Partial control is unidirectional, but SS (and DS) in Washo is bidirectional: (12).

• Vienna: “I know well that Emily is a good singer.” (Arregi & Hanink 2018)
  • Vienna: “The girl that called the man is here.”

The analysis: Multiple Agree for index features in C & feature control (Arregi & Hanink 2018)

Step 1: Multiple Agree with both subjects

C >> Agree is always downward

Step 2: DS is the experience of feature conflict

In DS contexts, C has two or features with different values, which determines its experience:

a. Different subject C >> Agree is always downward

b. Same subject C >> Agree is always downward

Evidence for Agree-based analysis from cases of overlap in reference

Reference overlap: SS and DS are optional

1. Adele & Emily are talking while Emily is sitting.

2. Adele & Emily are talking while Emily is sitting.

Evidence for Agree-based analysis from cases of overlap in reference

The Index Probe Parameter and variation in cases of overlap

The Index Probe Parameter: Agreement copies all/exactly one value in the index of [nt] in the Goal.

This predicts either optional DS/SS (Washo), or obligatory DS.

Obligatory DS in languages that copy all indices [DP][n][C][DP[n][C][DP[n]]...DS]

Obligatory SS languages are unattested, but this may be due to an absence of relevant data.

Largely correct prediction for languages of North America

In North America (McKenzie 2015): Languages exist with (i) optional DS/SS, and (ii) obligatory DS.

Obligatory SS languages claimed to exist in Papua-New Guinea (Roberts 2017), but:

• Incomplete paradigms, or no negative evidence.

• Obligatory SS languages exist in Washo, beyond overlap. SS/DS don’t have the distribution of anaphors/pronouns.

Similar conclusions for Pananua (Valenzuela 2003 on Shipibo).