

Movement vs. base-generation in Georgian split DPs*

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1 Introduction

- In split DPs (also known as “split topicalization” or “split scrambling”) material not internal to the DP appears between a noun and its modifiers.

- Split DPs are observed in German, Croatian, Polish, Russian, Hungarian, Finnish, Latin, Ancient Greek, Warlpiri, and Japanese, among others (data from Fanselow & Cavar 2002):

- (1) a. Interesante Bücher hat sie mir keine aus Indien empfohlen. (German)
interesting books has she me none from India recommended
‘She has not recommended any interesting books from India to me.’
- b. Knjige mi je Marija zanimljive preporučila. (Croatian)
books me has Mary interesting recommended
‘Mary has recommended interesting books to me.’
- c. Książki mi Marek interesujące zaproponował. (Polish)
books me Marek interesting suggested
‘Marek recommended interesting books to me.’

- Standard analysis: movement/subextraction (German (van Riemsdijk 1989; Tappe 1989; Diesing 1992; Kniffka 1996; among others), Croatian (Franks & Progovac 1994), and Russian (Yearley 1993; Sekerina 1997))

- Alternative accounts:

- Hybrid accounts (movement, no single constituent): copy-movement and deletion (Fanselow & Cavar 2002 for German and Croatian), local instability (Ott 2014 for German)
- Base-generation (no movement, no single constituent), originated by Hale (1983) for Warlpiri, and discussed in Fanselow (1988), van Geenhoven (1998), and Kuhn (1998) for German.

Goal:

- To present new data on split DPs from Georgian and to demonstrate that Georgian split DPs are the result of base-generation.
- To derive certain differences between case concord in continuous and split DPs from NP-ellipsis.

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Roadmap:

- Basic Georgian facts
- Split DPs in Georgian
- Proposal: base-generation and NP-ellipsis
- Diagnostics for movement-based analyses

2 Georgian basics

- Georgian is the largest member of the Kartvelian language family, spoken predominantly in Georgia by about 3 million native speakers.

- Simple clauses in Georgian have fairly free word order (Harris (1981), Apirondize (1986), Testeleis (1998), Skopeteas et al. (2009), *inter alia*; see Nash-Haran (1992), Nash (1995), and McGinnis (1995, 1997) for GB/Minimalist analyses of Georgian sentence structure).

- Basic SOV word order is assumed by most accounts (Harris 1981; Skopeteas & Fanselow 2009, 2010, among others).

- Clause-initial topic position and preverbal focus position (Harris, 1981); follow much of the literature in assuming a structural focus projection (FocP); focused constituents are moved into this position.¹

- Georgian is split ergative. I consider three cases: ergative, nominative, dative.

- Georgian exhibits case concord: modifiers inflect for case to match the case features of the head noun. All categories of modifiers inflect for case concord, including regular adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, and pronominal possessors.

- (2) a. Nino-m **sam-i** **bitʃ-i** dainaxa mayazia-fi.
Nino-ERG three-NOM boy-NOM see.PST store-in
‘Nino saw three boys in the store.’
- b. **sam-ma** **bitʃ-ma** dzayl-i dainaxa mayazia-fi.
three-ERG boy-ERG dog-NOM see.PST store-in
‘Three boys saw a dog in the store.’
- c. Mariam-i **sam** **bitʃ-s** xedavs mayazia-fi.
Mariam-NOM three.DAT boy-DAT see.PRES store-in
‘Mariam sees three boys in the store.’

- Two crucial properties:

- Vowel-final modifiers do not show overt case concord.

- (3) a. Nino-m **p’at’ara-(*i)** **bitʃ-i** dainaxa mayazia-fi.
Nino-ERG small-NOM boy-NOM see.PST store-in
‘Nino saw the small boy in the store.’
- b. **p’at’ara-(*m)** **bitʃ-ma** dzayl-i dainaxa mayazia-fi.
small-ERG boy-ERG dog-NOM see.PST store-in
‘The small boy saw a dog in the store.’

¹Under this analysis of focus, the focused element moves into Spec,FocP and the verb moves to the head of the Focus phrase, yielding the strict adjacency requirements between focus and verb. However, more recent work suggests there might not be a Focus projection – or focus movement – in Georgian at all. For discussion see Borise & Polinsky 2016.

- c. Mariam-i p'at'ara-(*s) bitf'-s xedavs mayazia-fi.
 Mariam-NOM small-DAT boy-DAT see.PRES store-in
 'Mariam sees the small boy in the store.'

- Dative on modifiers is -∅ (it is -s on nouns)

- (4) Nino gogo-s sam-(*s) c'ign-s uq'itis.
 Nino girl-DAT three.DAT book-DAT will.buy
 'Nino will buy the girl three books.'

- (5) Illustration of case concord on modifiers in continuous DPs

| | NOM | ERG | DAT |
|-------------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| head noun (dog) | dzaɣl-i | dzaɣl-ma | dzaɣl-s |
| adjective (big) | did-i | did-ma | did |
| adjective (small) | p'at'ara | p'at'ara | p'at'ara |
| numeral (3) | sam-i | sam-ma | sam |
| numeral (10) | at-i | at-ma | at |
| quantifier (some) | zog-i | zog-ma | zog |
| quantifier (all) | q'vela | q'vela | q'vela |
| quantifier (each) | titoeul-i | titoeul-ma | titoeul |
| possessor (my) | tfem-i | tfem-ma | tfem |

- I assume a case concord mechanism as in Carstens (2001) but the analysis will ultimately not rely on details of the case concord mechanism.

3 Split DPs in Georgian

3.1 Structure

- Georgian allows both pull splits (6a) and inverted splits (6b)

- (6) a. Mod ... NP V
 b. NP ... Mod V²

- These constructions are strongly associated with a topic-focus interpretation: first part of the split is topic, preverbal part is focus.

- (7) *The boys in the class were divided into groups of various sizes and assigned different tasks in preparation for Maya's birthday party. Two boys bought the cake, one boy brought paper plates, and four boys went to buy balloons. Mentioning one more thing some boys were assigned to do, Nino...*
 a. bitf'-ma Maya-s c'ign-i sam-ma uq'ida.
 boy-ERG Maya-DAT book-NOM three-ERG bought
 'As for boys, three (boys) bought Maya a book.'
- (8) *Nino is very superstitious. She has been noticing that everything today has been happening in sets of three. Three dogs barked at her this morning, three students failed the test, and three plates broke this morning. Her friend Mariam says another thing that happened that involved a set of three...*
 a. sam-ma Maya-s c'ign-i bitf'-ma uq'ida.
 boy-ERG Maya-DAT book-NOM three-ERG bought
 'As for threes, (three) boys bought Maya a book.'

²It has also been observed that splits can occur with one part of the split in postverbal position, [Mod... V NP] or [NP ... V Mod]. Due to the fact that the nature of post-verbal position in Georgian is still poorly understood, I leave these particular split DPs for further investigation.

- Given the interpretation and some tests for focus and topic, I assume the first part is in topic position in Spec,CP and the preverbal part of the split is in preverbal focus position Spec.FocP.

3.2 Case concord

- Recall the key case concord facts from continuous DPs:

- All modifiers enter into case concord with the head noun, unless the modifier is vowel-final.
- The ergative and nominative case markers each have the same form when suffixed onto nouns and onto modifiers, but the dative has a dedicated allomorph for nouns (-s) and for modifiers (-∅).

- In split DPs, vowel-final modifiers do participate in case concord:

- (9) a. Maya-s c'ign-i p'at'ara-(*-m) bitf'-ma uq'ida.
 Maya-DAT book-NOM small-ERG boy-ERG bought
 'The small boy bought Maya a book.'
- b. p'at'ara-*(m) Maya-s c'ign-i bitf'-ma uq'ida.
 small-ERG Maya-DAT book-NOM boy-ERG bought
 'The small boy bought Maya a book.'

- In split DPs, the dative is realized as -s on modifiers:

- (10) a. Nino gogo-s sam-(*s) c'ign-s uq'itis.
 Nino girl-DAT three.DAT book-DAT will.buy
 'Nino will buy the girl three books.'
- b. sam-*(s) Nino gogo-s c'ign-s uq'itis.
 three-DAT Nino girl-DAT book-DAT will.buy
 'Nino will buy the girl three books.'

- (11) Illustration of case concord on modifiers in split DPs

| | NOM | ERG | DAT |
|-------------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| head noun (dog) | dzaɣl-i | dzaɣl-ma | dzaɣl-s |
| adjective (big) | did-i | did-ma | did-s |
| adjective (small) | p'at'ara | p'at'ara-m | p'at'ara-s |
| numeral (3) | sam-i | sam-ma | sam-s |
| numeral (10) | at-i | at-ma | at-s |
| quantifier (some) | zog-i | zog-ma | zog-s |
| quantifier (all) | q'vela | q'vela-m | q'vela-s |
| quantifier (each) | titoeul-i | titoeul-ma | titoeul-s |
| possessor (my) | tfem-i | tfem-ma | tfem-s |

- Key differences in case concord:

- (A) In continuous DPs, modifiers that end in a vowel do not enter into case concord with the head noun; in split DPs they do.
- (B) In continuous DPs, the dative marker on modifiers is phonologically null. In split DPs it is realized as -s; this realization of the dative is otherwise restricted to nouns.

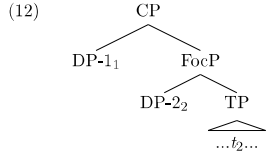
- What needs to be explained:

- What leads to the differences in case concord in continuous and split DPs?
- How are the two parts of the split DP connected to each other?

4 Analysis

Key parts of the analysis:

- Georgian split DPs are underlyingly two full DPs.
- NP-ellipsis in one of these DPs yields the case concord facts.
- These two DPs are not connected by movement: one is base-generated in the left periphery, the other appears in focus position.



- Ellipsis is illustrated for a *Mod...NP* split in (13) (for inverted split, order for DPs is reversed, i.e. DP with modifier appears in preverbal position).

- (13)
- Pre-ellipsis: $[_{TopP} [_{DP-1} \text{Mod NP}]] \dots [_{FocP} [_{DP-2} \text{NP}]]$
 - Ellipsis: $[_{TopP} [_{DP-1} \text{Mod } \underline{\text{NP}}]] \dots [_{FocP} [_{DP-2} \text{NP}]]$
 - Output: Mod ... NP

4.1 NP-ellipsis in Georgian

- Key property of NP-ellipsis in Georgian: case falls outside the scope of NP-ellipsis; post-ellipsis it must be realized on the preceding modifier, resulting in sometimes unusual case concord:

- (14) $[_{DP} \text{p'at'ara biC' -ERG}] \rightarrow [_{DP} \text{p'at'ara } \underline{\text{biC' -ERG}}] \rightarrow \text{p'at'ara-m}$

- Do not have to stipulate any special behavior for modifiers or case markers based on whether they occur in continuous or split DPs:

- The fact in (A) that vowel-final modifiers show overt case concord in split DPs but not continuous DPs is accounted for by the fact that in split DPs vowel-final modifiers simply ‘inherit’ the case marker from the ellided noun.
- The difference between dative modifiers in continuous and split DPs as summarized in (B) above is accounted for by the fact that modifiers in split DPs take a phonologically null dative marker but inherit the overt -s dative marker from the ellided noun.

- Evidence from more typical instances of NP-ellipsis confirm that NP-ellipsis indeed preserves case:

- (15) bič-i Maia-s did cign-s adzlevs, magram Giorgi p'at'ara-*(s) (adzlevs).
 boy-NOM Maia-DAT big.DAT book-DAT gives but Giorgi.NOM small-DAT gives
 ‘The boy will give Maya a big book, but Giorgi (will give her) a small (one).’

- A prediction: strict linear adjacency is required for special case concord properties to arise on a modifier in a split DP.

- (16) $[_{DP} \text{Mod}_1 \text{Mod}_2 \text{NP-case}] \rightarrow [_{DP} \text{Mod}_1 \text{Mod}_2 \underline{\text{NP-case}}] \rightarrow \text{Mod}_1 \text{Mod}_2\text{-case}$

- This is confirmed:

- (17)
- maɣal-s Vano konperencia-ze mecnier-s elaparaka.
tall.DAT Vano conference-at scientist-DAT spoke
‘Vano spoke to the tall scientist at the conference.’
 - #maɣal axalgazrda-s Vano konperencia-ze mecnier-s elaparaka.
tall.DAT young.DAT Vano conference-at scientist-DAT spoke
‘Vano spoke to the tall young scientist at the conference.’³

- Two further characteristics of concord in split DPs can be captured by this proposal: number concord (Section 4.2) and concord on possessives (not discussed).

4.2 Number concord

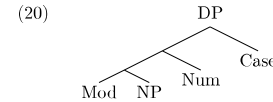
- In continuous DPs, number concord is ungrammatical.

- (18)
- Nino gogo-s **did** c'ign-eb-s uq'itis.
Nino girl-DAT big.DAT book-PL-DAT will.buy
‘Nino will buy the girl big books.’
 - *Nino gogo-s **did-eb** c'ign-eb-s uq'itis.
Nino girl-DAT big.DAT-PL book-PL-DAT will.buy
‘Nino will buy the girl big books.’

- But number concord is available in split DPs.

- (19)
- lamaz-(eb)-s Nino gogo-s c'ign-eb-s uq'itis.
pretty-PL-DAT Nino girl-DAT book-PL-DAT will.buy
‘Nino will buy the girl pretty books.’
 - did-(eb)-ma Maya-s c'ign-i bitf'-eb-ma uq'ites.
big-PL-ERG Maya-DAT book-NOM boy-ERG bought
‘The big boys bought Maya a book.’

- This can be easily accounted for under the present proposal, assuming that number is projected high in the DP structure:



- Proposal: that the target of ellipsis optionally includes or excludes the number projection.

- (21) $[_{DP} \text{Mod NP-num-case}] \rightarrow [_{DP} \text{Mod } \underline{\text{NP-num}} \text{-case}] \rightarrow \text{Mod-case}$
 (22) $[_{DP} \text{Mod NP-num-case}] \rightarrow [_{DP} \text{Mod } \underline{\text{NP}} \text{-num-case}] \rightarrow \text{Mod-num-case}$

- Evidence from typical instances of NP-ellipsis

- (23) bič-i Maia-s did cign-s adzlevs, magram Giorgi p'at'ara-(eb)-*(s) (adzlevs).
 boy-NOM Maia-DAT big.DAT book-DAT gives but Giorgi.NOM small-PL-DAT gives
 ‘The boy will give Maya a big book, but Giorgi (will give her) small (ones).’

- This proposal allows us to maintain that Georgian does not allow for number concord in either continuous or split DPs, but captures the illusion of number concord in split DPs by a simple extension of the analysis above.

³My informants’ intuitions about case were very strong in this instance, but they were uncertain as to the kind of convoluted context that would need to be constructed in order to make the split DP with two fronted modifiers feel natural.

5 Alternatives

- Two main alternatives: subextraction (Section 5.1) and hybrid/copy-deletion account (Section 5.2)

5.1 Subextraction

- Subextraction is the null hypothesis for split DPs, and has been proposed for split DPs in German (van Riemsdijk 1989; Tappe 1989; Diesing 1992; Kniffka 1996; among others), Croatian (Franks & Progovac 1994), and Russian (Yearley 1993; Sekerina 1997).

- The split DP is at some level of representation a single DP; the clause-initial part of the split is extracted from the clause-internal DP and moved to topic position.

- (24) a. $NP_1 \dots [_{DP} \text{Mod } t_1] \rightarrow \text{inverted split}$
b. $\text{Mod}_2 \dots [_{DP} t_2 \text{ NP}] \rightarrow \text{pull split}$

- Get case matching between two parts of the split for free: case is assigned to the full DP before subextraction.

5.1.1 Diagnostic 1: Imperfect splits

- Imperfect splits are reported for several languages (Fanselow and Ćavar 2002; Puig Waldmüller 2006; Nolda 2007; Ott 2011, 2012b).

- In these ‘gapless’ or ‘imperfect’ splits, the two parts of the split DP appear to contain overlapping syntactic categories. In other words, it would be impossible to “put the split together” (example from Ott 2014).

- (25) a. Französische Bücher habe ich noch nie welche gelesen.
French books have I so.far never any read
‘I have never read any French books.’
b. *Ich habe noch nie welche Französische Bücher gelesen.
I have so.far never any French books read
Intended: ‘I have never read any French books.’

- Georgian also allows imperfect splits: In (26) *Giorgisma* ‘Giorgi’s’ and *misma* ‘his’ overlap.

- (26) a. ?Giorg-is-ma erti kvir-is c’in mis-ma dzayl-ma uk’bina p’at’ara gogo-s.
Giorgi-POSS-ERG one week-POSS before his-ERG dog-ERG bit small girl-DAT
‘As for Giorgi’s (things), a week ago his dog bit a little girl.’
b. *erti kvir-is c’in Giorg-is-ma mis-ma dzayl-ma uk’bina p’at’ara gogo-s.
one week-POSS before Giorgi-POSS-ERG his-ERG dog-ERG bit small girl-DAT
Intended: ‘A week ago, Giorgi’s dog bit a little girl.’

- If (26a) were the result of subextraction, the split DP would underlyingly have to be as in (26b); since this is impossible, we have reason to believe that Georgian split DPs are not generated through subextraction.

5.1.2 Diagnostic 2: Objects of negated verbs

- Objects of negated verbs are islands for subextraction (Obenauer 1984):

- (27) a. Combien_i as-tu lu [_i de livres]?
how-many have-you read *t* of books
‘How many books have you read?’
b. *Combien_i il n’a pas vendu [_i de livres]?
how-many he not.has NEG sold *t* of books
Intended: ‘How many books has he not sold?’

- If Georgian split DPs are the result of subextraction, then the Georgian equivalent of (27b) should also be ungrammatical; this prediction is not supported by the data:

- (28) a. Ramden-i st’udent-i ar čaćra Giorgi-m?
how.many-NOM student-NOM NEG failed Giorgi-ERG
‘How many students did Giorgi not fail?’ (i.e. How many students passed?)
b. Ramden-i ar čaćra Giorgi-m st’udent-i?
how.many-NOM NEG failed Giorgi-ERG student-NOM
‘How many students did Giorgi not fail?’

5.1.3 Diagnostic 3: Coordinate structure constraint

- Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967): in a coordinate structure, (i) no conjunct can be moved, and (ii) no element contained in a conjunct can be moved out of that conjunct.

- Under a subextraction analysis, split DPs in a coordinate structure would be a violation of (ii).

- Georgian split DPs do not obey the Coordinate Structure Constraint:

- (29) a. gogo-m ert-i k’aba magram at-i perang-i iq’ida.
girl-ERG one-NOM dress.NOM but ten-NOM shirt-NOM buy.PST
‘The girl bought one dress but ten shirts.’
b. k’aba gogo-m ert-i magram at-i perang-i iq’ida.
dress.NOM girl-ERG one-NOM but ten-NOM shirt-NOM buy.PST
‘As for the dress, the girl bought one (dress) but ten shirts.’

- The analysis put forth in Section 4 does predict split DPs to be grammatical across negative islands and coordinate structures: base-generation implicates no movement and therefore no island effects.

5.1.4 Diagnostic 4: Adjective scope reconstruction

- Differences in the relative order of adjectival modifiers with respect to each other can lead to subtle differences in interpretation:

- (30) a. the young tall basketball player
b. the tall young basketball player

- Georgian has a similar sensitivity to relative ordering of adjectival modifiers:

- (31) a. Vano konperencia-ze ma⁷al axalgazrda mecnier-s elaparaka.
Vano conference-at tall.DAT young.DAT scientist-DAT spoke
‘Vano spoke to the tall young/junior scientist at the conference.’
b. Vano konperencia-ze axalgazrda ma⁷al mecnier-s elaparaka.
Vano conference-at young.DAT tall.DAT scientist-DAT spoke
‘Vano spoke to the tall young/*junior scientist at the conference.’

- “young” reading: the scientist is young in age, but may have received her PhD some time ago (possibly a child prodigy).

- “junior” reading: scientist is junior, having received her PhD within the last five years, but not necessarily young in age (a latecomer to academia).

- If split DPs are the outcome of subextraction, we expect a split DP of the form *Mod*₁ ... *Mod*₂ *N* to be ambiguous between the two following structures⁴:

⁴One possible objection that has arisen to this ambiguity is that (53b) might not be a possible underlying structure – some evidence suggests that subextraction can target only the leftmost modifier within the DP. However, this restriction does not apply in Georgian.

- (32) a. Mod₁ ... [_{DP} t₁ Mod₂ NP]
 b. Mod₁ ... [_{DP} Mod₂ t₁ NP]

- If, however, there is a lack of ambiguity, then we have evidence contra subextraction.

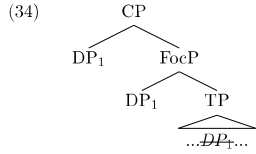
- The test case: no ambiguity → evidence against subextraction.

- (33) axalgazrda-s Vano konperencia-ze maγal mecnier-s elaparaka
 young-DAT Vano conference-at tall.DAT scientist-DAT spoke
 'Vano spoke to the tall young/*junior scientist at the conference.'

5.2 Copy-movement

- Like the base-generation proposal, the hybrid proposal suggests that split DPs are underlyingly two DPs rather than a single constituent.

- Unlike the base-generation proposal, the hybrid account implicates movement. After the clause-internal DP has been focus-moved into {Spec,FocP} it undergoes further A'-movement into topic position, and the resulting two copies (one in topic position, one in focus position) undergo scattered deletion (as first suggested for Georgian by Nash (2002) following Fanselow & Cavar (2002)).



- Advantages:

- Case-matching is easily captured: case is assigned before copy movement to topic position.
- Case concord facts could be captured by similar NP-ellipsis mechanism as discussed above.

5.2.1 Diagnostic 5: revisiting imperfect splits

- Copy-movement account requires strict identity between the two DPs, base-generation allows for differences as long as the two DPs are coreferential.

- Copy-movement predicts (35) should not be grammatical, because it would require two independent DPs of the form [_{DP} *Giorgisma dzaghma*]...[_{DP} *misma dzaghma*], which are not identical.

Georgian does have strict linear ordering among certain modifiers, as discussed in Section 2.2: for the modifiers *ori* 'two', *p'at'ara* 'small', and *amerikuli* 'American', only the order in (ia) is grammatical. All other permutations of these three modifiers are ungrammatical, as exemplified in (ib) and (ic) in which *amerikuli* appears before one or both of the other adjectival modifiers. But in (id) *amerikuli* is in topicalized position, indicating that Georgian allows any modifier to be topicalized in a split DP, even if in a continuous DP it would be structurally lower than the non-topicalized modifiers in the split DP. (53b) is therefore a possible underlying structure for a split DP involving two modifiers as discussed above.

- (i) a. Giorgi-m **or-i** **p'at'ara** **amerikul-i** mankana iq'ida.
 Giorgi-ERG two-NOM small.NOM american-NOM car.NOM bought
 'Giorgi bought two small American cars.'
 b. *Giorgi-m **or-i** **amerikul-i** **p'at'ara** mankana.
 c. *Giorgi-m **amerikul-i** **or-i** **p'at'ara** mankana.
 d. **Amerikul-i** Giorgi-m **or-i** **p'at'ara** mankana iq'ida.
 american-NOM Giorgi-ERG two-NOM small.NOM car.NOM bought
 'As for (the property of being) American, Giorgi bought two small (American) cars.'

- (35) ?**Giorg-is-ma**, erti kvir-is c'in **mis-ma dzagl-ma** uk'bina p'at'ara gogo-s.
 Giorgi-POSS-ERG one week-POSS before his-ERG dog-ERG bit small girl-DAT
 'As for Giorgi's (things), a week ago his dog bit a little girl.'

- Base-generation predicts (35) should be possible, since strict identity is not required.

5.2.2 Diagnostic 6: Also revisiting coordinate structures

- The Coordinate Structure Constraint: in a coordinate structure, (i) no conjunct can be moved, and (ii) no element contained in a conjunct can be moved out of that conjunct.

- A copy-movement-type account would predict that DPs cannot be split across coordinate structure in Georgian as this would be a violation of (i).

- (36) a. gogo-m ert-i k'aba magram at-i perang-i iq'ida.
 girl-ERG one-NOM dress.NOM but ten-NOM shirt-NOM buy.PST
 'The girl bought one dress but ten shirts.'
 b. *at-i perang-i gogo-m ert-i k'aba magram iq'ida.
 ten-NOM shirt-NOM girl-ERG one-NOM dress.NOM but buy.PST
 Intended: 'The girl bought one dress but ten shirts.'
 c. k'aba gogo-m ert-i magram at-i perang-i iq'ida.
 dress.NOM girl-ERG one-NOM but ten-NOM shirt-NOM buy.PST
 'As for the dress, the girl bought one (dress) but ten shirts.'

- In a base-generation account of split DPs, no movement connects the two DPs that underly the split DP construction, and so the availability of (36c) is predicted.

6 Conclusion

Outcomes:

1. Georgian split DPs are underlyingly two independent DPs.
2. One of these DPs undergoes NP-ellipsis, which preserves case and optionally number – this results in the illusion that modifiers in split DPs participate in concord differently than modifiers in continuous DPs.
3. The two DPs are not connected by movement, as evidenced by various movement diagnostics such as island violations and imperfect splits. Rather, one DP is base-generated in topic position.

- Outstanding question: we know there is a DP in topic position and we know how case behaves within the DP, but we don't know how case is assigned to DP in the first place.

- Georgian split DPs are an additional example of how case-connectivity is not a fully reliable indicator of movement and motivate a further investigation into what might fuel case-matching effects in the absence of movement.

- One possibility for case-matching: predication; evidence that predication can also transmit case comes from Icelandic ECM-type constructions.

- (37) a. Ég tel Maríu (vera) snilling.
 I believe Mary.ACC (be.INF) genius.ACC
 'I believe Mary to be a genius.'
 b. María er talin (vera) snilligur.
 Mary.NOM is believed (be) genius.NOM
 'Mary is believed to be a genius.'

- Predication as licensing additional arguments has been implemented in analyses of the multiple subject construction in Japanese (Fukuda 1991, Namai 1997, Heycock 1993) and for English topics (Den Dikken 2006).

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