Multiple-Agree conspiracy:
On PERSON, animacy and copular agreement*

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1.   Introduction

If nominative case licensing requires an Agree relation between the nominative noun phrase (NP)[1] and the T head (Chomsky 2001, Marantz 1991, among others), we expect that copular clauses with two nominative NPs should involve more than one Agree relationship between T and the two nominative NPs. Except for a cross-linguistic variation in what NP triggers agreement on the copular predicate (see, for instance, Béjar & Kahnemuyipour to appear), there is, however, little evidence for such an interaction. This paper investigates novel empirical data from Czech copular clauses that provide evidence for a Multiple-Agree interaction (Hiraiwa 2005). The Multiple-Agree configuration, however, arises only if the structurally higher NP is a ϕ-feature deficient pronoun (a minimal pronoun in the sense of Kratzer 2009). In turn, the pattern comes with a theoretically intriguing twist: we argue that the feature geometry for Agree within a phase, that is, without CI labelling (Chomsky 2013), may differ from the feature geometry of features minimally searchable by CI, which has consequences for the Minimalist grammar architecture.

1.1   Puzzle

In Czech copular clauses with two NPs, the structurally higher NP (henceforth, NP_1) is morphologically always in nominative, while the other NP (henceforth, NP_2) is either

[1]We use the term NP to indiscriminately denote DPs and NPs. The reason is that within the syntactic and semantic literature on copular clauses the term NP is often used as a descriptive label to circumvent the issue of the exact syntactic status of noun phrases. As far as we can tell, this labeling simplification is inconsequential to the present discussion.

in nominative or in instrumental case (Bartošová & Kučerová 2015). The copula itself is formed by auxiliary 'be'. The copula is always overt and agrees in ϕ-features with NP$_1$, as in (1).

(1) Já   jsem/   *je   kuchařka/ kuchařkou.
     I.NOM am.1SG/ is.3SG cook.NOM/ cook.INSTR
     'I am a cook.'

What ϕ-features are marked on the copula depends on its tense. While the present and future copulas are formed by an inflected main verb, and thus agree in NUMBER and PER-SON, as in (1) and (2a), the past tense copula is formed by a finite auxiliary 'be' and a past participle of 'be'. As we see in (2b), the finite auxiliary agrees in NUMBER and PERSON but the past participle agrees in NUMBER and GENDER, the reason being that morphosyntactically the participle is a deverbal adjective. Note that the 3rd PERSON auxiliary is null, as in (2c).[2]

(2) a. Já   budu   kuchařka.
         I.NOM will-be.FUT.1SG cook.NOM.F
         'I will be a cook.'
     b. Já   jsem   byla   kuchařka.
         I.NOM am.AUX.1SG been.SG.F cook.NOM.F
         'I was a cook.'
     c. Marie   Ø   byla   kuchařka.
         Mary.NOM.F AUX.3SG been.SG.F cook.NOM.F
         'Marie was a cook.'

The fact in the center of our investigation is that there is no matching requirement on ϕ-features of NP$_1$ and NP$_2$. Although the NUMBER and GENDER feature tend to have the same value, as the examples in (3) show, they do not have to. As for PERSON, there is no matching requirement either, (1).

(3) a. Studenti jsou   střed   našeho zájmu.
         students.PL are.3PL center.SG of-our attention
         'Students are the center of our attention.'
     b. Susana   byla   vítěz   závodu.
         Susana.F was.SG.F winner.M of-race
         'Susana was the winner of the race.'

The agreement pattern plays out rather differently if NP$_1$ is realized by a ϕ-feature deficient pronoun (TO). Even though the pronoun may refer to a linguistic antecedent of any gender

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[2]The morphological forms of auxiliary 'be' in the past tense and the main verb 'be' in the present tense are only partially identical. In addition to the 3rd person auxiliary to be morphologically null, the forms further differ in their negation, contraction and head-movement properties (Veselovská 1995, 2003, Kučerová 2012).

and number, including propositions and events,[3] morphosyntactically it is always in 3rd person neuter singular.[4] The fact that interests us here is that the pronoun does not trigger copular agreement, despite being in the structural position of the argument that otherwise determines the copular agreement. Instead, the copula agrees with NP$_2$ but only if NP$_2$ is in nominative, as in (4a). If NP$_2$ is in instrumental, the copula realizes ϕ-features attested with failed Agree, that is, neuter singular, as in (4b) (Bartošová & Kučerová 2014).

(4) Petr potkal nádhernou dívku.
     Petr met   beautiful   girl
     'Peter met a beautiful girl.'

    a. To byla   příčina   jeho rozvodu.
        TO was.F.SG cause.F.NOM of-his divorce
    b. To bylo   příčinou   jeho rozvodu.
        TO was.N.SG cause.F.INSTR of-his divorce

    'It [=that P. met the girl] was the reason of his divorce.'

The structure differs from regular copular clauses in another important respect. While there is no ϕ-feature matching requirement for full NP-NP copular clauses, as demonstrated in (5), their minimally different counterpart with TO introduces a matching restriction, as in (6) and (7).

(5) a. Ta sympatická dívka   byla   vítěz   závodu.
        that likeable   girl.[F.SG] was.F.SG winner.[M.SG] of-race
        'That likeable girl was the winner of the race.'   ✓ F ⟶ M
    b. Ten sympatický mladík   byl   zdravotní sestra.
        that likeable   man.[M.SG] was.M.SG health   sister.[F.SG]
        'That likeable man was a nurse.'   ✓ M ⟶ F

(6) Do cíle   se   přiřítila sympatická dívka.
     to finish-line REFL rushed-in likeable   girl.[F].SG
     'A likeable girl rushed across the finish line.'

    a. Byla   to zdravotní sestra.
        was.F.SG TO health   sister.[F].SG
        'She (= the likeable girl) was a nurse.'   ✓ F ⟶ F
    b. #Byl   to vítěz   závodu.
        was.M.SG TO winner.[M].SG of-race
        intended: 'She (= the likeable girl) was the winner of the race.'   # F ⟶ M
        [OK as: 'He was the winner of the race.']

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[3]Thus, the English counterpart of TO would be *he, she, it*, or *they*, depending on the linguistic context.

[4]Czech TO is rather distinct from its better known Polish morphological counterpart. While Polish TO is a nominal copula, which is to say, it appears in addition to NP$_1$ and NP$_2$, Czech TO is an argument, more precisely NP$_1$.

(7) Do cíle   se   přiřítil   sympatický mladík.
to finish-line REFL rushed-in likeable   man.$\boxed{\text{M}}$.SG
'A likeable man rushed across the finish line.'

     a.   Byl   to vítěz   závodu.
        was.M.SG TO winner.$\boxed{\text{M}}$.SG of-race
        'He (= the likeable man) was the winner of the race.'   ✓ M ⟶ M
     b. #Byla   to zdravotní sestra.
        was.F.SG TO health   sister.$\boxed{\text{F}}$.SG
        intended: 'He (= the likeable man) was a nurse.'   # M ⟶ F
        [OK as: 'She was a nurse.']

As the examples demonstrate, if NP$_2$ triggers agreement, GENDER of the antecedent of TO and the GENDER of NP$_2$ must match.[5,6] Note that the non-matching sentences are grammatical but not felicitous in the given context. Which is to say, the pronoun cannot obtain the intended interpretation. The descriptive generalization in (8) (to be revised) captures the basic properties of the pattern.

(8) **Descriptive generalization (v. 1)**

     (i)   If the copula agrees with NP$_1$, the GENDER of NP$_1$ and the GENDER of NP$_2$ do not need to match.
     (ii)   If the copula agrees with NP$_2$, the GENDER of the antecedent of TO must match the GENDER of NP$_2$.

Surprisingly, the matching restriction is sensitive to the tense of the copular clause. As the examples in (9) and (10) demonstrate, the matching restriction goes away if the copula agrees only in PERSON and NUMBER, but not in GENDER. An updated descriptive generalization is given in (11) (the updated parts are in bold).

(9) Do cíle   se   přiřítila   sympatická dívka.
to finish-line REFL rushed-in likeable   girl.$\boxed{\text{F}}$.SG
'A likeable girl rushed across the finish line.'

     a.   Je/Bude   to zdravotní sestra.
        is/will-be.3SG TO health   sister.$\boxed{\text{F}}$.SG
        'She (= the likeable girl) is/will be a nurse.'   ✓ F ⟶ F
     b.   Je/Bude   to vítěz   závodu.
        is/will-be.3SG TO winner.$\boxed{\text{M}}$.SG of-race
        'She (= the likeable girl) is/will be the winner of the race.'   ✓ F ⟶ M

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[5]The matching restriction arises also for NUMBER. We leave NUMBER aside because unlike with GENDER we cannot always reliably distinguish between NUMBER valued within narrow syntax and from CI.

[6]The word order in these examples differs from previous examples. This is because TO morpho-phonologically alternates between a weak and a strong pronoun; while the strong version surfaces in Spec,TP, the weak version is phonologically adjoined to a second position. The weak pronoun is more natural in these contexts; with the strong version and the NP$_1$ ≻ copula order, the agreement facts would not be altered but some of the examples would sound less natural.

(10) Do cíle   se   přiřítil   sympatický mladík.
      to finish-line REFL rushed-in likeable   man.$\boxed{\text{M}}$.SG
      'A likeable man rushed across the finish line.'

   a. Je/Bude   to vítěz   závodu.
       is/will-be.3SG TO winner.$\boxed{\text{M}}$.SG of-race
       'He (= the likeable man) is/will be the winner of the race.' $\checkmark$ M $\longrightarrow$ M
   b. Je/Bude   to zdravotní sestra.
       is/will-be.3SG TO health   sister.$\boxed{\text{F}}$.SG
       'He (= the likeable man) is/will be a nurse.' $\checkmark$ M $\longrightarrow$ F

(11) **Descriptive generalization (v. 2)**

   (i)   If the copula agrees with NP_1, the GENDER of NP_1 and the GENDER of NP_2 do not need to match.
   (ii) If the copula **agrees in GENDER** with NP_2, the GENDER of the antecedent of TO must match the GENDER of NP_2.

As it turns out the matching pattern is sensitive to one more factor, namely, to animacy. As the examples in (12) demonstrate, if the antecedent of TO is inanimate, there is no ϕ-feature matching restriction, irrespective of the tense of the copula. The final descriptive generalization of the ϕ-feature matching restriction is given in (13).

(12) Anna napsala román   /knížku   /lepolero.
      Anna wrote   novel.$\boxed{\text{M}}$ /book.$\boxed{\text{F}}$ /pop-up book.$\boxed{\text{N}}$
      'Anna has written a novel/a book/a pop-up book.'

   a. Byl   to propadák.
       was.M.SG TO flop.$\boxed{\text{M}}$
       'It [=the novel/the book/the pop-up book] was a total flop.' $\checkmark$ M/F/N $\longrightarrow$ M
   b. Byla   to slátanina.
       was.F.SG TO patchwork.$\boxed{\text{F}}$
       'It [=the novel/the book/the pop-up book] was a patchwork.' $\checkmark$ M/F/N $\longrightarrow$ F
   c. Bylo   to sci-fi.
       was.N.SG TO sci-fi.$\boxed{\text{N}}$
       'It [=the novel/the book/the pop-up book] was a sci-fi.' $\checkmark$ M/F/N $\longrightarrow$ N

(13) **Descriptive generalization (final version)**

   (i)   If the copula agrees with NP_1, the GENDER of NP_1 and the GENDER of NP_2 do not need to match.
   (ii) If the copula agrees in GENDER with NP_2, the GENDER of **the animate antecedent** of TO must match the GENDER of NP_2.

2.   Analysis

In order to account for the data pattern introduced in the previous section, we need to answer the following questions: (i) why does the ϕ-feature matching arise only in copular clauses with TO?, (ii) why is animacy a factor?, and (iii) why does verbal morphology matter? In short, we will argue that the ϕ-feature matching results from a Multiple-Agree chain that arises only if the closest goal is ϕ-feature deficient (TO). Animate NPs are special in that they are associated with a person feature that may give rise to a gender-related presupposition, the caveat being that the gender restriction arises only if an element other than the ϕ-feature deficient pronoun brings an unvalued gender feature to the Multiple-Agree chain. As we will see, past participle morphology does exactly that.

2.1   The rise of feature matching: Multiple Agree

The fact that there is a ϕ-feature matching requirement on the two NPs at all is in and of itself surprising. It suggests that the two NPs are part of the same Agree chain, despite them not probing for each other. We argue that the ϕ-feature matching arises because the two NPs are part of the same Multiple-Agree chain (Hiraiwa 2005). Since the closest probe to T is ϕ-feature deficient pronoun TO, T cannot value its ϕ-features, and in turn continues probing for the next plausible goal, here NP_2, as in (14). We assume an Agree analysis of ϕ-feature agreement (Chomsky 2000, inter alia). Crucially, only NOM may be a source of ϕ-feature valuation.[7] Note that case licensing and ϕ-feature valuation on T must be separated, as nominative may be licensed on two NPs even if T successfully probes only NP_1 for ϕ-feature valuation.

(14)   *Multiple Agree analysis of copular clauses:*
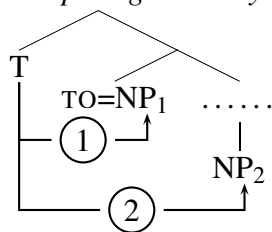
2.2   The effect of animacy: Feature geometry for PERSON

Now when we have a formal framework that allows us to model a feature interaction between TO and NP_2, we can turn to the question of why ϕ-feature matching arises only for animate nouns. In order to answer this question we need to consider what features participate in the Agree link between T and TO. We argue that TO is a minimal pronoun in the sense of Kratzer (2009), which is to say, it is only an index (a variable) that needs to get

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[7]Where morphological NOM results from mapping onto a DP without any additional case layer (Rezac 2008, Richards 2008, Pesetsky 2013, Kučerová 2016). Which is to say, NOM is the only NP that may be minimally searched for D. Note that even though the agreement seems to be sensitive to the morphological mapping of case, this is a side-effect of the underlying syntactic structure.

its value either from the structure or from the context. We argue that in morpho-syntactic terms the index variable corresponds to an unvalued PERSON feature.

Furthermore, we argue for a formal connection between the index-related type of PERSON feature and animacy.[8] Concretely, we follow Nevins (2007) and the literature cited there, in that a [+PERSON] feature corresponds to ±PARTICIPANT. Since only animate nouns can be participants of a conversation, only animate nouns carry a [+PERSON] feature. Which is to say, not only 1st and 2nd person but also a 3rd person animate DPs are marked as [+PERSON] (Ormazabal & Romero 1998, 2007, Adger & Harbour 2007, Nevins 2007, Trommer 2008, Lochbihler 2012, Ritter 2014, Ritter & Wiltschko 2014, Welch 2014, Lochbihler & Oxford 2015).[9]

We assume that T probes for a PERSON feature (Chomsky 2000). In turn, T first establishes an Agree link with TO as the structurally closest NP with a PERSON feature.[10] Since the PERSON feature on TO is not valued, T keeps probing. After T gets its PERSON feature valued by NP_2, the PERSON feature on TO gets automatically valued as well because of the previously established matching link between T and TO. In turn, we predict that the PERSON features of TO and NP_2 must match. Which is to say, the pronoun and NP_2 must both be either animate or inanimate. As the example in (15) demonstrates, this prediction is borne out. Even though there is no gender matching restriction for inanimate NPs, if NP_2 is inanimate so must be the antecedent of TO. There is no animacy restriction for copular clauses with ϕ-feature complete NP_1 (compare (3a) above). Note that if there was no representation of [−PERSON], the pattern in (15) would remain unexplained.

(15) To je střed   našeho zájmu.
      TO is center.INAM.M.SG of-our attention
      OK: 'It is the center of our attention.'
      #He/she is the center of our attention.'

2.3   The effect of verbal morphology: features on T

We have seen that verbal morphology matters for the ϕ-feature matching requirement. We argue that this follows from the Multiple-Agree configuration we propose. Notice that what features enter Multiple-Agree is strictly determined by features of the probing head, that is, of T. The sensitivity of the matching restriction to verbal morphology suggests that other functional heads T agrees with may bring additional unvalued features to the derivation. We argue that this is indeed the case: verbal morphology determines what features T probes for.

We follow Adger (2003), Roberts (2010), Wurmbrand (2012) and argue that T shares features with functional heads it selects for. Concretely, we assume that c-selection involves

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[8]We hesitate to make a more general claim about the formal connection between PERSON and animacy. At least in our data, the connection arises only in anaphoric contexts and might not hold of lexical NPs.

[9]As we will see, this assumption will allow us to treat GENDER-features as free-riders on PERSON feature. The intuition here is that PARTICIPANT-related GENDER feature corresponds to semantic gender. Formally, this gender information is accessed via a referential index associated with D. See Kučerová (2015) for a technical implementation.

[10]Crucially, matching and valuation are two separate processes for us.

Merge as Agree. Since T selects for Pred(icative) head in copular clauses, T and Pred agree. From the point of view of set merge, this means that the corresponding label will inherit all unvalued features of both heads (Chomsky 2013). Thus, T inherits whatever unvalued features Pred has. The special case that interests us here is that of the past participle formation. We argue that the past participle feature bundle consists of features of Pred and a participle head that comes to the derivation with an unvalued GENDER feature. Crucially, the unvalued GENDER feature gets inherited by T. There is no unvalued GENDER feature on T if the participle features are not present in the derivation. The simplified trees in (16) and (17) demonstrate the feature interaction. The ? indicates the root value before labeling.

(16)   *T merges with a main-verb Pred (Present & Future tense):*
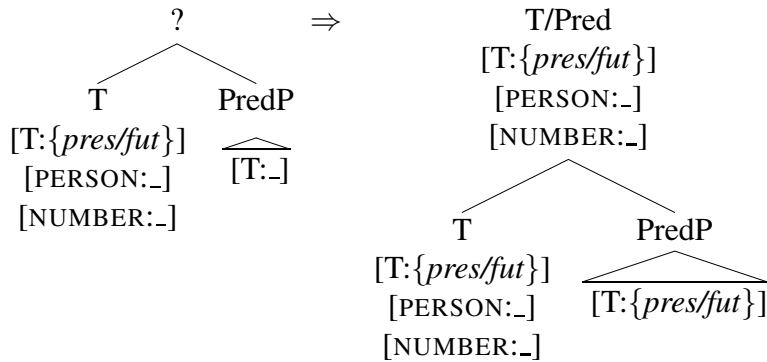
(17)   *T merges with a past participle Pred (Past tense):*
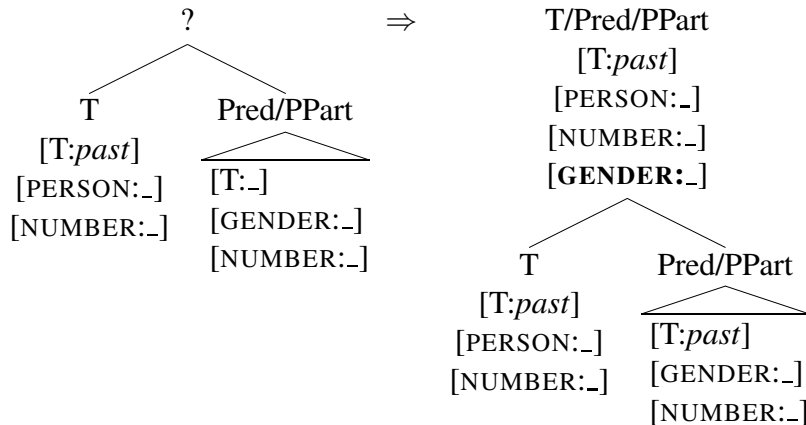
2.4   Putting the pieces together

We have established that if the copula consists only of a main verb, T – more precisely, the T-Pred feature bundle – probes only for PERSON.[11] In contrast, if the copula is formed by an auxiliary and a participle, the T-Pred bundle probes for PERSON and GENDER. The simplest case to consider is a structure in which NP_1 is a ϕ-feature complete NP. In this case, T establishes an Agree link with NP_1: NP_1 values all features of T and the features get

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[11]T also probes for NUMBER. We leave NUMBER aside.

deactivated. Consequently, no Multiple-Agree link is established, and there is no ϕ-feature matching requirement on the two NPs.

The derivation is rather different if NP_1 is ϕ-feature deficient (TO). First, T-Pred probes NP_1. This Agree link only includes a PERSON feature. The PERSON feature on T gets matched with the PERSON feature on TO but no feature valuation takes place because none of the features is valued. In the next step, T continues probing and a second Agree link, this time with NP_2, is established. In this step, all features of T, that is, PERSON for non-past tenses and PERSON and GENDER for the past tense participle formation, get matched and valued. Finally, the valued PERSON feature on the pronoun gets valued because it is included in the same Multiple-Agree chain. The trees in (18) schematize the derivation. The NP features that become part of the Multiple-Agree chain are in bold.

(18)   *Multiple-Agree chain between T and TO & NP_2:*

　　a.　*Main verb only:*
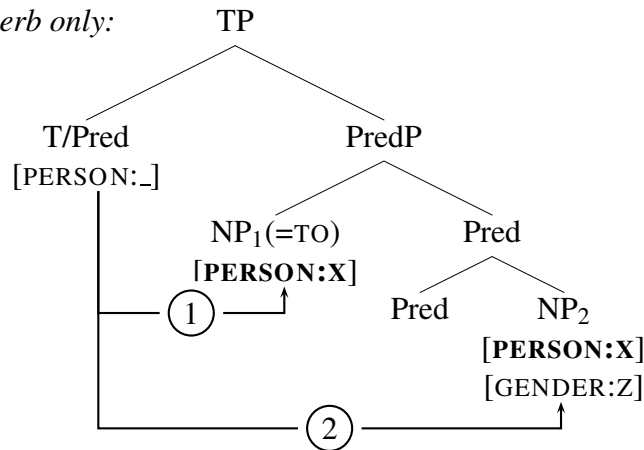
　　b.　*(AUX +) past participle:*
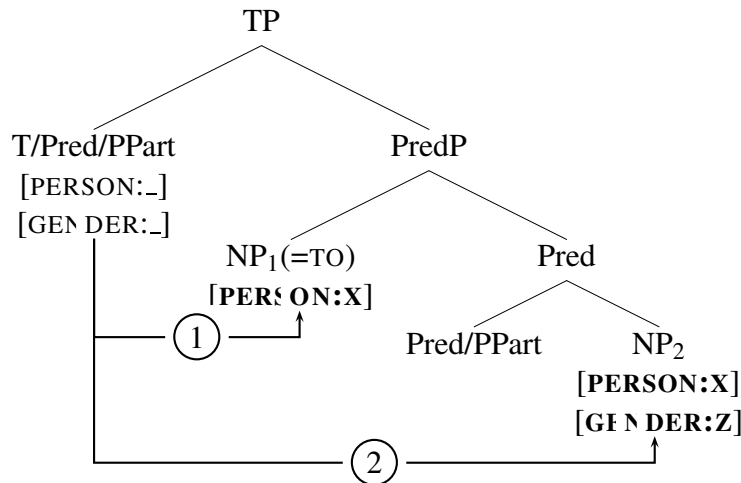
Multiple-Agree chain matching and valuation (Hiraiwa 2005) is successful only if there is no feature value clash. This means that if both NP_1 and NP_2 are the goal, then if T-Pred probes for PERSON the two NPs must match in PERSON. We already saw in (15) that this prediction is borne out. If T-Pred probes for PERSON and GENDER we expect the two NPs

to match in PERSON and GENDER. This prediction seems to be borne out by the type of ϕ-feature matching data that we introduced in section 1.1 and that motivated the descriptive generalization in (13). The basic contrast is repeated in the examples in (19).

(19) a. Je   to vítěz   závodu.
        is.3SG TO winner.M.SG of-race
        'He/she is the winner of the race.'
     b. Byl   to vítěz   závodu.
        was.M.SG TO winner.M.SG of-race
        OK: 'He was the winner of the race.'
        #'She/it was the winner of the race.'

A closer look, however, reveals a problem with the present account: while it is the case that the GENDER feature is part of the Multiple-Agree chain in (19b) but not in (19a), the difference should be irrelevant for the properties of the pronoun. The reason is that the pronoun does not have any GENDER feature: since the pronoun does not have a GENDER feature at all, even if there is a valued GENDER feature in the Multiple-Agree chain it cannot value the GENDER feature of the pronoun. In other words, there is nothing in the morphosyntactic representation of the structure that would account for the contrast between (19a) and (19b). We are left with a puzzle.

2.5   The missing piece: labeling/minimal search by CI

As we saw, in the end of the syntactic derivation there is only one instantiation of a valued GENDER feature in the Multiple-Agree chain. Since there is no valued GENDER feature on TO, we do not expect a GENDER matching requirement. We argue that the GENDER matching effect does not arise at the level of syntactic representation. Instead, we argue that it only arises at the syntax-semantics interface. We argue that the matching facts result from gender presuppositions associated with the [+PERSON] feature (Heim 2008, Sudo 2012). There are no presuppositions associated with [−PERSON] because inanimate objects do not associate with gender presuppositions.

Technically, the locus of the potential issue is the past participle because of its unvalued GENDER feature. Even though TO has deficient ϕ-features and consequently cannot carry a valued GENDER feature, once it enters the Multiple-Agree chain, it becomes part of the Agree chain with a valued GENDER feature. The presence of the valued GENDER feature cannot crash the derivation (technically there is no clash) but it restricts the potential antecedent of TO at the syntax-semantics interface.

We follow Heim (2008) and Sudo (2012), among others, in that a pronominal [+PERSON] feature comes with a presuppositional requirement on the pronoun's antecedent. If the Multiple-Agree chain associated with TO is valued for GENDER, TO inherits the presupposition associated with the GENDER feature in the Agree chain. More precisely, the interpretive component (CI) will interpret TO as having a male or female antecedent, which is to say, the referential index corresponding to the [+PERSON] feature will be interpretable

only if the antecedent is going to be a male or a female person, respectively. Technically, the gender presupposition is an identity function, as in (20) modeled after Heim (2008).

(20)   a. $[\![\text{GEN:f}_i]\!]^{w,g} = \lambda x_e. \ g(i)$ is female in *w*: x
       b. $[\![\text{GEN:m}_i]\!]^{w,g} = \lambda x_e. \ g(i)$ is a person in *w*: x

Thus, if NP_2 is masculine, TO presupposes existence of a male person as its antecedent. If NP_2 is feminine, TO presupposes existence of a female person as its antecedent. Consequently, if the antecedent is male but the GENDER feature is valued as F, the derivation yields a presupposition failure. Analogically, if the antecedent is female but the GENDER feature is valued as M, the derivation yields a presupposition failure as well.

The attentive reader may wonder whether this might be a feature valuation clash, instead of a presupposition issue. Note that the structures are grammatical. Only their interpretation is infelicitous in certain contexts. Furthermore, the presupposition survives in presupposition projection environments, such as embedding under sentential negation, as in (21).

(21)   To nebyl   vítěz   závodu.
       TO not-was.M.SG winner.M.SG of-race
       'He/#she was not the winner of the race.'

Furthermore, as we already saw and as the examples in (22) demonstrate, since inanimate NPs are [−PERSON], there is no presupposition associated with them. Hence there is no matching effect of GENDER, irrespective of the tense of the copular clause.

(22)   a.   Je   to propadák.
            is.3.SG TO flop.M
            'It [=the book.F/the pop-up book.N/the novel.M] is a total flop.'
       b.   Byl   to propadák.
            was.M.SG TO flop.M
            'It [=the book.F/the pop-up book.N/the novel.M] was a total flop.'

3.   Further predictions: Expletive pronouns

Note that the GENDER matching restriction in the copular clauses of our interest arises because the T feature bundle gets enriched by an unvalued GENDER feature via merge of T with a functional head complex that carries such an unvalued feature. If the proposal is on the right track, we predict that *any* element that carries an unvalued GENDER feature and merges directly with T should induce the GENDER matching restriction on the two NPs in a copular clause, even in the absence of the past tense morphology. This prediction is borne out in copular clauses with subject expletive pronouns.

Subject expletive pronouns are base-generated at Spec,TP and match the ϕ-features of T (Rezac 2004). Crucially, the ϕ-feature bundle of the expletive includes an unvalued GENDER feature. In a copular clause with a ϕ-feature-complete NP_1, the valued ϕ-features

on NP$_1$ value the ϕ-features on the expletive via T, as in (23). If, however, NP$_1$ is ϕ-feature deficient (TO), the expletive gets its ϕ-features valued from NP$_2$, as in (24).

(23) Ona je Susana vítěz závodu.
      EXPL.F is.3SG Susana.F winner.M of-race
      'Susana was the winner of the race.'

(24) a. On je to vítěz závodu.
          EXPL.M is.3SG TO winner.M of-race
          'He is the winner of the race.'
      b. *Ona je to vítěz závodu.
          EXPL.F is.3SG TO winner.M of-race
          intended: 'She is the winner of the race.'

Crucially, since the expletive introduces a GENDER feature into the Multiple-Agree chain, we predict that the GENDER of NP$_2$ and the GENDER of the antecedent of TO must match – but only if TO is valued for a [+PERSON] feature. This is because the matching restriction is a presupposition restriction that applies only to antecedents that may associate with semantic gender. As the examples in (25) and (26) show, both predictions are borne out.

(25) On je to vítěz závodu.
      EXPL. M is.3SG TO winner. M of-race
      'He/*She is the winner of the race.'   [+PERSON]: M ⟶ ✓M / #F

(26) On je to propadák.
      EXPL.M.SG is TO flop.M
      'It [=the book.F/pop-up book.N/novel.M] is a flop.' [−PERSON]: M ⟶ ✓M/ F/ N

4. Conclusions and open questions

The presented data pattern provides evidence that T may agree with more than one nominative NP within the same locality domain and that such double probing results into a Multiple-Agree chain. Furthermore, the pattern provides evidence that animate 3rd person feature patterns in anaphoric environment with 1st and 2nd person which strongly suggests that the [+PERSON] feature formally corresponds to the [±PARTICIPANT] feature (cf. Nevins 2007 and literature cited there). We argue that the connection to PARTICIPANT arises at the syntax-semantics interface as part of labelling/minimal search by CI, and in turn relates PERSON to discourse and interpretive effects. The discussed pattern further reveals that the CI interface may bring to the derivation further features, such as GENDER. The question that arises is whether the effect of PARTICIPANT on the PERSON feature geometry arises only in CI-related environments, be it anaphoric relations, or index-tracking in argument interactions, as in Ormazabal & Romero (1998, 2007). Furthermore, the pattern raises the question of the relation between case licensing and probing for PERSON. We leave these questions for future research.

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