Insubordination of an SR clause construction

Introduction: Recent literature has analyzed switch reference (SR) to result from C agreement (Arregi & Hanink 2018; Clem 2019). Subject coreference is tracked through a probe which interacts with both subjects. I use an agreement analysis to account for an insubordinate use of the Inuktitut SR construction which expresses a request. This construction has yet to be analyzed in the literature. I propose that the matrix request construction is structurally parallel to an embedded clause, and referential overlap is checked against the syntactically encoded addressee in an imperative structure. **Data:** Inuktitut has an SR construction expressing a contemporal embedded clause with the meaning 'while X, Y,' marked with the mood morpheme *-llu* (subsequently: conjunctive clause). When the subject is coreferential with the matrix clause (same subject/SS) *-llu* appears alone (1a); when the subject is disjoint in reference (different subject/DS) an additional morpheme *-ti(t)* is inserted before the mood marker (1b).

(1)   a.   [Nigi-**llu**-nga]   te-tu-nia-kKu-nga.
              eat-CONJ-1S   tea-consume-N.FUT-INTR.IND-1S
              'While I'm eating, I'll drink tea.'   Labrador (Johns & Smallwood 1999)

       b.   [Taami   sinik-**ti-llu**-gu]   ani-lauq-tu-ŋa.
              Taami.ABS   sleep-DS-CONJ-3S   go.out-D.PAST-INTR.PART-1S
              'While Taami was sleeping, I went out.'   Baffin (Mallon 1991)

In addition to the contemporal clause use, the SS conjunctive construction is used as a surrogate imperative form (in the sense of Isac 2015) which expresses a request, as in (2). The use of an SR clause type in an insubordinate matrix context is problematic, as SR is a phenomenon which conceptually involves argument coreference between two clauses, while a conjunctive request only contains one clause.

(2)   Nigi-kalla-lu-tit!
             Eat-quickly-CONJ-2S
             'Eat quickly!'   Labrador (McKenzie 2016)

The matrix SS conjunctive usage is not purely morphological, as conjunctive requests maintain several syntactic properties which are not shared by other clause types. **Addressee reference:** Conjunctive requests require a 2nd person subject (2), and attempting to use 1st or 3rd person subject agreement in a matrix request is ungrammatical (3a). This is not the case for imperatives in the language, which have full person agreement (McKenzie 2016). Despite this person restriction, 1st person agreement is licit in hortative contexts, with an addressee-inclusive 1st person plural (3b). The generalization is that the range of subjects permitted in a matrix conjunctive consists of those which have *referential overlap with the addressee*. The use of an SS embedded clause in cases of non-identical overlapping reference with the matrix subject has been reported for Zuni (Nichols 2000) and Washo (Arregi & Hanink 2018). In other words, a matrix conjunctive request behaves like an SS embedded clause occurring with a matrix 2nd person subject, without a separate matrix clause.

(3)   a.   Hana-ʔlu-nga
             work-CONJ-1S
             'While I'm working'/*'Let me work'   Utkuhiksalik (Cook & Isac 2014)

       b.   Ani-lu-ta.
             go.out-CONJ-1P
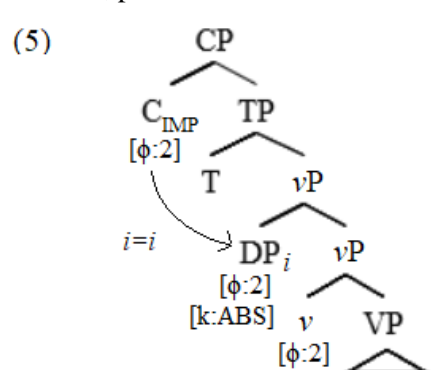   'Let's go out.'   N. Baffin (Harper 1974)

Agreement and transitivity: Conjunctive requests show absolutive agreement, with an addressee-inclusive S(ole) argument (2, 3b) or absolutive O(bject) of any person and a tacit 2nd person A(gent), shown in (4). This behaviour is unlike that of matrix transitives, which agree for both A and O arguments. Embedded conjunctive clauses allow absolutive O agreement only in an SS construction; the DS

construction is obligatorily intransitive. Both conjunctives in SS embedded clauses and matrix requests license transitivity with a non-agreeing transitive subject.

(4)   Kavising-it   peja-llu-git.
       fish.scales-PL   remove-CONJ-3P
       'Scrape off the scales.'   Labrador (Jeddore 1976)

Analysis: Many recent analyses of imperative clauses instantiate the addressee syntactically in a left-periphery position at or above CP, and that all imperatives contain this 2nd person element regardless of their subject agreement (Zanuttini et al. 2012; Ritter & Wiltschko 2014; Isac 2015). I propose that it is this addressee which coreference is checked against in a conjunctive request. The structural nature of all requests involves two syntactic elements: an imperative force operator hosted on C (Han 2001), and 2nd person features, present on C when it enters the derivation (Bennis 2006; Zanuttini et al. 2012; McKenzie 2016 for Inuktitut). The proposed structure of a conjunctive request is shown in (5). When C merges, it probes the subject of the conjunctive clause, checking its referential index against its inherent person features. The request construction is grammatical when the referential indices of subject and addressee overlap (i.e. when the subject is [φ:2] or [φ:2,1]). The SS construction (-*llu*) is always licensed through coreference. In an embedded SS clause, the relevant indices are those of the matrix subject and the embedded subject. Same-subjecthood is taken to be evaluated through Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001). In a matrix SS request, the relevant indices are those of the conjunctive subject and the addressee introduced by imperative C. The transitive subject is licensed directly by Agree with imperative C (following Isac 2015). Standard A agreement is not spelled out because the agreeing head is not the one which assigns ergative case (assumed to be T), while absolutive agreement (licensing by *v*) is always available. The properties of the SR clause fall out from the syntactic structure into which it is inserted. **Conclusion:** Insubordinate conjunctive requests result from agreement tracking with an addressee, argued to be the same process which occurs in an SS conjunctive clause. This paper provides novel evidence for the source of reference tracking in SR and the notion of 'same-subjecthood'.

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