

# Opaque paradigms, transparent forms: Nepali conjugation (appendices)

Olivier Bonami  
U. Paris-Sorbone &  
Laboratoire de Linguistique Formelle

olivier.bonami@paris-sorbonne.fr

Gilles Boyé  
U. Bordeaux 3 &  
ERSSàB

gilles.boyé@u-bordeaux3.fr

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## 1 Conjugation tables

		COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>			COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>
PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsātj <sup>h</sup> u	—	PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsādatj <sup>h</sup> u	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	birsātj <sup>h</sup> aũ		ROW $\beta$	—	birsādatj <sup>h</sup> aũ
PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birsātj <sup>h</sup> εs	birsātj <sup>h</sup> as	PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birsādatj <sup>h</sup> εs	birsādatj <sup>h</sup> as
	ROW $\beta$	birsātj <sup>h</sup> jau	birsātj <sup>h</sup> au		ROW $\beta$	birsādatj <sup>h</sup> jau	birsādatj <sup>h</sup> au
PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birsātj <sup>h</sup> ε	birsātj <sup>h</sup> a	PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birsādatj <sup>h</sup> ε	birsādatj <sup>h</sup> a
	ROW $\beta$	birsātj <sup>h</sup> in	birsātj <sup>h</sup> an		ROW $\beta$	birsādatj <sup>h</sup> in	birsādatj <sup>h</sup> an
HON <i>high</i>		birsanuhūtj <sup>h</sup> a		HON <i>high</i>		birsanuhūdatj <sup>h</sup> a	
The present of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’				The narrative present of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’			
		COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>			COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>
PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsanna	—	PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsādinā	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	birsannaũ		ROW $\beta$	—	birsādajnaũ
PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birsannas	birsannas	PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birsādinās	birsādajnas
	ROW $\beta$	birsannau	birsannau		ROW $\beta$	birsādinau	birsādajnau
PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birsanna	birsanna	PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birsādina	birsādajna
	ROW $\beta$	birsannan	birsannan		ROW $\beta$	birsādinan	birsādajnan
HON <i>high</i>		birsanuhunna		HON <i>high</i>		birsanuhūdajna	
The short negative present of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’				The long negative present of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’			

		COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>
PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsē	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	birsjaū
PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birsis	birsis
	ROW $\beta$	birsjau	birsjau
PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birsi	birsjo
	ROW $\beta$	birsin	birse
HON <i>high</i>		birsanubhajo	
The simple past of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’			

		COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>
PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsinā	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	birsenaū
PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birsinas	birsinas
	ROW $\beta$	birsinau	birsenu
PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birsina	birsena
	ROW $\beta$	birsinan	birsenan
HON <i>high</i>		birsanubhaena	
The negative simple past of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’			

		COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>
PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsāt <sup>h</sup> ē	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	birsāt <sup>h</sup> jaū
PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birsāt <sup>h</sup> is	birsāt <sup>h</sup> is
	ROW $\beta$	birsāt <sup>h</sup> jau	birsāt <sup>h</sup> jau
PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birsāt <sup>h</sup> i	birsāt <sup>h</sup> jo
	ROW $\beta$	birsāt <sup>h</sup> in	birsāt <sup>h</sup> e
HON <i>high</i>		birsanuhūt <sup>h</sup> jo	
The past imperfective of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’			

		COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>
PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsādat <sup>h</sup> ē	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	birsādat <sup>h</sup> jaū
PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birsādat <sup>h</sup> is	birsādat <sup>h</sup> is
	ROW $\beta$	birsādat <sup>h</sup> jau	birsādat <sup>h</sup> jau
PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birsādat <sup>h</sup> i	birsādat <sup>h</sup> jo
	ROW $\beta$	birsādat <sup>h</sup> in	birsādat <sup>h</sup> e
HON <i>high</i>		birsanuhūdat <sup>h</sup> jo	
The narrative past imperfective of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’			

		COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>
PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsannat <sup>h</sup> ē	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	birsannat <sup>h</sup> jaū
PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birsannat <sup>h</sup> is	birsannat <sup>h</sup> is
	ROW $\beta$	birsannat <sup>h</sup> jau	birsannat <sup>h</sup> jau
PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birsannat <sup>h</sup> i	birsannat <sup>h</sup> jo
	ROW $\beta$	birsannat <sup>h</sup> in	birsannat <sup>h</sup> e
HON <i>high</i>		birsanuhunnat <sup>h</sup> jo	
The short negative past imperfective of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’			

		COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>
PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsādinat <sup>h</sup> ē	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	birsādajnat <sup>h</sup> jaū
PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birsādinat <sup>h</sup> is	birsādajnat <sup>h</sup> is
	ROW $\beta$	birsādinat <sup>h</sup> jau	birsādajnat <sup>h</sup> jau
PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birsādinat <sup>h</sup> i	birsādajnat <sup>h</sup> jo
	ROW $\beta$	birsādinat <sup>h</sup> in	birsādajnat <sup>h</sup> e
HON <i>high</i>		birsanuhūdat <sup>h</sup> jo	
The long negative past imperfective of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’			

		COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>
PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsāt <sup>h</sup> inā	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	birsāt <sup>h</sup> enaū
PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birsāt <sup>h</sup> inas	birsāt <sup>h</sup> inas
	ROW $\beta$	birsāt <sup>h</sup> inau	birsāt <sup>h</sup> enu
PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birsāt <sup>h</sup> ina	birsāt <sup>h</sup> ena
	ROW $\beta$	birsāt <sup>h</sup> inan	birsāt <sup>h</sup> enan
HON <i>high</i>		birsanuhūt <sup>h</sup> ena	
The ‘thi’ form negative past imperfective of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’			

		COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>
PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsūlā	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	birsauilā
PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birselis	birselās
	ROW $\beta$	birsauli	birsaulā
PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birseli	birselā
	ROW $\beta$	birselin	birselān
HON <i>high</i>		birsanuholā	
The future of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’			

		COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>			COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>
PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsojna	—	PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	nabirsūlā	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	birsojnaũ		ROW $\beta$	—	nabirsaũlā
PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birsojnas	birsojnas	PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	nabirselis	nabirselās
	ROW $\beta$	birsojnau	birsojnau		ROW $\beta$	nabirsauli	nabirsaulā
PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birsojna	birsojna	PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	nabirseli	nabirselā
	ROW $\beta$	birsojnan	birsojnan		ROW $\beta$	nabirselin	nabirselān
HON <i>high</i>		birsanuhojna		HON <i>high</i>		nabirsanuholā	
The suffixal negative future of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’				The prefixal negative future of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’			

		COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>			COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>
PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	birsū	—	PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	nabirsū	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	birsaũ		ROW $\beta$	—	nabirsaũ
PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birses	birses	PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	nabirses	nabirses
	ROW $\beta$	birse	birse		ROW $\beta$	nabirse	nabirse
PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	birsos	birsos	PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	nabirsos	nabirsos
	ROW $\beta$	birsun	birsun		ROW $\beta$	nabirsun	nabirsun
HON <i>high</i>		birsanuhos		HON <i>high</i>		nabirsanuhos	
The injunctive of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’				The negative injunctive of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’			
		COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>			COL <i>a</i>	COL <i>b</i>
PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	—	—	PER 1	ROW $\alpha$	—	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	—		ROW $\beta$	—	—
PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	birsii	birsii	PER 2	ROW $\alpha$	nabirsii	nabirsii
	ROW $\beta$	birsa	birsa		ROW $\beta$	nabirsa	nabirsa
PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	—	—	PER 3	ROW $\alpha$	—	—
	ROW $\beta$	—	—		ROW $\beta$	—	—
HON <i>high</i>		birsanuhos		HON <i>high</i>		nabirsanuhos	
The imperative of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’				The negative imperative of <i>birsanu</i> ‘forget’			

## 2 The full PFM account

### 2.1 Features

Notes:

- Traditional grammar recognizes an opposition between *narrative* and *non-narrative* forms of positive imperfective (indicative present and past) subparadigms. The semantic import of the distinction is somewhat elusive. Corresponding negative forms are said to neutralize the narrative/ non-narrative opposition, but do also occur in pairs. Here we assume a uniform distinction between long and short forms, in both polarities, and sidestep the investigation of the semantic import of this distinction (or lack thereof).
- There is a certain affinity between future tense, injunctive and imperative forms. Note that the synthetic future is an irrealis future (the realis future is periphrastic), and that the injunctive has both uses similar to that of an imperative and uses similar to that of a subjunctive. Here we conservatively assume that the three subparadigms belong to three distinct moods (indicative, injunctive, imperative), but our account could probably be improved upon by a thorough study of the uses of these subparadigms.

- All person, gender and number distinctions are neutralized in the high honorification level. Moreover these forms are quasi-analytic, and rest on the conjugation of the auxiliary *hunu*. Since a treatment of (quasi-)periphrasis would take us too far afield, we include these forms in the conjugation tables but do not treat them in the fragment.

### 2.1.1 Feature inventory

attribute	possible values
MOOD	<i>ind</i> (indicative), <i>inj</i> (injunctive), <i>imp</i> (imperative)
TNS	<i>prs</i> (present), <i>pst</i> , <i>fut</i> (future)
ASP (aspect)	<i>pfv</i> (perfective), <i>ipfv</i> (imperfective)
POL (polarity)	<i>pos</i> (positive), <i>neg</i> (negative)
FORM	<i>short</i> , <i>long</i> , <i>thi</i>
PER (person)	1, 2, 3
GEN (gender)	<i>mas</i> (masculine), <i>fem</i> (feminine)
NB (number)	<i>sg</i> (singular), <i>pl</i> (plural)
HON (honorification)	<i>low</i> , <i>mid</i> , <i>high</i>
COL (column)	<i>a</i> , <i>b</i>
ROW	$\alpha$ , $\beta$
CLASS	<i>cc</i> , <i>cv</i> , <i>vc</i> , <i>vv</i>

### 2.1.2 Feature cooccurrence restrictions

FCRs are written in the format of Gazdar et al. (1985)

- (1) Tense, aspect, mood
  - a. {TNS}  $\supset$  {MOOD *ind*}
  - b. {ASP}  $\supset$  {MOOD *ind*}
  - c. {TNS FUT}  $\supset$   $\sim$  {ASP}
  - d. {TNS *prs*}  $\supset$  {ASP *ipfv*}
- (2) Long and short forms
  - a. {FORM *short*}  $\supset$  {MOOD *ind*}
  - b. {TNS *fut*, POL *pos*}  $\supset$  {FORM *short*}
  - c. {FORM *thi*}  $\supset$  {TNS *pst*, ASP *ipfv*, POL *neg*}
  - d. {TNS *pst*, ASP *pfv*, POL *neg*}  $\supset$  {FORM *long*}
- (3) Person
  - a. {MOOD *imp*}  $\supset$  {PER 2}
  - b. {PER 1}  $\supset$   $\sim$  {HON}
- (4) Columns
  - a. {NB *pl*}  $\supset$  {COL *b*}
  - b. {GEN *fem*, NB *sg*}  $\supset$  {COL *a*}
  - c. {GEN *mas*, NB *sg*}  $\supset$  ({PER 1}  $\equiv$  {COL *a*})
- (5) Rows
  - a. {NB *pl*}  $\supset$  {ROW  $\beta$ }
  - b. {HON *mid*}  $\supset$  {ROW  $\beta$ }
  - c. {HON *low*, NB *sg*}  $\supset$  {ROW  $\alpha$ }
  - d. {PER 1, NB *sg*}  $\supset$  {ROW  $\alpha$ }
- (6) Classes
  - a. {CLASS *vc*, POL *neg*}  $\supset$  {FORM *long*}

### 2.1.3 Correspondance table

traditional name	feature set
present	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>psrt</i> , ASP <i>ipfv</i> , POL <i>pos</i> , FORM <i>short</i> }
narrative present	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>psrt</i> , ASP <i>ipfv</i> , POL <i>pos</i> , FORM <i>long</i> }
short negative present	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>psrt</i> , ASP <i>ipfv</i> , POL <i>neg</i> , FORM <i>short</i> }
long negative present	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>psrt</i> , ASP <i>ipfv</i> , POL <i>neg</i> , FORM <i>long</i> }
simple past	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>pst</i> , ASP <i>pfv</i> , POL <i>pos</i> }
negative simple past	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>pst</i> , ASP <i>pfv</i> , POL <i>neg</i> , FORM <i>long</i> }
past imperfective	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>pst</i> , ASP <i>ipfv</i> , POL <i>pos</i> , FORM <i>short</i> }
narrative past imperfective	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>pst</i> , ASP <i>ipfv</i> , POL <i>pos</i> , FORM <i>long</i> }
short negative past imperfective	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>pst</i> , ASP <i>ipfv</i> , POL <i>neg</i> , FORM <i>short</i> }
long negative past imperfective	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>pst</i> , ASP <i>ipfv</i> , POL <i>neg</i> , FORM <i>long</i> }
'thi' form negative past imperfective	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>pst</i> , ASP <i>ipfv</i> , POL <i>neg</i> , FORM <i>thi</i> }
future	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>fut</i> , POL <i>pos</i> , FORM <i>short</i> }
suffixal negative future	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>fut</i> , POL <i>neg</i> , FORM <i>short</i> }
prefixal negative future	{MOOD <i>ind</i> , TNS <i>fut</i> , POL <i>neg</i> , FORM <i>long</i> }
injunctive	{MOOD <i>inj</i> , POL <i>pos</i> }
negative injunctive	{MOOD <i>imper</i> , POL <i>neg</i> }
imperative	{MOOD <i>imper</i> , POL <i>pos</i> }
negative imperative	{MOOD <i>imper</i> , POL <i>neg</i> }

## 2.2 Realization rules

Rules are written in the format of Ackerman and Stump (2004).

(7) Block 1

- a.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } fut\} \rightarrow X \oplus u^{\triangleright}$
- b.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{CLASS } cc, \text{TNS } fut\} \rightarrow X \oplus e^{\triangleright}$
- c.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{CLASS } cv, \text{TNS } fut\} \rightarrow X \oplus e^{\triangleright}$
- d.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{CLASS } cc, \text{ASP } ipfv\} \rightarrow X \oplus a$
- e.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{CLASS } vv, \text{ASP } ipfv\} \rightarrow X \oplus u$

(8) Block 2

- a.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{ASP } ipfv\} \rightarrow X \oplus \langle n$

(9) Block 3

- a.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{ASP } ipfv, \text{FORM } long\} \rightarrow X \oplus d$

(10) Block 4

- a.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{POL } neg, \text{FORM } long, \text{COL } a\} \rightarrow X \oplus i$
- b.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{ASP } ipfv, \text{FORM } long, \text{POL } neg, \text{COL } b\} \rightarrow X \oplus aj$
- c.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } pst, \text{POL } neg, \text{ASP } pfv, \text{COL } b\} \rightarrow X \oplus e$
- d.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } pst, \text{POL } neg, \text{ASP } pfv, \text{PER } 2, \text{ROW } \alpha, \text{COL } b\} \rightarrow X \oplus i$
- e.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{ASP } ipfv, \text{FORM } long, \text{POL } pos\} \rightarrow X \oplus a$
- f.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{POL } neg, \text{FORM } short, \text{TNS } fut\} \rightarrow X \oplus oj$

(11) Block 5

- a.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{POL } neg\} \rightarrow X \oplus na^{\triangleright}$
- b.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{POL } neg, \text{MOOD } inj\} \rightarrow na \oplus X$
- c.  $X, \sigma : \{\text{POL } neg, \text{MOOD } imp\} \rightarrow na \oplus X$

- (12) Block 6
- $X, \sigma : \{\text{POL } pos, \text{TNS } pres\} \rightarrow X\oplus t^h a^\triangleright$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } pst, \text{ASP } ipfv\} \rightarrow X\oplus t^h$
- (13) Block 7
- $X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } pst, \text{ASP } ipfv\} \rightarrow X\oplus i$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } pres, \text{POL } pos, \text{COL } a, \text{ROW } \beta\} \rightarrow X\oplus i$
- (14) Block 8
- $X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } pres, \text{POL } pos, \text{COL } a, \text{ROW } \alpha\} \rightarrow X\oplus \epsilon$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } pres, \text{POL } pos, \text{PER } 1, \text{COL } a, \text{ROW } \alpha\} \rightarrow X\oplus u$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{MOOD } ind, \text{PER } 1, \text{ROW } \alpha\} \rightarrow X\oplus \tilde{a}$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } fut, \text{PER } 1, \text{ROW } \alpha\} \rightarrow X\oplus \tilde{u}$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{MOOD } inj, \text{PER } 1, \text{ROW } \alpha\} \rightarrow X\oplus \tilde{u}$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{PER } 1, \text{ROW } \beta, \text{COL } b\} \rightarrow X\oplus a\tilde{u}$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{MOOD } ind, \text{PER } 2, \text{ROW } \beta\} \rightarrow X\oplus au$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{MOOD } inj, \text{PER } 2\} \rightarrow X\oplus e$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{MOOD } inj, \text{PER } 3\} \rightarrow X\oplus o$
- (15) Block 9
- $X, \sigma : \{\text{POL } pos, \text{TNS } fut, \text{COL } a\} \rightarrow X\oplus li$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{POL } pos, \text{TNS } fut, \text{COL } b\} \rightarrow X\oplus \bar{a}$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{POL } pos, \text{TNS } fut, \text{PER } 1, \text{ROW } \alpha, \text{COL } a, \} \rightarrow \langle X, \sigma / \{\text{COL } b\} \rangle : 9$
- (16) Block 10
- $X, \sigma : \{\text{PER } 2, \text{ROW } \alpha\} \rightarrow X\oplus s$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{PER } 3, \text{ROW } \beta\} \rightarrow X\oplus n$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{MOOD } inj, \text{PER } 3, \text{ROW } \alpha\} \rightarrow X\oplus s$

#### Portmanteau Rules

- (17) Block 4-7
- $$X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } pst, \text{ASP } ipfv, \text{POL } neg, \text{FORM } thi\} \rightarrow \langle \langle X, \sigma \rangle : 6, \sigma / \{\text{ASP } pfv, \text{FORM } long\} \rangle : 4-5$$
- (18) Block 7-10
- $X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } pst, \text{ASP } ipfv, \text{PER } 1, \text{ROW } \alpha\} \rightarrow X\oplus \tilde{e}$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } pst, \text{ASP } ipfv, \text{PER } 3, \text{ROW } \alpha, \text{COL } b\} \rightarrow X\oplus jo$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } pst, \text{ASP } ipfv, \text{PER } 3, \text{ROW } \beta, \text{COL } b\} \rightarrow X\oplus e$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{TNS } pst, \text{ASP } pfv, \text{POL } pos\} \rightarrow \langle X, \sigma / \{\text{ASP } ipfv\} \rangle : 7-10$
- (19) Block 8-10
- $X, \sigma : \{\text{MOOD } ind, \text{POL } neg, \text{FORM } short, \text{PER } 1, \text{ROW } \alpha\} \rightarrow X$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{MOOD } imp, \text{PER } 2, \text{ROW } \beta\} \rightarrow X\oplus a$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{CLASS } cv, \text{MOOD } imp, \text{PER } 2, \text{ROW } \beta\} \rightarrow X\oplus u$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{CLASS } vv, \text{MOOD } imp, \text{PER } 2, \text{ROW } \beta\} \rightarrow X\oplus u$
  - $X, \sigma : \{\text{CLASS } cc, \text{MOOD } imp, \text{PER } 2, \text{ROW } \alpha\} \rightarrow X\oplus ii$
- (20) Block 1-10
- $$X, \sigma : \{\text{POL } neg, \text{TNS } fut, \text{FORM } long\} \rightarrow na\oplus \langle X, \sigma / \{\text{POL } pos\} \rangle : 1-10$$



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