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Switch reference in Washo as multiple subject agreement

Karlos Arregi & Emily A. Hanink
{karlos, eahanink}@uchicago.edu

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Washo: Hokan/isolate, Lake Tahoe (CA/NV, USA), ≈ 10 native speakers (≥ 80 years old).
Data from Hanink's fieldnotes, unless otherwise indicated.

Switch reference in Washo

Switch reference (SR) tracks reference of subjects of two clauses (Jacobsen 1964, 1967, McKenzie 2015):

Different subject (DS): subjects don't refer to the same individual

(1) **daʔmóʔmoʔ** [**kʼákʼaʔ** dá: gé:gel-i -š -ge] yá:m-aʔ
woman **heron** there 3.sit-IND -DS -NM 3.speak-DEP
'The woman spoke to a heron who was sitting there.' Jacobsen 1981

Same subject (SS): subjects refer to the same individual

(2) **Adele** [dalaʔak **ʔ**-íːgi-yi -∅ -ge] hámupʼáy-e:s-i
Adele mountain **3**-see-IND -SS -NM 3.forget-NEG-IND
'Adele$_i$ remembers that she$_i$ saw the mountain.' Hanink & Bochnak, to appear

Switch reference as a syntactic phenomenon

Switch reference only marks finite subordinate clauses

Clausal nominalizations: some complement clauses and internally headed RCs (see also (1–2)):

(3) [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ **sísu** **ʔ**-íšim-i -š -ge] **di**-dámal-i
bird 3-sing-IND -DS -NM **1**-hear-IND
'I hear the bird singing.'

Temporal adjuncts:

(4) [**l**-émlu-ya -š] **ʔ**-íːmeʔ-leg-i
1-eat-DEP -DS **3**-drink-REC.PAST-IND
'He was drinking while I was eating.' Washo Archive

No switch reference in independent clauses

(5) [… udi Dresslerville **ʔ**-íšge-gulayg-i líːuŋil …]
then Dresslerville **3**-move-PAST-IND long.ago
[**tʼéliwhu** **gí:** Dresslerville dé-itde-yiʔ **kʼ**-éʔ-i]
husband **3.PRO** Dresslerville NMLZ-country-ATTR 3.UN-COP-IND
'... then she moved to Dresslerville, a long time ago... her husband, he lives in Dresslerville.'

⇒ SR clauses are not reduced; SS/DS are not markers of height of coordination (cf. Keine 2013).

Switch reference only cares about DP reference

Copy-raising triggers SS, with no change in meaning:

(6) a. *No matrix copy of embedded subject: DS marking*
[**l**-éšim-dugáːgu-ʔi -š -gi] **kʼ**-éʔ-i
1-sing-not.understand-IND -DS -NM **3**.UN-COP-IND
'I don't know how to sing.'
b. *Matrix copy of emedded subject, signaled by agreement: SS*
[**l**-éšim-dugáːgu-ʔi -∅ -gi] **Lʼ**-éʔ-i
1-sing-not.understand-IND -SS -NM **1**.UN-COP-IND
'I don't know how to sing.'

⇒ It's not topic-tracking or scene-shift (cf. Dahlstrom 1982, Stirling 1993, McKenzie 2012).

Switch reference is obeys clause-bound locality

In double embedding, most deeply embedded marker tracks intermediate, not matrix subject:

(7) [[**súkuʔ** baŋáya **ʔ**-éʔ-i -š -ge] **daʔmóʔmoʔ** bóŋi-yi -š -gi] pʼáːš-ug-i
dog outside **3**-COP-IND -DS -NM **woman** **3**.call-IND -DS -NM **3**.enter-hither-IND
'The dog who was outside who the woman called came in.'

Switch reference only cares about *subject* DPs

Intervening matrix nonsubjects don't interact with embedded switch reference marking:

(8) [bašáːʔ téːbil-a **l**-íːgi-yi -š -ge] **tʼéːliwhu** **l**-éšil-i
book table-LOC **1**-see-IND -DS -NM **man** **1OBJ**-give-IND
'The man gave me the book I saw on the table.'

Syntax: Embedded C agrees with both subjects

Building on Finer 1985, Watanabe 2000, Camacho 2010.
See also Camargo-Souza 2016, Baker & Camargo-Souza 2017.

Switch reference marker is in C

Outermost suffix on finite verb other than nominalizers (Finer 1985, Peachy 2006, Hanink 2016).

Multiple Agree by C

Like Hiraiwa 2001, but with a twist:

- **Downward Agree** with embedded subject ≈ complementizer agreement in West Germanic. (i.a. van Koppen 2005)
- **Upward Agree** with matrix subject ≈ complementizer agreement in Bantu. (i.a. Baker 2008, Bjorkman & Zeijlstra 2014; cf. Diercks 2013)

This derives clause-bound locality: edge of embedded CP phase can access both subjects.

The probe in C is unvalued [ID] (referential index)

Based on Rezac 2004, Kennedy 2014. The value of [ID] in DPs is a number.

C probes selectively for nominative DPs

(i.a. Bhatt 2005, Baker 2008, Bobaljik 2008)

- Accusative case system, visible in pronouns (identical to clausal nominalizers).
- This explains the restriction to subjects.

Postsyntax: Overt marking of feature conflict

Based on Harbour's (2007, 2011) analysis of inverse number marking in Kiowa.

With disjoint subjects, [ID] in C has two values: [$_C$ ID:*i*, ID:*j*]

This is syntactically well-formed, as in inverse number marking in Kiowa.

With coreferent subjects, [ID] in C has one value: [$_C$ ID:*i*, ID:*i*] = [$_C$ ID:*i*]

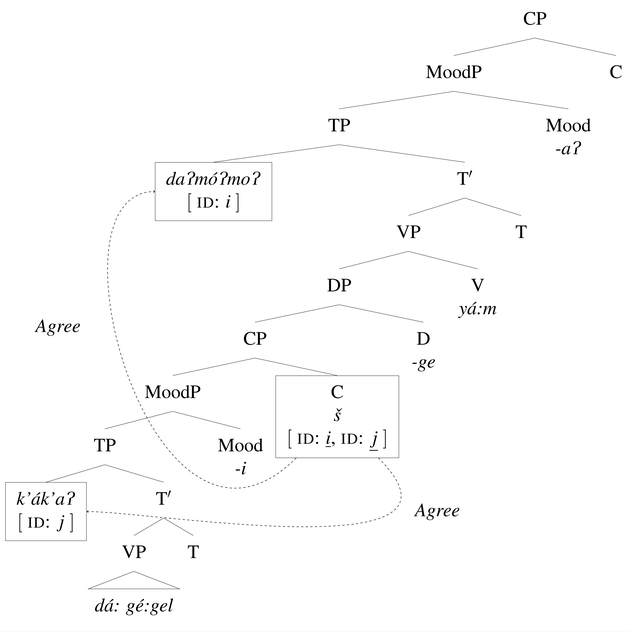
This featural difference determines the exponence of C at Vocabulary Insertion.

Vocabulary entries for C

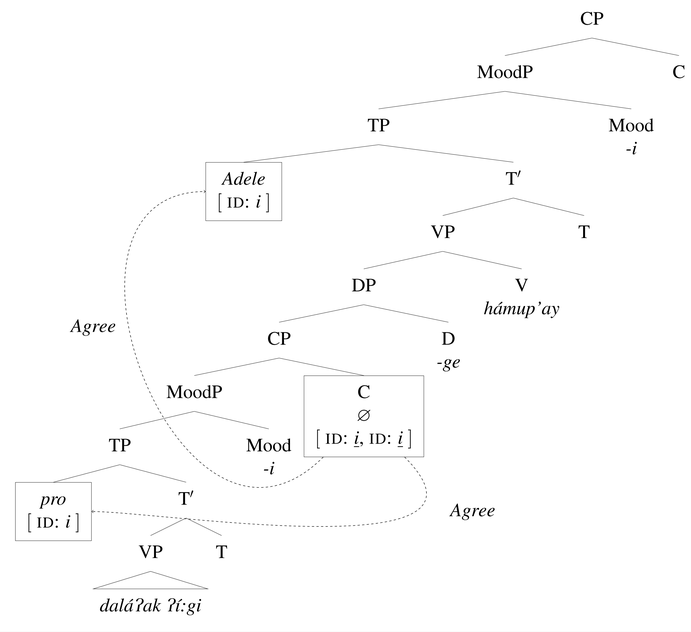
- [$_C$ ID:*i*, ID:*j*] ↔ š (where $i \neq j$) (DS)
- [$_C$] ↔ ∅ (elsewhere) (SS)

Multiple subject agreement in different and same subject contexts

Feature conflict with disjoint subjects (1): [$_C$ ID:*i*, ID:*j*]



No feature conflict with coreferent subjects (2): [$_C$ ID:*i*, ID:*i*] = [$_C$ ID:*i*]



Is any of this binding?

An update on Finer 1985: C agrees with the lower subject, but is **bound by the higher subject**.

- "Half" of C would be a local subject-oriented reflexive (i.a. Ahn 2015).
- Accounts for subject orientation and clause-bound locality (Dierck 2013 on C agreement in Bantu).
- But this would be a reflexive with no semantics.
- Wrong prediction: matrix C should be DS, since there's no higher subject to bind it (McKenzie 2012).

Multiple Agree analysis: matrix C has no higher subject to agree with, so it only has one [ID] value.

Glosses & Orthography

1/2/3: 1st/2nd/3rd person; ATTRibutive; COPula; DEPendent mood; DS: different subject; INDependent mood; LOCative; NEGation; NM: clausal nominalizer; NMLZ: deverbal nominalizer; OBJect agreement; PROnoun; REC.PAST: recent past; SS: same subject; UNexpressed object prefix. IPA-deviating symbols: L [l̥]; š [ʃ]; y [j] (Jacobsen 1964).

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