

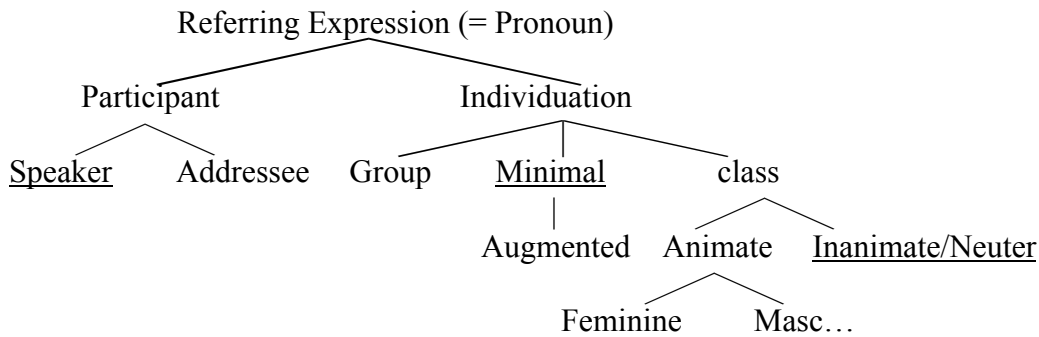
1 THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2000, 2001)
Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993)

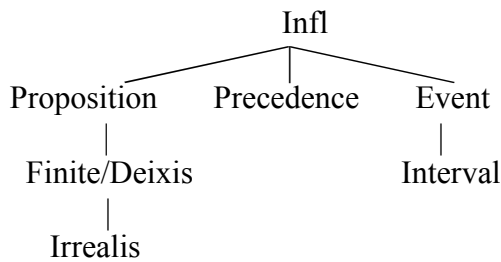
1.1 Feature Geometry in Morphosyntax

INFL: Cowper (1999a, 1999b, 2002, 2003),
Nominals: Cowper and Hall (2002)
Pronouns: Harley (1994), Ritter (1997), Harley and Ritter (2002)
Agreement: Béjar (2003)

(1) a. Harley and Ritter’s proposal for pronoun features:



b. Cowper’s (2002) proposal for Infl in English:



Formal Issues:

- Default values: Underlined in (1)a, absent in (1)b. In both cases, absence of a marked feature triggers a default interpretation of the dominating node/feature. Harley & Ritter also permit underlying specification of unmarked values (inclusive 1st person forms, duals)

The problem: the possibility of specifying unmarked values makes the system at best binary, and at worst ternary.

1.2 Distributed Morphology, Late Insertion and Polysemy

UG makes available a set F of features (linguistic properties) and operations C_{HL} (the computational procedure for human language) that access F to generate expressions. The language L maps F to a particular set of expressions Exp. Operative

complexity is reduced if L makes a one-time selection of a subset [F] of F, dispensing with further access to F. It is reduced further if L includes a one-time operation that assembles elements of [F] into a lexicon Lex, with no new assembly as computation proceeds. On these (fairly conventional) assumptions, acquiring a language involves at least selection of the features [F], construction of lexical items Lex, and refinement of C_{HL} in one of the possible ways—parameter setting.

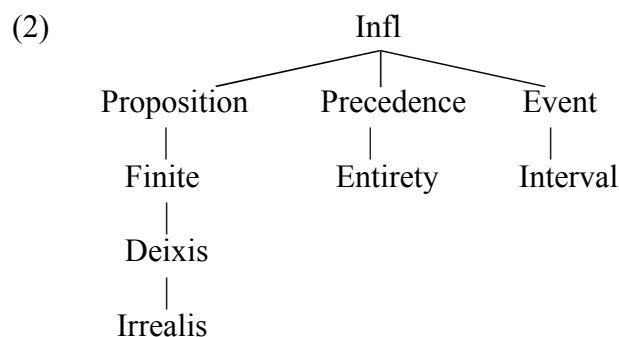
Chomsky (2000: 100)

Formal Questions:

- Where does the feature geometry live?
- To what extent does it vary from language to language?
- What are the LIs and VIs of INFL?

2 INFL IN UG

2.1 Dependency Structure



2.2 The Features of Infl and their meanings

- **Event**: Distinguishes events of all sorts from states.
- **Precedence**: Establishes a marked relation (precedence rather than simultaneity or inclusion) between the clause and its temporal anchor.
- **Entirety**: requires the precedence relation to hold between all moments of the event and the temporal anchor.
- **Proposition**: distinguishes bare states and events ((3)a) from their cognitive manifestations ((3)b) (Hall 2001).

- (3) a. The robber was seen [t to pick up the cash and run away]. #This turned out to be true.
 b. The robber was expected [t to pick up the cash and run away]. ✓This turned out to be true.

- **Finite**: Has purely syntactic content. Licenses structural subject case and Φ -feature agreement on the verb. (Cowper 2002). If an embedded clause is finite, it is interpreted as a proposition.

- (4) a. #We saw the solution be an irrational number. (no sensible bare event reading available)
 b. We saw that the solution was an irrational number.

• **Deixis**: sets the temporal and/or personal anchor of the clause to the deictic centre of the utterance/discourse. Languages may treat clausal deixis as a single property, or divide it into Temporal Deixis (T-Deixis) and Personal Deixis (P-Deixis).

• **Irrealis**: establishes a marked relation between the proposition and the consciousness at the deictic centre.

Default relation: $P \in C$. "P belongs to C."

Irrealis relations: $C \models P$. "P follows from C." (will, must)

$\neg [C \models \neg P]$. "P is compatible with C." (may, can)

2.3 Entailment relations

(5) Intrinsic relations:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. Interval \rightarrow Event | Interval modifies the way Event relates the clause to moment(s) in time. Without Event, Interval cannot compose semantically with a clause. |
| b. Entirety \rightarrow Precedence | Entirety alters the definition of Precedence, changing an existential quantifier to a universal quantifier. |
| c. Deixis \rightarrow Proposition | Indexes the proposition denoted by the clause (P) to the deictic centre of the utterance (C). Without Proposition, Deixis cannot be interpreted. |
| d. Irrealis \rightarrow Deixis | Irrealis alters the definition, changing a statement of the form "P belongs to C" to either "P follows from C" or "P is compatible with C". Since C is introduced by Deixis, Irrealis cannot be interpreted without Deixis. |

(6) Extrinsic Relations:

- a. Deixis \rightarrow Finite
- b. Finite \rightarrow Proposition

3 SOURCES AND LIMITS OF CROSSLINGUISTIC VARIATION

3.1 LIs and VIs: Features, Dependency Structure and Morphemes

Let F, the universal set of features (of INFL) be {Proposition, Finite, P-deixis, T-deixis, Precedence, Entirety, Event, Interval} Different languages might choose different subsets of this set. They then might assemble them into different combinations as LIs to be inserted at the beginning of the derivation. Finally, they will certainly have different set of VIs spelling out different combinations of features at the end of syntactic computation.

Observation: since most of the entailments are intrinsic, they will not vary from language to language.

Working assumption: even the extrinsic entailment relations will not vary from language to language.

3.2 Inventories and Interpretations

Trubetzkoy (1939, 1969) observed that “the concept of distinctiveness presupposes the concept of opposition” (Trubetzkoy 1969: 31).

In other words, the content, or interpretation of a linguistic element depends in large part on which contrasts the element participates in.

Short & simple excursus into phonology:

Let F be the universally available set of (for our purposes, monovalent) phonological features. Consider two languages, with the vowel systems in (7) and (8).

(7) Three-vowel system

i	u [Back]
a [Low]	

(8) Five-vowel system

i [High]	u [Back, High]
e	o [Back]
a [Low]	

Important differences:

- Different phonetic vowels with identical feature specifications, Different feature specifications with very similar phonetic interpretations.
- Different range of phonetic variation — the smaller the number of distinctions, the larger the phonetic range of a given segment.

Back to INFL:

(9)

[Event] (eventive clauses, perfective viewpoint aspect)	[Event, Interval] (eventive clauses, imperfective viewpoint aspect)
(stative clauses)	

(10)

[Event] (eventive clauses)
(stative clauses)

3.3 Surface Polysemy

(11) Principle of Strong Monosemy: The conceptual structure of a lexical entry may contain no disjunctions and no optional elements. If the conceptual structure of two uses of a lexical item cannot be unified through underspecification, then they must be treated as distinct lexical items (Cowper 1998: 6-7).

If (11) holds of LIs and VIs, surface polysemy can arise when a single VI is the best match for more than one configuration of LIs.

4 INFL IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH: A COMPARISON

Features:

(12) a. English	b. Spanish
<u>Interval</u>	Event
Event	<u>Entirety</u>
Precedence	Precedence
Irrealis	Irrealis
<u>Deixis</u>	<u>P-deixis</u>
Finite	<u>T-deixis</u>
Proposition	Finite
	Proposition

LIs:

(13) a. English	b. Spanish
Interval	Event
Event	Entirety
Precedence	Precedence
Irrealis	Irrealis
Finite+Formal	P-Deixis
Finite+Deixis	T-Deixis+Finite
Proposition	Proposition

4.1 Grammatical Aspect and Completion

- (14) Spanish imperfect
- a. Sabía que no era cierto. (state)
 know.IMPF.1S that not be₁.IMPF.3S true.
 ‘I knew it wasn’t true.’ (BB: 200)
- b. Yo hablaba con Mario. (event)
 I talk.IMPF.1S with Mario
 ‘I was talking to Mario.’ (BB: 215)
- (15) Spanish preterite
- a. El problema fue difícil. (state)
 the problem be₁.PRET.3S difficult
 ‘The problem was difficult (but we solved it).’ (BB: 202)
- b. Ayer anduve más de quince kilómetros. (event)
 yesterday walk.PRET.1S more of fifteen kilometers
 ‘Yesterday I walked more than fifteen kilometers.’ (BB: 198)
- (16) English simple past
- a. Maria knew the answer. (state)
- b. Alan read the book. (event)
- (17) English past progressive
- a. Alan was reading the book. (event)
- b. Maria was knowing the answer. (*, state)

Difference looks parallel, but it isn’t. English progressive spells out INTERVAL, a dependent of EVENT. Spanish preterite spells out ENTIRETY, a dependent of PRECEDENCE.

Presence of INTERVAL in English means bare EVENT receives a perfective interpretation.

Lack of INTERVAL in Spanish means bare EVENT can be either perfective or imperfective.

Presence of ENTIRETY in Spanish means bare PRECEDENCE receives an incompleted interpretation.

Lack of ENTIRETY in English means bare PRECEDENCE can be interpreted as completed or not completed.

Entailments predict that the imperfective-perfective distinction in English is found only in eventive clauses (INTERVAL is a dependent of EVENT), while the completive-noncompletive distinction in Spanish is found in both stative and eventive clauses (ENTIRETY is a dependent of PRECEDENCE).

- (18) a. Imperfect:
 Miguel era presidente el año pasado.
 Miguel be₁.IMPF.3S president the year passed
 ‘Miguel was president last year (and may still be president).’
- b. Preterite:
 Miguel fue presidente el año pasado.
 Miguel be₁-PRET.3S president the year passed
 ‘Miguel was president last year (but is no longer president).’

Simple present in Spanish covers range of meanings covered by present progressive and simple present in English:

- (19) a. Stative present
 No tengo tarjeta de crédito.
 not have.PRES.1S card of credit
 ‘I don’t have a credit card.’ (BB: 195)
- b. Characterizing present
 Llueve mucho en Irlanda.
 rain.PRES.3S much in Ireland
 ‘It rains a lot in Ireland.’ (BB: 195)
- c. Ongoing present event
 Escribe una novela.
 write.PRES.3S a novel
 ‘He’s writing a novel.’ (BB: 195)
- d. Futurate present
 Esta noche vamos al cine
 this night go.PRES.1P to.the cinema
 ‘Tonight we’re going to the cinema.’ (BB: 203)

Stative sentences in the simple past in English cover the range of meanings covered by the imperfect and the preterite in Spanish.

- (20) Bill was in Montreal yesterday.

- (21) a. Bill estaba en Montreal ayer.
Bill be₂.IMPF.3S in Montreal yesterday
'Bill was in Montreal yesterday (and may still be there).'
- b. Bill estuvo en Montreal ayer.
Bill be₂.PRET.3S in Montreal yesterday
'Bill was in Montreal yesterday (but has since left).'

Inchoative Preterite Statives

- (22) a. Cuando el café estuvo listo le alcanzó una tacita.
when the coffee be₂.PRET.3S ready him hand.PRET.3S a cup.DIM
'When the coffee was ready she handed him a small cup.' (BB: 198)
- b. La chica avanzó hacia él, y cuando estuvo a su lado le dijo...
the girl advance.PRET.3S until him and when be₂.PRET.3S at his side him say.PRET.3S
'The girl advanced towards him, and when she reached his side, said to him...' (BB: 198)
- c. Cuando supe la noticia...
when know.PRET.1S the news
'When I heard the news...' (BB: 200)
- d. Estaba fumando tres paquetes al día cuando yo lo conocí.
be₂.IMPF.3S smoke.GER three packs to.the day when I him know.PRET.1S
'He was smoking three packs a day when I met him.' (BB: 217)

Cuando seems to prevent the entire period of the state from being selected -- seems to select a single moment. Gives a reading of "as soon as the initial moment of the state was over," or "at the initial moment of the state."

4.2 Finiteness, Deixis and the Spanish Subjunctive

4.2.1 The Interpretation of Temporal Deixis

Temporally transparent clauses:

- (23) a. Yesterday afternoon, we saw [the children playing in the yard (*in the morning)]
b. On Tuesday, Anna tried [to go to the movies (*on Friday)]

Temporally relative clauses:

- (24) a. We decided to cut the grass.
b. We decided on Tuesday to cut the grass the following/*previous day.
c. We claimed to have cut the grass the previous/*following day.

Temporally deictic clauses:

- (25) a. Fred knew that Mary was ill. (complement clause simultaneous with matrix, prior to moment of speech)
 b. Fred knew (this morning) that Mary is ill. (period of Mary's illness must include both the time of the matrix clause and the moment of speech)

4.2.2 Temporal and Personal Deixis in Spanish and French subjunctives

(26) Spanish subjunctives are temporally deictic

- a. Les sorprendió que no lo supiera/*sepa.
 them surprise.PRET.3S that not it know.IMPF.SUBJ.3S/*PRES.SUBJ.3S
 'They were surprised she didn't know.' (BB: 224)
- b. Fue una casualidad que yo me encontrara/*encuentre allí.
 be₁.PRET.3S a chance that I me find.IMPF.SUBJ.1S/*PRES.SUBJ.3S there
 'It was pure chance that I was there.' (BB: 224)
- c. Me dijo que lo hiciera/*hague
 me say.PRET.3S that it do.IMPF.SUBJ.1S/*PRES.SUBJ.1S
 'She told me to do it.' (BB: 220)

(27) French subjunctives are temporally relative

- a. Il a fallu que je m'-interrompe
 It require.PST.3S that I myself-interrupt.PRES.SUBJ.1S
 'I had to interrupt myself.' (Grévisse 1961: 1066)
- b. Que voulais-tu que je lui dise?
 What want.IMPF.2S-you that I him say.PRES.SUBJ.1S
 'What did you want me to tell him?' (Grévisse 1961: 1066)

Spanish past subjunctives can appear in matrix clauses (without a complementizer)

- (28) Yo quisiera hacer-lo
 I want.IMPF.SUBJ.1S do.INF-it
 'I'd like to do it.' (BB: 208)

ENTIRETY in the Spanish past subjunctive system

- (29) a. Les sorprendió que no lo supiera
 them surprise.PRET.3S that not it know.IMPF.SUBJ.3S
 They were surprised she didn't know (BB: 224)
- b. Entré sin que me viese nadie
 enter.PRET.1S without that me see.PRET.SUBJ.3S no-one
 I entered without anyone seeing me (BB: 220)

4.3 Grammatical and Lexical Progressives

Spanish continuous tense forms do not spell out INTERVAL as do English progressives.

- (30) a. Yo estaba hablando con los vecinos cuando llegaron los bomberos
 I be₂.IMPF.1S talk.GER with the neighbors when arrive.PRET.3P the firemen
 ‘I was talking to the neighbors when the firemen came.’ (BB: 201)
- b. Está escribiendo una novela
 be₂.PRES.3S write.GER a novel
 ‘He’s writing a novel.’ (BB: 195)

Near (but not complete, see below) synonymy with imperfect and simple present:

- (31) a. Yo hablaba con los vecinos cuando llegaron los bomberos
 I talk.IMPF.1S with the neighbours when arrive.PRET.3P the firemen
 ‘I was talking to the neighbours when the firemen came.’ (BB: 201)
- b. Escribe una novela
 write.PRES.3S a novel
 ‘He’s writing a novel.’ (BB: 195)

Stative clauses can appear in the continuous, but not in the English progressive:

- (32) a. Estoy temiendo que va a llegar tarde
 be₂.PRES.1S fear.GER that go.PRES.3S to arrive.INF late
 ‘I’m afraid he’s going to arrive late.’ (BB: 218)
- b. La convocatoria a las distintas manifestaciones está siendo variada
 the calling to the various demonstrations be₂-PRES.3S be₁.GER varied
 ‘The calling to the various demonstrations is varied (i.e. the people attending come from various sources).’ (BB: 219)
- (33) a. *Arthur is being afraid that we will be late.
 b. *The audience at the concert was being diverse.

English progressives have a futurate (schedule) reading, as do the Spanish simple tenses (present and imperfect). Spanish continuous tenses lack the futurate reading.

- (34) a. We’re going to the movies this evening.
 b. I was leaving tomorrow, but now it seems I’ll have to stay an extra day.
- (35) a. ¡que me caigo!
 that me fall.PRES.1S
 ‘I’m falling!’ (uttered while slipping from the branch) (BB: 215)

- b. ¡Me estoy cayendo!
 me be₂.PRES.1S fall.GER
 ‘I’m falling!’ (uttered while in midair) (BB: 215)

4.4 Perfect tenses

4.4.1 Finite past perfect forms

- (36) a. Me enfadé porque Pepe me había dicho que yo era tonto.
 me anger.PRET.1S because Pepe me have.IMPF.3S say.PP that I be₁.IMPF.1S stupid
 ‘I got angry because Pepe had told me that I was stupid.’ (BB: 201)
- b. Yo ya me había dado cuenta de que ustedes no estaban.
 I already me have.IMPF.1S give.PP count of that you.3P not be₂.IMPF.3P
 ‘I had already realized that you weren’t there.’ (BB: 212)
- c. Creíamos que la habíamos visto antes
 believe.IMPF.1P that her have.IMPF.1P see.PP before
 ‘We thought we’d seen her before.’ (BB: 248)

Two instances of PRECEDENCE, therefore two INFLs. Matrix INFL is stative, embedded INFL either eventive or stative.

Inchoative Preterite Perfect, parallel to the Inchoative Preterite Stative, as expected.

- (37) a. Cuando hubieron terminado de reirse, examinaron mi situación personal.
 when have.PRET.3P finish.PP of laugh.INF.SE examine.PRET.3P my situation personal
 ‘When they’d finished laughing, they examined my personal situation.’ (BB: 213)
- b. Después que hubo vivido en España...
 after that have.PRET.1S live.PP in Spain
 ‘After I had lived in Spain...’ (S: 420)
- (38) a. Se marchó apenas hubo comido.
 SE walk.PRET.3S as.soon.as have.PRET.3S eat.PP
 ‘He left as soon as he had eaten.’ (BB: 213)
- b. Le escribió el mismo día, no bien se hubo marchado.
 her write.PRET.3S the same day, not well SE have.PRET.3S walk.PP
 ‘He wrote to her the same day, when she had only just left.’ (BB: 213)

4.4.2 Infinitival perfect forms - structurally ambiguous

Present perfects are biclausal. Monoclausal structures will be spelled out by a morphological past tense form (skipping details here - can come back to it if there’s time).

Infinitival perfects can be monoclausal or biclausal. No nonfinite morphological past form to block the infinitival perfect in a monoclausal structure.

Evidence for monoclausal structure of infinitival perfects:

- (39) a. #Franklin D. Roosevelt has been elected president four times.
 b. Billy believes Franklin D. Roosevelt to have been elected president five times.
- (40) a. #Los hunos han arrasado el jardín.
 The Huns have.PRES.3P demolish.PP the garden.
 ‘The Huns have demolished the garden.’
- b. Los hunos parecen haber arrasado el jardín antes de entrar a caballo en la biblioteca monástica
 The huns seem.PRES.3p have.INF demolish.PP the garden before of enter.INF to horse in the library monastic
 ‘The Huns seem to have demolished the garden before riding into the monastery library.’
- (41) a. English VIs spelling out Precedence
 -ed: [Finite/Deixis, (Proposition); Precedence]
 -en: [Precedence]
- b. Spanish VIs spelling out Precedence
 Imperfect: [P-deixis, (T-Deixis, Finite, Proposition); Precedence]
 Preterite: [P-deixis, (T-Deixis, Finite, Proposition); Entirety, (Precedence)]
Ra-Subjunctive: [T-deixis/Finite, (Proposition); Precedence]
Se-Subjunctive: [T-deixis/Finite, (Proposition); Entirety, (Precedence)]
 Past Participle: [Entirety, (Precedence)]

4.5 *Irrealis tense forms*

4.5.1 Modals in English: a hybrid category

Modals spell out IRREALIS, and in some cases PRECEDENCE as well. They also specify whether the marked relation they introduce is compatibility (can, may) or necessity (must, will).

This explains:

- why English modals are inherently finite. Since they spell out IRREALIS, they entail DEIXIS, which entails FINITE.
- why English modals cannot exhibit subject-verb agreement. The *-es* affix in English spells out DEIXIS, as well as phi-feature agreement. Following Cowper and Hall (2002), I assume that two features cannot be separately spelled out if one feature entails the other. The modal spells out IRREALIS, and thus DEIXIS cannot be separately spelled out on a single syntactic projection. (cf. *This the dog)

4.5.2 Irrealis tenses in Spanish

Future spells out IRREALIS. Conditional spells out IRREALIS and PRECEDENCE.

Epistemic interpretations parallel those of English modals *will* and *would*.

- (42) a. The ship will sail for London on May 31.
 b. He won't get away with this!
 c. That'll be Mr. Jones at the door now.
- (43) a. En un remoto futuro el sol se apagará.
 in a remote future the sun SE extinguish.FUT.3S
 'In the remote future the sun will go out.' (BB: 204)
- b. ¡No pasarán!
 not pass.FUT.3P
 'They shall not pass!' (BB: 204)
- c. Habrá más de cien personas en la fiesta.
 have.FUT.3S more of 100 persons in the party
 'There must be more than 100 people at the party.' (BB: 205)
- (44) a. He thought he would leave early.
 b. We would like to meet the director.
 c. It would be fun to go to the beach.
 d. She would have been in Toronto at that point.
- (45) a. Dijo que lo haría luego.
 say.PRET.3S that it do.COND.3S later
 'He said he'd do it later.' (BB: 207)
- b. Yo querría hacer-lo.
 I want.COND.1S do.INF-it
 'I'd like to do it.' (BB: 208)
- c. Sería una locura poner-lo en marcha sin aceite.
 be₁.COND.3S a craziness put.INF-it in go without oil
 'It would be crazy to start it up with no oil.' (BB: 207)
- d. Tendría unos treinta años.
 have.COND.3S some thirty years
 'He must have been about 30.' (BB: 207)

Are there nonfinite future forms?

Latin:

- (46) a. vocātūrum esse
call.FP be.INF
'to be about to call'
- b. vocātum īrī
call.SUP go.INF.PSV
'to be about to be called'

4.6 *VIs in English and Spanish: Polysemy and other surprises*

- (47) English VIs
- ing: [Interval]
 - en: [Precedence]
 - ed: [Precedence, Deixis]
 - es: [Deixis]
 - will, can, may, shall, etc.: [Irrealis, nonfeatural meaning]
 - would, could, might, should, etc.: [Irrealis, Precedence, nonfeatural meaning]
 - Present subjunctive: [Finite]
 - Past subjunctive: [Finite, Precedence]
 - Infinitive: no features
- (48) Spanish VIs
- Present Indicative: [P-deixis]
 - Imperfect: [P-deixis, Precedence]
 - Preterite: [P-deixis, Entirety]
 - Future: [Irrealis]
 - Conditional: [Irrealis, Precedence]
 - Present Subjunctive: [T-deixis]
 - Ra-subjunctive: [T-deixis, Precedence]
 - Se-subjunctive: [T-deixis, Entirety]
 - Past Participle: [Entirety]
 - Infinitive: no features

4.6.1 Events and States

- (49) Mary drove a Toyota...
- to work this morning. (eventive)
 - when she lived in Boston. (characterizing sentence, stative)
- (50) María hablaba francés con él.
Maria speak.IMPF.3S French with him (S: 408)
- Maria was speaking French with him (at some particular time). (eventive).
 - Maria used to speak French with him. (characterizing, stative)

4.6.2 Propositions and Bare Events

(51) Bare events

- a. The suspect was seen [t to carry the TV out of the shop].
- b. The children were made [t to be working throughout the boss's visit].

(52) Propositions

- a. The suspect was expected [t to carry the TV out of the shop].
- b. The children were known [t to be working throughout the boss's visit.].

4.6.3 Simplex and complex structures

(53) We believe Bill to have lost his wallet.

- a. We believe that Bill has lost his wallet.
- b. We believe that Bill lost his wallet.

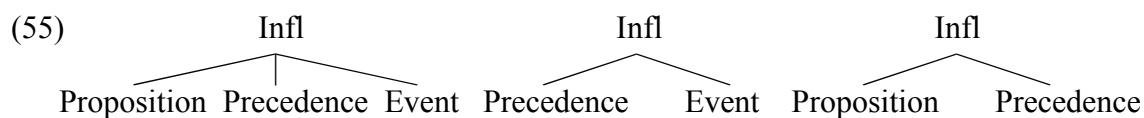
(54) Recuerdo haber-lo comprado.

remember.PRES.1S have.INF-it buy.PP
 'I remember buying/having bought it.'

(BB: 248)

- a. Recuerdo que lo he comprado.
 remember.PRES.1S that it have.PRES.1S buy.PP
 'I remember that I have bought it.'
- b. Recuerdo que lo compré.
 remember.PRES.1S that it buy.PRET.1S
 'I remember that I bought it.'

4.6.4 Entirety and Precedence in the Spanish Infinitive



(56) a. Te vi entrar
 you see.PRET.1S enter.INF
 'I saw you come in.'

(BB: 252)

- b. Creo tener razón.
 believe.pres.1s have.inf reason
 'I think I'm right.'

(BB: 248)

(57) a. una cerveza sin abrir
 a beer without open.INF
 'an unopened beer'

(BB: 254)

- b. casas a medio construir
 houses to half build.INF
 'half-built houses'

(BB: 254)

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Glossary of abbreviations used:

1: first person	2: second person
3: third person	COND: conditional
FP: future participle	FUT: future
GER: gerund	IMPF: imperfect
INF: infinitive	P: plural
PP: past participle	PRES: present
PRET: preterite	PST: past
PSV: passive	S: singular
SE: reflexive/impersonal clitic	SUBJ: subjunctive
SUP: supine	