Unaccusativites and the active/stative split in Guarani

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1 Preliminaries

- Guarani intransitives are often classified as either: i) active or ii) stative (Velázquez-Castillo 1991, 2002).[1]
- The idea is that the morphology a verb takes is determined by its semantic class: active roots take *active* morphology (1a), while stative roots take *stative* morphology (1b).

(1) a. (che) **ai**-kuaa
(I) **1SG.ACT**-know

'I know.' ("active" intransitive)

b. (che) **che**-mandu'a
(I) **1SG.STAT**-remember

'I remember.' ("stative" intransitive)

[1] Also see Mithun (1991); Payne (1994) for discussion.

- However, this description misses a few crucial generalizations: i) exceptional verbs an in (2) and ii) the transitive paradigm (4).[2]

(2) *Staitve roots with active morphology*

a. (ha'e) **o**-mano
(s/he) **3.ACT**-die

'S/he is dead.'

b. (ha'e) **o**-kiririĩ
(s/he) **3.ACT**-quiet

'S/he is being quiet.'

c. (ha'e) **o**-ke
(s/he) **3.ACT**-sleep

'S/he is sleeping.'

(3) *Active roots with stative morphology*

a. (ha'e) **i**-hasẽ
(ha'e) **3.STAT**-cry

'S/he cried.'

b. (ha'e) **i**-pyaguapy
(S/he) **3.STAT**-calm

'S/he is calm.'

c. (ha'e) **iñ**-ambu'e
(s/he) **3.STAT**-change

'S/he changed.'

[2] The functionalist literature does point to explanations for why there are exceptional roots. For example, Velázquez-Castillo (1991) proposes that *mano* 'to die' takes active morphology because dying is an active involuntary change of state and, although the role of the participant is non-agentive, it takes active morphology. It is entirely unclear to me how a child could learn this.

- In Guarani transitives, the highest ranking argument on the Person Hierarchy (PH: 1>2>3) controls agreement. When the subject controls agreement, there is "active" agreement and when the object controls agreement, there is "stative".

(4) a. (che) **ai**-pytyvõ Ana-pe
(I) **1SG.SUBJ**-help Ana-DOM

'I helped Ana.' (1>3: direct transitive)

b. Ana **chei**-pytyvõ (chéve)
Ana **1SG.OBJ**-help (me)

'Ana helped me.' (3>1: inverse transitive)

- It's unclear, under the strictly semantic account, how to derive (4a) and (4b). The morphology clearly tracks which argument is 1st person, not the semantic class of the root.
- Because the active/stative description misses important generalizations, and for clarity, I will refer to them as **Class I** and **Class II**:

> ⇒ **Class I verbs:** intransitives which take transitive *subject* agreement
>
> ⇒ **Class II verbs:** intransitives which take transitive *object* agreement

Today

1. Empirical contribution

- Novel language-internal diagnostics for Class I/Class II verbs in Guarani which suggest their difference is syntactic: i) passivization, ii) argument introduction, and iii) imperatives.
- The Class I/Class II split is not a morphological reflex of the semantics of the root, but rather of the *unergative/unaccusative* split:

> – Class I (unergative) verbs are *unergative* and introduce their argument as a subject.
>
> (5) $[_{vP}\ \text{DP}\ v\ [_{VP}\ \text{V}\ ]]$ (Class I (unergative))
>
> – Class II (unaccusative) verbs are *unaccusative* and introduce their argument as an object.
>
> (6) $[_{vP}\ v\ [_{VP}\ \text{V}\ \text{DP}\ ]]$ (Class II (unaccusative))

- Recent work suggests that unaccusativity may underlie split-s systems more broadly (see Kroeger (1990) on Kimaragang Dusun, Ershova (2017) on East Circassian, and Ko (2020) on Crow).[3]

[3] Also see Mithun (1991); Danziger (1996); Woolford (2010) for discussion. I have (quickly) found that many articles including "active/stative" often mention unaccusativity multiple times although not always as precisely as in the cited texts.

2. Theoretical proposal

> **Q:** How can Agree be sensitive to unergativity/unaccusativity or whether the features a probe copies are from the subject or object of an intransitives?

- The intuition is that Agree must be sensitive to failed Agree because the first-cycle of Agree looks different in unergatives and unaccusatives:

(7) a. *Unaccusative:*
$[_{vP}\ v\ [_{VP}\ \text{V}\ \ 3_{[\phi]}]]$ → successful Agree
① (Agree)

b. *Unergative:*
$[_{vP}\ v\ [_{VP}\ \text{V}\ \ ]]$ → failed Agree
✗ (Agree)

- Using Deal's (2015; 2022) model of Agree (with a modification from Béjar (2003)):[4]
  - when a probe fails on a cycle of Agree, it becomes less picky
  - in other words, the interaction feature is loosened, e.g. [INT: PART] $\rightsquigarrow$ [INT: ϕ]
  - therefore, the probe can interact with a wider variety of DPs (e.g. all that bear [ϕ])
- This will help explain why there is a difference in agreement between unergatives, where the probe Agrees with the argument in the second-cycle, and unaccusatives, where the probe Agrees with it in the first-cycle.

[4] See also Georgi (2010) for an exploration of these ideas.

2 Background

- Below is a list of the person markers in Guarani and which arguments they correspond to.[5]
- The ones to note (especially for this presentation) are the 3rd person Class I marker *o-* compared to the 3rd person Class II marker *i-*—the latter *only* occurring in Class II intransitives.

[5] For the astute: the examples in (4) show the diphthongized version of the 1SG subject and object markers. Diphthongization occurs in the domain of regressive nasal harmony.

(8)

Class I agreement marker		**Class II agreement marker**	
a	1SG subject	*che*	1SG object
re	2SG subject	*nde*	2SG object
o	3 subject	*i*	3 object
ro	1EXCL subject	*ore*	1EXCL object
ja	1INCL subject	*ñande*	1INCL object
pe	2PL subject	*pende*	2PL object

- As a note: the *i-* only shows up in intransitives and there are two portmanteaux (*ro* and *poro*) which appear in local direct scenarioes (1>2SG/1>2PL).
- Below is a list of verbs which are divided into Class I (unergative) and Class II (unaccusative).

Class I (unergative) (subj. agreement)		Class II (unaccusative) (obj. agreement)	
guata	'to walk'	*mandu'a*	'to remember'
karu	'to eat'	*japu*	'to lie'
monda	'to steal'	*hasẽ*	'to cry'
kuaa	'to know'	*atĩa*	'to sneeze'
ñani	'to run'	*porã*	'to be pretty'
puka	'laugh'	*pochy*	'to be angry'
ke	'sleep'	*hesarái*	'to forget'
mba'apo	'work'	*vare'a*	'to be hungry'
sapukai	'shout'	*katupyry*	'to be skillfull'
g̃uahẽ	'arrive'	*ambu'e*	'to change'
kakuaa	'to grow'	*poty*	'blossom/flower'
vu	'inflate/swell'	*pyaguapy*	'to calm down'
tĩ	'to be embarrassed'	*vare'a*	'to be hungry'
kirirĩ	'to be quiet'	*yvate*	'to be tall'

- It's hard to see how the following can be explained under the strictly semantic account.

(9) *Verbs with very close semantics take different morphology:*

a. (ha'e) **o**-kirirĩ
(s/he) **3.ACT**-quiet
'S/he is being quiet.'

b. (ha'e) **i**-pyaguapy
(S/he) **3.STAT**-calm
'S/he is calm.'

3 Class I verbs are unergative, Class II verbs are unaccusative

Diagnostics of unaccusativity as applied to Guarani

⇒ impersonal passives (Perlmutter 1978) ⟶ only Class I (unergative) verbs may be passivized

⇒ additional argument introduction ⟶ additional arguments of Class II (unaccusative) verbs cannot control agreement

⇒ imperatives (Ershova 2017; Ko 2020) ⟶ imperatives cannot be formed from Class II (unaccusative) verbs

3.1 Passives of transitives and impersonal passives in Guarani

- Passives in Guarani are formed with the prefix *je-*, which occurs between the person marker prefix and the verbal root. Passives are notoriously hard to elicit (in Guarani), but they differ from active transitives in agreement.[6]

[6] The nasal allomorph of *je-* is *ñe* and (roughly) occurs when left of a trigger of nasal harmony.

(10) **Passives in Guarani:**

a. (ha'e-kuera) che-nupa (chéve)
(s/he-PL) 1OBJ-hit (me)

'They hit me.' (active 3>1 transitive)

b. (che) a-**ñe**-nupa
(I) 1SUBJ-**PASS**-hit

'I got hit.' (1st person passive)

c. (ha'e) o-**ñe**-nupa
(s/he) 3-**PASS**-hit

'S/he got hit.' (3 person passive)

- Passives cannot take inverse/stative agreement (11).

(11) a. *che-ñe-nupa
1OBJ-PASS-hit
Int: 'I got hit.'

b. *i-ñe-nupa
3STAT-PASS-hit
Int: 'S/h got hit.'

- As far as I can tell, all (maybe too strong) transitive verbs in Guarani may be passivized. In addition, the status of by-phrases in the language is still unknown.[7]

[7] Eliciting passives is notoriously tricky in Guarani as speakers always prefer active sentences. In addition, the passive is homophonous with the reflexive and so often when constructing elicitation guides one must account for this confound.

Passivizing intransitives

- Class I (unergative) verbs may be passivized to receive a impersonal interpretation (12).[8]

(12) a. o-**je**-jeroky
3-**PASS**-dance
'There was a lot of dancing.' (context = wedding)

b. o-**ñe**-mano
3-**PASS**-die
'There was lots of dying/death.' (context = war/battle)

c. o-**ñe**-kirirĩ
3-**PASS**-quiet
'There was a lot of silence/a lot people shut up.' (context = football match)

d. o-**je**-kuaa
3-**PASS**-know
'There was a lot of knowing/meeting.' (context = conference/meeting)

[8] Zubizarreta and Pancheva (2017) and Estigarribia (2020) point out the fact that this is possible for "active" verbs which prompted me to test it with "stative" verbs, only to find that this construction is unavailable for Class II (unaccusative) verbs.

- However, despite contextual saliency like *hubo mucho llanto en el velatorio* 'there was a lot of crying at the funeral', Class II verbs *cannot* be passivized (13).

(13) a. *i-**ñe**-h-asẽ
3.STAT-**PASS**-DIR-cry
Int: 'There was crying.' (context = funeral)

b. *i-**ñe**-mandu'a
3.STAT-**PASS**-remember
Int: 'There was remembering.' (context = funeral/wake)

c. *i-**je**-japu
3.STAT-**PASS**-lie
Int: 'There was lying.' (context = political speech)

- Speakers note that forms like (14) are allowed but have a different meaning than those in (12).

(14) (heta) i-h-asẽ/japu/mandu'a
(lots) 3.STAT-DIR-cry/lie/remember
'S/he (or they) cried/lied/remembered (a lot).'

- Cross-linguistically, this is a diagnostic of unaccusativity in German (15) and Spanish (16).[9]

[9] I am also told in Hungarian (János Egressy pc.) and many other languages this is true.

(15) a. es wurde getanzt/gegessen
it became danced/eaten
'There was a lot of dancing/eating.'

b. *es wurde gestorben/gefallen
it became died/fallen
Intended: 'Many people died/fell.'

(16) a. se bailó/comió
REFL danced/ate
'There was a lot of dancing/eating.'

b. *se murió/cayó
REFL died/fell
Intended: 'many people died/fell.'

Analysis

- Following Comrie (1977) and Perlmutter (1978), passivization involves the demotion of an agent which implies that there must originally be an agent. However, unaccusatives lack an agent altogether and therefore, there is nothing to demote.

3.2 Additional argument introduction and agreement

- Transitive objects in Guarani, if they outrank the subject on the Person Hierarchy (1>2>3), obligatorily control agreement as we saw in (4).

- Direct Objects of ditransitives *may* control agreement if they outrank the subject (17a), but need not (17b).

(17) a. Laure **che**-me'ẽ (chéve) ichupe
Laure **1SG.OBJ**-give (me) to.him
'Laure gave me to him.' (S=3, DO=1, IO=3)

b. Laure **o**-me'ẽ (chéve) ichupe
Laure **3**-give (me) to.him

'Laure gave me to him.' (S=3, DO=1, IO=3)

- However, Indirect Objects of ditransitives *cannot* control agreement.

(18) a. *Laure **che**-me'ẽ ichupe (chéve)
Laure **1SG.OBJ**-give him (to.me)

Int: 'Laure gave him to me.' (S=3, DO=3, IO=1)

b. Laure **o**-me'ẽ ichupe (chéve)
Laure **3**-give him (to.me)

'Laure gave him to me.' (S=3, DO=3, IO=1)

- The same applies to other arguments embedded in PPs/case-marked: they cannot control agreement on the verb.

(19) a. o-ho che-roga-pe
3-go my-house-LOC

'He went to my house.'

b. *che-ho che-roga-pe
1OBJ-go my-house-LOC

Int: 'He went to my house.'

c. (ha'e) o-h-ekýi nde-hegui ne-ñe'ẽ
(s/he) 3-DIR-take you-OBL your-language

'S/he is taking away your language.' (adapted from Estigarribia (2020))

d. *(ha'e) nde-r-ekýi nde-hegui ne-ñe'ẽ
(s/he) 2-INV-take you-OBL your-language

'S/he is taking away your language.'

- So in short, objects of transitives and DOs of applicatives control agreement, but PPs/-Possessed DPs/IOs of applicatives cannot.

Additional arguments in intransitives

- Class I (unergative) verbs may simply add an argument that crucially *can control agreement*.

(20) a. (che) a-guata jagua
(I) 1SG.SUBJ-walk dog

'I walked the dog.'

b. jagua che-guata (chéve)
dog 1SG.OBJ-walk (me)

'The dog walked me.'

c. (che) ai-kuaa Romi-pe
(I) 1SG.SUBJ-know Romi-DOM
'I know/met Romi.'

d. Romi che-kuaa (chéve)
Romi 1SG.OBJ-know (me)
'Romi knows/met me.'

- However, additional arguments of Class II (unaccusative) verbs *cannot* control agreement and must be introduced with additional morphology.[10]

(21) a. (ha'e) i-mandu'a (**cherehe**)
(s/he) 3.STAT-remember (**me.OBL**)
'S/he remembers (me).'

b. *(ha'e) **che**-mandu'a (**cherehe**)
(s/he) **1SG.OBJ**-remember (**me.OBL**)
Int: 'S/he remembers me.'

c. (ha'e) i-japu (**chéve**)
(s/he) 3.STAT-lie (**me**)
'S/he lies (to me).'

d. *(ha'e) **che**-japu (**chéve**)
(s/he) **1SG.OBJ**-lie (**me**)
Int: 'S/he lies to me.'

[10] There are a few other PPs/cases which are used to introduced arguments for other intransitives. For example, the verb *heserái* 'to forget' introduces arguments with *hegui* which roughly means 'from/about'.

- There is an obvious open question about whether these are "PPs" or simply case marked. It's unclear. One distinction is how inanimate/non-humans obligitorily take the locative/DOM marker *pe* as in *chemandu'a ndetatakua-pe* 'I remember your oven'. However in a normal transitive, it cannot take this "case": *che ahecha ndetatakua-(*pe)* 'I saw your oven'.

Analysis

- I propose that the arguments which Class II (unaccusative) verbs introduce are introduced in the *same position* as IOs in ditransitives: spec,ApplP.
- In other words, they are applicatives of unaccusatives (along the lines of the discussion in Baker (2014, 2015); Deal (2019); den Dikken (2023)) and have the following structure.

(22) $[_{vP}\ v\ [_{ApplP}\ \text{DP/PP}\ \text{Appl}\ [_{VP}\ \text{V}\ \text{DP}\ ]]]$

- There is something about this position in the clause which prevents the argument from controlling agreement (either case assignment or the fact that they are PPs).

3.3 Imperatives

- Imperatives in Guarani are formed with the *e-* prefix for 2nd person singular (and *pe-* for 2nd person plural which is not shown here).

(23) a. **e**-juka (ichupe)!
2SG.IMP-kill (him/her)

'Kill (him/her)!'

b. **e**-pytyvõ (ichupe)!
2SG.IMP-help (him/her)

'Help (him/her)!'

- In terms of transitives, it seems that imperatives may be formed from all transitives.

Imperatives of intransitives

- Unsurprisingly, Class I (unergative) verbs have no problem being turned into imperatives (24).

(24) a. **e**-guata!
2SG.IMP-walk
'Walk!'

b. **e**-karu!
2SG.IMP-eat
'Eat!'

c. **e**-kirirĩ!
2SG.IMP-be.quiet
'Shut up!'

d. **e**-ke!
2SG.IMP-sleep
'Sleep!'

- However, imperatives cannot be formed from Class II (unaccusative) verbs (25).

(25) a. *__e__-japu!
2SG.IMP-lie
Intended: 'Lie!'

b. *__e__-pyaguapy!
2SG.IMP-calm.down
Intended: 'calm down!'

c. *__e__-mandu'a!
2SG.IMP-remember
Intended: 'remember!'

- Instead, the verb must first be causativized and then made reflexive (26).

(26) a. e-ñe-mbo-pyguapy
2SG.IMP-REFL-CAUS-calm
'Calm down!/Make yourself calm.'

b. e-ñe-mo-kã
2SG.IMP-REFL-CAUS-dry
'Dry off!/Make yourself dry.'

- However, this strategy only appears to work for a sub-class of the Class II verbs: change of state Class II verbs.[11]

(27) a. *e-ñe-mbo-japu
2.IMP-REFL-CAUS-lie
Int: 'Lie!'

b. e-ñe-mbo-tavy
2.IMP-REFL-CAUS-crazy
'Lie to them.' Lit: make them crazy

[11] I am in the process of testing this with other unaccusative change of state verbs and just other verbs in general. But these are the preliminary results.

- Ershova (2017) actually found the same pattern in an unrelated language East Circassian (28): unaccusatives (stative) cannot be made into imperatives. Instead they must undergo causitivization and then reflexivization.

(28) **z**-o-mə-**R**e-g^{w}əbz
REFL.ABS-2SG.ERG-NEG-CAUS-be.angry
'Don't be angry (lit. don't make yourself angry) (Ershova 2017)

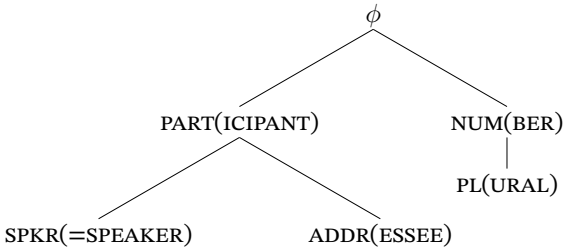
- Her analysis is centered around the selectional properties of the imperative head and θ-roles... it's unclear for now how this extends to Guarani.

4 Analysis

- I adopt an Interaction and Satisfaction model of Agree (Deal 2015, 2022) and assume the following:

1. Features on DPs are complex geometries (Harley and Ritter 2002)

(29)



2. Interaction and Satisfaction model (Deal 2015, 2022):

- Interaction (INT): features copied by the probe
- Satisfaction (SAT): features which cause a probe to stop

– For Guarani transitives, let *v* carry the following features: [INT: ϕ, SAT: SPKR]

(30) *3>1 transitive:*

a. Ana **chei**-pytyvõ (chéve)
Ana **1SG.OBJ**-help (me)

'Ana helped me.' (3>1: 1st person object agreement)

b. (i) $[_{vP}\ 3_{[\phi]}\ \ v_{[\text{INT: }\phi,\ \text{SAT: SPKR}]}\ [_{VP}\ V\ \ 1_{[\phi,\text{PART,SPKR}]}]]$ ⟶ probe satisfied
① (Agree)

(ii) $v_{[\phi]}$: [ϕ,PART,SPKR] ⇔ *che-* (probe carries 1st person features)

(31) *1>3 transitive:*

a. (che) **ai**-pytyvõ Ana-pe
(I) **1SG.SUBJ**-help Ana-DOM

'I helped Ana.' (1>3: 1st person subject agreement)

b. (i) $[_{vP}\ v_{[\text{INT: }\phi,\ \text{SAT: SPKR}]}\ [_{VP}\ V\ \ 3_{[\phi]}]]$ ⟶ probe *not* satisfied
① (Agree)

(ii) $[_{vP}\ 1_{[\phi,\text{PART,SPKR}]}\ \ v_{[\text{INT: }\phi,\ \text{SAT: SPKR}]}\ [_{VP}\ V\ \ 3_{[\phi]}]]$ ⟶ probe satisfied
② (Agree)

(iii) $v_{[\phi]}$: [ϕ,ϕ,PART,SPKR] ⇔ *a-* (probe carries 1st and 3rd person features)

⇒ **Problem:** under this model, there is no obvious distinction between agreement in unergatives and unaccusatives.

(32) a. *Unaccusative:*
(i) $[_{vP}\ v_{[\text{INT: }\phi,\ \text{SAT: SPKR}]}\ [_{VP}\ V\ \ 3_{[\phi]}]]$ → successful Agree
① (Agree)

(ii) $v_{[\phi]}$: [ϕ] ⇔ *i-*: 3STAT

b. *Unergative:*
(i) $[_{vP}\ v_{[\text{INT: }\phi,\ \text{SAT: SPKR}]}\ [_{VP}\ V\ \ ]]$ → failed Agree
1st cycle fails ✗

(ii) $[_{vP}\ 3_{[\phi]}\ \ \ldots\ \ v_{[\text{INT: }\phi,\ \text{SAT: SPKR}]}\ [_{VP}\ V\ \ ]]$ → successful Agree
② (Agree)

(iii) $v_{[\phi]}$: [ϕ] ⇔ *o-*: 3 (same as probe in (32a))

3. Probes relax INT features upon failed Agree

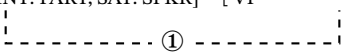
- following similar proposals from Béjar (2003); Georgi (2010), if Agree fails, then the probe becomes less picky
- under this model: [INT: PART] ⇝ [INT: ϕ][12]

[12] I adopt the notation of Dynamic Interaction from Deal (2022) but the process I'm proposing here is rather different. Dynamic In-

(33) **(revised) Guarani *v* with [INT: PART, SAT: SPKR]**

a. *3>1 transitive:*

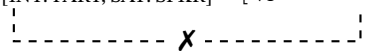
(i) $[_{vP}$ 3 $v_{[\text{INT: PART, SAT: SPKR}]}$ $[_{VP}$ V 1$]]$ ⟶ probe satisfied by SPKR



(ii) [PART: ϕ,PART,SPKR] ⇔ *che-* (probe carries 1st person features)

b. *1>3 transitive:*

(i) $[_{vP}$ $v_{[\text{INT: PART, SAT: SPKR}]}$ $[_{VP}$ V 3$]]$ ⟶ [INT: PART] ⇝ [INT: ϕ]



(ii) $[_{vP}$ 1 $v_{[\text{INT: } \phi\text{, SAT: SPKR}]}$ $[_{VP}$ V 3$]]$ ⟶ probe satisfied by SPKR

(iii) [ϕ: ϕ,PART,SPKR] ⇔ *a-* (probe carries 1st person features)

- The only difference, now, between a 1>3 and 3>1 configuration is the Interaction features on the probe:
  - 3>1: [PART: 1] (this means: "a probe with INT: PART copied over 1st person features")
  - 1>3: [ϕ: 1] (this means: "a probe with INT: ϕ copied over 1st person features")
- The Vocabulary Insertion process will thus need to be sensitive to the Interaction features on the probe in order to derive the difference between agreement in unergatives and unaccusatives.

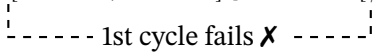
4.1 Derivations

- Consider the Guarani unaccusative verb *japu* 'to lie' shown in the 3rd person form in (34) with which the 3rd person stative *i-* appears.
- After failed first-cycle Agree (35a), the probe is loosened so that it may interact with anything bearing [ϕ], but it will fail to find anything and therefore not copy any features (35b). Under this model, the *i* is the realization of a probe with no features (35c)

(34) i-japu
3STAT-lie
'S/he lies'

(35) **3rd person unaccusative:**

a. $[_{vP}$ $v_{[\text{INT: PART, SAT: SPKR}]}$ $[_{VP}$ V $3_{[\phi]}]]$ → [INT: PART] ⇝ [INT: ϕ]



b. $[_{vP}\ v_{[\text{INT: }\phi,\ \text{SAT: SPKR}]}\ [_{VP}\ V\ \ 3_{[\phi]}\ ]\ ]$

c. $[\phi\text{:}] \Leftrightarrow$ *i-*: 3STAT

- Compare this to a 3rd person unergative verb like *kirirĩ* 'to be quiet' in which the 3rd person Class I marker appears (36).
- Just as before, first-cycle fails (37a) and so the probe loosens its Interaction feature to [ϕ]. But now there is an argument available to the probe and so it copies its features (37b).
- The difference between Class II *i-* and Class I *o-* is whether or not an [INT: ϕ] probe copied over a [ϕ] feature or not: (35c) compared to (37c).

(36) (ha'e) o-kirirĩ
(s/he) 3.ACT-quiet
'S/he is being quiet.'

(37) **3rd person unergative:**

a. $[_{vP}\ v_{[\text{INT: PART, SAT: SPKR}]}\ [_{VP}\ V\ \ ]\ ]$ → [INT: PART] ⇝ [INT: ϕ]
1st cycle fails ✗

b. $[_{vP}\ 3_{[\phi]}\ \ldots\ v_{[\text{INT: }\phi,\ \text{SAT: SPKR}]}\ [_{VP}\ V\ \ ]\ ]$ → Agree w/ 3rd person = probe: [ϕ, ϕ] ②

c. [ϕ: ϕ] $\Leftrightarrow$ *o-*: 3

4.2 Transitive agreement

- For transitives, this model can still derive the correct agreement in the correct configurations.
- The 2>1 configuration will look the same as 3>1 because the probe will be satisfied by the 1st person IA on the first-cycle.
- 1>2 transitives, on the other hand, require reprojection, but no loosening of the probe because the first-cycle Agree was successful with 2nd person IA.

(38) a. *2>1 transitive:*

(i) $[_{vP}\ 2\ \ v_{[\text{INT: PART, SAT: SPKR}]}\ \ [_{VP}\ \ V\ \ 1]\ ]$ ⟶ probe satisfied by SPKR
①

(ii) probe: [PART: 1]

b. *1>2 transitive:*

(i) $[_{vP}\ \ v_{[\text{INT: PART, SAT: SPKR}]}\ \ [_{VP}\ \ V\ \ 2]\ ]$ ⟶ Agree with 2nd person IA
①

(ii) $[_{vP}$ 1 $v_{[\text{INT: PART, SAT: SPKR}]}$ $[_{VP}$ V 2$]]$ $\longrightarrow$ probe satisfied by SPKR

② (Agree)

(iii) probe: [PART: {1,2}]

- For a 3>2 transitive, the probe won't be satisfied by the 2nd person IA on the first cycle but it will not loosen, and thus not Agree with the 3rd person EA.
- For 2>3 transitives, the probe will loosen because the first cycle will fail.

(39) a. *3>2 transitive:*

(i) $[_{vP}$ 3 $v_{[\text{INT: PART, SAT: SPKR}]}$ $[_{VP}$ V 2$]]$ $\longrightarrow$ Agree w/ 2nd person IA

① (Agree)

(ii) probe: [PART: 2]

b. *2>3 transitive:*

(i) $[_{vP}$ $v_{[\text{INT: PART, SAT: SPKR}]}$ $[_{VP}$ V 3$]]$ $\longrightarrow$ failed Agree

✗ (Agree)

(ii) probe loosens: [INT: PART] $\rightsquigarrow$ [INT: ϕ]

(iii) $[_{vP}$ 2 $v_{[\text{INT: }\phi\text{, SAT: SPKR}]}$ $[_{VP}$ V 3$]]$ $\longrightarrow$ Agree with 2 EA

② (Agree)

(iv) probe: [ϕ: 2]

5 Conclusion

- Today I argued that the Guarani active/stative split is actually syntactic and, contrary to previous literature, not strictly semantic (Velázquez-Castillo 1991, 2002).
- I motivated this with three novel language-internal diagnostics for unaccusativity which demonstrate that previously-described-as "active" verbs all pattern the same syntactically.
- I further introduced the idea that this poses a problem to our model of Agree: how do we model the difference between unergative and unaccusative verbs?
- For this I introduced a modificaiton of the Interaction and Satisfaction model (Deal 2015, 2022) in which probes loosen their Interaction features upon failed Agree.

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