



**5 Evidence from dependent clauses.** Dependent clauses exhibit several differences from matrix clauses. Notably, verbs in dependent clauses index only the object, neutralizing the person hierarchy observed in matrix clauses. This is evidenced in (3a), which exhibits a local 1→2 scenario in a complement clause. Other differences between the two clauses include the absence of an internal landing site for extraction, mood particles, and verb fronting (not shown here).

- (3) a. O-kwaha ki ga [ji nde=repiak=a].  
 3.A-know PST 3.SG.MASC 1.SG 2.SG.B=see=NMLZ  
 ‘He knew I saw you.’

In Author (Accepted), I considered these facts to be strong evidence that dependent clauses lack the CP domain. Translated to the proposal where C houses the [SPKR]-relativized probe, we have a straightforward account of these facts: subject agreement and person hierarchy effects disappear from dependent clauses because the higher probe is never merged in these structures.

**6 Application to verbal reduplication.** One additional advantage of analyzing  $\Phi$ -agreement in Kawahíva as being the result of two loci agreement probes is that it offers a structural explanation for an asymmetry between the subject and object markers under verbal reduplication. In reduplication, object markers, but not subject markers, can be copied into the reduplicant. (4a) presents an example of object agreement with reduplication. Notably, the object marker is copied into the reduplicant. (4b) underscores the requirement that object markers be copied in reduplication.

- (4) a. [Arerety]-are=retyk ki  
 [RED]-1.EXCL.B=pull.down PST  
 gã ko.  
 3.PL REAL  
 ‘They pulled us all down.’
- b. \*Are=[rety]-retyk ki  
 1.EXCL.B=[RED]-pull.down PST  
 gã ko.  
 3.PL REAL  
 ‘They pulled us all down.’

Unlike the obligatory copying of object markers in reduplication, subject agreement markers do not have a similar requirement. In (5a) and (5b), respectively, the subject agreement marker is not copied, and any attempt to copy it results in unacceptable sentences.

- (5) a. Anhãnga  
 ghost  
 o-[kutu]-kutu-pam j-urua.  
 3.A-[RED]-pierce-completely i-mouth  
 ‘It was the ghost that pierced his mouth  
 (the chief’s mouth) multiple times’
- b. \*Anhãnga  
 ghost  
 [okutu]-o-kutu-pam j-urua.  
 [RED]-3.A-pierce-completely i-mouth  
 ‘It was the ghost that pierced his mouth  
 (the chief’s mouth) multiple times’

**7 Summary.** Positing two distinct  $\Phi$ -probes in Kawahíva matrix clauses, one probe relativized to [SPKR] on C and one flat probe on  $\nu$ , provides a unified account for a number of disparate phenomena in the language, including person hierarchy effects only when the verb moves to C in matrix clauses, the total lack of subject agreement and the said effects in dependent clauses, and the requirement that reduplication copies object agreement, but not object agreement. As such, this work extends the typology of where the typology of where  $\Phi$ -probes can occur in the clausal spine.

**References.** Author (Accepted with minor revisions at *NLLT*) (2024). *Verb-initial clauses in Kawahíva* • Author (To appear) (2024). Kawahíva (Brazil) - Language Snapshot. *Language Documentation and Description*. • Béjar, Susana (2003). *Phi-syntax: a theory of agreement*. PhD Dissertation, Toronto. • Béjar, Susana & Milan Rezac (2009). Cyclic Agree. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40(1). 35-73 • Compton, Richard (2017). Left periphery  $\Phi$ -agreement and A-movement in Inuktitut. *Proceedings of the 48th NELS*. • Coon, Jessica (2013). *Aspects of Split Ergativity*. OUP. • dos Santos, Wesley (2024). Asymmetries among person indexes in Kawahíva. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 89(4). 427–45 • Oxford, William (2014). Microparameters of agreement: A diachronic perspective on Algonquian verb inflection. PhD dissertation, Toronto.