



## 1 INTRODUCTION

**Standard DM (Bobaljik 2000):** Vocabulary Insertion (VI) is **fully replacive**: all features of the head are replaced by the exponent.

**This poster:** VI is only **partially replacive**: the exponent replaces only those features of the head that its specification matches.

**Evidence:** unexponed features of *v*-probes get agreed with by higher #-probes in Kartvelian languages.

## 2 THE KARTVELIAN DISCONTINUOUS-BLEEDING GENERALIZATION

- Kartvelian verbs have three agreement slots; we assume the first slot (*g-* in (1)) corresponds to a probe on *v*, the second one (*-da*) to a T-probe, and the third one (*-t*) to a higher, phasal #-probe.

(1) (is) (tkven) gada-**g**<sub>v</sub>-c'er-**da**<sub>T</sub>-**t**<sub>#</sub> Georgian  
(3SG.NOM) (2PL.ACC) PVB-2-describe-COND.3SG-PL '(S)he would describe you (pl).'

- Suffixal PL-agreement with an NP in Kartvelian shows up only if there is no *v*-prefix that can expone PL-agreement with that NP — an instance of **discontinuous bleeding** (Noyer 1992).

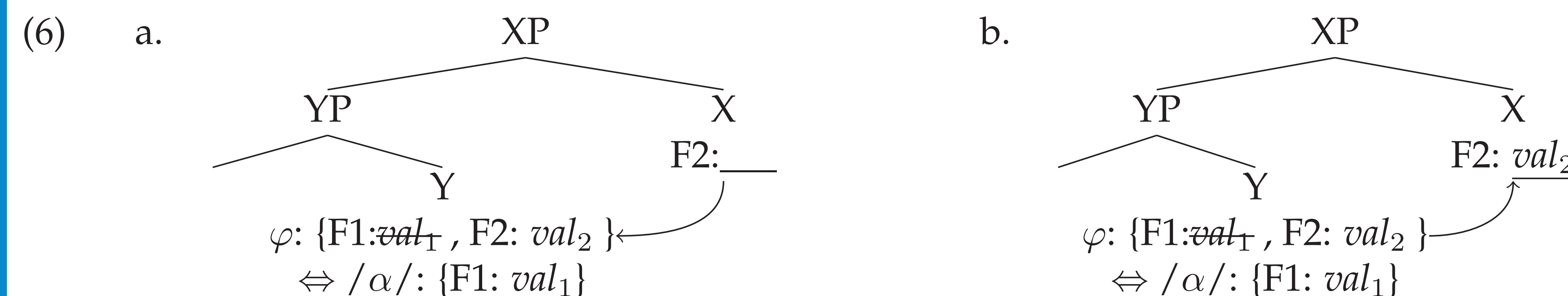
(2) **Georgian** (Aronson 1990: 172) (4) **Laz** (Lacroix 2009: 294)  
gv-naxa /g-naxa-t m-dziom-an /g-dziom-an  
1PL-see.AOR.3SG /2-see.AOR.3SG-PL 1-see.PRS-PL /2-see.PRS-PL  
'(S)he saw us / you (PL).'

(3) **Svan** (Testeleets 1989: 9) (5) **Megrelian** (Kipshidze 1914: 076)  
gw/n-adgäri /ž-adgäri-x m-tj'arən-a(n) /r-tj'arən-a(n)  
1PL.IN/EX-kill.PRS /2-kill.PRS-PL 1-write.PRS-PL /2-write.PRS-PL  
'(S)he is killing us / you (PL).'

- In Georgian and Svan there is a 1PL prefix, and in those forms that have it, the #-suffix is bled by its presence — unlike in Megrelian and Laz, which lack a 1PL prefix.
- No language has a 2PL prefix, so all of them have suffixal PL-agreement with 2PL NPs.
- The question:** why does the suffix's presence depend on the features expone by the prefix?

## 3 PROPOSAL: LEFTOVER AGREEMENT (LA)

**Leftover Agreement** is agreement of a higher probe X with unexponed features on a lower probe Y.



(7) Let Y be a probe that has copied a feature bundle  $\varphi$  through agreement with noun phrases in its c-command domain, and let X be a higher probe, the head of the phase XP.

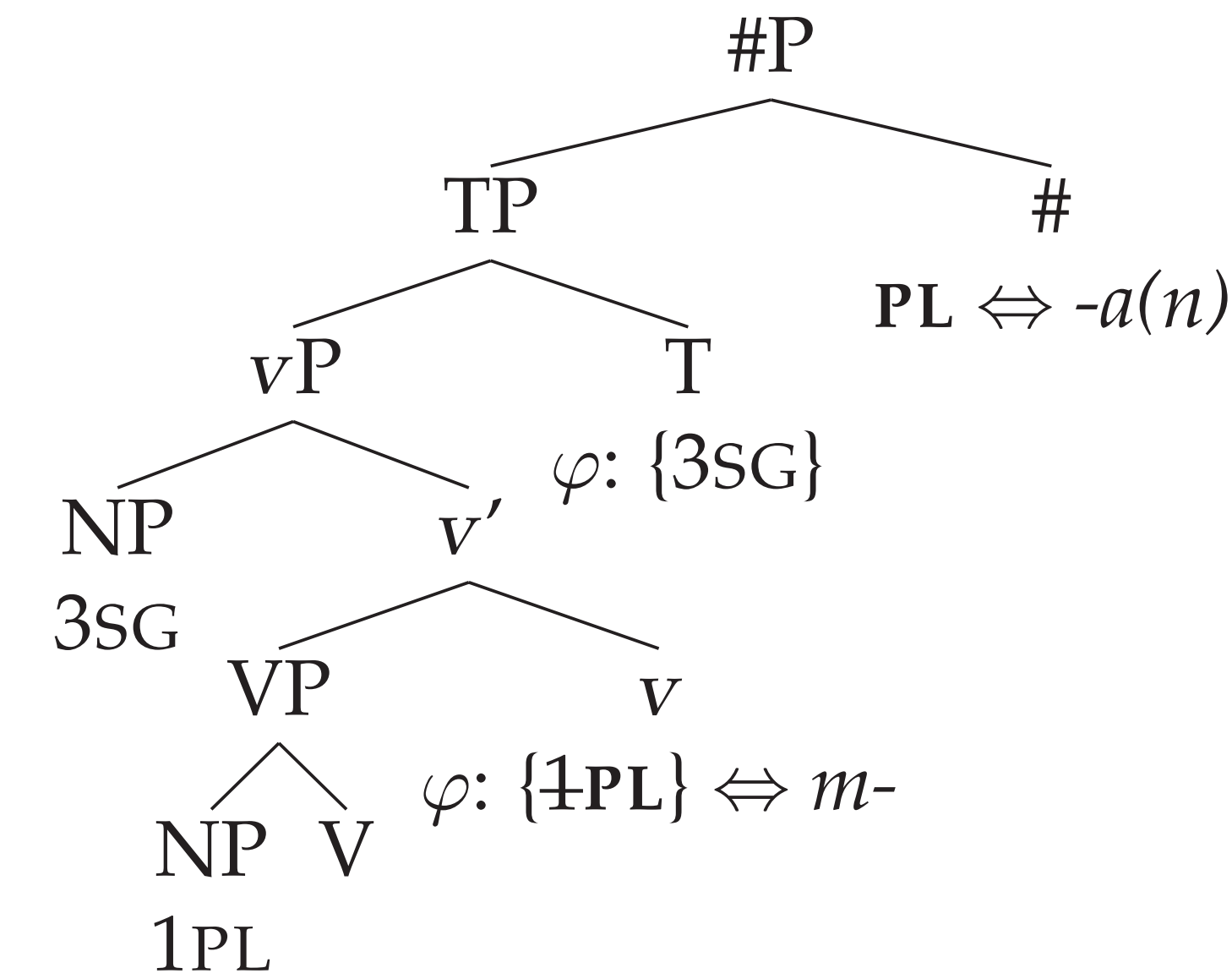
- X, being a phase head, triggers the Spell-Out of its complement, and the head Y thus gets matched with the best exponent available,  $/\alpha/$ . It turns out that this exponent is specified for only a subset of the feature bundle  $\varphi$ . (E.g., in (6),  $/\alpha/$  is specified for F1, but not F2.)
- The features of Y that  $/\alpha/$  is not specified for — the *leftovers*, like F2 in (6) — remain accessible for further computation, and can get agreed with by X. **This is Leftover Agreement (LA).**

## 4 ACCOUNTING FOR KARTVELIAN NUMBER AGREEMENT WITH LA

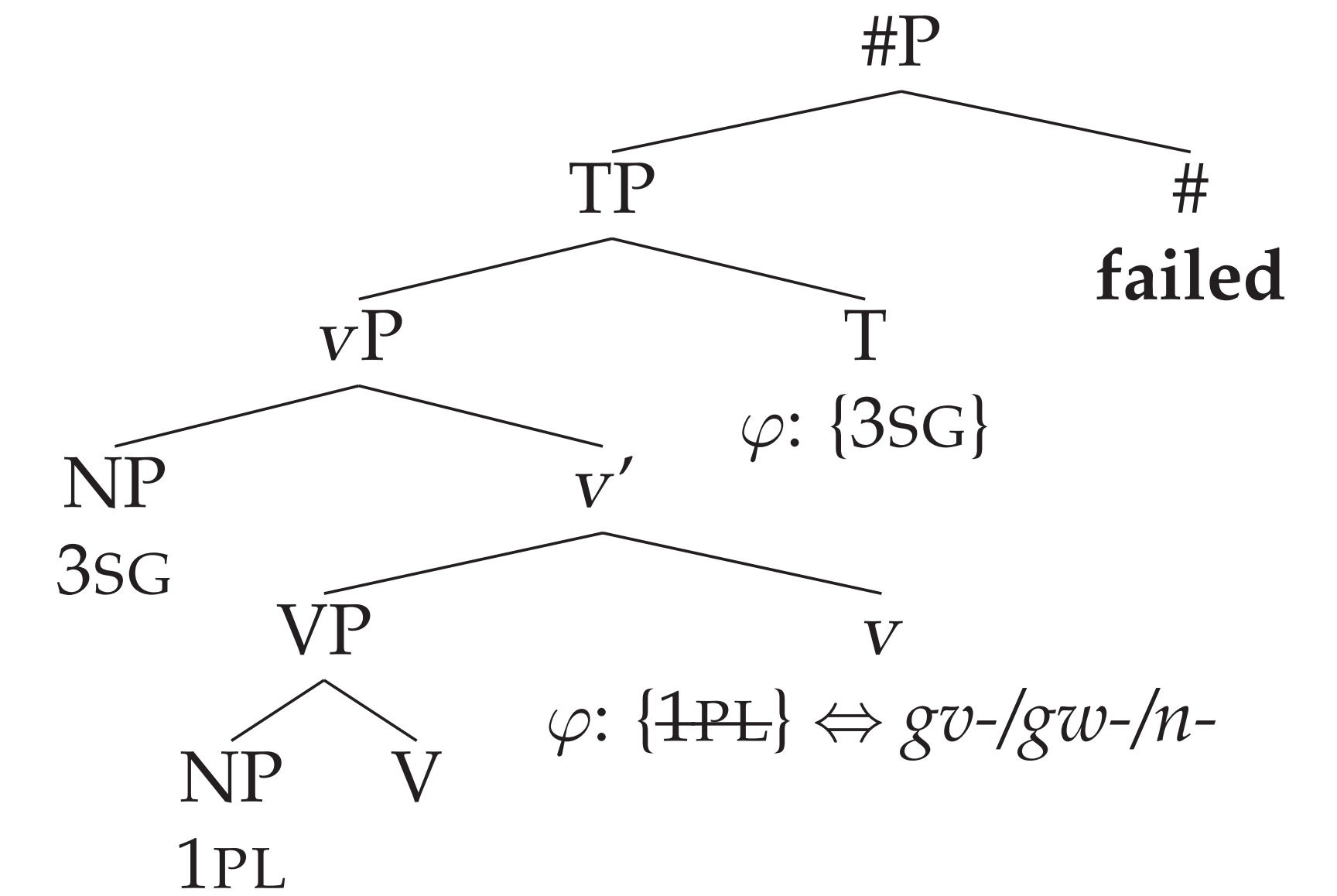
**v-agreement** (following Béjar & Rezac 2009 — simplified): *v* agrees with participant NPs in  $\phi$ -features ( $gv/gw/-n- \Leftrightarrow \{1PL\}$ ,  $m- \Leftrightarrow \{1\}$ ,  $ž-/g-/r- \Leftrightarrow \{2\}$ ); it first searches in its complement, then in its specifier.

**T-agreement:** T agrees with the highest non-oblique NP: the subject in (2)-(5).

(8) a. **Laz & Megrelian**



b. **Georgian & Svan**



**#-agreement: {3SG subject, 1PL object} (8)**

- Laz/Megrelian:** the *v*-exponent *m-* only expone a subset of *v*'s bundle: only {1}. The unexponed PL is *left over* and remains visible to the #-probe. The #-probe copies PL and then expone it.  $\Rightarrow$  **LA**.
- Georgian/Svan** have *v*-exponents that are specified for the whole bundle {1st, PL}. Thus, after Spell-Out, there are no leftover features on *v* that the # probe could agree with.  $\Rightarrow$  **no LA**.

Why can't the #-probe get PL from the object NP itself? We crucially assume Chomsky's (2001) Weak PIC: the phase head # can access the lower phase head *v* and its specifier, but not anything in *v*'s complement.

**#-agreement: {3SG subject, 2PL object} — LA for all languages**

- None of the four languages have an exponent specified for the whole bundle {2st, PL}, so the unexponed PL feature copied from the 2PL object is *left over* and gets agreed with by the #-probe.

## 5 KEY EVIDENCE

- Previous accounts captured the pattern in (2)-(5) by morphological means (Halle & Marantz 1993; McGinnis 2008; Lomashvili & Harley 2011; Blix 2016; Thivierge 2019). Instead, we view the number suffix as a **syntactically distinct probe** (cf. Foley 2017), and therefore predict LA to be subject to intervention effects and locality conditions. This is borne out.

- Svan exhibits **intervention effects**: LA with object features on *v* is blocked by participant subjects.

(9) ž-adgäri / ž-adgäri-x (Testeleets 1989: 9)  
2-kill.PRS / 2-kill.PRS-PL  
'I am killing you (PL) / (s)he is killing you (PL).'

This is unexpected on morphological accounts, but follows if Svan's highest probe is relativized to PL **or PART**, so that participant subjects — even if singular — can halt its search.

- Evidence for sensitivity to **locality** comes from #-agreement with 3PL objects in Georgian. Such agreement is normally impossible: *v* does not agree with 3rd-person NPs, so no LA is possible with them, and 3PL objects that are inside *vP* are not directly accessible to # due to the Weak PIC. However, 3PL objects *can* be agreed with directly by # if moved out of *vP*:

(10) [OBJ] mesame seri-is **nakt'v-eb-s**<sub>k</sub> [vP [SUBJ] saerto punkcia] t<sub>k</sub> a-ertianeb]-t  
third series-GEN **form-PL-DAT** common function.NOM PFV-unite-PL  
'A common function unites the forms of the 3rd series.' (via Blix, forthcoming)