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 sujects, 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)   **tade** (DS), **dade** (SS, 2nd or 3rd person), **kade** (1st person)
(2)   **du-ha** (SS 3rd), **se-ha** (SS 2nd person), **ha** (1st person or 2nd person)

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 wï   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   waxĩwaxĩ   ha   be?
          3s-finish   Q   story   write   SS   DAT
          'Did you finish writing the story?'

(10)   I-masehu   hi   historia   waxĩwaxĩ   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-** (**du-ha**, 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.

Fargetti, C. 2001. Estudo fonológico e morfossintático da língua Juruna. PhD Dissertation, Brazil: Unicamp.

Bittner, M. 2014. Temporality: Universals and Variation. Wiley Blackwell.