1  THE FEATURES OF THE ENGLISH INFL:

\[ \text{Infl} \]
\[ \text{Proposition} \quad \text{Precedence} \quad \text{Event} \]
\[ \text{Finite/Deixis} \quad \text{Interval} \]
\[ \text{Irrealis} \]

• Infl is merely a label that, for the moment, hosts all the elements that make up the inflectional complex. The status of Infl as a syntactic category will be discussed as we go on.

• The structure in (1) is a dependency tree, formally similar to those proposed for segment structure by Sagey (1986) Rice and Avery (1991) and Avery (1996), and for pronouns by Harley and Ritter (2002) among others.

• The various elements are monovalent features with syntactic or semantic content, which correspond in some cases to particular inflectional morphemes.

1.1  Aspect

• Two possibilities: either Event and its dependent project AspP, or EventP, or they are dependents of the same syntactic head as the other inflectional features. See Cowper (1999), Travis (1993), Stowell (1995), Zagona (1990), among others. I leave the question open for now.

• Events are more complex than states. Event clauses contain an element that does not appear in stative clauses. Makes sense semantically, but also formally here. Events in English are further subdivided into imperfective (Interval) and perfective (Moment) events. So Event has a dependent feature and must thus be a feature itself.1

• [Event] does not seem to correspond to any particular morphological element. Crossclassifies with oppositions like telic/atelic, bounded/unbounded, and choice of verb.

2)  a. Fritz wore a school uniform as a child. (Stative, characterizing sentence)
     b. Fritz wore a school uniform twice this week. (Eventive)

3)  a. Anna was generous. (Stative)
     b. Katie was generous three times this morning. (Eventive)
• Stative reading unavailable in two contexts:

Bare infinitival complements of perception verbs:
4) a. They saw [the policeman be polite/?intelligent/?burly].
   b. We heard [the students heckle/?dislike the teacher].

Progressive clauses with -ing:
5) a. The children were playing in the yard.
   b. The heckler was being rude.
   c. ?The gymnast was being tall.

• progressive -ing spells out [Interval]. [Interval] entails [Event]. So progressive clauses are eventive, and stative clauses can’t be divided into perfective and imperfective subclasses.

1.2 Narrow Tense.
Traditionally: [± Past]
Here: [Precedence], which signifies that the IP in whose head it appears is located temporally prior to its temporal anchor. [Precedence] is spelled out by the finite past tense marker -ed, and by the past participial morpheme -en.

1.3 Mood.
Propositions and plain events (Davidson 1967, Parsons 1990):
6) a. We saw [that Mary was reading the book]. (proposition)
    b. We saw Mary reading the book. (bare event)

The subordinate clause in (6)a is a proposition. The sentence as a whole means that we came to

What’s a proposition anyway? A cognitive manifestation of an event or state. (Cowper and Hall 1999, and Hall 2001). The feature [Proposition] takes an event or state as its argument and “transforms it into its cognitive manifestation by linking it to a consciousness.” (Hall 2001: 20).

Fine, so what’s a consciousness?

“A consciousness comprises the set of all propositions that are indexed to it; it can be referred to by a temporal and personal index. If a proposition is finite and deictic, then the consciousness to which it is indexed is at the deictic centre. This consciousness corresponds roughly to the set of propositions believed by the speaker of the utterance, or, more precisely, the implied speaker at the moment of speech. The [implied] speaker is an individual; the consciousness at the deictic centre is a stage of an individual (in the terminology of Carlson (1977) and Kratzer (1988)). It contains those propositions believed at the moment of speech, not the full set of propositions believed by the speaker throughout his or her lifetime.” (Hall 2001: 20)

Clauses denoting propositions include the feature [Proposition]; bare events lack it.

Non-finite propositions:
7) a. We believe [the square root of four to equal two].
   b. As a result of these calculations, the square root of four can be seen [t to equal two]
   c. The students decided [ PRO to work together].
   d. The assignment seems [t to be very easy].
Finite propositions:

8) a. We believe that [the square root of four equals two].
   b. As a result of these calculations, it can be seen that [the square root of four equals two].
   c. The students decided that [they would work together].
   d. It seems that [the assignment is very easy].

[Proposition] and infinitival to are independent of each other:

Non-propositional clauses with and without to: (data from Cowper and Hall 2001)

9) a. We made [the children wash their hands].
   (non-propositional vP, forms a single event with the matrix clause)
   b. The children were made [to wash their hands].
   (non-propositional vP, as in (0a.)

10) a. We heard [Max play the recorder]. (bare event)
   b. Max was heard [to play the recorder]. (ambiguous: bare event or proposition)

Nonfinite propositional clauses with to: see (7) above.

Nonfinite propositional clauses without to:

11) a. We consider [Max a good musician]. (propositional small clause)
    b. We want [the books delivered on Tuesday]. (propositional small clause)

   • No particular morpheme spells out [Proposition] alone.

Finiteness and Deixis: Bundled together in English, function separately in other languages (e.g. Spanish, coming soon). Hypothesis at this point: finiteness without deixis is spelled out by subjunctive forms.

[Finite]: a feature with purely syntactic content (Cowper 2002). Triggers case-checking on the subject, and phi-agreement on the verb.

[Deixis]: Sets the index of the consciousness (to which the proposition is indexed) as the deictic centre of the utterance—essentially the speaker at the moment of speech Hall (2001). The index is both temporal and personal, so we can in principle talk about T-deixis (the temporal part) and P-deixis (the personal part). No need to do this for English, but Spanish separates the two.

[Finite/Deixis] is a dependent of [Proposition], so all finite clauses are necessarily propositional.

12) a. We saw that the children were playing in the yard. (cognitive, propositional)
    b. We heard that the fireworks started at 10:00. (cognitive, propositional)

13) a. We saw the children playing in the yard. (visual, bare event)
    b. We heard the fireworks start at 10:00. (auditory, bare event)

[Irrealis]: spelled out by various modals, along lines suggested by Hall (2001).

Semantic effect is to change the relation between the proposition (call it p) and the consciousness (= the set of propositions) (call it C).

Unmarked relation is p ∈ C.

With [Irrealis], either a) p follows from C (put crudely, C → p) as with modals like will & must or b) p is compatible with C (ditto, ¬ (C → ¬p) as with modals like may & can.
Dependency structure in (1) generates 24 possible Infl’s, of which 23 are observed (see Appendix A) The 24th is an INFL with no features at all (a bare state). Assuming that a functional category cannot be projected except by a feature, the absence of completely empty INFL is to be expected.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE SYNTAX/MORPHOLOGY INTERFACE.

Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993):

• Syntactic computation manipulates only features grammaticalized in the language in question.
• Vocabulary items inserted cyclically, after syntactic computation on the cycle is finished. (Cowper and Hall 2002)

Insertion of inflectional morphemes thus depends both on which features are present in the syntactic structure, and on how they are arranged in syntactic projections. If two features $\alpha$ and $\beta$ occupy the head of a single syntactic projection, as in (14)a, then the best vocabulary item will be one that carries both features. However, if the two features are on different syntactic heads, as in (14)b, then vocabulary insertion will apply to the lowest head first, choosing a morpheme bearing only $\beta$.

14) a. $\begin{array}{c}
\text{XP} \\
\text{X} \\
\text{ZP}
\end{array}$

b. $\begin{array}{c}
\text{XP} \\
\text{X} \\
\text{YP}
\end{array}$

2.1 Progressives.

An ordinary progressive sentence like (15) has the inflectional features given in (16).

15) Ann was reading the book.

16) | Mood features | Narrow Tense Features | Aspectual Features |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td><strong>Precedence</strong></td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finite/Deixis</td>
<td></td>
<td>Interval</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• [Interval] triggers insertion of the present participial morpheme -ing
• [Finite/Deixis] + [Precedence] trigger the insertion of the finite past auxiliary was.
Perhaps these happen on different cycles? See, e.g., Travis (1993) for EventP, a.k.a. AspP.

17) IP
   ─── Infl
        ─── AspP
             ─── Proposition
             ─── Precedence
             ─── Event
                  ─── vP
                                   ─── Ann read the book

Another possibility: both vocabulary items are inserted on the same cycle:

18) IP
   ─── Infl
        ─── vP
             ─── Proposition
             ─── Precedence
             ─── Event
                  ─── Ann read the book

Yet another possibility: one Infl node per clause, but two clauses:

19) IP
   ─── Infl
        ─── VP
             ─── Proposition
             ─── Precedence
             ─── V
                  ─── IP
                                   ─── Infl
                                            ─── VP
                                                     ─── Ann reading the book

How to choose? (17) seems to correspond to syntactic structures that others have proposed, and permits one morpheme to be inserted per cycle. (18) minimizes projections, always a good thing, other things being equal. (19) captures the intuition, assumed by Schmitt (2001), that progressive clauses are in some sense stative.

Proposal: ordinary progressive clauses have either the structure in (17) or the one in (18). (19) is the structure of what I’ll call the stative progressive.
20) a. Ann’s reading a lot these days.  
b. Kate was smoking very little before the war.  
c. Barry’s working too hard at the moment. That’s why he’s losing his temper so much. It’s a good thing he’s asleep right now; otherwise he’d probably be yelling at us.

Compare the so-called “characterizing” use of the simple tenses (Krifka et al. 1995):

21) Bill drives an old pickup truck.

Characterizing sentences are stative, attributing a property to their subject rather than denoting an event or set of events. This follows from the structure in (19).

2.2 Perfects.

22) Albert had brought his sister.

• backshifted meaning: event of the main verb earlier than a reference time, which is in turn earlier than the moment of speech.

• Two instances of [Precedence], one spelled out by -en on the participle, the other by the past tense on the auxiliary. Requires two instances of Infl, since each Infl can accommodate only one.

23)

```
Proposition                     Precedence       V                     IP
Finite/Deixis                  had                  Infl
                                          Precedence       Event      VP
                                               -en
```

Albert bring his sister

What about present perfects? Are they biclausal or monoclausal? Is this an empirical question?

24) a. Albert has brought his sister  
b. Albert brought his sister.

25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood features</th>
<th>Narrow Tense Features</th>
<th>Aspectual Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td><strong>Precedence</strong></td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finite/Deixis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two big problems:
1. Predicts that there should not be a simple past tense in English. The past participle would always be inserted before the computation reached the projection bearing [Finite/Deixis].
2. The English present perfect should have exactly the same meaning as the simple past (if we could somehow generate the simple past).

One small problem:
Introduces a counter-intuitive structural difference between the present perfect and the past perfect. Both are semantically complex, crucially involving a reference time. The only difference between them is whether the reference time is at or before the moment of speech.

To generate the simple past, we need a structure in which the features determining tense and mood occupy a single syntactic head, as in (27).

The difference between the simple past and the present perfect is not in which features they have, but rather in how the features are arranged. The simple past is monoclausal; the present perfect is biclausal.
The structure in (28), accounts for the particular semantics associated with the present perfect. The matrix IP is a present tense clause, with standard requirement of current relevance.

29) a. *Henry VIII has been married six times.
   b. *Henry VIII is the first English king to be a Protestant.
30) a. Henry VIII was married six times.
   b. Henry VIII was the first English king to be a Protestant.

What about infinitival perfects? No current relevance requirement:

31) We believe Henry VIII to have been married six times.

Dependency structure predicts the existence of monoclausal “perfect” infinitives. Nothing blocks insertion of -en, since the only other morpheme spelling out [Precedence] also spells out [Finite/Deixis]. Auxiliary have is inserted for syntactic reasons; to for reasons discussed in Cowper and Hall (2001).

32) Further evidence that “perfect” infinitives aren’t always perfect:
33) a. We believe the children to have eaten the ice cream at exactly three o’clock.
   b. We believe that the children ate the ice cream at exactly three o’clock.
   c. We believe that the children have eaten the ice cream *at exactly three o’clock.
Evidence that “perfect” infinitives are sometimes perfect:

34) a. Anna has lived in Kenora all her life. (Anna is still alive - must be the subject of a present tense clause)
   b. Anna lived in Kenora all her life. (Anna’s life is now over)

35) a. We believe Anna to have lived in Kenora all her life. She certainly lives there now.
   (Anna is still alive - must be subject of a present tense clause)
   b. We believe Henry VIII to have lived in England all his life. He certainly lived there the year before he died.

3 THE SPANISH TENSE SYSTEM.

A superficial comparison:

Indicative tenses: Spanish has everything English has, plus one extra past tense (preterite), morphological future, morphological conditional, and a preterite perfect and preterite continuous.

Subjunctive tenses: Spanish has a full set: present & past plain, present & past continuous, present & past perfect subjunctives.

Apparent redundancy:

Two past tense forms — the imperfect and the past progressive — seem to cover essentially the same semantic ground as the English past progressive.

36) a. Yo habla-ba con los vecinos cuando llega-ron los bomberos
   I speak-imp.1sg with the neighbours when arrive-pret.3pl the firemen
   ‘I was talking to the neighbours when the firemen came.’
   b. Yo esta-ba       habla-ndo con los vecinos cuando llega-ron los bomberos
   I be-imp.1sg speak-gerund with the neighbours when arrive-pret.3pl the firemen
   ‘I was talking to the neighbours when the firemen came.’

Features of INFL in Spanish:

37)  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Proposition} \\
\text{Infl} \\
\text{Precedence} \\
\text{Finite/T-deixis} \\
\text{Event} \\
\text{Irrealis} \\
\end{array}
\]

Differences from English:

• one less aspectual feature
• one more narrow tense feature
• different arrangement of Finite & Deixis
3.1 [Entirety]

38) a. Est-uve enfermo
   \textit{be-pret.1sg ill}
   ‘I was ill.’ (and got better)

   b. Esta-ba enfermo
   \textit{be-imp.1sg ill}
   ‘I was ill.’ (at the time; no implication as to current state)

39) a. Ayer and-uve más de quince kilómetros
   \textit{Yesterday walk-pret.1sg more of fifteen kilometers}
   ‘Yesterday I walked more than fifteen kilometers.’

   b. Cuando entr-é en el cuarto not-é que ol-ía a quema-do
   \textit{when enter-pret.1sg in the room notice-pret.1sg that smell-imp.3sg to burn-pp}
   ‘When I entered the room I noticed there was a smell of burning.’

   A difference between English & Spanish simple present: Spanish cannot be default perfective. (more later on this)

40) *Mary eats her lunch at the moment.

41) a. Escrib-e una novela
   \textit{write-pres.3sg a novel}
   ‘He’s writing a novel.’

   b. María mira la televisión en este momento
   \textit{Maria watch.pres.3sg the television in this moment}
   ‘Maria is watching TV.’ (right now)

   [Entirety] can’t be an aspectual feature; it subdivides states as well as events. But it has some semantic effects rather similar to perfective aspect. If all of the moments during which an event takes place precede the moment of speech, and if nothing requires these moments to be distinguished from one another, then a perfective point of view is possible.

3.2 [Irrealis]

   In English, [Irrealis] is spelled out by modal verbs. In Spanish, there are two morphological paradigms that spell out [Irrealis]: the future and the conditional.

42) a. En un remoto futuro el sol se apaga-rá
   \textit{in a remote future the sun se extinguish-fut.3sg}
   ‘In the remote future the sun will go out.’

   b. Esta noche ire-mos al cine
   \textit{this night go-fut.1pl to.the cinema}
   ‘Tonight we’ll go to the cinema.’

   c. Hab-rá más de cien personas en la fiesta
   \textit{have-fut.3sg more of 100 person.pl in the party}
   ‘There must be more than 100 people at the party.’
d. María tendrá unos veinte años (BB: 205)
   Maria have-fut.3sg some 20 years
   .María’s about 20 years old.’

43) a. Prometió que vendría (BB: 201)
   Promise-pret.3sg that come-cond.3sg
   He promised he would come

   b. Sería una locura ponerlo en marcha sin aceite (BB: 207)
      be-cond.3sg a madness put-inf-it in go without oil
      It would be crazy to start it up with no oil

   c. Aquel día andaríamos más de cincuenta kilómetros (BB: 207)
      that day walk-cond.1pl more of 50 kilometres
      That day we must have walked more than 50 km.

   d. Yo quería hacerlo (BB: 208)
      I want-cond.1sg do-inf-it
      I’d like to do it

Future and conditional clauses in Spanish exhibit much the same range of meanings as do English clauses containing will and would.

Following Hall’s (2001) treatment of will and would, among other modals, the Spanish future spells out [Irrealis], while the conditional spells out [Irrealis] and [Precedence].

**Prediction: Irrealis tense forms are necessarily finite.** Another account will have to be found for the Latin future participle: moriturus ‘someone who is about to die’

What about Spanish modal verbs?

44) a. Podía hacerlo (BB: 199)
   can-imp.3sg do-inf-it
   ‘He was able to do it.’ (and may or may not have done it.)

   b. No había podido hacerlo (BB: 210)
      not have.pres.1sg can-pp do-inf-it
      ‘I couldn’t do it.’

   c. Deberías haberlo hecho (BB: 208)
      must-cond.2sg have-inf-it do.pp
      ‘You should have done it.’

   d. Deberías haberlo hecho (BB: 208)
      must-subj.pst.1sg have-inf-it do.pp
      ‘You should have done it.’

   e. Podría dar la casualidad de que hubiera huelga (BB: 231)
      can-cond.3sg give-inf the chance of that have-subj.pst.3sg strike
      ‘There might possibly be a strike.’

More fully verbal than English modals

- occur in a full range of inflected forms, including finite, infinitival and participial forms.
- appear in subjunctive, indicative and irrealis moods.
Claim: (to be refined & given more substance in Cowper & Hall (in progress). While Spanish modal verbs carry irrealis meaning, this meaning is part of the lexical semantics of the modal verb, not an inflectional feature. In contrast, the irrealis feature associated with English modals is inflectional.

3.3 [Deixis] and [Finite]

Three degrees of temporal dependence: (from last presentation)

Temporally transparent: the clause must have the same time reference as its governing clause. Likely doesn’t even project its own INFL (Wurmbrand 2001).

45) On Tuesday, Anna tried to go to the movies (*on Friday).

Temporally relative: the clause may have a distinct time reference from its governing clause, but the time reference is computed with respect to that of the governing clause.

• Russian finite tenses
• English “tensed” infinitives

46) a. We decided to cut the grass. (Matrix prior to moment of speech, infinitive after matrix, unspecified w.r.t. moment of speech)
   b. We decided on Tuesday to cut the grass the following/*previous day.
   c. We claimed to have cut the grass. (Matrix prior to moment of speech, infinitive prior to matrix.)

Temporally deictic: The time reference of the clause is computed with respect to the deictic centre of the utterance (normally the moment of speech)

47) 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)

Spanish subjunctive clauses are temporally deictic.

Present subjunctives appear when the time reference of the clause is at, or possibly later than, the moment of speech, as in (48), while past subjunctives, like English past indicatives, must appear when the time reference of the clause precedes the moment of speech, as in (49).

48) a. No creo que sea verdad (BB: 220)
    'I don’t think it’s true.'
   b. Ha dado ordenes de que nos rindamos (BB: 245)
    'He’s given orders for us to surrender.'
   c. Quiero que dejes de fumar (BB: 245)
    'I want you to stop smoking.'
Quizá venga mañana (BB: 243)
‘Perhaps she’ll come tomorrow.’

Te daré cuanto me pidas (BB: 241)
‘I’ll give you anything you ask for.’

Sería mejor que le reconociese el médico (BB: 224)
‘It would be better if the doctor examined him.’

Permitió a su hija que bailara (BB: 224)
‘He allowed his daughter to dance.’

No recuerdo que tu madre fuera esbelta (BB: 227)
‘I don’t remember your mother being thin.’

Yo no sabía que él estuviera ahí (BB: 228)
‘I didn’t know he was there.’

Posiblemente quedara algo de alcohol etílico en nuestras venas humorísticas (BB: 244)
‘Perhaps there was still some ethyl alcohol left in the veins of our humour.’

3.4 Grammatical Aspect in Spanish

[Entirety] mimics perfective viewpoint aspect in Spanish. What about the aspectual features?

In English, imperfective viewpoint aspect requires overt marking (progressive *-ing*)

50) a. The students wrote the exam yesterday.
   b. Flora baked some cookies.

51) a. The students were writing the exam yesterday.
   b. Flora was baking some cookies.

Evidence that English progressives spell out aspectual features:

52) a. *Bonnie was disliking the pie.
   b. *The children are resembling munchkins.

OK only with eventive interpretation. Biclausal progressives (see above) are stative in the matrix clause, but eventive in the lower clause, which is where *-ing* shows up.

Recall that both the imperfect and the preterite in Spanish occur freely in both stative and eventive clauses, and the difference between them therefore lies in a feature of the narrow tense system.

What about the Spanish continuous tense forms? Do they spell out an aspectual feature, or something else?
Evidence suggesting that they should spell out an aspectual feature: apparently Spanish progressives exhibit the same eventive/stative alternation that English ones do. So perhaps there should be both monoclausal and biclausal progressives, with the event/interval specification either in the matrix clause, as in (53), or in the lower clause, as in (54).

53) Está escribiendo una novela
   'He’s writing a novel.'

54) Está yendo mucho al cine estos días
   'He’s going to the cinema a lot these days.'

Evidence suggesting that the Spanish progressive should be handled differently:
1. different range of meanings from English progressive. Lacks futurate reading.
2. consequences for interpretation of simple present. If grammatical aspect (moment vs. interval) plays a role in Spanish, then we predict, that the simple present should be interpreted consistently, either as perfective or as imperfective. In fact, the simple present can express perfective and imperfective viewpoint aspect with equal ease. If the progressive spelled out [Interval], the the simple present in Spanish should have the same meaning as in English, since it would receive a default [Moment] interpretation.

Proposal (not yet worked out in detail): The Spanish continuous tenses are actually copular sentences taking small clause complements. The present participle/gerund is more like an adjective (except that it can still take bare DP direct objects), and doesn’t spell out any features of tense, mood or aspect. There is, in fact, no grammatical aspect in Spanish.

4 ENTIRETY AND P-DEIXIS

As can be seen from Appendix B, whenever [Entirety] appears, it seems that [P-deixis] is present as well. Cases where [Entirety] appears without [P-deixis] are unattested: Examples (3), (5), (9), (11) and (16), in Appendix B are of this sort.

A dependency structure such as ( would account for this distribution.

```
55) INFL
   Proposition Precedence Event
       Finite/T-deixis
       P-Deixis
         Irrealis Entirety
```

There is another systematic gap involving entirety: no clauses marked with Irrealis (future and conditional clauses) bear the entirety feature. Since the future lacks precedence, it’s no surprise that it lacks entirety. But why no conditional with entirety? (Examples (26) and (28) in Appendix B)
### APPENDIX A: THE MANIFESTATIONS OF INFL IN ENGLISH

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="INFL" /></td>
<td>We heard [the dog bark].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="INFL" /></td>
<td>We heard [the dog barking].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interval</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="INFL" /></td>
<td>The Smiths have (always) [been rich].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Precedence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="INFL" /></td>
<td>The Smiths have [bought a new car].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Precedence</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="INFL" /></td>
<td>The Smiths have [been looking for a house].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Precedence</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interval</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="INFL" /></td>
<td>We believe [the children to be intelligent].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="INFL" /></td>
<td>We believed [the children to eat the popsicles]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf: The children eat the popsicles.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>We expect [the children to eat the popsicles]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>We decided [PRO to eat the popsicles]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="INFL" /></td>
<td>We believe [the children to be watching the movie]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interval</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="INFL" /></td>
<td>We believe [Churchill to have been a talented politician]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td>Precedence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="INFL" /></td>
<td>We believe [the children to have watched the movie].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td>Precedence</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="INFL" /></td>
<td>We believe [the children to have been watching the movie].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td>Precedence</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interval</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="INFL" /></td>
<td>The children like ice cream.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finite/Deixis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INFL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Proposition Event</td>
<td>The inspector enters the room. He walks over to the desk,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finite/Deixis</td>
<td>and turns on the light.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Proposition Event</td>
<td>The children are eating the ice cream.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finite/Deixis Interval</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Proposition Precedence</td>
<td>Winston Churchill resembled his father.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finite/Deixis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Proposition Precedence</td>
<td>Winston Churchill won several elections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finite/Deixis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Proposition Precedence</td>
<td>The children were eating the ice cream.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finite/Deixis Interval</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td>The exam may be difficult.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Proposition Event</td>
<td>The teacher will leave at 4:00 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finite/Deixis Irrealis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Proposition Event</td>
<td>It may be snowing in Tromsø.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finite/Deixis Interval</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INFL Those old cars could be noisy.

INFL The children would eat those cookies (if they knew we had them).

INFL The prime minister could be reading this report, if only we had given it to him.

APPENDIX B: THE MANIFESTATIONS OF INFL IN SPANISH

1) INFL
   I
   Event
   Te vi [entrar]
   I saw you come in

2) INFL
   I
   Precedence
   Yo siempre he [sido un problema para mis padres]
   I’ve always been a problem for my parents

3) INFL
   Precedence
   Entitity
   ???

4) INFL
   Precedence
   Event
   Me ha [dado diez mil pesetas].
   He has given me 10000p.

5) INFL
   Precedence
   Event
   Entitity
   ???

6) INFL
   I
   Proposition
   Creo [tener razón]
   I think I’m right
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Número</th>
<th>INFL</th>
<th>Translación</th>
<th>Proposición</th>
<th>Precedencia</th>
<th>Evento</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Durante años no pudimos [hablar de otra cosa]</td>
<td>For years we could talk of nothing else</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Expect something like (10), only stative: Creíamos [haber sido benvenidos]</td>
<td>Accidental gap in data set?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9)</td>
<td></td>
<td>???</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Creíamos [haberla visto antes]</td>
<td>We thought we’d seen her before</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11)</td>
<td></td>
<td>???</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12)</td>
<td></td>
<td>No creo que [sea verdad]</td>
<td>I don’t think it’s true</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13)</td>
<td></td>
<td>[Tal vez te llame mañana]</td>
<td>Perhaps (s)he’ll call you tomorrow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Me sorprendió que [fuera tan alto]</td>
<td>It surprised me that he was so tall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nadie impidió que [Hemingway escribiera y publicase sus libros]</td>
<td>Nobody prevented Hemingway from writing and publishing his books</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16)</td>
<td></td>
<td>???</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17) INFL</td>
<td>[Pedro está cansado] Pedro is tired</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finite/T-Deixis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P-Deixis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 18) INFL | [Escribe una novela] He's writing a novel |
| Proposition | [Te llamo esta noche] I'll call you tonight |
| Event | | |
| Finite/T-Deixis | | |
| P-Deixis | | |

| 19) INFL | [Sabía que [no era certo]] I knew it wasn’t true |
| Proposition | | |
| Precedence | | |
| Finite/T-Deixis | | |
| P-Deixis | | |

| 20) INFL | [El problema fue difícil] The problem was difficult (but we solved it.) |
| Proposition | | |
| Precedence | | |
| Entirety | | |
| Finite/T-Deixis | | |
| P-Deixis | | |

| 21) INFL | [Yo hablaba con los vecinos] cuando llegaron los bomberos I was talking to the neighbours when the firemen came |
| Proposition | | |
| Precedence | Event | |
| Finite/T-Deixis | | |
| P-Deixis | | |

| 22) INFL | Yo volvía del cine cuando [vi a Niso] I was coming back from the cinema when I saw Niso |
| Proposition | | |
| Precedence | Event | |
| Finite/T-Deixis | | |
| P-Deixis | | |

<p>| 23) INFL | [María tendrá unos veinte años] Maria’s about 20 years old |
| Proposition | [Para entonces todos estaremos calvos] We’ll all be bald by then (remote) |
| Finite/T-Deixis | | |
| P-Deixis | | |
| Irrealis | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>INFL</th>
<th>Proposition</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Finite/T-Deixis</th>
<th>P-Deixis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24)</td>
<td>[Esta noche iremos al cine]</td>
<td>Tonight we'll go to the cinema</td>
<td>[En un remoto futuro el sol se apagará]</td>
<td>In the remote future the sun will go out</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25)</td>
<td>[Sería una locura ponerlo en marcha sin aceite]</td>
<td>It would be crazy to start it up with no oil</td>
<td>[Tendría unos treinta años]</td>
<td>He must have been about 30.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26)</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>??</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27)</td>
<td>[De nada serviría un nuevo golpe] porque [sólo perjudicaría al país]</td>
<td>Another coup d'état would be pointless, because it would only damage the country</td>
<td>[Aquél día andaríamos más de cincuenta kilómetros]</td>
<td>That day we must have walked more than 50 km.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28)</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>??</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29)</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>??</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES