

**Parameterizing Agree to Get a Very Different Effect:
Switch-reference and Reflexive Voice in Panoan**
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There are many features of natural language syntax that are found only in a fairly small percentage of the world's languages, but nevertheless have rich, complex, and consistent properties in those languages in which they are found. Such features pose something of a dilemma for the Chomskian notion of Universal Grammar (UG). A conceptual way forward is to say that UG does not specify the rare feature per se, but it does provide substantive infrastructure which readily becomes that feature in some languages, whereas it is manifested in quite a different form in other languages. One classic example is noun incorporation, which Travis (1984) and Baker (1985) unified with the very different-seeming phenomena of verb-second and subject-aux inversion under the rubric of head movement obeying the Head Movement Constraint. In this talk, I explore another possible case in point in the same spirit: the possibility that the phenomenon of switch-reference (SR) in the Panoan languages Shipibo and Yawanawa is a noncanonical manifestation of the UG resource Agree