When is agreement agreement? The view from Georgian

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1 Introduction

1.1 Empirical facts: Setting up the question

- Georgian is part of the Kartvelian language family (South Caucasian); spoken primarily in Georgia, 4.5 million speakers

  - Subject and object agreement; potentially multiple exponent slots

  - 'Omnivorous' verbal plural marker

- (1) shows four agreement slots that the Georgian verbal template may allow

(1)   mas   tʃven   **v-u-**χvar-**var-t**
      3SG.DAT 1PL.NOM 3>1-3-love-1.PRES-PL
      'She/he loves us.'

- Two major verbal agreement paradigms in Georgian:[1]

  i. **Basic**: prefixes track the object, suffixes track the subject

  ii. **Inverse**: prefixes track the subject, suffixes track the object

- The distribution of the verbal plural marker *-t* flips between paradigms—but not as cleanly as expected:

  i. 1PL may only co-occur with *-t* as basic subjects, or inverse objects

  ii. Only in the basic is *-t* is blocked in 3PL→2PL

  iii. 3PL arguments never trigger *-t* in the basic but they can in the inverse—but only if the object is also 3rd person

→ Are all of these slots the realization of agreement? No (maybe).

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[1]Hand-out available at https://sigwanthivierge.wordpress.com/presentations

1.2 Goals of this talk

- Given the attention that the basic paradigm has garnered, how well (or not) does the inverse fit into previous analyses?

- At first glance, the relationship between these two paradigms looks like a perfect flip – but we'll see that it really isn't (section 2)

- Properties associated with moving between the two paradigms follow from what we already know about dative subjects, applicative phrases, and PCC effects (section 3)

- Analyzing inverse agreement in this way further motivates new machinery proposed for unrelated languages (section 4)

  - Cyclic Agree (Béjar and Rezac, 2009; Keine and Dash, 2018)

  - Feature interaction and satisfaction (Deal, 2015)

  - Phase unlocking (Rackowski and Richards, 2005; Preminger, 2011; Van Urk and Richards, 2015)

- Georgian inverse agreement is a case study of seeing what sticks in one of the most complicated agreement systems out there

2 The landscape

- Predicate-argument agreement in transitive sentences is marked by a set of prefixes and and a set of suffixes

  - In the basic paradigm, the prefixes cross-reference the object and the suffixes cross-reference the subject

  - In the inverse paradigm, the pattern 'flips'—the prefixes cross-reference the subject whereas the suffixes cross-reference the object

2.1 Basic paradigm

- The data below show the tendency of the prefixes to track the φ-features of the object:

  – *m-* indicates a 1SG object

  – *gv-* indicates a 1PL object

  – *g-* indicates a 2SG/PL object

(2)   a.   ʃen   me   da-**m**-p'at'iʒ-e
           2SG.ERG 1SG.NOM PRV-1-invite-1/2.AOR
           'You (sg) invited **me**.'

     b.   ʃen   tʃven   da-**gv**-p'at'iʒ-e
           2SG.ERG 1PL.NOM PRV-1PL-invite-1/2.AOR
           'You (sg) invited **us**.'

     c.   me   ʃen   da-**g**-p'at'iʒ-e
           1SG.ERG 2SG.NOM PRV-2-invite-1/2.AOR
           'I invited **you (sg)**.'

- 3rd person objects are not associated with any prefix – but co-occurring 1st subjects trigger *v-* and 2nd person subjects trigger ∅-

(3)   a.   man   is   da-p'at'iʒ-a
           3SG.ERG 3SG.NOM PRV-invite-3SG.AOR
           'She/he invited him/her.'

     b.   me   is   da-**v**-p'at'iʒ-e
           1SG.ERG 2SG.NOM PRV-1>3-invite-1/2.AOR
           'I invited him/her.'

     c.   ʃen   is   da-**∅**-p'at'ʒ-e
           2SG.ERG 3SG.NOM PRV-2>3-invite-1/2.AOR
           'You (sg) invited him/her.'

- (3-4) show that the suffixes cross-reference the object:

  – *-a* appears with 3SG subjects (3a)

  – *-e* appears with 1st and 2nd person subjects (3b-c)

  – *-es* appears with 3PL subjects (4)

(4)   mat   tʃven   da-gv-p'at'iʒ-**es**
         3PL.ERG 1PL.NOM PRV-1PL-invite-3PL.AOR
         '**They** invited us.'

(5)   *Basic agreement paradigm, past tense*[2]

S \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	*g- -e*	*g- -e-t*	*v- -e*	*v- -e*
1PL	—	—	*g- -e-t*	*g- -e-t*	*v- -e-t*	*v- -e-t*
2SG	*m- -e*	*gv- -e*	—	—	*∅- -e*	*∅- -e*
2PL	*m- -e-t*	*gv- -e-t*	—	—	*∅- -e-t*	*∅- -e-t*
3SG	*m- -a*	*gv- -a*	*g- -a*	*g- -a-t*	*-a*	*-a*
3PL	*m- -es*	*gv- -es*	*g- -es*	*g- -es*	*-es*	*-es*

- The distribution of the plural marker *-t* is more complicated

  – Baseline example in (6): *-t* appears after the suffixes and can mark a plural participant argument in either the subject or object position

(6)   a.   tkven   is   da-p'at'ʒ-e-**t**
           2PL.ERG 3SG.NOM PRV-invite-1/2.AOR-PL
           '**You (pl)** invited him/her.'

     b.   man   tkven   da-g-p'at'iʒ-a-**t**
           3SG.ERG 2PL.NOM PRV-2-invite-3SG.AOR-PL
           'She/he invited **you (pl)**.'

- There are three puzzles associated with the verbal plural marker *-t*:

  i. *-t* can appear when a 1st person plural argument is a subject, as in (7a), but not when it is an object, as in (7b)

(7)   a.   tʃven   is   da-v-p'at'iʒ-e-**t**
           1PL.ERG 3SG.NOM PRV-1-invite-1/2.AOR-PL
           '**We** invited him/her.'

     b.   man   tʃven   da-gv-p'at'iʒ-a(-***t**)
           3SG.ERG 1PL.NOM PRV-1PL-invite-3SG.AOR
           'She/he invited **us**.'

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[2]The past tense endings are used here for expository purposes as this paradigm has overt suffixes for all argument-markings. Behaviour is similar in the other TAM paradigms.

ii. 3PL subjects block its appearance

(8)   mat   tkven   da-g-p'at'iʒ-es(-*t)
        3PL.ERG 2PL.NOM PRV-2-invite-3PL.AOR-PL
        'They invited you (pl).'

    iii. *-t* cannot appear with 3PL subjects

(9)   mat   is   da-p'at'iʒ-es(-*t)
        3PL.AOR 3SG.NOM PREV-invite-3PL.AOR-PL
        'They invited him/her.'

2.2 Inverse paradigm

- Harris (1981, 1984) proposes 'inversion' to be a general rule applying to verbs and arguments in, e.g. evidential constructions

  - 'Initial' subjects become 'final' indirect objects, and 'initial' direct objects become 'final' subjects

- Here I only focus on "normal" transitive verbs whose agreement patterns are largely flipped

  - Inverse verbs = dative subject verbs (typically psych-verbs)

- Inverse agreement obligatorily features 'versionizer vowels':

  - Associated with applicative-related morphology and interpretation

  - In the basic, they are productive and their appearance is tied to the introduction of an applicative argument (which is itself optional)

  - In the inverse, they are strictly associated with person features: *i-* appears with 1st and 2nd person subjects (10a-d), and *u-* appears with 3rd person subjects only (10e)

- In the inverse, the same set of prefixes track the <u>subject</u>, as in (9)

(10)   a.   me   is   **m-i-**χvar-s
            1SG.DAT 3SG.NOM 1-VER-love-3SG.PRES
            '**I** love him/her.'

b.   tʃven   is   **gv-i-**χvar-s
      1PL.DAT 3SG.NOM 1PL-VER-love-3SG.PRES
      '**We** love him/her.'

c.   ʃen   is   **g-i-**χvar-s
      2SG.DAT 3SG.NOM 2-VER-love-3SG.PRES
      '**You (sg)** love him/her.'

d.   tkven   is   **g-i-**χvar-t
      2PL.DAT 3SG.NOM 2-VER-love-PL
      '**You (pl)** love him/her.'

e.   mas   me   **v-u-**χvar-var
      3SG.DAT 1SG.NOM 1-VER-love-1.PRES
      '**She/he** loves me.'

- The suffixes, in contrast, track the <u>object</u>:

  - *-var* indicates 1st person object

  - *-xar* indicates a 2nd person object

  - *-s* indicates a 3rd person object

(11)   a.   ʃen   me   g-i-χvar-**var**
           2SG.DAT 1SG.NOM 2-VER-love-1.PRES
           'You (sg) love **me**.'

b.   me   ʃen   m-i-χvar-**xar**
      1SG.DAT 2SG.NOM 1SG-VER-love-2.PRES
      'I love **you (sg)**.'

c.   me   is   m-i-χvar-**s**
      1SG.DAT 3SG.NOM 1-VER-love-3SG.PRES
      'I love **him/her**.'

(12)   *Inversion verb agreement paradigm, present tense*

S \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	*m-i- -xar*	*m-i- -xar-t*	*m-i- -s*	*m-i- -s*
1PL	—	—	*gv-i- -xar*	*gv-i- -xar-t*	*gv-i- -s*	*gv-i- -s*
2SG	*g-i- -var*	*g-i- -var-t*	—	—	*g-i- -s*	*g-i- -s*
2PL	*g-i- -var-t*	*g-i- -var-t*	—	—	*g-i- -t*	*g-i- -t*
3SG	*v-u- -var*	*v-u- -var-t*	*u- -xar*	*u- -xar-t*	*u- -s*	*u- -s*
3PL	*v-u- -var*	*v-u- -var-t*	*u- -xar*	*u- -xar-t*	*u- -t*	*u- -t*

—◦∽◦∽◦—

- The distribution of -*t* in the inverse is not a perfect flip:

  i. 1PL objects—but not subjects—can be marked by -*t*

(13)   a.   mas   tʃven   **v**-u-χvar-var-**t**
               3SG.DAT 1PL.NOM 1-VER-love-1.PRES-PL
               'She/he loves **us**.'
     b.   tʃven   is   **gv**-i-χvar-s-(*****t**)
               1PL.DAT 3SG.NOM 1PL-VER-love-3.PRES-PL
               '**We** love him/her.'

  ii. 3PL subjects do not block -*t* in cases with 2PL objects.

(14)   mat   tkven   u-χvar-xar-**t**
        3PL.DAT 2PL.NOM VER-love-2.PRES-PL
        'They love **you (pl)**.'

  iii. The distribution of -*t* is extended to 3PL subjects, but only when the object is 3rd person as well

(15)   mat   is   u-χvar-**t**
        3PL.DAT 3SG.NOM VER-love-PL
        '**They** love him/her.'

(16)   *The distribution of -t*

		BASIC PARADIGM	INVERSE PARADIGM
1PL	SUBJECTS	✓	✗
	OBJECTS	✗	✓
2PL	SUBJECTS	✓	✓
	OBJECTS	✓	✓
		blocked with 3rd person plural subjects	*no blocking effect*
3PL	SUBJECTS	✗	✓
			only with 3rd person objects
	OBJECTS	✗	✗

2.3   Summary

- Broad generalizations of the empirical facts:

  i. Prefixes: track the **object** in the basic, **subject** in the inverse

  ii. Suffixes: track the **subject** in the basic, **object** in the inverse

  iii. Plural marker: asymmetry w.r.t 1PL subjects/objects; tracks 2PL (blocked by 3PL subjects in the basic); tracks 3PL only in the inverse (with 3rd person object)

→ In the remainder of the talk, I will lay out an analysis capturing these patterns, starting first with showing evidence for the structure of the inverse in section 3

- We know from the tables in (5), (12), and (16) that any syntactic analysis is going to be intricate; we could always represent the speaker's knowledge as that look-up table

- There are interesting deviations from that representation that follow from what we know of the syntax of dative subjects and applicatives

- This would be accidental on the look-up approach

- So—what does our theory of agreement need to look like in order to model this characterization?

3   Structure

3.1   Position of the inverse subject

- Inverse subjects can bind anaphors: DAT>NOM (Harris, 1981; McGinnis, 1995, 1997)

(17)   a.   **Nino-s** <u>tav-is</u>   <u>tav-i</u>   u-χvar-s
               Nino-DAT own-GEN self-NOM AGR-love-3SG.PRES
               '**Nino** loves <u>herself</u>.'
     b.   **Nino-s**   da **Dato-s**   u-χvar-t   <u>ertmanet-i</u>
               Nino-DAT and Dato-DAT VER-love-PL RECI-NOM
               '**Nino and Dato** love <u>each other</u>.'

(18)   *<u>ertmanet-s</u> u-χvar-t   **Nino**   da **Dato**
         RECI-DAT VER-love-PL Nino.NOM and Dato.NOM
   Intended: '<u>Nino and Dato</u> love **each other**.'

- In causative constructions, the appearance of the inverse subject (instead of a regular applicative argument) results in a competition for the 'versionizer vowel' exponent slot

  - In causative constructions, the inverse-related versionizer *u-* disappears

  - The versionizer *a-* appears instead (19), showing *u-* and *a-* compete for the same slot

(19)   Nino-m   Dato   Giorgi-s
           Nino-ERG Dato.NOM Giorgi-DAT
           ʃe-**a**-χvar-a
           PRV-VER.CAUS-love-3SG.AOR
           'Nino made Giorgi love Dato.'

- Prefixes are conditioned by the φ-features of the causer and causee

  - The appearance of *v-* in (20) shows that the prefix is sensitive to the higher pair 1SG→3SG, not the lower pair 3SG→3SG

(20)   me   Nino-s   ʃe-<u>v</u>-**a**-χvar-e   Dato
           1SG.ERG Nino-DAT PRV-1-VER.CAUS-love-PART.AOR Dato
           'I made Nino love Dato.'

(21)   *Applicative arguments in Spec,ApplP (=19)*
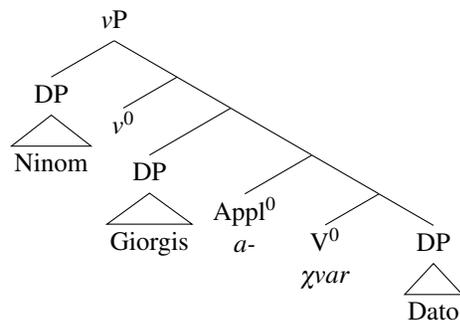
→ The combination of these facts suggest that inverse subjects are introduced by Appl^0

  - Which is why they show some applicative-related properties

(22)   *Inverse subjects in Spec,ApplP (=17a)*
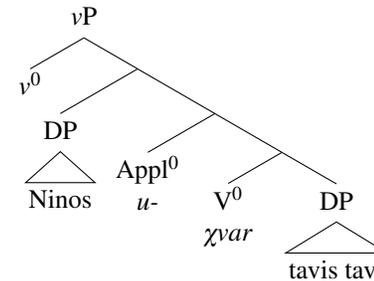
3.2   Inverse verbs as applicative unaccusatives

- Georgian shows PCC effects in ditransitives:

  - Prefixes track the DAT indirect object (23)

(23)   a.   mat   mo-**m**-ts-es   me   ts'ign-i
   3PL.ERG PRV-1-give-3PL.AOR 1SG.DAT book-NOM
                 'They gave **me** a book.'
        b.   man   mi-ts-a   <u>tav-is</u>   <u>tav-s</u>
                 3SG.ERG PRV-give-3SG.AOR own-GEN self-DAT
                 ts'ign-i
                 book-NOM
                 'S/he gave **her/himself** a book.'

- 1st/2nd persons can't co-occur in the licensing domain of v^0, unless one appears as a NOM-marked reflexive

(24)   a.   *man   mo-**g**-χid-a   me   ʃen
   3SG.ERG PRV-2-sell-3SG.AOR 1SG.DAT 2SG.NOM
                 Intended: 'S/he sold me **to you**'
        b.   man   mo-**g**-χid-a   tʃem-i
                 3SG.ERG PRV-2-sell-3SG.AOR 1SG.POSS-NOM
                 <u>tav-i</u>   ʃen
                 self-NOM 2SG.DAT
                 'S/he sold <u>me</u> **to you**.'

- This is reminiscent of Basque DAT>ABS constructions, which require movement of [PARTICIPANT]-bearing objects into the ergative agreement domain to avoid PCC (PLC) violations (Rezac, 2008)

  - 1st/2nd person ABS arguments can't be licensed by v^0 since the higher DATIVE intervenes (25)

  - Person Licensing Condition (Béjar and Rezac, 2003) would be violated if they stayed low

  - But they can move into the agreement domain of T^0, allowing them to be licensed there (26)

(25)   *Basque ergative/absolutive displacement – PLC violation*
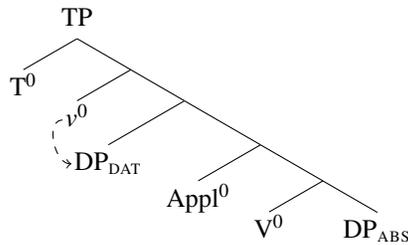
(26)   *Basque ergative/absolutive displacement – PLC repair*
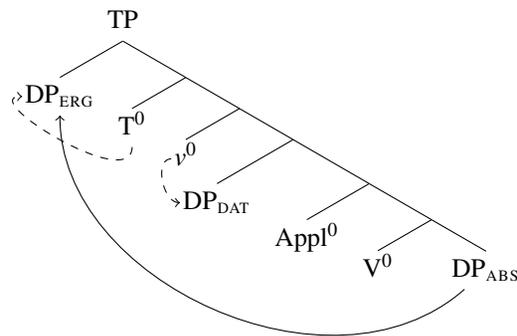
→ This behaviour parallels Georgian inverse verbs

→ In the Georgian inverse:

  - The specifier position of the head exponing *-xar, -var* is a higher landing site for [PARTICIPANT]-bearing objects which would otherwise not be licensed

  - Since both inverse subjects and the objects are lower than v^0, Spec,vP is empty and available to move through

 - Nominative objects move to a position below $\#^0$, but still outside a vP phase

- **Argument positions** (McGinnis 1995, 1997)

  - Inverse subjects are higher than objects (based on binding and causatives)

  - They are also lower than basic subjects, since they trigger 'object' agreement morphology (and block agreement with the object)

→ Inverse subjects are in a "deficient" Spec,ApplP

  - The versionizers contribute no applicative interpretation, unlike their behaviour in the basic

  - There, they receive structural DAT

→ Basic subjects in Spec,vP

→ Objects are in VP/$\sqrt{}$P for both the basic and inverse

(27)   *Structure for the basic*
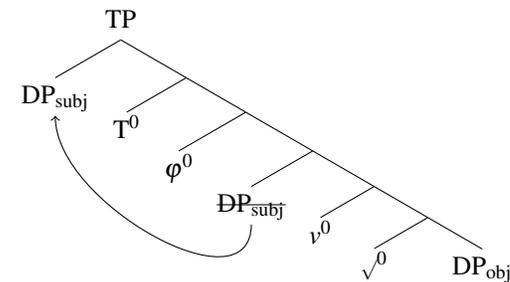
(28)   *Structure for the inverse*
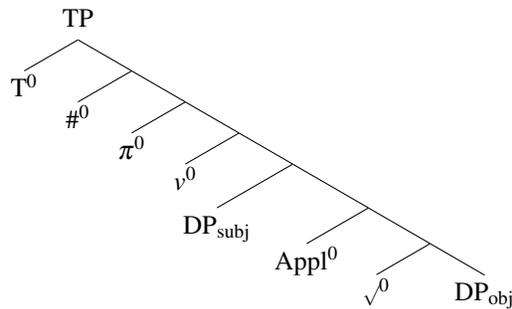
- Georgian PCC effects can be repaired in 'normal' ditransitives by surfacing a [PARTICIPANT]-bearing object in a NOM reflexive

  – This isn't the case in inverse verbs, so something else must be possible

  – Here, I assume Spec,vP is empty and available as an escape hatch from vP phase
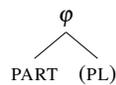
4   Agreement

4.1   Feature-geometric representations

- I adopt the 'simplified' representations of Georgian pronominals below

  – Plural arguments have an extra [PLURAL] node under φ (Harley and Ritter, 2002; McGinnis, 2005)
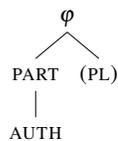
(29)   *1st*   (30)   *2nd*   (31)   *3rd*

4.2   Deriving the prefixes

- **Prefixes**: on v^0 (Bejar, 2003; Béjar and Rezac, 2009)

  – Basic: Targets the object first, then subject (potentially)

  – Inverse: Targets the subject first, then object (potentially)

$\rightarrow$ Why "potentially"?

  – Deal (2015) shows that, in Nez Perce complementizer agreement, the probe searches until satisfied by a 2nd person argument

  – If 2nd person is the subject, the complementizer shows agreement with the 2nd person only (32a)

  – If 2nd person is the object, the complementizer shows agreement with the 2nd person <u>and</u> the non-2nd person subject (32b)

(32)   a.   ke-**m** kaa *pro$_{subj}$*   cewcew-téetum *pro$_{obj}$*
             C-2   then PRO.2SG telephone-TAM PRO.1SG
             'When **you** call me.'
      b.   ke-**m**-<u>ex</u> kaa *pro$_{subj}$*   cewcew-téetum *pro$_{obj}$*
             C-2-1   then PRO.1SG telephone-TAM PRO.2SG
             'When <u>I</u> call **you**.'   (Deal 2015:6)

$\rightarrow$ This is the *feature interaction and satisfaction* model:

  – Probing stops once they are <u>satisfied</u> by the feature that values them, but they <u>interact</u> with non-satisfactory features that they encounter during search

- We know that v- and $\emptyset$- are respectively sensitive to $1\leftrightarrow3$ and $2\leftrightarrow3$

  – The probe searches until satisfied by a [PARTICIPANT] feature, but interacts with each argument along the way (i.e. 3rd persons)

$\rightarrow$ But this isn't *quite* enough – we also need *Cyclic Agree* (Béjar and Rezac, 2009; Keine and Dash, 2018)

– The first cycle of Agree targets the closest argument it c-commands; if it's 3rd person, the probe isn't valued

– Unvalued features may project and search again; this second cycle of Agree will target the argument in its specifier

  i. If 1st person → v- (interacting with 3rd person object)

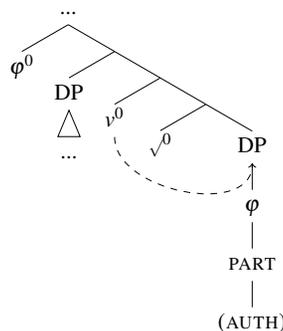 ii. If 2nd person → $\emptyset$- (interacting with 3rd person object)

(33)   *Vocabulary Items, prefixes on v^0*

v-   ↔   [AUTHOR] / ____ [−PARTICIPANT]
$\emptyset$-   ↔   [PARTICIPANT] / ____ [−PARTICIPANT]
gv-   ↔   [AUTHOR, PLURAL]
m-   ↔   [AUTHOR]
g-   ↔   [PARTICIPANT]

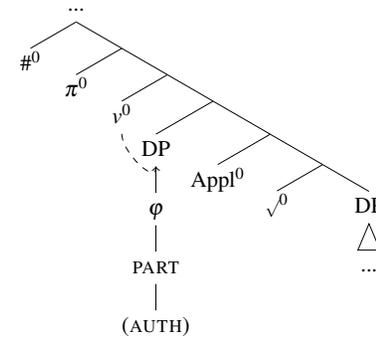- **First-cycle Agree**: *gv- m-, g-*

  – Basic paradigm: [PARTICIPANT] probe on v^0 satisfied by 1st and 2nd person objects (34)

  – Inverse paradigm: [PARTICIPANT] probe on v^0 satisfied by 1st and 2nd person subjects (35)
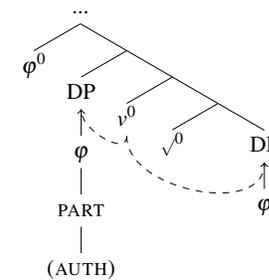
(34)   *First-cycle Agree, basic*

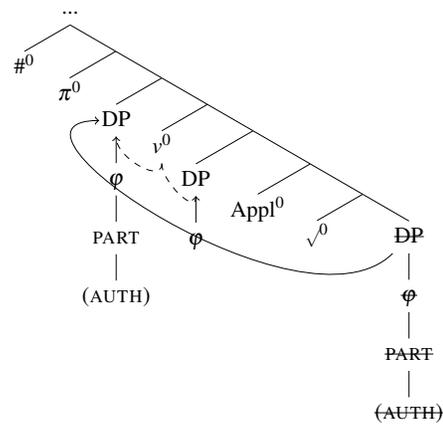(35)   *First-cycle Agree, inverse*

- **Second-cycle Agree**: *v-, $\emptyset$-*

  – Basic paradigm: [PARTICIPANT] probe on v^0 interacts with 3rd person objects, satisfied by 1st and 2nd person subjects (36)

  – Inverse paradigm: [PARTICIPANT] probe on v^0 interacts with 3rd person subjects, satisfied by moved 1st and 2nd person objects in Spec,vP (37)[3]

(36)   *Second-cycle Agree, basic*

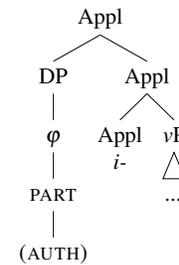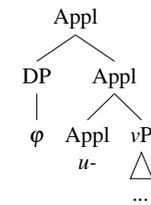[3] Section 4.4.2 discusses why 1st/2nd objects need to move in the first place.

(37)　*Second-cycle Agree, inverse*

[Syntax tree: ... dominating $\#^0$, π^0, DP (φ → PART → (AUTH)), v^0, DP (φ), $Appl^0$, $\sqrt{}^0$, DP (φ → PART → (AUTH)) with crossed-out DP, PART, (AUTH)]

- In summary:

  i. A [PARTICIPANT]-bearing probe on v^0 searches its domain for a <u>satisfactory</u> goal, <u>interacting</u> with other arguments potentially <u>encountered</u> in the <u>process</u>

  ii. Agree is <u>cyclic</u>: unvalued features may project and probe again

     → First-cycle Agree yields *gv-, m-* and *g-*

     → Second-cycle Agree yields *v-* and *∅-*

4.3　Deriving the versionizers

- **Versionizers**: exponence of $Appl^0$

  – Basic and inverse: Applicative arguments introduced by $Appl^0$ (c-selection)

  – In the basic, applicative morphology is productive, which is not the case in the inverse

  – Inverse ApplP is 'deficient': *i-* invariably appears with 1st/2nd persons whereas *u-* invariably appears with 3rd persons

(38)　*1st/2nd*

[Syntax tree: Appl dominating DP (φ → PART → (AUTH)) and Appl (Appl *i-*, vP ...)]

(39)　*3rd*

[Syntax tree: Appl dominating DP (φ) and Appl (Appl *u-*, vP ...)]

(40)　*Vocabulary Items, 'versionizers' on $Appl^0$*

　　i-　↔　[PARTICIPANT]
　　u-　↔　[−PARTICIPANT]

4.4　Deriving the suffixes

- **Suffixes**: Result from (i) clitic doubling in the basic (section 4.4.1), and (ii) separation and interaction of person- vs. number-probing in the inverse (section 4.4.2)

4.4.1　Agreement and clitic doubling from φP

- Agree relation between φ^0 and [PARTICIPANT, PLURAL] arguments triggers clitic doubling of number only (Kramer, 2014; Harizanov, 2014; Preminger, To appear)

  – Only number is doubled here (unlike other cases discussed in the literature)

 – 3PL subjects are not appropriate goals for [PARTICIPANT]-bearing probe on φ^0

9

(41) *Basic*
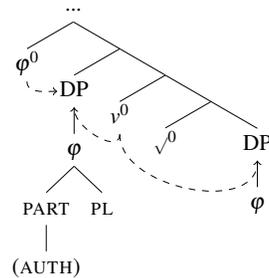
- **Basic**: Ordered probing on a single head φ^0 of φP:

  - Probe for π-features first, specifically for [PARTICIPANT]

  - If successful, clitic doubling of the [PLURAL] feature is triggered and *-t* is exponed

- I assume the TAM markers are allomorphic variants of the spell-out of T^0, conditioned by the features of the argument in Spec,TP

  - Move to Spec,TP for *x* reason(s); condition allomorphy on T^0

  - Crucially, this is not agreement, and so we have no reason to expect 3PL to ever trigger *-t* in the basic

$\rightarrow$ Captures the [PARTICIPANT]-dependency of *-t*

$\rightarrow$ Captures the 3PL-sensitive TAM markers without treating it as agreement

4.4.2 Split person and number probing

- **Inverse**: Separating $\#^0 + \pi^0$ along the syntactic spine derives variation in accessibility of arguments

  i. If the object is 1st/2nd person:

    - Due to PLC, they obligatorily move to Spec,*v*P for licensing (as in Basque; Rezac 2008)

    - There, they are in a position accessible to a [PARTICIPANT]-bearing probe on π^0

  - After an Agree relation is established between π^0 and the 1st/2nd person object, they further move to Spec,πP in a position accessible to a [PLURAL]-bearing probe on $\#^0$

 - If the 1st/2nd person object is plural, $\#^0$ spells-out as *-t*

(42) *Inverse, 3>1/2*
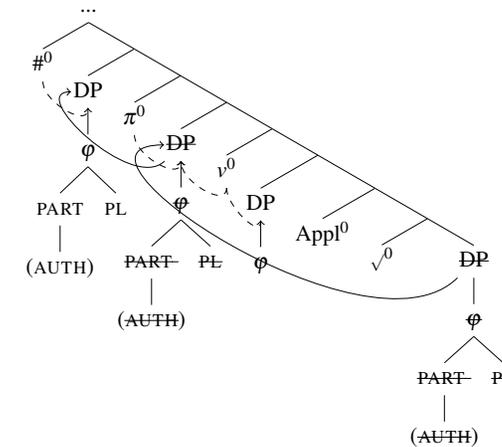
$\rightarrow$ Captures the higher landing site for 1st/2nd person inverse objects, allowing for further plural number agreement indicated by *-t*

  ii. If the object is 3rd person:

    - Not subject to the PLC, so they remain low and inaccessible to π^0

    - Probing by π^0 neutralizes the *v*P phase boundary[4] (Rackowski and Richards, 2005; Preminger, 2011; Van Urk and Richards, 2015)

    - With no phasal boundary, 3rd person inverse subjects in Spec,ApplP are accessible to the [PLURAL]-bearing probe on $\#^0$

    - If the 3rd person subject is plural, $\#^0$ spells-out as *-t*

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[4]I assume that an unvalued feature on a probe can enter in an Agree relation with another unvalued feature, as proposed in Frampton & Gutmann (2000).

(43)   *Inverse, 3*PL> 3
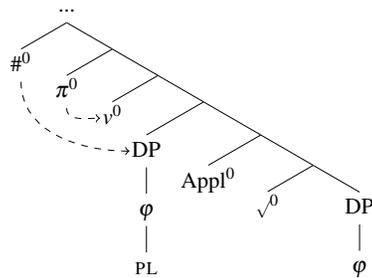
→ Captures the ability of 3PL inverse subjects to trigger *-t*; independent π^0 probe opens the agreement domain for the probe on #^{0}

• In summary:

   i. Basic: A [PARTICIPANT]-bearing probe on φ^0 evaluates the argument in Spec,*v*P (if there is one)

      → Successful Agree triggers clitic doubling of number only

      → Thus, only [PARTICIPANT]-bearing arguments can trigger *-t*

   ii. Inverse: Separate π^0 + #^{0} probing

      → A [PARTICIPANT]-bearing probe on π^0 targets moved 1st/2nd person objects in Spec,*v*P, which are then accessible to a [PLURAL]-bearing probe on #^{0}

      → If there are no 1st/2nd person arguments in Spec,*v*P, the [PARTICIPANT]-bearing probe on π^0 agrees with the *v*P phase, 'unlocking' it and allowing the [PLURAL]-bearing probe on #^{0} to target 3PL subjects in Spec,ApplP

5   Conclusion

• We've seen that the differences between the Georgian basic vs. inverse agreement paradigms AND the distribution of the plural marker cannot be reduced to flipping the overall patterns

   – Starting from the inverse provides us more insight into the basic, which *is* the default agreement paradigm

• Characterizing Georgian inverse verbs as Basque-esque applicative unaccusatives captures the agreement "inverse"-ness

   – A low probe on v^0 targets the object in the basic, and the subject in the inverse

   – A higher probe above *v*P targets the subject in the basic, and the object in the inverse (modulo some restrictions based on the PLC and accessibility, as discussed)

• 'Separating' φ-agreement above *v*P as either (i) one single head, or (ii) two separate-but-consecutive heads in the clausal spine captures the (non-) ability of 3PL subjects to trigger *-t*

   – In the basic, successful Agree on φ^0 preconditions clitic doubling (3PL is not an appropriate goal)

   – In the inverse, π^0 can unlock the *v*P phase, allowing subsequent probing by #^{0} to target 3PL (which is an accessible goal)

• While this analysis makes use of several "new" tools, they are motivated elsewhere in unrelated languages

→ There is plenty more to be done, but these are the initial steps of what our theory of agreement needs to look like in order to model one of the most complex agreement systems in natural language

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