Person sensitive switch reference in Yudja

1 Introduction. This paper presents analysis of switch-reference in Yudja, an endangered Tupi language spoken in the Xingu Indigenous territory in Brazil. Switch reference (SR) markers are attested in at least three types of environments: in adverbial clauses, in complements of verbs of reports and attitude, and sentence initially as discourse connectors. One specificity of SR markers in Yudja is their sensitivity to person features: SR markers indicate not only identity or difference between subjects, but also whether the subjects are first, second or their person. We argue that these SR markers are complex, and we propose a compositional analysis that teases apart person marking and SR proper. In order to account for uses of SR markers as sentence connectors, we formulate our analysis in a dynamic semantics with centering, namely a version of the logic of Update with Centering (UC) or Bittner (2014). The data used in this work consist of texts as well as materials elicited by the authors.

2 Overview of SR in Yudja. We distinguish two sets of SR markers. The markers in (1) appear to be morphologically simplex, while the markers in (2) are composed of a person marker du/se and a SR marker ha. SS stands for “Same Subject” and DS for “Different Subject.”

(1)  
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<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tade</td>
<td>dade</td>
<td>kade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(DS)</td>
<td>(SS, 2nd or 3rd person)</td>
<td>(1st person)</td>
</tr>
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(2)  
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>du-ha</td>
<td>se-ha</td>
<td>ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SS 3rd)</td>
<td>(SS 2nd person)</td>
<td>(1st person or 2nd person)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1 The series of SR marker in (1) is attested in adverbial clauses. These consist of antecedents of conditionals, see (3) and (4), as well as temporal adverbials, see (5). We do not show a full paradigm for lack of space, but the three markers are attested in each type of environment.

(3)  
D-aka he au dade/*tade au iyu anu.
3POSS-house in be SS/*DS be sleep ASP
'If he is at home, he must be sleeping.'

(4)  
Tawa kuperi au tade/*dade Chadawa d-aka he au anu.
Tawa work be DS/*SS Chadawa 3POSS-house in be ASP
'If Tawa is working, Chadawa must be at home.'

(5)  
Una txa’a kade una aka pïtxika.
I go SS1 I house clean
"Before I leave, I will clean the house."

2.2 The series of SR markers in (2) minus seha is attested in complements of verbs of report and attitude as well as aspectual verbs. We observed two important contrasts. First, SR markers are only attested in complements with a null subject that is anaphoric to the matrix subject, see (6), while complements with overt subjects either lack a subordination marker or are introduced by the nominalizer yahã, see (7) and (8). We hypothesize that the subject of clauses introduced by duha/ha is controlled by the matrix subject, based on the semantics of embedding verbs that license these complements.

(6)  
Ali du-pa pearu wî yahã a’a
child 3SG.POSS-father fast arrive NMLZ like/love
'The child wants her father to return quickly.'

(7)  
Ali aparu ixu duha a’a alu/anu
child beiju eat SS like ASP
'The child wants to eat beiju.'
Secondly, duha/ha are in complementary distribution, duha being used with 3rd person subjects and ha with 1st person subjects:

(8) Asa huna ha i-masehu una.
  Flour toast SS 3SG-finish 1SG
  'I finished toasting the flour.'

(9) I-maseha ne historia waxīwaxī ha be?
  3s-finish Q story write SS DAT
  'Did you finish writing the story?'

(10) I-masehu hi historia waxīwaxī duha be.
    3s-finish REP story write SS dat
    'That person finished writing the story.'

2.3 Finally, both the series of SR marker in (1) and the series in (2) are attested as intersentential discourse connectives. Interestingly, seha is attested in this environment, while appears to be unattested in complements of verbs of attitude, report and aspect.

(11) “Awarĩ hi esi atxada te” a hi
    around REP 2PL clear_ground 3SGG say REP
    ”‘You will clear the ground around him’ he said’

“Su seha he esi daraka te” a hi
Thus SS2 ? 2PL fell_trees 3SGG say REP
’’Then you will make the trees fall on him” he said.’ (Fargetti 2001 p. 273; our glosses)

3 Analysis. In this talk, we focus on semantic aspects of SR, and we put aside syntactic questions. In particular, we offer no explanation of the fact that the SR marker series in (1) and (2) appear to be used in different types of subordinated clauses, although they are both in use as sentential connector. Our goal is to provide a compositional analysis of the SR markers in (2), which accommodates their use both in complement clauses and as discourse connectives, and which can be extended to the SR markers in (1). We adopt the framework of Update with Centering of Bittner (2014). This is a dynamic semantic in which discourse referents are organized in two ordered lists: a top-list of topical entities and a bottom list of background entities. At any point in discourse, the top-ranked element on the top-list is the main discourse topic. We propose that Yudja discourse units (sentences) are structured as topic-comments units, the subject either introducing a new topic or being anaphoric to the previous discourse topic. The SR markers Dade/tade indicate whether the subject of their clause is anaphoric to the topical center (dade, SS) or not (tade, DS). When tade is used as a discourse connector, this means that the subject of the sentence performs a restructuring update, which changes the discourse referent on top of the top-list. The morpheme ha is analyzed as a SS marker, just as dade. The prefix du- (duha, SS 3rd person) is analyzed as a test on the input information state, which requires the previous discourse topic to be [-speaker, -addressee]. Likewise, the prefix se- requires the previous topic to be [+addressee]. These tests are argued to be presuppositional in nature. As a consequence, in environments where ha competes with duha but not seha (2.2), ha is understood to introduce a first or second person subject, by antipresupposition.
