

Dative Blocking in Georgian

Ksenia Ershova (kershova@uchicago.edu)

1 Introduction

Harris's (1981) *Stratal Uniqueness Law*, rephrased:
Only one dative case can be assigned per clause.

➔ If subject carries dative case (in inverse environments), indirect object cannot.

| | Subject | Direct object | Indirect object |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--|
| Series I | Nominative | Accusative | Dative |
| | Rezo-∅ | samajur-s | ačukebs |
| | Rezo-NOM | bracelet-ACC | he-gives-her-it |
| | | | deda-s |
| | | | mother-DAT |
| | | | ‘Rezo is giving mother a bracelet.’ |
| | | | ↓ |
| Series III | Dative | Nominative | tvís-phrase |
| | Rezo-s | samajur-i | učukebia |
| | Rezo-DAT | bracelet-NOM | he-gave-it(EVID) |
| | | | ded-is-tvís |
| | | | mother-GEN-for |
| | | | ‘Apparently Rezo gave a bracelet to his mother.’ (Harris 1981:117) |

Puzzle: Inverse subjects and indirect objects occupy distinct syntactic positions. How can one block the other?

2 Dative is inherent

Dative case is not associated with single structural position ➔ dative is inherent, not structural (per classification by Marantz 2000)

Dative arguments are introduced and assigned case by distinct functional head Appl⁰ (Marantz 1989; McGinnis 1997 – light verb):

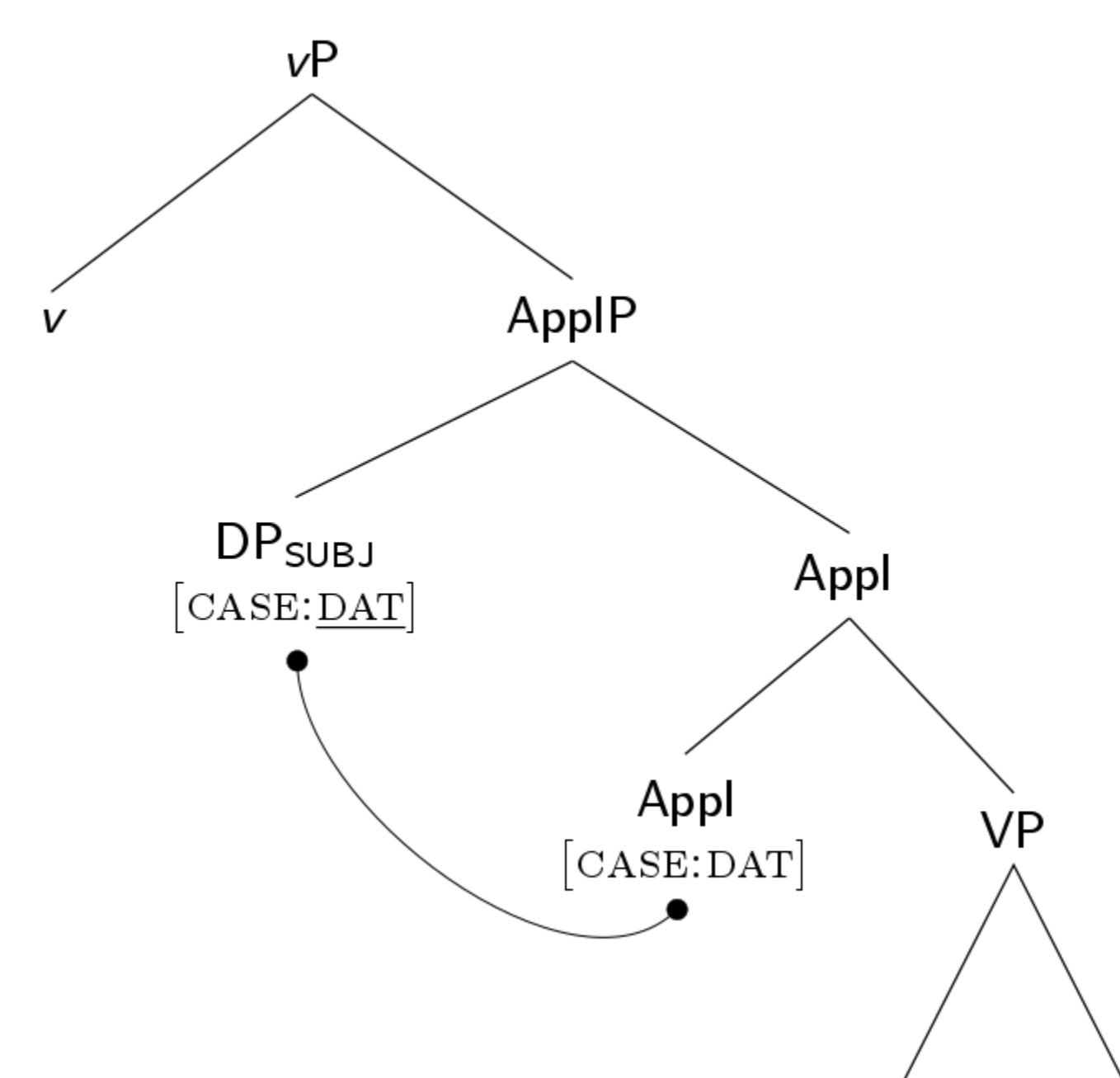


Figure 1: Dative subject

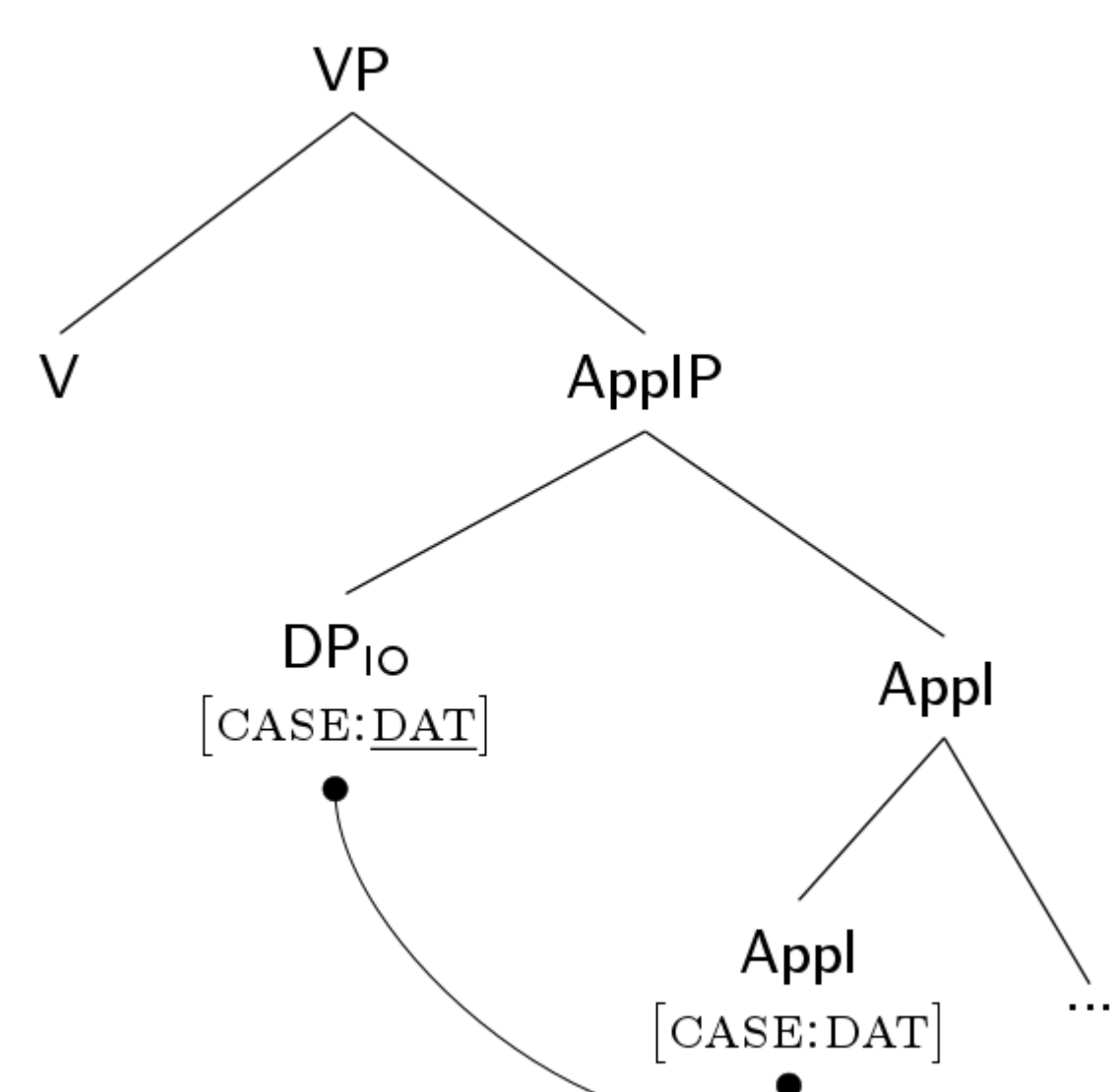


Figure 2: Indirect object

Why can't there be multiple Appl⁰ heads?

3 Selection as Agree

Adger 2010, Cowper 2010, Pietraszko 2016:
 c-selection can be modeled as Agree

➔ allows for long-distance c-selection

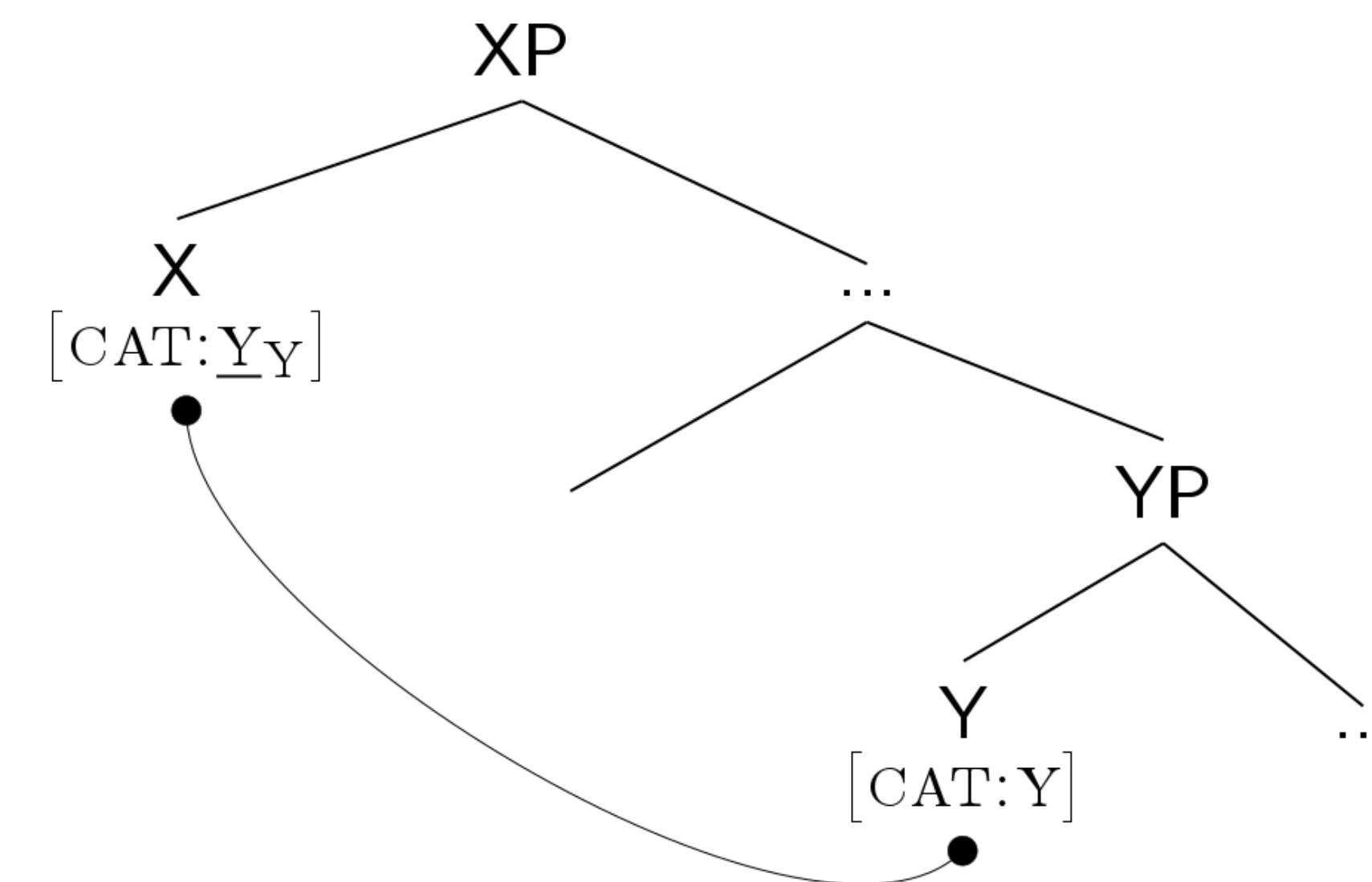


Figure 3: Long-distance c-selection

Proposal: c-selection as licensing

Appl⁰ must be a category agreement goal to be licensed; realized via parasitic agreement.
 Voice⁰ (version) selects for Appl⁰; Appl⁰ carries unvalued VOICE feature (cf. similar analysis for v in Merchant 2013)

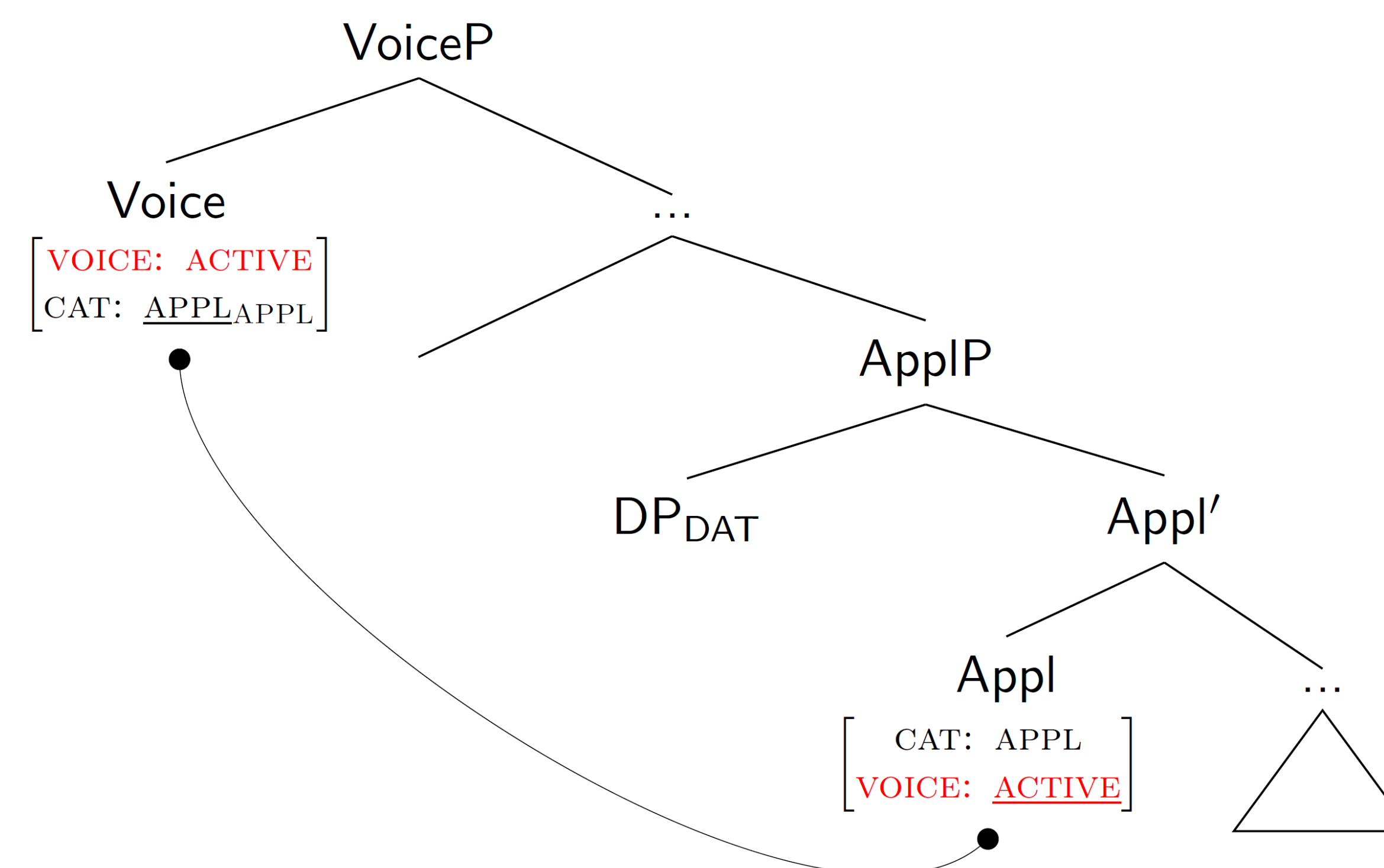


Figure 4: Voice⁰ licensing Appl⁰

Why Voice⁰?

- V does not entail Appl⁰ (cf. nominalizations); position/presence of v unclear for inverse verbs.
 - Version vowel (generally) expresses presence/type of indirect object + voice
- ➔ syntactic head bundling together both features.

4 Spell-out and dative blocking

Assumptions:

- Post-syntactic spell-out (Halle & Marantz 1993)
- Default valuation of unvalued CATEGORY features (with possibly ungrammatical results)
- Unvalued non-CATEGORY features lead to ungrammaticality.

Default valuation rule: $\text{---}_{\text{APPL}} \rightarrow \text{NOAPPL}$

Simplified spell-out rules for Voice⁰:

| | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{VOICE: ACTIVE} \\ \text{CAT: NOAPPL} \end{array} \right]$ | \longleftrightarrow /a/, /∅/, etc. | da ∅ malavs 'he will hide it' |
| $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{VOICE: ACTIVE} \\ \text{CAT: APPL} \end{array} \right]$ | \longleftrightarrow /i/or/u/ | da u malavs 'he will hide it from someone' |
| $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{VOICE: PASSIVE} \\ \text{CAT: NOAPPL} \end{array} \right]$ | \longleftrightarrow /i/ | da i maleba 'he will hide' |
| $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{VOICE: PASSIVE} \\ \text{CAT: APPL} \end{array} \right]$ | \longleftrightarrow /e/ | da e maleba 'he will hide from someone' |

(Aronson 1990:64,176)

Blocking additional Appl⁰:

Chomsky 2001: Probe (Voice⁰) inactive once all features are valued

any additional Appl⁰ remain with unvalued VOICE feature

ungrammaticality

5 Conclusion

Dative blocking is the result of long-distance c-selection and licensing via Agree.

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