

**The Department of Linguistics**  
is pleased to present

***EMILY CLEM***

**UC Berkeley**  
speaking on

**Cyclicity in Agree: Maximal projections as probes**

**Monday, February 4, 2019**

**2:30 PM**

**Location: HUM 2 - Room 259**

**Abstract:**

The relationships between arguments that are morphologically tracked in switch-reference systems look challenging from the perspective of a constrained theory of syntactic dependency formation. In this talk, I argue that the challenge is only apparent. In particular, I propose that the adoption of Cyclic Agree (Rezac, 2003; Béjar and Rezac, 2009) provides the tools needed to handle the relevant syntactic dependencies in a strictly local way. Drawing on data from original fieldwork, the talk centers on a pattern of switch-reference in Amahuaca (Panoan; Peru), which is typologically unusual (and especially striking from a locality perspective) in that the reference of both objects and subjects in both matrix and dependent clauses is tracked. I argue that Amahuaca adjunct C, which is spelled out as a switch-reference marker, agrees directly with DPs in its own complement and with matrix DPs. This is possible because the maximal projection of this high adjunct C can probe its c-command domain -- the matrix TP. I argue that this happens through cyclic expansion of C's probe in a manner consistent with the predictions of Cyclic Agree and Bare Phrase Structure (Chomsky, 1995). Not only is this account based on cyclic expansion able to accommodate object tracking in switch-reference, but it also provides a straightforward way to capture this apparently non-local pattern of agreement without loosening the conditions on locality in Agree. I conclude with a look at the typology of switch-reference systems and the syntactic and morphological sources of diversity in this domain.