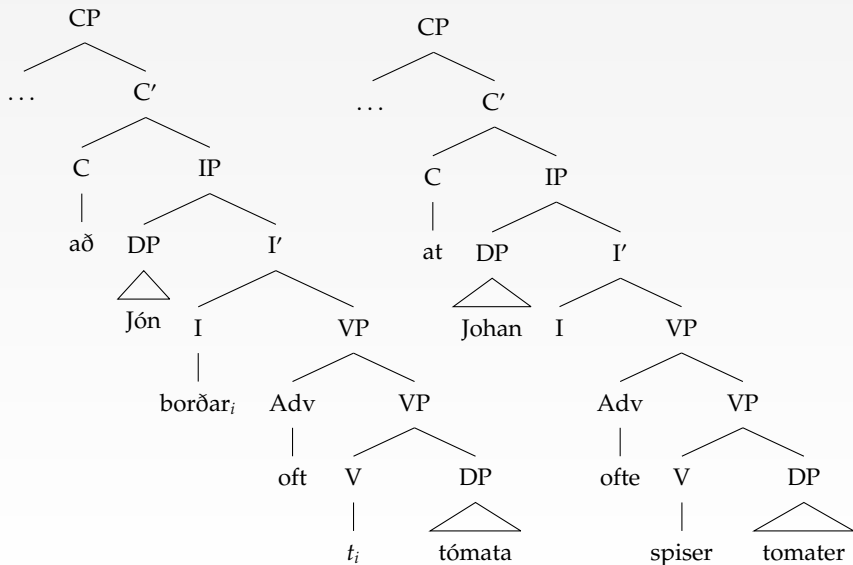
- (6) a. Jean embrasse *souvent* Marie.
 J. kisses often M.
 b. *Jean *souvent* embrasse Marie.
 c. Jean (ne) mange *pas* de chocolat.
 J. (NEG) eats not of chocolate
 d. *Jean (ne) *pas* mange de chocolate. (French)
 (Pollock 1989:367)
- (7) a. Quel medico risolverà *completamente* i tuoi problemi.
 that doctor solve.FUT completely the your problems
 b. Quel medico risolverà i tuoi problemi *completamente*.
 c. *Quel medico *completamente* risolverà i tuoi problemi.
 (Italian) (Rohrbacher 1999:209)
- (8) a. *John kisses *often* Sue.
 b. John *often* kisses Sue. (English)

(9)



(cf. Emonds 1978, Pollock 1989)

(10)



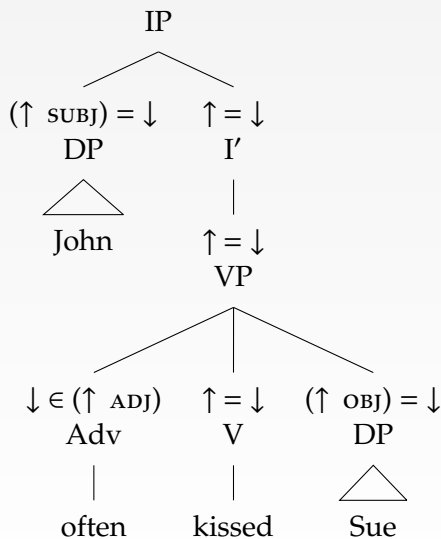
	V-to-I	No V-to-I
V-to-C	Icelandic, Yiddish	Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, . . .
No V-to-C	French, Italian	English

Table 1: Availability of V-to-I and V-to-C (cf. Koenenman 2010:213)

- *Lexical Functional Grammar* (LFG; Kaplan & Bresnan 1982, Bresnan 2001, Dalrymple 2001, Falk 2001, Kroeger 2004):
 - Monostratal, i.e. no derivational processes like movement posited
 - Parallel structures, e.g. c(onstituent)-structure, f(unctional)-structure
 - Lexically driven

(11) a. Lexical entries:

<i>John</i>	N	(↑ PRED) = 'John'
		(↑ NUM) = SG
		(↑ PERS) = 3
<i>Sue</i>	N	(↑ PRED) = 'Sue'
		(↑ NUM) = SG
		(↑ PERS) = 3
<i>kissed</i>	V	(↑ PRED) = 'kiss⟨SUBJ,OBJ⟩'
		(↑ TENSE) = PAST
<i>often</i>	Adv	(↑ PRED) = 'often'

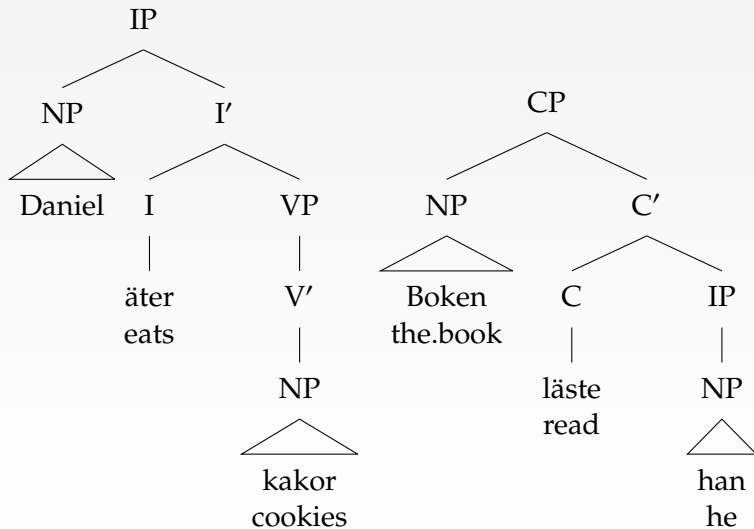


PRED	'kiss<SUBJ,OBJ>'						
TENSE	PAST						
SUBJ	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>PRED</td> <td>'John'</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NUM</td> <td>SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>PERS</td> <td>3</td> </tr> </table>	PRED	'John'	NUM	SG	PERS	3
PRED	'John'						
NUM	SG						
PERS	3						
OBJ	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>PRED</td> <td>'Sue'</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NUM</td> <td>SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>PERS</td> <td>3</td> </tr> </table>	PRED	'Sue'	NUM	SG	PERS	3
PRED	'Sue'						
NUM	SG						
PERS	3						
ADJ	{ { PRED 'often' } }						

(12) Economy of Expression:

All syntactic phrase structure nodes are optional and are not used unless required by independent principles. (Bresnan 2001:92)

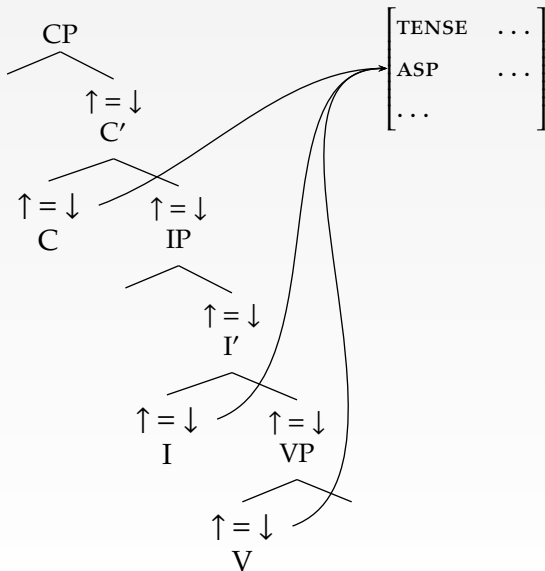
(13) Swedish



(Toivonen 2003:12; cf. Sells 2001)

- (14) *Clause spine* (Sells 2001; cf. Grimshaw's (2003) Extended Projection):
- Base-generation in lexical/functional head
 - Information flow from V, I, C to the same functional-structure

(15)



(16) Rich Agreement Hypothesis

Rich agreement morphology → V-to-I movement

(Kosmeijer 1986, Rohrbacher 1999, Koenenman & Zeijlstra 2010, 2012)

Yiddish <i>loyf-n</i> 'run'		Icelandic <i>segj-a</i> 'say'		Danish <i>høre</i> 'hear'	
Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1	loyf loyf-n	segi segj-um		hør-te	hør-te
2	loyf-st loyf-t	segi-r seg-ið		hør-te	hør-te
3	loyf-t loyf-n	segi-r segj-a		hør-te	hør-te

Table 2: Yiddish, Icelandic and Danish verb paradigms

- (17) 1st: $(\uparrow \text{PERS } 1) = +$ cf. $(\uparrow \text{PERS}) = 1$
 $(\uparrow \text{PERS } 2) = -$ $(\uparrow \text{PERS}) = 2$
2nd: $(\uparrow \text{PERS } 1) = -$ $(\uparrow \text{PERS}) = 3$
 $(\uparrow \text{PERS } 2) = +$
3rd: $(\uparrow \text{PERS } 1) = -$
 $(\uparrow \text{PERS } 2) = -$

- Lexical items are paradigmatically organised, so that inflectional forms of the same lexeme compete with each other and the most narrowly specified entry wins (Paninian Principle; Elsewhere condition) (Andrews 1982, 1990, Sadler & Spencer 2001, Otaguro 2006, forthcoming)
- When a language exhibits full paradigmatic person contrasts, i.e. [+1, -2] and [-1, +2], finite verbs are qualified as Infl.

Germanic

(18) Icelandic *segja* 'say'

- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------|--|----|--------------|--|
| a. | <i>segi</i> | $(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 1) =_c +$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 2) =_c -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) =_c \text{ SG}$
$(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{PRES}$ | d. | <i>segið</i> | $(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 1) =_c -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 2) =_c +$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) =_c \text{ PL}$
$(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{PRES}$ |
| b. | <i>segir</i> | $(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 1) =_c -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) =_c \text{ SG}$
$(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{PRES}$ | e. | <i>segja</i> | $(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 1) =_c -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 2) =_c -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) =_c \text{ PL}$
$(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{PRES}$ |
| c. | <i>segjum</i> | $(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 1) =_c +$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 2) =_c -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) =_c \text{ PL}$
$(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{PRES}$ | | | |

(19) Yiddish *loyfn* 'run'

- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------|--|----|--------------|--|
| a. | <i>loyf</i> | (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = _c +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = _c -
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = _c SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES | c. | <i>loyft</i> | (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = _c -
(↑ TENSE) = PRES |
| b. | <i>loyfst</i> | (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = _c -
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = _c +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = _c SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES | d. | <i>loyfn</i> | (↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = _c -
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = _c PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES |

Romance

Italian <i>parlare</i> 'speak'		
	Sg	Pl
1	parl-o	parl-iamo
2	parl-i	parl-ate
3	parl-a	parl-ano

Table 3: Italian verb paradigm (Rohrbacher 1999:206)

(20) Italian *parlare* 'speak'

- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|--|----|-----------------|--|
| a. | <i>parlo</i> | ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = -
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES | d. | <i>parliamo</i> | ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = -
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES |
| b. | <i>parli</i> | ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = -
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES | e. | <i>parlate</i> | ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = -
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES |
| c. | <i>parla</i> | ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = -
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = -
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES | f. | <i>parlano</i> | ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = -
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = -
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES |

French <i>parl-er</i> [e] 'speak'	
Sg	Pl
1 parl-e [∅]	parl-e [∅] (parl-ons [õ])
2 parl-es [∅]	parl-ez [e]
3 parl-e [∅]	parl-ent [∅]

Table 4: French verb paradigm

	subject clitics		subject pronouns	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1	je	on	moi	nous
2	tu	vous	toi	vous
3 M	il	ils	lui	eux
F	elle	elles	elle	elles

Table 5: French subject clitics and pronouns

- (21) a. Lui il mange.
he 3.sg eats
'He is eating.'
- b. Jean il mange.
J. 3.sg eats
'John is eating.' (Rohrbacher 1999:218)

(22) French *parler* 'speak'

- | | | | | | |
|----|------------------|-------------------------|----|-------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | <i>je parle</i> | ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro') | c. | <i>il parle</i> | ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro') |
| | | (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = + | | | (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = - |
| | | (↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = - | | | (↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = - |
| | | (↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG | | | (↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG |
| | | (↑ TENSE) = PRES | | | (↑ SUBJ GEND) = M |
| | | | | | (↑ TENSE) = PRES |
| b. | <i>tu parles</i> | ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro') | d. | <i>elle parle</i> | ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro') |
| | | (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = - | | | (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = - |
| | | (↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = + | | | (↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = - |
| | | (↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG | | | (↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG |
| | | (↑ TENSE) = PRES | | | (↑ SUBJ GEND) = F |
| | | | | | (↑ TENSE) = PRES |

...

	EP		Colloquial BP	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1	falo	falamos	falo	fala
2	falas	falais	fala	falam
3	fala	falam	fala	falam

Table 6: Paradigms of European and Colloquial Brazilian Portuguese verb *falar* 'speak'

(Roberts 2007:338)

(23) EP *falar* 'speak'

- | | | | |
|-----------------|---|-------------------|---|
| a. <i>falo</i> | $((\uparrow \text{SUBJ PRED}) = \text{'pro'})$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 1) = +$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 2) = -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) = \text{SG}$
$(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{PRES}$ | d. <i>falamos</i> | $((\uparrow \text{SUBJ PRED}) = \text{'pro'})$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 1) = +$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 2) = -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) = \text{PL}$
$(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{PRES}$ |
| b. <i>falas</i> | $((\uparrow \text{SUBJ PRED}) = \text{'pro'})$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 1) = -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 2) = +$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) = \text{SG}$
$(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{PRES}$ | e. <i>falais</i> | $((\uparrow \text{SUBJ PRED}) = \text{'pro'})$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 1) = -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 2) = +$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) = \text{PL}$
$(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{PRES}$ |
| c. <i>fala</i> | $((\uparrow \text{SUBJ PRED}) = \text{'pro'})$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 1) = -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 2) = -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) = \text{SG}$
$(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{PRES}$ | f. <i>falam</i> | $((\uparrow \text{SUBJ PRED}) = \text{'pro'})$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 1) = -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS } 2) = -$
$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) = \text{PL}$
$(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{PRES}$ |

(24) BP *falar* 'speak'

- a. *falo* ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
 (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = +
 (↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = -
 (↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
 (↑ TENSE) = PRES
- b. *fala* ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
 (↑ TENSE) = PRES
- c. *falam* ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
 (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = -
 (↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
 (↑ TENSE) = PRES

- (25) a. Tu não *me* vais esquecer.
2.SG not 1.SG.ACC goes forget
'You will not forget me.' (EP)
- b. Você vai *me* esquecer.
2.SG goes 1.SG.ACC forget
'You will forget me.' (BP)

- (26) a. ... embora eu saiba que *a* já tens em
 ... although I know that 3.SG.F.ACC already have in
 grande dose.
 big position
 '... although I know that you already have tons of it
 (=patience).' (EP)
- b. ... acho que ela *lho* ainda não disse.
 ... think that she 3.PL.DAT-3.SG.M.ACC yet not told
 '... I think that s/he hasn't told it to him/her/them yet.' (EP)
- (27) a. O Ivo já *te* chamou.
 the Ivo already 2.SG.ACC called
 'Ivo has already called you.' (BP)
- b. Você já *me* perguntou?
 2.SG already 1.SG.ACC asked
 'Have you already asked me?' (BP)

(Luís & Otoguro 2012)

Hallingmålet (Norway)		Älvdalsmålet (Sweden)	
<i>høyræ</i> 'hear'		<i>höra</i> 'hear'	
Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1	høyr-e	hö-r-er	hö-r-um
2	høyr-e	hö-r-er	hö-r-ir
3	høyr-e	hö-r-er	hö-r-a

Table 7: Hallingmålet and Älvdalsmålet verb paradigms (Vikner 1997:193)

(28) Hallingmålet *høyræ* 'hear'

a. *høyre* (↑ SUBJ NUM) =_c SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

b. *høyræ* (↑ SUBJ NUM) =_c PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

(29) Älvdalsmälet *höra* 'hear'

- a. *hörer* (↑ SUBJ NUM) =_c SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES
- b. *hörum* (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =_c +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =_c -
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =_c PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES
- c. *hörir* (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =_c -
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =_c +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =_c PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES
- d. *höra* (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =_c -
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =_c -
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =_c PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

- (30) a. *... at me kjöpæ *ikkje* bokje.
 that we buy not the.book
- b. ... at me *ikkje* kjöpæ bokje.
 that we not buy the.book (Hallingmålet)
- (31) a. Ba fo ðyæ at ig wild *int* fy om.
 but because that I wanted not follow him
 'Just because we didn't want to follow him.'
- b. Ig i red an kumb *inte*.
 I am afraid he comes not (Älvdalsmålet)
 (Rohrbacher 1999:118; Bobaljik 2002:136–7)

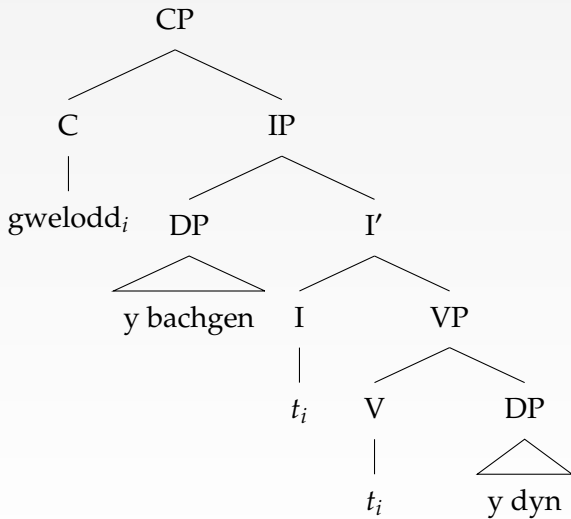
- (32) He va bra et an tsöfft *int* bootsen.
 it was good that he bought not the.book
 ‘It was good that he didn’t buy the book.’ (Kronoby Swedish)
- (33) ... før det at han Nilsen kom *ikkje*.
 because that he N. came not
 ‘... because Nilsen didn’t come.’ (Tromsø Norwegian)
 (Rohrbacher 1999:118; Bobaljik 2002:139)

Conclusion

- The inflected forms constitute a paradigm and their feature specifications are determined in relation to the other members of the paradigm.
- The overt morphological encoding of person features affects the language's categorial organisation of lexical items, namely Infl is a manifestation of person markings of finite verbs.
- The framework is potentially extended to other categorial domains involving different feature encoding, such as C or more fine-grained functional heads.

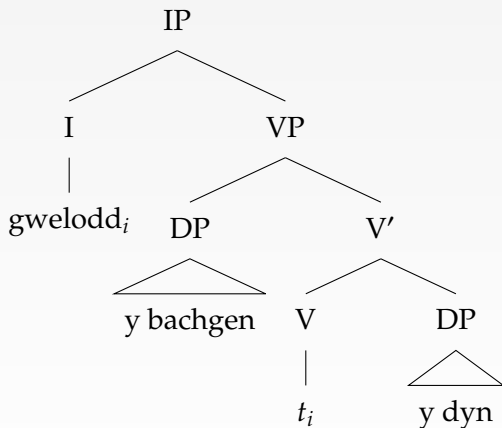
- (34) a. Chonaic Seán an madra.
 see.PAST John the dog
 'John saw the dog.' (Irish)
- b. Chunnaic mi Iain an dé.
 see.PAST I John yesterday
 'I saw John yesterday.' (Scottish Gaelic)
- c. Gwelodd y bachgen y dyn.
 see.PAST the boy the man
 'The boy saw the man.' (Welsh) (Hendrick 2000:14)

(35)



- (36) a. Ceapaim go bhfaca sé an madra.
 think.PRES.1.SG that see.PAST he the dog
 'I think that he saw the dog.' (Irish; Bobaljik & Carnie 1996:227)
- b. Tybed a geith hi ddiwrnod rhydd wythnos
 wonder.1.SG PRT will.get she day free week
 nesa.
 next
 'I wonder if she'll get a free day next week.' (Welsh; Roberts 2005:20)

(37)



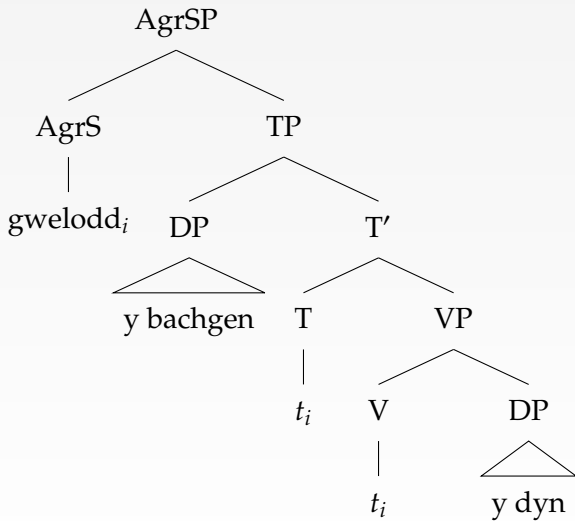
- (38) a. *Cuireann *go minic* na mic léinn isteach ar
 put.PAST often the students in on jobs
 phostanna.

‘The students often apply for jobs.’ (Irish; McCloskey 1991:260)

- b. Mae ‘r bws *eisoes* wedi gadael.
 be.PRES.3.SG the bus already PERF leave.INF

‘The bus has already left.’ (Welsh; Borsley et al. 2007:50)

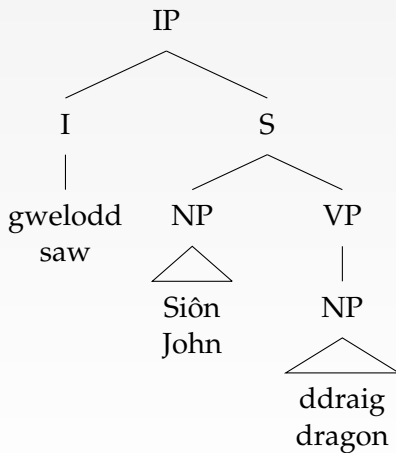
(39)



	V-to-I	No V-to-I
V-to-C	Icelandic, Yiddish	Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, ...
No V-to-C	French, Italian Irish, Welsh, ...	English

Table 8: Availability of V-to-I and V-to-C Revised

(40) Welsh



(Bresnan 2001:130)

Welsh <i>cerdded</i> 'walk'			
	Future	Past	Conditional
1Sg	cerdda(f)	cerddais	cerddwn
2Sg	cerddi	cerddaist	cerddet
3Sg	cerddiff	cerddodd	cerddai
1Pl	cerddwn	cerddon	cerdden
2Pl	cerddwch	cerddoch	cerddech
3Pl	cerddan	cerddon	cerdden

Table 9: Welsh verb paradigm (Borsley et al. 2007:9)

- (41) a. Gwelodd e/hi
 see.PAST.3.SG he/she
 'He/she saw.'
- b. Gwelon nhw.
 see.PAST.3.PL they
 'They saw.'
- (42) a. Gwelodd y bachgen/bechgyn ddraig.
 see.PAST.3.SG the boy/boys dragon
 'The boy/boys saw a dragon.'
- b. *Gwelon y bechgyn ddraig.
 see.PAST.3.PL the boys dragon
 'The boys saw a dragon.'

(43) Welsh *cerdded* 'walk'

- | | | | | | |
|----|------------------|--|----|-----------------|--|
| a. | <i>cerdddais</i> | (↑ SUBJ PRED) = _c 'pro'
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = _c +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = _c -
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = _c SG
(↑ TENSE) = PAST | d. | <i>cerddon</i> | (↑ SUBJ PRED) = _c 'pro'
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = _c +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = _c -
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = _c PL
(↑ TENSE) = PAST |
| b. | <i>cerddaist</i> | (↑ SUBJ PRED) = _c 'pro'
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = _c -
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = _c +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = _c SG
(↑ TENSE) = PAST | e. | <i>cerddoch</i> | (↑ SUBJ PRED) = _c 'pro'
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = _c -
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = _c +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
(↑ TENSE) = PAST |
| c. | <i>cerddodd</i> | (↑ TENSE) = PAST | f. | <i>cerddon</i> | (↑ SUBJ PRED) = _c 'pro'
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = _c -
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = _c -
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
(↑ TENSE) = PAST |

Irish <i>cuir</i> 'put'	
Sg	Pl
1 <i>chuirfinn</i>	<i>chuirfimis</i>
2 <i>chuirfeá</i>	<i>chuirfeadh sibh</i>
3 <i>chuirfeadh sé (M)/sí (F)</i>	<i>chuirfeadh siad</i>

Table 10: Irish conditional verb paradigm (Andrews 1990:509)

- (44) a. Chuirfinn (*mé) isteach ar an phost sin.
 put.COND.1.SG I in on the job that
 'I would apply for that job.'
- b. Chuirfimis (*muid) isteach ar an phost sin.
 put.COND.1.PL we in on the job that
 'We would apply for that job.'
- c. Chuirfeadh na léachtóirí uilig isteach ar an phost sin.
 put.COND the lecturers all in on the job that
 'All the lecturers would apply for that job.'
- d. *Churifeadh isteach ar an phost sin.
 put.COND in on the job that

(45) Irish *cuir* 'put'

- a. *chuirfinn* (↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro'
 (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = +
 (↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = -
 (↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
 (↑ TENSE) = COND
- b. *chuirfeá* (↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro'
 (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = -
 (↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = +
 (↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
 (↑ TENSE) = COND
- c. *chuirfimis* (↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro'
 (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = +
 (↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = -
 (↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
 (↑ TENSE) = COND
- d. *chuirfeadh* (↑ TENSE) = COND

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