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 (- to a higher, phasal #probe.

(1) (kitven) gada-g-‘cjer-dar-t # 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 expon PL-agreement with that NP — an instance of discontinuous bleeding (Noyer 1992).

(2) Georgian (Arsonson 1990: 172) (4) Laz (Lacroix 2009: 294) gaz-naxa /g-naxa-t/ 1PL-see.AOR.3SG /2-see.AOR.3SG-PL 'S/he saw us / you (pl).'

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(3) Svan (Testelets 1989: 9) (5) Megrelian (Kipshidze 1914: 076) gw/n-adgar-x /a-dgari-x/ 1PL.IN/EX-kill.PRS /2-kill.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 #-sufffix is bledd by its presence — unlike in Megrelian and Laz, which lacks 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 exposed by the prefix?

3 Proposal: Leftover Agreement (LA)

Leftover Agreement: Spelling out Kartvelian number

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4 Accounting for Kartvelian Number Agreement with LA

v-agreement (following Béjar & Rezac 2009 — simplified): v agrees with particapent NPs in v-featues (gv-/gw-/n-/v- {1PL}, m- {1}, l-/g-/fr- {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 expones 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 exposes it. ⇒ 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. ⇒ 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.

- None of the four languages have an exponent specified for the whole bundle (2st, PL), so the unexposed 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.

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

- 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: