

# Person and aspect in Taushiro split ergativity

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## 1 Introduction

- In this talk we consider the morphosyntax of three types of case/agreement splits in Taushiro (isolate; Loreto region, Peru)

1. Aspect split: subjects can be ergative only when aspect is [PERFECTIVE]

- (1) a. ta=h-Ø-oʔci ui ahuntu **Non-PFV**  
 DISC=1SUBJ-3OBJ-shoot 1PRO woolly.monkey  
 I'm shooting the woolly monkey. (AGG 2023 I:207, conf. ZJO)<sup>1</sup>
- b. i-ç-oʔci-cçi u-ŋi ahuntu **PFV**  
 3UNACC-PFV-shoot-TRANS 1-ERG woolly.monkey  
 I've already shot the woolly monkey. (ibid.)

2. *Global* person split: subjects can be ergative only when the subject is at least as high in person as the object

- (2) a. i-ŋ-untu-ke heʔi-ŋi niji **3 / 3**  
 3UNACC-PFV-eat-TRANS jaguar-ERG mestizo  
 The jaguar has eaten the mestizo. (AGG 2023 I:240, conf. ZJO)
- b. Ø-u-ŋ-untu heʔi pro **3 / 1**  
 3SUBJ-1OBJ-PFV-eat jaguar 1PRO  
 The jaguar has eaten me. (AGG 2023 I:240, conf. ZJO)

3. *Global* clitic-doubling split: objects clitic-double only when the subject is nominative, not ergative

- (3) a. Ø-i-ŋ-untu heʔi pro **3 / 2**  
 3SUBJ-2OBJ-PFV-eat jaguar 2PRO  
 The jaguar has eaten you. (AGG 2023 I:240, conf. ZJO)
- b. i-ŋ-untu-ke u-ŋi ii **1 / 2**  
 2OBJ-PFV-eat-TRANS 1-ERG 2PRO  
 I've eaten you. (AGG 2023 I:240, trans.)

- A theme: case/agreement depends not just on a DP's own features, but rather on a more global consideration of the surrounding clausal structure

(4) Three splits in Taushiro

	A ≥ O in person	A < O in person
Non perfective	A.NOM, O clitic-doubles	A.NOM, O clitic-doubles
Perfective	A-ERG, O merely agrees	A.NOM, O clitic-doubles

- Case splits of a global nature—both subject and object features matter—have been taken to support a global approach to syntax, e.g. one based in OT (de Swart 2006, Hoop and Malchukov 2008)
- We will show that the Taushiro patterns can be captured in a strictly local theory where both case and agreement reflect Agree
  - Dependent case by Agree (Clem and Deal to appear)
- Key tools:
  - Clitic doubling by Agree (see Anagnostopoulou 2017)
  - Case discrimination (Bobaljik 2008 a.o.)
- Plan:

§2 Introduce the language and data

§3 Case and agreement in non-perfective transitives

§4 Case and agreement in perfective transitives

§5 Capturing the global person split for ergative case

§6 Case discrimination and split clitic-doubling

§7 Conclusions

<sup>1</sup>Abbreviations: B B stem (see note 3), DISC discourse particle, ERG ergative, PFV perfective, PRO pronoun, REG regressive, TRANS transitive, UNACC unaccusative. Examples do not mark tone (see O'Hagan 2023). Citations contain: consultant Amadeo García García's initials, year, notebook, and page number, and a code that indicates elicitation methodology. 'trans.' = translation of a prompt; 'conf. ZJO' = produced by O'Hagan and confirmed by AGG; 'corr. ZJO' corrected by AGG from a different utterance of O'Hagan's; 'vol.' = volunteered; 'conf. 2015 vol.' = volunteered and later reconfirmed. Recordings of work sessions are archived with the California Language Archive (García García, O'Hagan, and Fabiano 2015+).

2 Taushiro basics

2.1 Language and data

- Taushiro is an isolate traditionally spoken in the Loreto region of Peru
- Prior description based on work by SIL (Alicea Ortiz 1975a,b,c) and second author (O'Hagan 2023), with one study on motion verbs (Pérez Ríos 2008)
- As of 2024, Amadeo García García (b. abt. 1949) is considered by himself and others to be the last fluent speaker
- This work is based on four weeks of fieldwork by O'Hagan with García in Iquitos, Peru in 2015 and 2023



2.2 Clause structure

- Taushiro clauses show (somewhat flexible) VSO order; subjects must be overt

- (5) a. ta=u-a-kuʔ<sub>V</sub>                      ui<sub>A</sub> nuʔwi<sub>O</sub>  
 DISC=1SUBJ-3OBJ-burn 1PRO meat  
 I'm scorching the meat. (AGG 2023 I:101, conf. 2015 vol.)
- b. u-wino=ro<sub>V</sub>                      ui<sub>S</sub>  
 1SUBJ-wake.up=REG 1PRO  
 I woke up. (AGG 2023 I:190, corr. ZJO)

2.3 Perfective aspect

- Taushiro distinguishes at least imperfective, habitual, perfective aspects; aspect may also be left unmarked
- We use the term 'perfective' to describe the aspect used in translations of Spanish past-tense verbs with *ya* 'already' and/or with *terminar de X* 'finish X-ing'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>We remain neutral as to the precise semantics of this aspect; the term 'perfective' is provisional. Alicea Ortiz (1975b: 20) has suggested that transitive perfectives are passives or participles, noting, how-

- This aspect alone triggers a distinctive case/agreement alignment:

- (6) a. ta=h-Ø-uʔna                      ui aʔtua                      Non-PFV  
 DISC=1SUBJ-3OBJ-defeather 1PRO chicken  
 I'm defeathering the chicken. (AGG 2023 I:191, conf. ZJO)
- b. i-j-uʔna-ke                      u-ŋi aʔtua                      PFV  
 3UNACC-PFV-defeather-TRANS 1-ERG chicken  
 I've already defeathered the chicken. (AGG 2023 I:191, conf. ZJO)

- This aspect is expressed with a prefix or initial mutation for various roots:<sup>3</sup>

– Vowel initial root: palatal prefix

- (7) ucaʔtēwa                      ui                      **Palatal prefix**  
 u-ç-aʔtēwa                      ui  
 1SUBJ-PFV-sit.down 1PRO  
 I've already sat down. (AGG 2023 I:75, trans.)

ever, that they are typically translated to and from Spanish with 'tiempo pasado completo' (cf. O'Hagan 2024). We are happy to discuss our reasons not to pursue a passive analysis.

<sup>3</sup>The perfective is one of various environments in the language where a special stem appears, formed in some cases by addition of a final copy vowel (/ʔ/-final roots) or deletion of /hV/ (/hV<sub>[+FRONT]</sub>/-final roots). (Other environments include a construction meaning 'like to V' and, possibly, subject focus.) We gloss this as 'B stem'. Allomorphy of the B stem and allomorphy of the perfective are determined independently. In (7) and (8), there is no overt exponent for B stem but there is for perfective. The opposite is also possible, as we see in (i): perfective itself is Ø but the B stem marker is overt.

- (i) iʔçciʔçci                      uŋi taja                      B stem: truncation  
 i-Ø-çcihi-ke                      u-ŋi taja  
 3UNACC-PFV-skin.B-TRANS 1-ERG white.lipped.peccary  
 I've already skinned the white-lipped peccary. (AGG 2023 I:175, corr. ZJO)

Distinctive B stem expression can also occur alongside overt expression of perfective aspect:

- (ii) iʔçcuʔu                      eicçi                      Overt perfective, overt B stem  
 i-Ø<sub>PAL</sub>-kuʔ-V                      eicçi  
 3UNACC-PFV-burn-B.STEM garden  
 The garden has already been burned. (AGG 2023 I:176, corr. ZJO)

And is possible for neither to be expounded overtly, as we see in (9).



- b.  $\emptyset$ -kwa $\text{c}\text{o}^{\text{?}}$ ko nac $\text{c}\text{o}$  Sunerg  
 3SUBJ-jump 3PRO  
 He jumped. (AGG 2023 I:195, conf. ZJO)
- c. ta= $\emptyset$ -u-c $\text{c}\text{i}\text{o}$ -ne A nac $\text{c}\text{o}$  *pro*  
 DISC=3SUBJ-1OBJ-pinch-IPFV 3PRO 1PRO  
 He's pinching me. (AGG 2023 I:209, trans.)

- c. ta=u- $\emptyset$ -i $\text{?}$ tu ui taja  
 DISC=1SUBJ-3OBJ-chase.off 1PRO white.lipped.peccary  
 I chased off the white-lipped peccary. (AGG 2023 I:120, vol.)

- Notably, subjects cannot be omitted, which we take to indicate:
  - The language does not freely permit *pro*-drop
  - Subjects are not clitic-doubled

### 3 Non-perfective transitives

- Outside perfective aspect, Taushiro shows no case marking on core arguments:

- (15) a. ta=u-a-ku $\text{?}$  ui<sub>A</sub> nu $\text{?}$ wi<sub>O</sub>  
 DISC=1SUBJ-3OBJ-burn 1PRO meat  
 I'm scorching the meat. (AGG 2023 I:101, conf. 2015 vol.)
- b. ta= $\emptyset$ -a-xina ij $\text{o}$ <sub>A</sub> anowa<sub>O</sub> anac $\text{c}\text{i}\text{o}$   
 DISC=3SUBJ-3OBJ-make mother.1P cushma right.now  
 My mother is making a *cushma* right now. (AGG 2023 I:140, trans.)
- c. ta= $\emptyset$ -u-c $\text{c}\text{i}\text{o}$ -ne nac $\text{c}\text{o}$ <sub>A</sub> *pro*  
 DISC=3SUBJ-1OBJ-pinch-IPFV 3PRO 1PRO  
 He's pinching me. (AGG 2023 I:209, trans.)

- To the immediate right of subject prefixes, we see object prefixes
- Contrary to more familiar languages with split intransitivity in agreement, third person objects do not agree like unaccusative subjects. Rather, there is a distinctive prefix for third person objects:

- (16) Third person object indexing: *a*- \_\_C,  $\emptyset$ - \_\_V
- a. ta=u- $\text{a}$ -ku $\text{?}$ ko ui honto  
 DISC=1SUBJ-3OBJ-fan 1PRO fire  
 I'm fanning the fire. (AGG 2023 I:192, conf. ZJO)
- b. i- $\text{a}$ -kwic $\text{i}$  ii honto  
 2SUBJ-3OBJ-stoke 2PRO fire  
 Stoke the fire! (AGG 2023 I:81, trans.)

- For local person objects, we see the same *u*- [1] *i*- [2] forms used throughout the prefix system

- (17) a. i- $\text{u}$ -kw $\text{i}$  ii *pro*  
 2SUBJ-1OBJ-cut 2PRO 1PRO  
 You cut me. (AGG 2023 I:160, conf. ZJO)
- b. u- $\text{i}$ -kw $\text{i}$  ui *pro*  
 1SUBJ-2OBJ-cut 1PRO 2PRO  
 I cut you. (AGG 2023 I:160, conf. ZJO)

- It is notable that the pronominal object (though still not the subject) can be omitted here—we saw above that the language does not permit null subjects
- Proposal: the object can be omitted because it participates in clitic-doubling
  - This is a common pattern: agreement for subjects, clitic-doubling for objects (Kramer 2014, Coon 2017, Yuan 2018, i.a.)
  - Note that Taushiro uses the same output forms for both in local persons: 1st person *u*, 2nd person *i*
  - This suggests these markers reflect highly underspecified VIs.

### 4 Perfective transitives and the global split ergative pattern

- We saw that transitive clauses in the perfective show a *global person split*:

(18) Three splits in Taushiro

	A ≥ O in person	A < O in person
Non perfective	A.NOM, O clitic-doubles	A.NOM, O clitic-doubles
Perfective	A-ERG, O merely agrees	A.NOM, O clitic-doubles

- Consider first when A < O in person, in particular 3s/1o and 3s/2o.
  - Subjects are in unmarked case
  - There is no visible subject agreement prefix, but this is not surprising—for 3rd person subjects we generally expect  $\emptyset$ -

- Objects clitic double: they are indexed on the verb via prefixes, and free pronominal objects are typically absent

(19) a. Ø-u-ŋ-untu heʔi pro 3 / 1  
 3SUBJ-1OBJ-PFV-eat jaguar 1PRO  
 The jaguar has eaten me. (AGG 2023 I:240, conf. ZJO)

b. Ø-i-ŋ-untu heʔi pro 3 / 2  
 3SUBJ-2OBJ-PFV-eat jaguar 2PRO  
 The jaguar has eaten you. (AGG 2023 I:240, conf. ZJO)

> All this is exactly like the pattern seen outside the perfective aspect

- Consider now when (still in the perfective)  $A \geq O$  in person, in particular in 1s/2O, 1s/3O, 2s/3O, and 3s/3O, where the pattern is very different:

(20) Four properties of ergative clauses

- Subject agreement is lost
- The verb takes *-ke* (-*ɕɕi* after front vowels)
- Subjects bear ergative -ŋi (+allomorphs, e.g. nasalization)
- Objects are agreed-with, not clitic-doubled (pronominal objects must be overt); agreement uses the unaccusative subject form.

- With first person subjects, there is no subject agreement *u-* (note empty box):

(20a) (20b) (20c) (20d)  
 (21)  i-ŋ-untu-ke u-ŋi ii 1 / 2  
 2OBJ-PFV-eat-TRANS 1-ERG 2PRO  
 I've finished eating you. (AGG 2023 I:240, trans.)

- Third person objects now are indexed via the unaccusative subject form, not the 3OBJ clitic *a-*

(22) i-j-uʔna-ke u-ŋi aʔtua 1 / 3  
 3UNACC-PFV-defeather-TRANS 1-ERG chicken  
 I've already defeathered the chicken. (AGG 2023 I:191, conf. ZJO)

(23) i-ŋ-untu-ke=hā i-ŋi heʔi 2 / 3  
 3UNACC-PFV-eat-TRANS=INT 2-ERG jaguar  
 Have you finished eating the jaguar? (AGG 2023 I:240, vol.)

(24) i-ŋ-untu-ke heʔi-ŋi niŋi 3 / 3  
 3UNACC-PFV-eat-TRANS jaguar-ERG mestizo  
 The jaguar has finished eating the mestizo. (AGG 2023 I:240, conf. ZJO)

- We have described the split in terms of a person hierarchy: ergative happens when  $A \geq O$  in person, not otherwise

- The one combination missing in our data is 2A/1O

This speaks to what 'outrank the subject' means, and there are two possibilities:

1. It's a LOCAL>3 scale

- 2 and 1 are both LOCAL, and when A and O are equal on the scale ergative appears, *So 2/1 should have ergative*
- This pattern is like weak PCC: for the standard realization of a ditransitive,  $IO \geq DO$  on the scale LOCAL>3

2. It's a 1>2>3 scale

- $2 < 1$  on the full person hierarchy, and when  $A < O$  there is no ergative, *so 2/1 should NOT have ergative*
- This pattern is like strictly descending ('ultrastrong') PCC: for the standard realization of a ditransitive,  $IO \geq DO$  on the scale  $1 > 2 > 3$

(25) The distribution of the ergative pattern in the perfective aspect

L = 'local person'			
Subject	Object	Ergative pattern	Example number
1 L	2 L	Y	(21)
1 L	3	Y	(22)
2 L	3	Y	(23)
3	3	Y	(24)
2 L	1 L	?	
3	1 L	n	(19a)
3	2 L	n	(19b)

## 5 Capturing the global person split in the distribution of ergative

### 5.1 Theoretical background

- Recent analyses converge on the idea that person hierarchy effects arise when one probe can potentially Agree with two goals



- When the object is 2nd person, a 1st person A but not a 3rd person A can agree

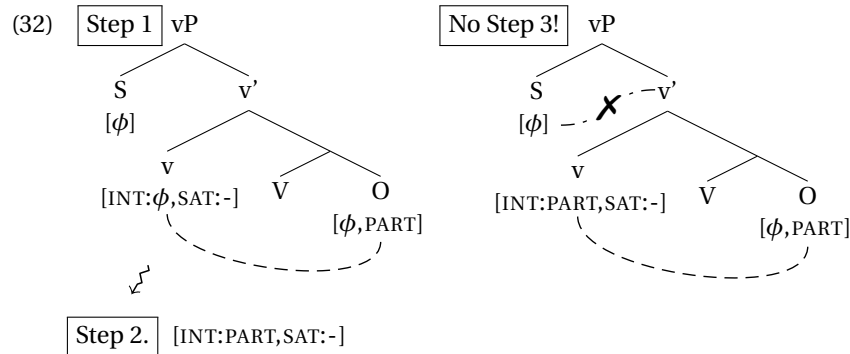
(30) 2O: the patterns

Subject	Object	Ergative pattern	Example number
1	2	Y	(21)/(33)
3	2	N	(19b)/(31)

- The object bears the feature [PART], which interacts dynamically

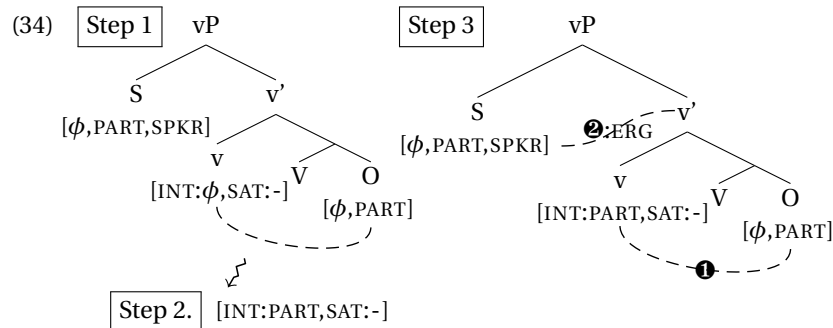
- If the subject is 3rd person (and so lacks [PART]), it will not interact with *v* and there will be no ergative case

(31) Ø-i-ɲ-untu he?i pro 3 / 2  
 3SUBJ-2OBJ-PFV-eat jaguar 2PRO  
 The jaguar has eaten you. (AGG 2023 I:240, conf. ZJO)



- But if the subject is 1st person (i.e. bearing [PART]), it will interact with *v* and be marked ergative

(33) i-ɲ-untu-ke u-ɲi ii 1 / 2  
 2OBJ-PFV-eat-TRANS 1-ERG 2PRO  
 I've eaten you. (AGG 2023 I:240, trans.)



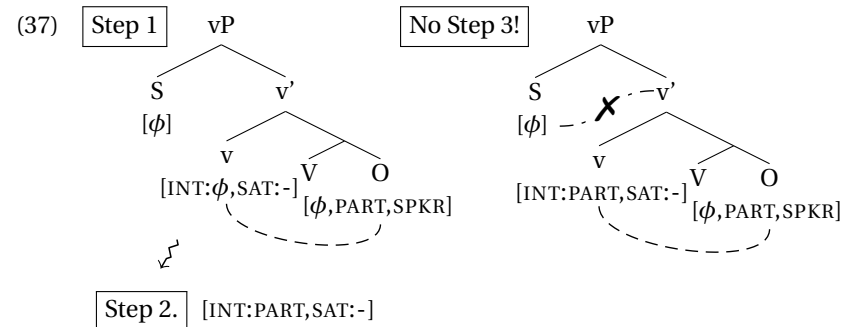
- Last, we turn to 1st person O, where we have a data gap

(35) 1O: the patterns

Subject	Object	Ergative pattern	Example number
3	1	N	(19a)
2	1	?	

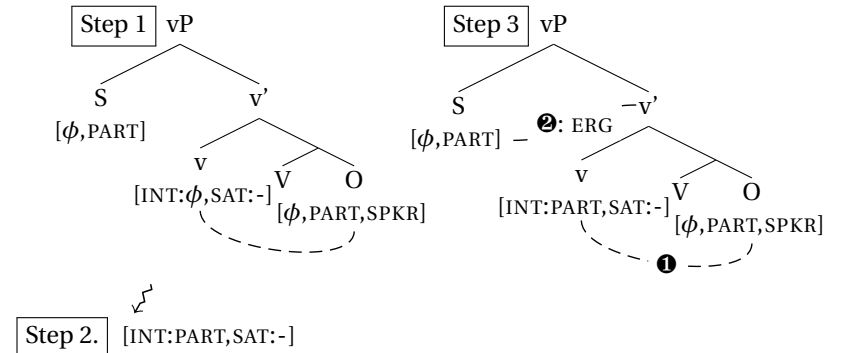
- From what we have said thus far, we already expect no ergative in 3/1: Agree with S is ruled out by dynamic interaction just like in 3/2

(36) Ø-u-ɲ-untu he?i pro 3 / 1  
 3SUBJ-1OBJ-PFV-eat jaguar 1PRO  
 The jaguar has eaten me. (AGG 2023 I:240, conf. ZJO)



- If we model the probe as insatiable (as we have depicted throughout), we expect ergative in 2/1: the weak PCC pattern

(38) If there is ergative in 2>1:







(44) Outside of the context in (43) [non-perfective and/or A<O]:

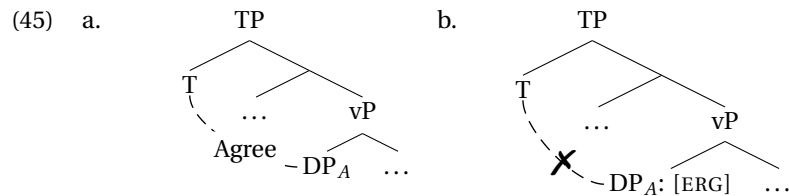
- a. Subjects are in unmarked case
- b. Subjects agree
- c. Objects are clitic-doubled

> We suggest that both of the remaining effects, (b) and (c) in (43)/(44), involve case discrimination

### 6.1 Ingredients

- The loss of subject agreement suggests case discrimination straightforwardly: the probe that would Agree with subjects can Agree only with those in unmarked case

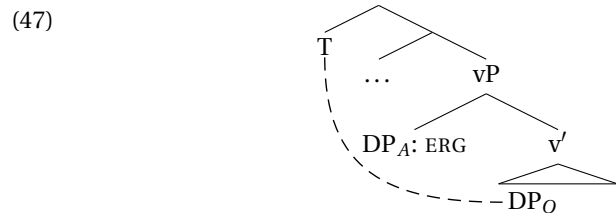
– This probe must be above the vP, so that the subject is derivationally ergative by the time this probe seeks to Agree with it



- Recall that third person objects Agree in ergative sentences like unaccusative subjects:

(46) i-j-uʔna-ke                      u-ŋi aʔtua                      1 / 3  
 3UNACC-PFV-defeather-TRANS 1-ERG chicken  
 I've already defeathered the chicken. (AGG 2023 I:191, conf. ZJO)

- We suggest that this results from the T probe, unable to Agree with DP<sub>A</sub>, continuing to DP<sub>O</sub>; this is structurally parallel to Agree with an unaccusative subject



- The behavior of clitic doubling might appear more curious, but we suggest it falls in line at the intersection of two ideas about case discrimination (or “case targeting” as per Akkuş, Embick, and Salih 2024):

#1 Dependent accusative generally only occurs (on G2) if the case competitor (G1) is in nominative case

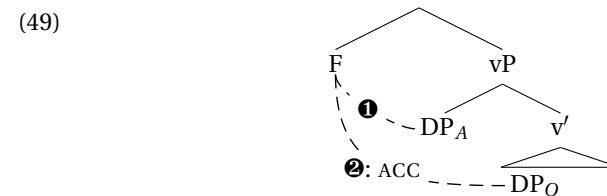
- We propose that the abstract case of objects differs in ergative and non-ergative clauses: NOM when the subject is ERG, ACC when the subject is NOM

(48) Two transitive case arrays in Taushiro

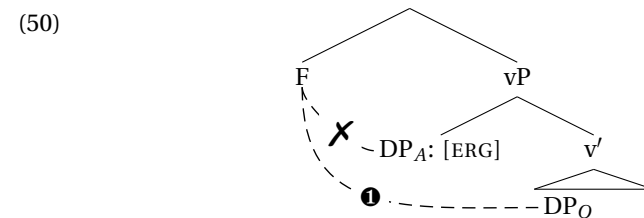
	A	O
a. PFV aspect, A≥O:	ERG	NOM
b. Otherwise:	NOM	ACC

- We assume as above that dependent accusative case appears on the second goal of a higher probe, and that this probe shows case-discrimination—it is not able to Agree with ergatives

– When the subject (A) is not ergative, A=G1, O=G2, O receives accusative:



– But when the subject is ergative, O=G1, and no dep. case is assigned:

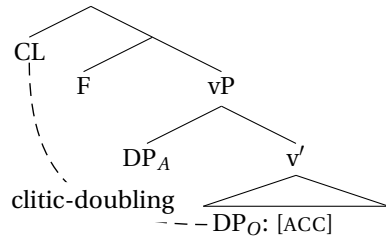


#2 Clitic-doubling heads can target elements in specific cases, e.g. ACC (Sportiche 1996, Arregi and Nevins 2012, Akkuş et al. 2024, a.o.)<sup>7</sup>

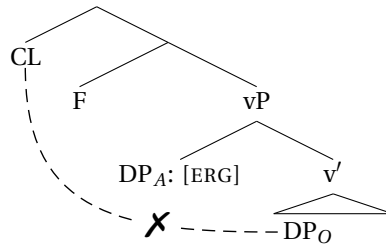
<sup>7</sup>That is, if clitic-doubling involves Agree, clitic-doubling dependencies seem to present counterexamples to the case-discrimination hierarchy posited by Bobaljik (2008).

- Suppose then that the head driving object clitic-doubling in Taushiro specifically builds clitic-doubling dependencies *with* ACC-bearers. This head ("CL") must thus be merged above where ACC is determined:

(51) Object is accusative: successful clitic-doubling



(52) No accusative: no clitic doubling



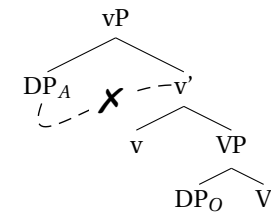
**6.2 Putting it all together: the non-ergative pattern**

(53) To be explained:

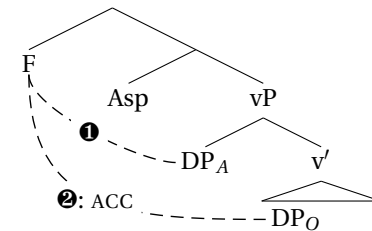
- Subjects are in unmarked case
- Subjects agree
- Objects are clitic-doubled

(54) ta=u-a-ku?\_V          ui\_S   nu?wi\_O  
 DISC=1SUBJ-3OBJ-burn 1PRO meat  
 I'm scorching the meat. (AGG 2023 I:101, conf. 2015 vol.)

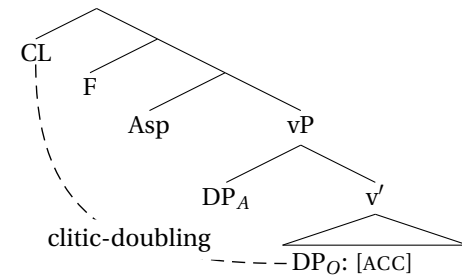
(55) a. vP level: *v* does not agree with DP<sub>A</sub> (because it lacks a probe [non-perfective], or because Agree with the object bleeds this possibility [perfective, A<O].) No ERG is assigned.



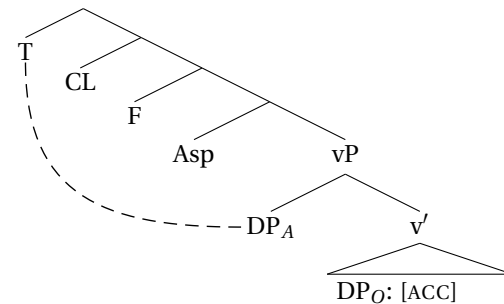
b. FP level: F agrees with DP<sub>A</sub>, DP<sub>O</sub>. ACC assigned



c. CIP level: ACC clitic-doubled



d. TP level: T agrees with DP<sub>A</sub>



e. The verb moves relatively high in the clause, producing the order we see for overt morphemes: T-CL-V (subject agreement - object clitic - stem)

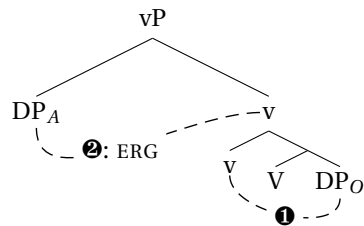
6.3 Putting it all together: the ergative pattern

(56) To be explained:

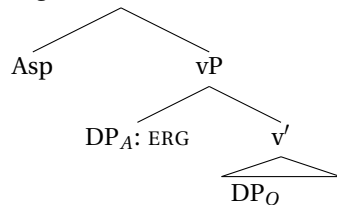
- a. Subjects bear ergative -ŋi
- b. The verb takes transitive -ke
- c. Subject agreement is lost
- d. Objects agreed with, not clitic-doubled; pronominal objects must be overt

(57) i-ŋ-untu-ke      u-ŋi    ii  
 2OBJ-PFV-eat-TRANS 1-ERG 2PRO  
 I've eaten you. (AGG 2023 I:240, trans.)

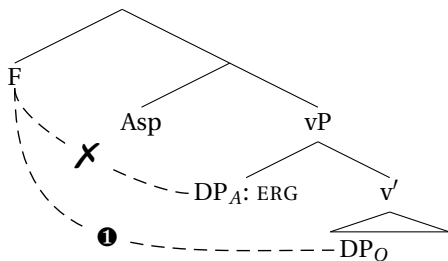
(58) a. vP level: *v<sub>pfv</sub>* Agrees with DP<sub>O</sub> and then DP<sub>A</sub>. ERG is assigned



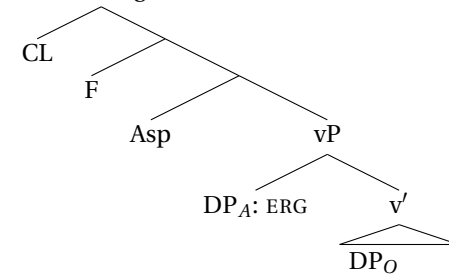
b. AspP level: *Asp<sub>pfv</sub>* merges



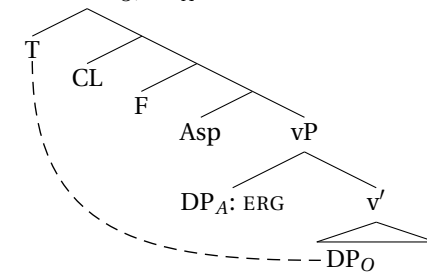
c. FP level: F agrees with only DP<sub>O</sub>; DP<sub>A</sub> is not case-accessible. No ACC assigned



d. CIP level: no clitic doubling (since there is no ACC to double)



e. TP level: T agrees with DP<sub>O</sub>; DP<sub>A</sub> is not case-accessible



f. The verb again moves relatively high. T is realized as object agreement; Asp is realized as a palatal prefix (+ allomorphs); *v<sub>pfv</sub>* is realized as -ke

7 Conclusions

- We have discussed an alignment split that appears quite global both in the conditioning environment (subject *and* object features matter) and in the scope of its effects across the clause (case, agreement, verb marking, *pro*-drop...)
- We have shown that this type of system actually follows straightforwardly from existing theories of case and agreement, in particular those based on Agree
- Taushiro furnishes a new example of a person-based global ergative split of the sort predicted by Clem and Deal (to appear)
  - Dependent-case assignment shows PCC / hierarchy effects, exactly like other Agree-based phenomena
  - > Further evidence that dependent case is more closely connected to Agree(ment) than envisioned on “configurational” case theories (Baker and Vinokurova 2010, Baker 2014, 2015, Levin and Preminger 2015, Poole 2023, i.a.)

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**Appendix A: Clause structure**

- We assume the Taushiro clausal spine includes at least the following:

(59) [<sub>CP</sub> (clause type clitics, DISC particle)  
 [<sub>TP</sub> (null nonfuture tense)  
 [<sub>AspP</sub> (aspectual prefixes/suffixes)  
 [<sub>VP</sub>

**CP** Clause type is marked with high clitics, e.g. a second-position interrogative marker =*hã* and the discourse particle *ta=* (glossed DISC), which appears only in declaratives

**TP** The tense system distinguishes future (marked) from non-future (unmarked). Unmarked tense is used for present (5a) or past (5b) topic time

- Future is expressed with second-position clitic =*ha*:

(60) a. i-uʔwa=hã=**ha**=ro ii  
 2SUBJ-go=INT=FUT=REG 2PRO  
 Are you going to go back? (AGG 2023 I:241, corr. ZJO)  
 b. ʃĩ=hã=**ha** i-uʔwa=ro ii  
 tomorrow=INT=FUT 2SUBJ-go=back 2PRO  
 Are you going to go back tomorrow? (AGG 2023 I:241, conf. ZJO)  
 c. u-a-tuʔtu=**ha**=ro ui ahʃã  
 1SUBJ-3OBJ-mash=FUT=REG 1PRO manioc  
 I'm going to mash manioc. (AGG 2023 I:179, conf. ZJO)

- Descriptions of TAM split ergativity have differed as to whether tense (Kalin and Atlamaz 2015, Atlamaz and Baker 2018) or aspect (Salanova 2007, Coon 2013b) determines the split.

We have found no role for tense in conditioning split case/agreement in Taushiro.

**AspP** Aspect may be left unmarked, or may be marked with perfective, habitual, or imperfective.

**Appendix B: Co-variance of -ke TRANS and ergative**

- Whenever the transitive suffix (-*ke* and allomorphs) is present, so is an ergative subject, and vice versa

- (61) Ergative transitive: both TRANS suffix and ergative case are obligatory
- a. i-tanti-cçi u-ŋi anta  
 3UNACC-bring.down-TRANS 1-ERG plantain  
 I've already brought down the plantain. (AGG 2023 I:183, conf. ZJO)
- b. \*i-tanti u-ŋi anta  
 3UNACC-bring.down 1-ERG plantain  
 INTENDED: I've already brought down the plantain. (ibid.)
- (62) Intransitive: neither TRANS suffix nor ergative case
- a. i-tanti iji  
 3UNACC-go.down woman  
 The woman has gone down (to the port).  
 (AGG 2023 I:193, conf. ZJO)
- b. \*i-tanti-cçi iji  
 3UNACC-go.down-TRANS woman  
 INTENDED: The woman has gone down (to the port). (ibid.)
- c. \*i-tanti-cçi iji-ŋi  
 3UNACC-go.down-TRANS woman-ERG  
 INTENDED: The woman has gone down (to the port). (ibid.)
- (63) Non-ergative transitive (A<O): neither TRANS suffix nor ergative case
- a. u-ɲ-untu(\*-ke) heʔi pro  
 1OBJ-PFV-eat(\*-TRANS) jaguar 1PRO  
 The jaguar has eaten me. (AGG 2023 I:240, conf. ZJO)
- b. u-xoʔ-ɔ huʔno(\*-ŋi) pro  
 1OBJ-PFV-bite-B.STEM snake(\*-ERG) 1PRO  
 The snake already bit me. (AGG 2023 I:193, corr. ZJO)