Lexical Nature of Functional Projections

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1 Variations of finite verb placement and movement

1.1 Germanic and Romance clause structures

Main clause V2

- In Germanic languages, finite verbs are placed in the second position (V2) in main clauses.

(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

- In embedded clauses, the variation arises:
  - Icelandic and Yiddish: V—Adv/Neg
  - Mainland Scandinavian: Adv/Neg—V

(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

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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

- In derivational approaches to the Germanic V2 clause, finite verbs move from V to C via Infl.

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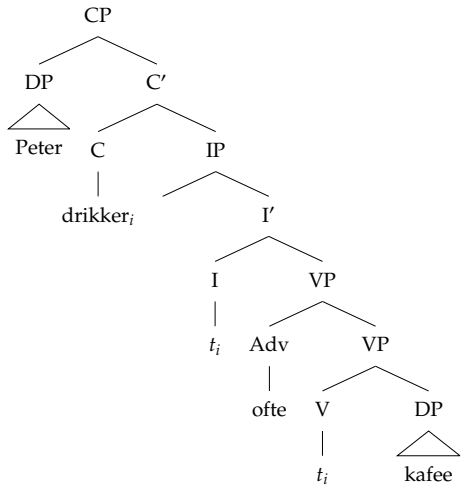


- Spec,CP can be filled by a non-subject phrase.

(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

- In embedded clauses, finite verbs in Icelandic and Yiddish behave like French and Italian, which involve verb movement from V to Infl.

(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)

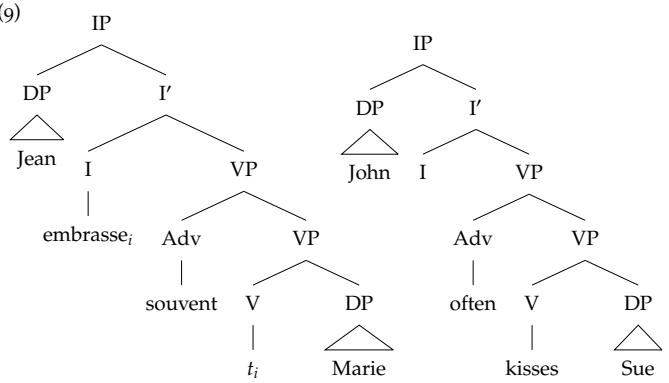
(7) a. Quel medico risolverà *completamente* i tuoi problemi.
that doctor solve.FUT completely the your problems
b. Quel medico risolverà i tuoi problemi *completamente*.
c. *Quel medico *completamente* risolverà i tuoi problemi. (Italian)

(Rohrbacher 1999:209)

- Mainland Scandinavian languages do not exhibit V-to-I movement, so the finite verbs stay in V like English.

(8) a. *John kisses *often* Sue.
b. John *often* kisses Sue. (English)

(9)



(cf. Emonds 1978, Pollock 1989)

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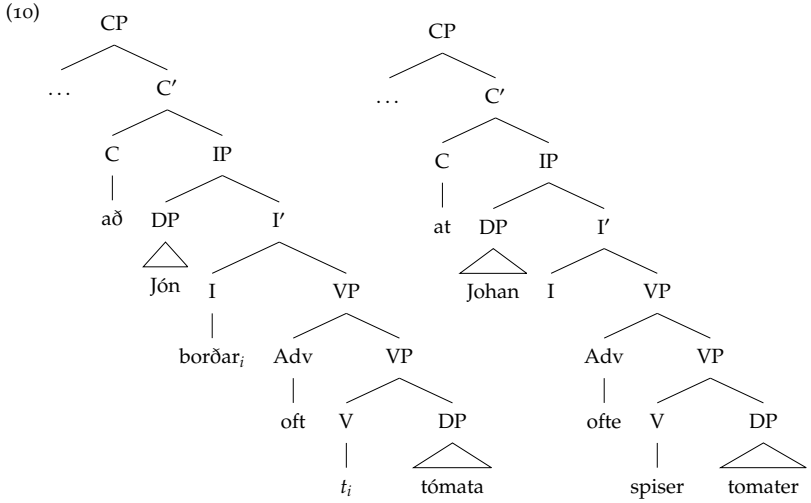


	V-to-I	No V-to-I
V-to-C	Icelandic, Yiddish	Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, …
No V-to-C	French, Italian	English

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

2 Functional Projections in LFG

- *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:

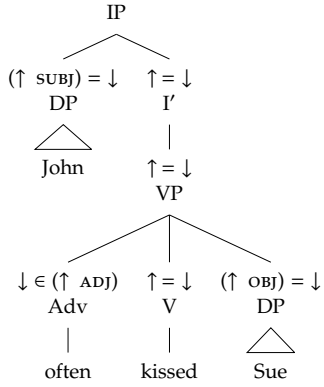
John N (↑ PRED) = 'John'
(↑ NUM) = SG
(↑ PERS) = 3

Sue N (↑ PRED) = 'Sue'
(↑ NUM) = SG
(↑ PERS) = 3

kissed V (↑ PRED) = 'kiss⟨SUBJ,OBJ⟩'
(↑ TENSE) = PAST

often Adv (↑ PRED) = 'often'

b. c-structure



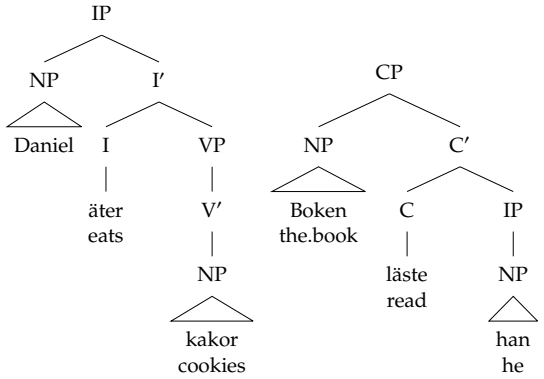
c. f-structure

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'kiss⟨SUBJ,OBJ⟩'} \\ \text{TENSE} & \text{PAST} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'John'} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'Sue'} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{ADJ} & \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'often'} \end{bmatrix} \right\} \end{bmatrix}$$

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

- Instead of assuming derivational processes like movement, finite verbs can be base-generated in a functional head, i.e. their categories are I or C.

(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

- The features associated with the verbs located in the heads of a clause spine all map to the same f-structure.

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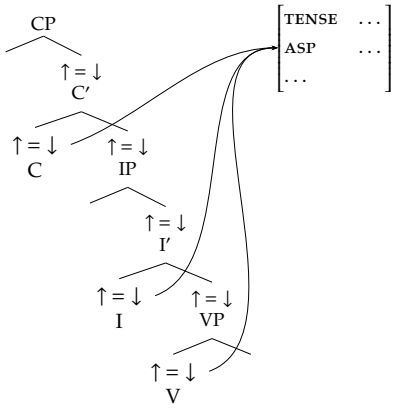

- A number of proposals have been made for a diverse range of languages: Tagalog (Kroeger 1993), Russian (King 1995), Welsh (Sadler 1997, Bresnan 2001), Irish (Asudeh 2012), Swedish (Sells 2001, Toivonen 2003), Icelandic (Sells 2003, 2005), European Portuguese (Luís & Otoguro 2011).

- **Question:** What conditions must be satisfied when finite verbs are qualified as functional heads?

3 Proposal

3.1 Rich agreement morphology

(16) Rich Agreement Hypothesis
Rich agreement morphology → V-to-I movement
(Kosmeijer 1986, Rohrbacher 1999, Koeneman & Zeijlstra 2010, 2012)

	Yiddish *loyf-n* 'run'		Icelandic *segj-a* 'say'		Danish *høre* '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

3.2 Defining richness

- Instead of using atomic values, [1ST], [2ND], [3RD], a Boolean-valued feature system, [±1] and [±2], is adopted (cf. Dalrymple et al. 2009, Sadler 2011).

(17) 1st: (↑ PERS 1) = +
(↑ PERS 2) = −
2nd: (↑ PERS 1) = −
(↑ PERS 2) = +
3rd: (↑ PERS 1) = −
(↑ PERS 2) = −

cf. (↑ PERS) = 1
(↑ PERS) = 2
(↑ PERS) = 3

- 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, Otoguro 2006, forthcoming)

- When a language exhibits full paradigmatic person contrasts, i.e. [+1, −2] and [−1, +2], finite verbs are qualified as Infl.

3.3 Finite verbs in functional heads

Germanic

- Both Icelandic and Yiddish show the full paradigmatic person contrasts ((18a, c, d) and (19a, b)).

(18) Icelandic *segja* 'say'

a. *segi* (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =$_c$ +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =$_c$ SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

b. *segir* (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =$_c$ SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

c. *segjum* (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =$_c$ +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =$_c$ PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

d. *segið* (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =$_c$ +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =$_c$ PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

e. *segia* (↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =$_c$ PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

(19) Yiddish *loyfn* 'run'

a. *loyf*
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =$_c$ +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =$_c$ SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

b. *loyfst*
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =$_c$ +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =$_c$ SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

c. *loyft*
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =$_c$ −
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

d. *loyfn*
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =$_c$ PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

Romance

- Italian also exhibits the person feature contrasts.

	Italian *parlare* '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. *parlo*
((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

b. *parli*
((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

c. *parla*
((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

d. *parliamo*
((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

e. *parlate*
((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

f. *parlano*
((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

- French may be a counterexample due to its defective inflectional paradigm.

	French *parl-er* [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

- However, subject clitic (weak, atonic) pronouns can be regarded as verb agreement markers as suggested by widespread clitic doubling phenomena (Rohrbacher 1999:218-9, Koeneman & Zeijlstra 2010, 2012).

	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. *je parle*
((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

b. *tu parles*
((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

c. *il parle*
((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
(↑ SUBJ GEND) = M
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

d. *elle parle*
((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
(↑ SUBJ GEND) = F
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

...

4 Dialectal variations

- Colloquial Brazilian Portuguese exhibits poorer agreement morphology than European Portuguese.
- It is argued that the lexical verbs in BP stay in V while those in EP are located in the higher functional head (Rohrbacher 1999, Luís & Otoguro 2012)

	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. *falo* ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

b. *falas* ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

c. *fala* ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

d. *falamos* ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

e. *falais* ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
(↑ TENSE) = PRES

f. *falam* ((↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro')
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) = −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) = −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
(↑ TENSE) = 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 grande dose.
...although I know that 3.SG.F.ACC already have in 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)

- The dialectal variations of person markings are found in Hallingmålet in Norway and Älvdalsmålet in Sweden, which trigger verb positional differences.

	Hallingmålet (Norway) *høyræ* 'hear'		Älvdalsmålet (Sweden) *höra* 'hear'	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1	høyr-e	høyr-æ	hör-er	hör-um
2	høyr-e	høyr-æ	hör-er	hör-ir
3	høyr-e	høyr-æ	hör-er	hör-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) Älvdalsmålet *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 kjøpæ *ikkje* bokje.
that we buy not the.book

b. ... at me *ikkje* kjøpæ 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)

- Some dialects locate finite verbs outside of VP even after the loss of rich agreement morphology.

(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)

- It may be the case that there is a gap between the loss of rich agreement morphology and the loss of Infl status of finite verbs, e.g. English, Danish (Roberts 1993, 2007, Watanabe 1994, Vikner 1997).

5 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 categorical 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.

A Celtic V1 clause structure

- In Celtic languages, finite verbs are placed in the clause initial position, which appears to involve movement to C leaving the subject in Spec,IP.

(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)

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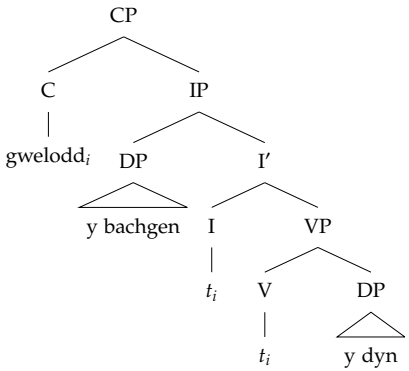
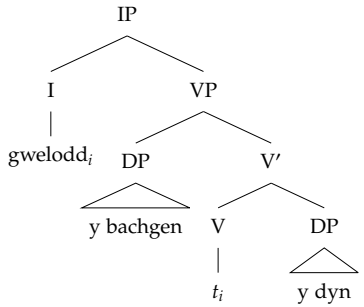


- However, Celtic languages display a V1 structure in embedded clauses as well where C is filled by a complementiser. This has led some researchers to suggest the structure where a verb moves to Infl and the subject stays in Spec,VP (cf. Rouveret 1990).

(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 nesa.
wonder.1.SG PRT will.get she day free week next
'I wonder if she'll get a free day next week.' (Welsh; Roberts 2005:20)

(37)

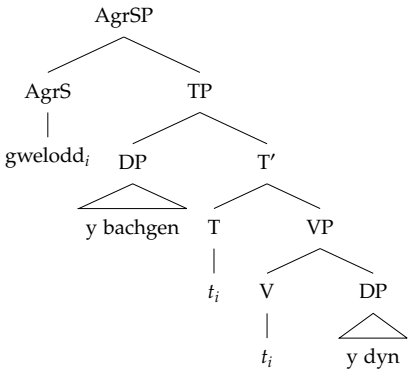


- But adverbs which are thought to be located at the left edge of VP follow the subject.
- The data suggest that both finite verbs and subjects are located outside of VP. Since the finite verb position is lower than C, a Split-Infl structure must be assumed, in which the finite verbs are in AgrS and the subjects are in Spec,TP (cf. Roberts 2005, Borsley et al. 2007).

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

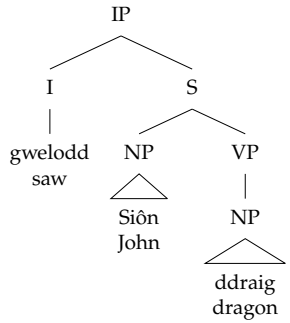


	V-to-I	No V-to-I
V-to-C	Icelandic, Yiddish	Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, ...
No V-to-C	French, Italian	English
	Irish, Welsh, ...	

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

- For Celtic V1 clauses, LFG postulates the structure where Infl takes an exocentric phrase (S), so that finite verbs are placed in Infl and subjects are located outside of VP.

(40) Welsh



(Bresnan 2001:130)

- Celtic languages show rich agreement morphology
- In Welsh, however, fully inflected forms can only agree with subject pronouns; they cannot co-occur with lexical NP subjects where a default third singular form must be used.

	Welsh *cerdded* '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. *cerdddais*
(↑ SUBJ PRED) =$_c$ 'pro'
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =$_c$ +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =$_c$ SG
(↑ TENSE) = PAST

b. *cerddaist*
(↑ SUBJ PRED) =$_c$ 'pro'
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =$_c$ +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =$_c$ SG
(↑ TENSE) = PAST

c. *cerddodd*
(↑ TENSE) = PAST

d. *cerddon*
(↑ SUBJ PRED) =$_c$ 'pro'
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =$_c$ +
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) =$_c$ PL
(↑ TENSE) = PAST

e. *cerddoch*
(↑ SUBJ PRED) =$_c$ 'pro'
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =$_c$ +
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
(↑ TENSE) = PAST

f. *cerddon*
(↑ SUBJ PRED) =$_c$ 'pro'
(↑ SUBJ PERS 1) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ PERS 2) =$_c$ −
(↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL
(↑ TENSE) = PAST

- In Irish, which also exhibits rich agreement morphology, synthetic inflected forms cannot appear with overt subjects.

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

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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