

- In subordination, SR marking always occurs in the dependent clause.
- In coordination: If the SR marker is a suffix, the marked clause precedes the reference clause; if it is a prefix, the reference clause precedes the marked clause.

(3) *Maricopa (Gordon 1983: 87): SR suffix, marked clause precedes reference clause:*

- [Nyaa 'ashvar-**k**] [ʔ-iima-k]
I 1-sing-**SS** 1-dance-ASP
I sang and I danced.
- [Bonnie-sh Ø-ashvar-**m**] [ʔ-iima-k]
BonnieSUBJ 3-sing-**DS** 1-dance-ASP
Bonnie sang and I danced.

(4) *Lenakel (Lynch 1983: 211): SR prefix, marked clause follows reference clause:*

- i-im-vin (kani) **r**-im-apul
1EXCL-PAST-go and **3SG**-PAST-sleep
I went and he slept.
- i-im-vin (kani) **m**-im-apul
1EXCL-PAST-go and **SS**-PAST-sleep
I went and slept.

- SS markers are often invariant (Usan, Kâte, Fore; but see Kobon, Comrie (1983)) and phonologically less complex than DS markers, cf. (1) and Chuave (Haiman 1983); DS markers are often fused with subject agreement morphemes (Papuan, Quechua, Lenakel etc.), but not always (North American Indian languages)

(5) *SR markers in Seri (Moser (1978: 114), Farrell et al. (1991: 433-34)):*

- mi-nail kom m-po-k-i:xxk (*ta)-X ʔata:p ko-m-si-a: ʔa=ʔa
2PL-skin the 2SG.S-IR-AUG-wet DS-UT mucus 3OB-2SG.S-IR-be AUX=DECL
If you wet your skin, you will get a cold.
- ʔim-t-kašni *(ma) ʔp-yo-o:ʔa
1SG.O-R-bite DS 1SG.S-DI-cry
Since it bit me, I cried.

- Marking clauses in SS contexts often lack their own tense/aspect/mood morphemes.

(6) *SR in Amele (Roberts 1988: 49):*

- ija hu-m-ig sab j-ig-a
1SG come-SS-1SG food eat-1SG-TOD.PST
I came and ate the food.
- ija ho-co-min sab ja-g-a
1SG come-DS-1SG food eat-2SG-TOD.PST
I came and you ate the food.

(7) *SR in Maricopa (Gordon 1983: 87):*

- m-iima-m ʔ-mhan-k
2-dance-DS 1-like-ASP
I like you dancing/you to dance
- ʔ-iima-k (mat) ʔ-yuu-ksh
1-dance-SS REF 1-see-1PERF
I saw myself dance.

- Mainly DS markers overlap with TAM marking systems (e.g. in Kate, Huichol, Cashinahua, cf. Comrie (1983); Montag (2005))

(8) *Amele: SR-mood interaction (Roberts 1988):*

- SS: stem reduplication + set 1 agreement markers
- DS irrealis: stem reduplication + set 2 agreement markers
- DS realis: stem reduplication + set 3 agreement markers

- Most SR languages have basic SOV word order (but: Lenakel and Gokana are SVO).

3 Analyses

3.1 Basic Assumptions

We make the following Minimalist assumptions on structure-building (Chomsky 2000; 2001):

- (9)
- ```

graph TD
 CP --> C_prime[C']
 CP --> TP
 C_prime --> C
 C_prime --> TP
 TP --> T_prime[T']
 TP --> vP
 T_prime --> T
 T_prime --> vP
 vP --> Subj
 vP --> v_prime[v']
 v_prime --> v
 v_prime --> VP
 VP --> V
 VP --> Obj

```

- verbal agreement (*Agree*) is done by  $\varphi$ -feature copying from a DP to a functional head
  - v introduces Subj and agrees with Obj
  - T agrees with the subject
  - Dislocation of elements is the result of the syntactic operation called (*Move* which takes an element which is already part of the structure and remerges it higher in the tree.
  - all operations (Merge, Move, Agree) are feature-driven (c-selection features are represented as [•D•], probe features as [uF])
  - postsyntactic realizational morphology (DM, Halle and Marantz (1993; 1994))

- syntactic structure unfolds bottom-up

#### 3.2 Control

OBSERVATION (Yosuke 2007; Watanabe 1996): Control is similar to SR: In Japanese, there are two allomorphs of the complementizer in control constructions: *(y)ooto* and *yooni*.<sup>1</sup> If the controlled clause is headed by *yooto* its subject must be coreferent to the subject of the controlling clause. If it is headed by *yooni*, the subjects must be disjoint.

(10) *Obligatory control in Japanese (Yosuke 2007: 2):*

- a. Taro-ga [<sub>CP</sub> jibun-no ie-ni kaewr(u) ooto/\*yooni] kokotomi-ta  
 Taro-NOM self-GEN house-LOC return C attempt-PST  
 Taro attempted to return to his house.
- b. Hanako-ga Taro-ni [<sub>CP</sub> jibun-no ie-ni kaer(u) \*ooto/yooni] settokusi-ta  
 Hanako-NOM Taro-DAT self-GEN house-LOC return C persuade-PST  
 Hanako persuaded Taro to return to his house.

MORE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN SR AND CONTROL:

- The verb in the controlled/marking clause is infinite (in SS context: the verb usually does not bear any agreement morphemes).
- The verb lacks tense/aspect/mood information.
- The subject of the controlled/marking clause cannot be overtly realized.

(11) John tried to leave. *obligatory control in English*

PROPOSAL:

SR and control share many properties. Hence, SR can be analysed in the same way as control, e.g. as movement of the shared subject DP in SS contexts from the marking to the reference clause (cf. Hornstein 2001; Boeckx et al. 2009a). Thus, the clauses have literally the “same subject”.

Hornstein (2001; 2003); Nunes (2001) and Boeckx et al. (2009a) develop a movement account of control: The controlled DP is base-merged in the embedded clause and then moved to a  $\theta$ -position in the matrix clause.

<sup>1</sup>The initial /y/ of *yooto* is deleted after consonant-final stems.

- (12) *Obligatory control in English (Hornstein 2001: 27):*
- a. John hopes to win the race.
  - b. John [John [hopes [John to [John win the race]]]]

The moved DP *John* gets its case valued by matrix T (the embedded T is taken to be defective, i.e. unable to agree with and assign case to a DP); it bears the agent  $\theta$ -roles of *win* and *hope*.

ANALYSIS FOR SR AS MOVEMENT:

- SS context: There is only a single DP that is part of both the marking and the reference clause. This DP is base-merged in the marking clause and is then moved into the reference clause.

- (13)  $[_{CP} C [_{TP} T [_{vP} DP_1 [_{v'} v [_{TP} T [_{vP} t_{DP1} [_{v'} v [_{VP} V DP_2]]]]]]]]]$

Usually, only the head of a movement chain is realized. This derives the observation that in SS contexts the subject is only present in the reference clause.

- DS contexts: There are two different DPs, one in the marking and one in the reference clause.

- (14)  $[_{CP} C [_{TP} T [_{vP} DP_3 [_{v'} v [_{CP} C [_{TP} T [_{vP} DP_1 [_{v'} v [_{VP} V DP_2]]]]]]]]]]]$

FURTHER MINIMALIST ASSUMPTIONS ON MOVE AND AGREE:

1. *Minimality Condition* on movement: The moved item must be the closest movable DP in the c-command domain of a head with the feature which triggers movement
2. *Activity*: A DP must be active, i.e. not case marked, if it wants to enter into an Agree relation with a functional head.

*Consequence*: In an SS context, the embedded T must be defective (unable to assign Case and hence to initiate Agree because case valuation depends on Agree, cf. Schütze (1997) among others) in order for DP<sub>1</sub> to remain active and to enter into an Agree relation with the matrix T head. This derives that there are no (subject) agreement markers if an SS marker is present.

*Evidence* for defective T in both control and SR structures:

In Ancash Quechua the SS suffix *-r* is syncretic with the infinitive marker (Cole 1983: 2, 14):

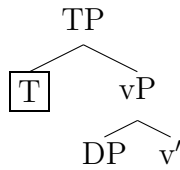
- (15) a. Lima-ta chaa-ri-r rikaari-shaq amigu-u-ta  
 Lima-ACC arrive-after-SS see-FUT.1 friend-my-ACC  
 After arriving in Lima, I will see my friend.
- b. papaa-ni qalla-rqu-n maqa-ma-r  
 father-my begin-REC.PST-3 hit-1OBJ-INF  
 My father began to hit me.

MORPHOLOGICAL MARKING:

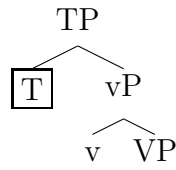
The SR marker is the realization of the embedded T head which tracks whether movement of DP<sub>1</sub> has taken place (SS) or not (DS), viz. whether there is a DP is Spec,v or not.

(16) *SR markers:*

a. DS:



b. SS (elsewhere marker, default realization of T):



PROPERTIES OF SR THAT FOLLOW FROM THE ANALYSIS:

- Referential identity in SS contexts: it is literally the same item in the marking and the reference clause which is moved from the former to the latter.
- In SS contexts, the subject is realized only in the reference clause.
- The verb in the SS marking clause shows no agreement, in the DS marking clause it does.
- It can derive SR in subordination.
- The interaction of the *Minimality Condition* on movement and the *Activity Condition* derives that only the subjects of the two clauses can be coreferent.
- It can derive non-canonical instances of SR with SS marking in unaccusative marking clauses:

(17) *Amele impersonal construction (Roberts 2001: 201, 228):*

a. ija wen t-ei-a

1SG hunger 1SG.do-3SG.SUBJ-TOD.P

I was hungry.

b. Ege co-cob-ob wen g-en

1PL SIM-walk-1PL.SS.R hunger 1PL.do-3SG.REM.P

As we walked, we became hungry.

EXPLANATION:

The reference clause in (17-a) is unaccusative, hence there is no DP in Spec,v. Therefore, only the elsewhere marker can realize T, the SS marker (the marker is blind as to whether there is no DP in Ts domain because it has been moved away or because there was no such DP from the beginning)..

PROBLEMS FOR THIS ACCOUNT:

- SR in adjunction and coordination structures: movement from one tree to another tree would be necessary (*sideward movement*, cf. Nunes (2001) for such a proposal to derive control into adjuncts which can be transferred to SR as well)
- It has to be stipulated that SR marking occurs only in one of the clauses.

### 3.3 Diathesis

OBSERVATION:

Switch Reference and 'regular' diathesis such as passive or reflexive voice share a lot of properties:

- They are both a verbal category, at least in the vast majority of the cases.
- In both cases, we find that arguments of the marked verb are deleted or omitted.
- SR and diatheses such as reflexive voice are used to identify different arguments.
- Both are used to increase discourse coherence by distinguishing between old/new information.

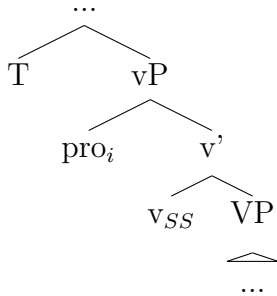
PROPOSAL:

SR can be treated as an instance of diathesis.

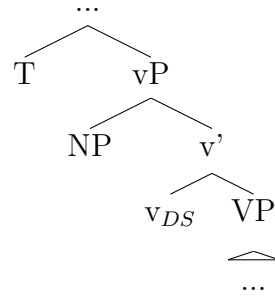
ASSUMPTIONS:

- SR applies at the v-level manipulating the morphosyntactic features of the v(oice) head.
- In SS contexts, the v-head merges an empty pronoun instead of a subject NP.
- The respective SR-features located on the v-head are spelled out as SS-, or DS-markers.
- The relation between the empty pronoun and the subject of the higher clause is established by the means of binding theory.

(18) *Same subject-context*



(19) *Different subject-context*



PROBLEM: Unlike with other diathesis, there are clauses which are not marked for SR at all. This problem is solved by assuming that the 'SR diathesis' applies in any clause but it is only morphologically marked in clauses which are dependent on another clause. The exact status of this dependency is language specific.

EMPIRICAL SUPPORT:

There are quite a few languages in which we find apparent similarities between SR and normal diatheses. In Quechua, for example, both markers occupy the same verbal slots as can be seen in the following example.

- (20) Noqantsik yuri-kU-tsi-pu-shqa-qa                      llapa-ntsik-ta-chi rey  
 We(incl) appear-REFL-CAUS-BEN-DS-TOP all-12P-PBJ-CNJ king  
 wanu-ykU-tsi-ma:-shun.  
 die-IMPACT-CAUS-1PL-FUT  
 'If we make it (the ring) appear, surely the king will have us all killed' (*Weber 1989: 300*)

In Udihe (Tungusic), the SR marker /-(m)i/ (singular) or /-(m)ifei/ (plural) are phonologically identical with the reflexive voice marker of that language.

- (21) Nua-ni ei aziga-wa ic'a bi-nje-i aju-o:-ni  
 he-3SG this girl-ACC [small be-CVB-SS] love-PAST-3SG  
 'He loved this girl when he was young.' (*Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001: 791*)

PROBLEMS FOR THIS ACCOUNT:

- Cases of unexpected SR-marking (Amele, Cashinahua)
- The higher NP which binds the empty pronoun is always the subject of the higher clause. Without further restrictions one would also expect SS-marking if the subject of the embedded clause is bound by the object of the higher clause. However, this is pattern is found in only a few languages (e.g. Kiowa)

### 3.4 Agreement

OBSERVATION:

In many languages, SR-markers are morphologically identical to person agreement markers and

can encode interclausal relations such as purposiveness, succession, overlap etc.

**PROPOSAL:**

Switch Reference is a consequence of interclausal agreement.

**THEORETICAL BACKGROUND:**

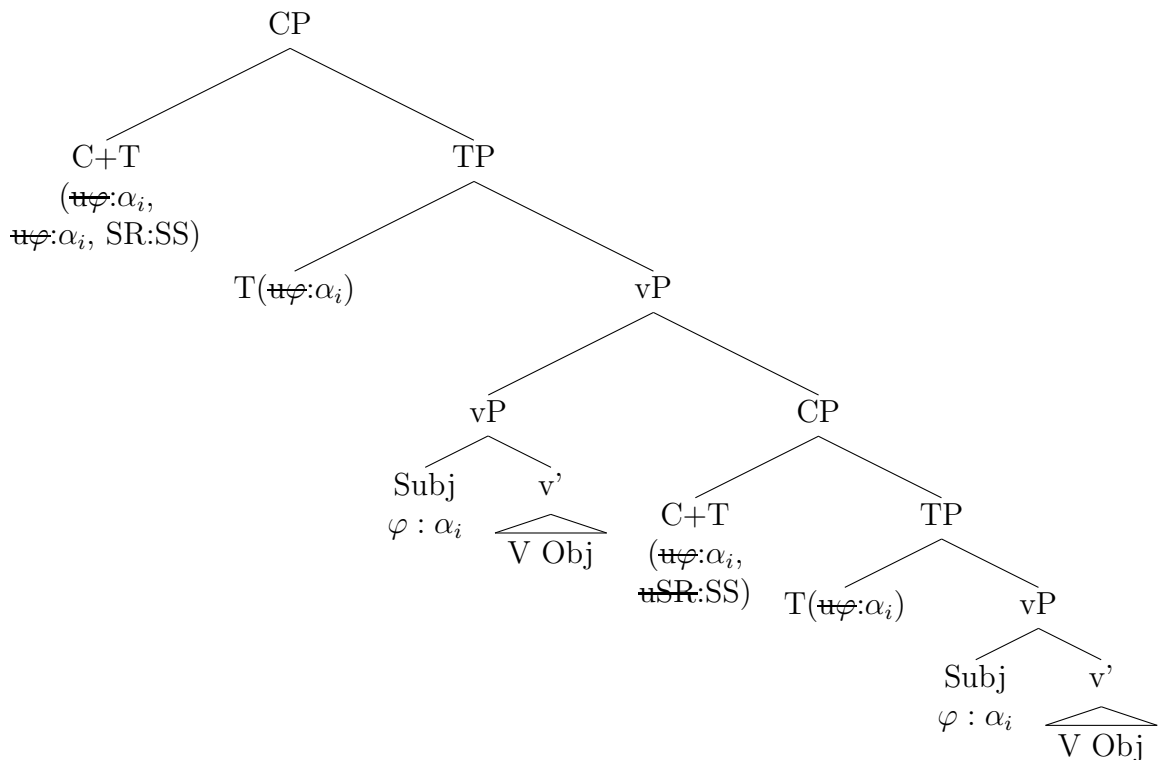
- verbal agreement marking is a consequence of a special syntactic operation “Agree”
- Agree involves two heads which both have unvalued features and provide feature values for the unvalued feature of the other head (e.g. the verbal category T has unvalued  $\varphi$ -features and provides a case value, the subject has an unvalued case feature and provides  $\varphi$ -values)

- (22) a. before Agree  
 [ ... T (u $\varphi$ :\_ , case:NOM) ... [Subj (ucase:\_ ,  $\varphi$ :3SG) ... ] ]  
 b. after Agree  
 [ ... T (~~u~~ $\varphi$ :3SG, case:NOM) ... [Subj (~~ucase~~:NOM,  $\varphi$ :3SG) ... ] ]

**ASSUMPTIONS:**

- Referential identity is tied to a referential index which is visible in syntax and tied to the  $\phi$ -features (i.e.  $\varphi=3SG_i \neq \varphi=3SG_j$ ).
- Therefore, the referential index is active in Agree and visible on the verbal category as well.
- After Agree with the subject, T head-moves to the complementizer; hence, the  $\varphi$ -features are visible on C.
- The matrix C needs  $\varphi$ -feature values and provides an SR value, the embedded C needs an SR-value and provides  $\varphi$ -feature.values
- The two feature valuations are separated. First, the  $\varphi$ -features on the matrix C are valued. Second, the two  $\varphi$ -feature sets (one stemming from Agree with the embedded C, one from movement of the matrix T to matrix C) are compared. Third, depending on the identity or non-identity of the  $\varphi$ -feature sets, the matrix C provides a value SS or DS.

(23) *Structure:*



SIMILARITIES TO PREVIOUS APPROACHES:

- The analysis above is similar to the analyses of *Finer (1985)* and *Watanabe (2000)*, in that it involves a relation between complementizers. Watanabe too uses T-to-C movement to make the subject's  $\varphi$ -features visible on the complementizer.
- The analysis is similar to *Camacho (2010)* in that it treats SR marking as an instance of clausal case.

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FOR SR AS AGREE:

- Because of the SR feature being located on embedded complementizers, the analysis naturally explains why SR marking always appears on the dependent clause.
- SR marking must always be a verbal category because it involves verbal agreement.
- *Haiman and Munro (1983)* note that in many Papuan languages there is an interaction of verbal agreement markers and SR markers while other languages clearly separate the two systems. The analysis outlined above can in principle account for both types of languages since the question of interaction is postponed to morphology. Assuming a realizational morphology such as Distributed Morphology, the features on C are subject to realizational rules. These rules determine if the SR value and the  $\varphi$ -values are spelled out as a Portmanteau morpheme or not.
- In many languages, SR marking encodes interclausal relations as well. Assuming that these relations are associated with the complementizer, the analysis above can account for this fact without further ado.

PROBLEMS FOR THIS ACCOUNT:

- There is no clear reason why the subject of the embedded clause is not realized in almost all cases. The only explanation for that could be economy strategies.
- There is absolutely no reason why the embedded clause should lack TAM-marking.
- There is no principled reason why the SS marker is often phonologically less complex than the DS marker.

### 3.5 SR is not Reference Tracking

OBSERVATION:

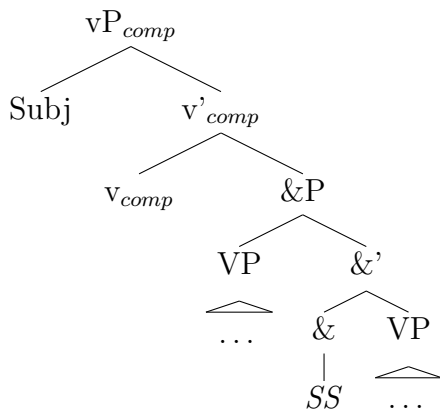
SS and DS marking can occur in unexpected contexts (e.g. Amele).

- (24) a. Ija co-cob-ig wa hedo-i-a  
 1SG SIM-walk-1SG.SS water finish-3SG-TOD.P  
 As I walked along, the rain stopped. (*Stirling 1993: 87*)
- b. Eu 1977 jagel November na odo-co-b cul-i-gen  
 that 1977 month November in do-DS-3SG leave-1PL-3SG.PST  
 That was in November 1977 that he<sub>i</sub> did that and he<sub>i</sub> left it for us. (*Roberts 1988: 61*)

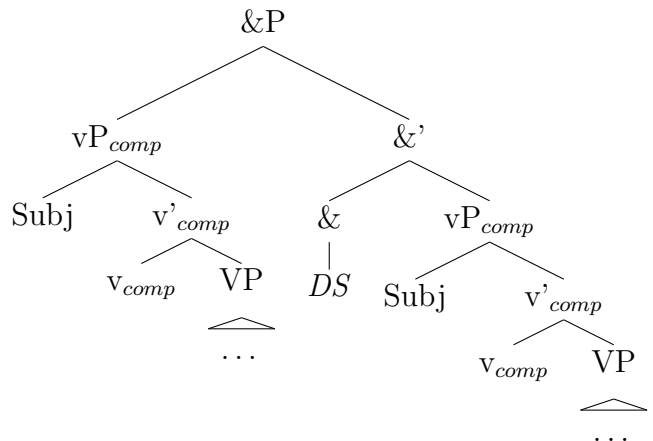
PROPOSAL:

SR markers do not track reference. They are context-sensitive variants of coordinations.

(25) SS constructions:



(26) DS constructions:





(27) *Morphological Rules:*

- a. /DS/ ↔ [ $\&^0$ , vP<sub>comp</sub> – vP<sub>comp</sub>]
- b. /SS/ ↔ [ $\&^0$ ]

The difference between SS and DS constructions is the kind of phrase which is coordinated. In SS constructions, two VPs are put together and the single subject is the subject of both verbs. In DS constructions, two vPs are connected and two different subjects occur in the structure.

EVIDENCE FOR THIS ANALYSIS:

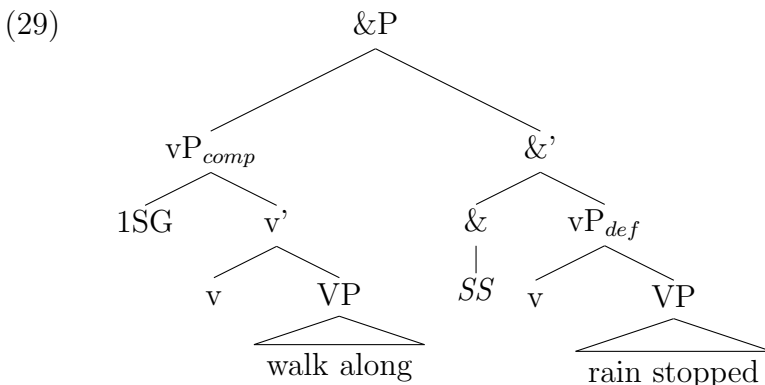
- The SR marker is in complementary distribution with coordinations (Roberts 1988: 55, 58):

- (28) a. Ho bu-busale-i-a      qa dana age qo-ig-a  
 pig run.out-3SG-TOD.P but man 3PL hit-3PL-TOD.P  
 ‘The pig ran out but the men killed it.’  
 b. \*Fred ho-co-b      / ho-ho-b      qa/ca      uqa sab j-igi-an  
 Fred come-DS-3SG    SIM.come-DS-3SG but/and 1SG food eat-3SG-FUT

- Only syntactic subjects take part in the SR system.
- The precedence property of SR (i.e. that the order of marking and reference clause depends on the affix properties of SR markers) is naturally captured. The data look as if the SR marker always appears between the two clauses. If SR markers are coordinations, it must occur between the two clauses.
- SS constructions have only *one* overt subject, while DS constructions exhibit two overt subjects. The structures in (28) predict that this is the only possibility for SR constructions.
- Two verbs in a SS construction must have the same subject, i.e. the subject “s” must have the same referent. In fact, there is only one subject that is identified with two events.

EXPLANATION OF UNEXPECTED SR MARKING:

- Unexpected DS marking (cf. (24-b)) is accounted for since there is no relation between the subjects and no reference tracking.
- Unexpected SS marking (cf. (24-a)) is explained by the morphological rules above. The sentences where unexpected SS-marking occurs all lack an agentive subject. Therefore, the structure of such clauses is slightly different, see (30). In the sentence below, an agentive vP introducing a subject and a defective vP are coordinated. Since the SS-marker is the default marker, the conjunction is realized as SS marker.



PROBLEMS FOR THIS ACCOUNT:

- SR subordination (Keine claims that "SR" in subordination is logophoricity and hence something completely different)
- In some languages the SR marker and a coordination can cooccur, cf. (4-b) in Lenakel.
- It does not follow naturally that SR marking is tied to verbal agreement, tense and aspect.

## 4 Conclusion

- Minimalism provides several possibilities to capture SR (movement, agreement, binding, denial of SR as referential tracking).
- The analyses are based on apparent similarities between SR and other syntactic phenomena (diatheses, control, subject-verb-agreement, coordination).
- Each analysis has advantages and disadvantages and works fine for some but not for all languages.
- Maybe, this suggests that SR is not a homogeneous phenomenon.
- This view is supported by diachronic data: The origins of SR marking are manifold. Possible sources for SR systems are (cf. Haiman and Munro 1983; Haiman 1983; Jacobsen Jr. 1983):
  - (a) Reduction/gapping processes (SS marking is a reduced version of DS marking, e.g. the zero/non-zero difference) (e.g. Ono, Kewa, Kâte)
  - (b) deictic elements
  - (c) case markers (e.g. Muscogean, Yuman languages)
  - (d) temporal successive (SS) and temporal overlap markers (DS) (e.g. Guanaco)
  - (e) complementizers, conjunctions (DS) (e.g. Chuave, Daga, Koita)
  - (f) possessive markers (e.g. Washo, see Jacobsen Jr. (1983))

For more detailed discussions of the analyses see Assmann (n.d.); Georgi (n.d.); Keine (n.d.); Weisser (n.d.).

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