

.1.

Person markers, ergativity and nominativity in Carib languages.

1

Série de prefixos pessoais Kuikúro

| | |
|---------|---------------|
| 1 sing. | u- |
| 2 | a-, o-, e-, ∅ |
| 3 | i-, ∅ |
| 1 incl. | ku-, kuk- |
| 1 excl. | ti-, tis- |

Formas pronominais de A

| | |
|---------|---------|
| 1 sing. | u-héke |
| 2 | e-héke |
| 3 | i-héke |
| 1 incl. | kupéhe |
| 1 excl. | ti-héke |

BRUNA FRANCHETTO
Museu Nacional
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Eugene, 20/8/87

~~Quadro~~ 2

O sistema de "ergatividade cindida" em Kuikúro

System of split-ergativity

| Modalidade do discurso | Hierarquia referencial | Padrão sintático |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| Modos interativos | 1 (sing., incl.) 1 excl. | Nominativo |
| | 2 | ↓ |
| Modos descritivos | 3 | Ergativo |

Bruna Franchetto

SYSTEM I - KVIKÚRO

1. Matipú- héke u- panela- rã - pe impí- lâ
 ERG 1- pan- REL - ex steal - PONT

"The Matipú stole my pans"

2. u-inti - sã agu- ntárã
 1S-daughter-REL dance - CONT

"My daughter is dancing"

3. kuk- aki- sã ta- lâigo léha karaihá- héke
 1In- word- REL hear- FUT whites- ERG

"The whites will hear our words"

3a. i- ta- lâigo léha karaihá- héke
 3- hear- FUT whites- ERG

"The whites will hear it"

3b. karaihá kacu- ntárã
 work - CONT

"The white is working"

3c. cué i- kacu-ntárã
 much 3-work-CONT

"He is working hard"

4. papé ahehi- cárã u- héke
 paper write- CONT 1-ERG

"I'm writing on the paper"

4a. u- t- ahehi- cárã (papé- ki)
 1-DETR- write - CONT (paper-INST)

"I'm writing (on a paper)"

5. t-umúru ikaín-jã isi- héke
 REFL- SON raise- PONT mother- ERG

"The mother raised her son."

5a. i-múru t-ikaín-jã léha
 3- SON DETR- raise- PONT

"Her son got up"

5b. i-t-ikaín-jã léha
 3S-DETR-raise-PONT

"He got up"

6. ku- ñ - api- rái âgéle
 1in-DETR- hit- INTC he
 "We shall hit him!"

6a. ku- ñ- api- ramíni âgéle
 INT PLV
 "We(all) shall hit him"

6b. ñ - api- rái âgéle
 1S- hit- INT him
 "I shall hit him!"

6c. akiñá ti - ñ - iha- táí e- íña
 story 1ex-DETR-show-INT 2-PURP
 "We (ex.) shall tell a story to you!" (or)

akiñá iha - táí ti- héke e-íña
 1ex-ERG
 "We (ex.) shall tell a story to you!"

6d. akiñá iha - táí e- héke u- íña
 2-ERG 1-PURP
 "You shall tell a story to me!" (or)

akiñá e - g - iha-tái u-íña
 2-DETR-show-INT 1-PURP
 "You shall tell a story to me!"

6e. akiñá iha-tái i - héke u-íña
 show-INT 3-ERG 1-PURP
 "He shall tell a story to me!"

6f. koréci e- iguhe - táí ti - héke
 tomorrow 2-teach - INTC 1ex-ERG
 "Tomorrow we (ex.) shall teach you!"

7. kuk- epulé- ni hóho (INTR)
 1in- roast-PLV ENF
 "Go, we two, roast (indef.)!"

7a. ku- m - pulé - ni hóho kága (TR)
 1in-DETR-roast-PLV ENF fish
 "Go, all of us, roast the fish!"

Paulo

3

GALIBI

| A \ O | 1 in. | 1 | 2 | 1 ex | 3 | S |
|-------|-------|------|-----|------|-------------|----------|
| 1 in. | 1 in. | 1 | 2 | 1 ex | 3 ki'si- | 5 ki- |
| 1 | | | ki- | | s- | y-, ∅ |
| 2 | | ki- | | | m- | a- |
| 1 ex. | | | a- | | n- | n- |
| 3 | ki- | y, ∅ | a- | n- | n- | n- |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|-------------------|------------------|--|
| Morphological pattern | 1 in. | $A \neq S = P$ | <u>ERG (NOM)</u> | P/A hierarchy: 1 in., 1, 2 > 1 ex., 3 |
| | 1 | $A \neq S = P$ | ERG | |
| | 2 | $A \neq S = P$ | ERG | |
| | 1 ex. | $A \neq S = P(*)$ | ERG | |
| | 3 | $A \neq S = P(*)$ | ERG | |

(*) In the relation 1 ex → 3, 3 → 1 ex, 3 → 3, the A is ∅ and only the P is marked by n-.

4

HIXKARYANA

| A \ O | 1 in. | 1 | 2 | 1 ex | 3 | S |
|-------|-------|-----|-----|------|----------|----------|
| 1 in. | 1 in. | 1 | 2 | 1 ex | 3 ti- | 5 ti- |
| 1 | | | ki- | | i- | k-/u- |
| 2 | | mi- | | mi- | mi- | mi-/o- |
| 1 ex | | | o- | | n- | n- |
| 3 | ki- | r- | o- | n- | n- | n- |

| | | |
|-------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 in. | $A = S \neq P$ | NOM |
| 1 | $A = S \neq P$ | NOM; $A \neq S \neq P$ TRIP (1/3) |
| 2 | $A = S \neq P$ | NOM |
| 1 ex. | $A \neq S = P$ | ERG(*) |
| 3 | $A \neq S = P$ | ERG(*) |

P/A hierarchy
1 in., 1, 2 > 1 ex., 3

5

APALAI

| A/O | 1 in | 1 | 2 | 1 ex | 3 | S |
|------|------|----|----|------|----|------|
| 1 in | | | | | s- | s- |
| 1 | | | | | ∅ | ∅ |
| 2 | | w- | | m- | m- | m- |
| 1 ex | | | o- | | n- | yna- |
| 3 | ki- | | o- | -yna | | n- |

- 1 in. A=S≠P NOM
- 1 A=S≠P NOM
- 2 A=S≠P NOM
- A≠S≠P TRIP (2/1)
- 1 ex A≠S=P(*) ERG
- 3 A≠S=P(*) ERG

p/A hierarchy
 1 in, 1, 2 > 1 ex, 3

6

WAIKAI

| A/O | 1 in | 1 | 2 | 1 ex | 3 | S |
|------|------|-----|----|------|----|-------|
| 1 in | | | | | t- | t- |
| 1 | | | k- | | w- | k-/w- |
| 2 | | m- | | m- | m- | m- |
| 1 ex | | | a- | | n- | n- |
| 3 | ki- | oy- | a- | n- | n- | n- |

- 1 in. A=S≠P NOM
- 1 A=S≠P NOM
- 2 A=S≠P NOM
- A≠S=P(*) ERG
- 3 A≠S=P(*) ERG

p/A hierarchy
 1 in, 1, 2 > 1 ex, 3

SYSTEM II

GALIBÍ

8. moxko kari?na ene:yan (Hoff, 1968)
 he indian ϕ -saw
 "He saw the indian"

8a. kai'tsusi k-ene?nyu! (Boutle, 1963)
 jaguar 3S-drink
 "The jaguar is drinking"

HIXKARYANA

9. Biryekomo y-otaha-no wosi (Derbyshire, 1979)
 child 3-hit-i.p. woman
 "The woman hit the child"

9a. ni- amryeki- no romuru
 3S-hunt -i.p. my/son
 "My son went hunting"

WAIWAI

10. ri'komo n-ihsikya meku ma'ktiri 'poko (Howard, 1986)
 child 3-pull monkey tail
 "The child pulls the tail of the monkey"

APALAI

11. y-rato epekah- no papa (Koehn, 1962, 1974)
 1-knife ϕ -buy - i.p. father
 "Father bought my knife"

11a. papa n-oturu- no aimo maro
 3S-talk- i.p. child with
 "Father talked to the child"

HIXKARYANA

12. ohxe ihananihmiri komo wosi wya
 well teaching them women by
 "The well teaching of them by the woman"

APALAI

12a. poeto t-anỹ- se jeny- a
 child leave-COMP mother-by
 "The mother left the child"

One
Each

GALIBÍ

13. moxko kari?na kɪn-ene:yan
 he indian 3A3P-saw
 "The indian saw him"

(Hoff)

13a. pero y-?kaⁱ
 dog 1P-bit

"The dog bit me"

(Boutle)

13b. o:ma m- epo:lɪi
 path 2A3P-found

"You found the path"

(Lesauve), 1984)

13c. si- ka:pɪi

1A3P-do
 "I did it"

13d. kɪ- ko:toya

1/2-cut

"You cut me / I cut you"

13e. na?na ni- woyã

1ex. 3P-hit

"He (ex.) hit him"

(Boutle)

13f. na?na woyã

1ex. hit

"He hits us"

13g. kɪn- i?sen

3S-swim

"He is swimming"

HIXKARYANA

14. nɪ- otaha- no

3A3P-hit - i.p.

"She hit him"

(Derbyshire)

14a. r- ahenɔ

3A1P-seduce-i.p.

"He seduced me"

14b. kɪ- hananɪhɪ - yatxkonɪ

1A2P-teach - dist.past.cont.coll.

"I used to teach all of you"

Paul
Faulstich

14c. ti- onye- no
1in. 3P- see - i.p.

"He (in.) saw him"

14d. amna ni- otaha- no
1ex. 3- hit - i.p.

"He (ex.) hit him"

14e. amna oy- onye - no
1ex 2P- see - i.p.

"He (ex) saw you"

14f. atohra w- ako
not/going 1Si- AUX

"I did not go"

14g. k- erewsi - yaha
1Si- breathe - non-past

"I breathe"

14h. amna ni- niki- no
1ex 1exS- sleep - i.p.

"He (ex.) slept"

WAIWAI

15. ša'pari oy- eska
dog 1P- hit

"The dog hit me"

15a. 'wewe w- akniḡu
wood 1A- burn

"I burnt the wood"

15b. k- etapesi
1A2P- hit

"I hit you"

15c. ša'pari amna ñ- eska
dog 1ex(ex)1exP- hit

"The dog hit us" (ex)"

15d. 'wewe amna n- akñiḡu
wood 1ex 3- burn

"He (ex.) burnt the wood"

15e. k- era'swasi
1Si- be afraid

"I'm afraid"

(Howard)

Paul
Hawley

15f. tasmuyi w- asi
dirt 1Sii- AUX
"y'm dirt"

15g. ñ- epirkesi
3S- fall
"y fell"

15h. amna ñ- epirkesi
1ex 1exS- fall
"He (ex.) fell"

APALAI

16. kokonie osemi akorok - ase
yesterday path ϕ (1A)-clean-comp.
"Yesterday I cleaned the path"

(Koehn)

16a. o- pi'po?no
2P- hit-i.p.
"y hit you"

16b. mi- pipo?no
2A-
"you hit me"

16c. kaikuŕi ki- esekano
Jaguar 1inP- bit-i.p.
"The Jaguar bit us (in.)"

16d. yna esekano kaikuŕi
1ex
"The Jaguar bit us (ex.)"

16e. epukano
 ϕ (1S)- fall-i.p.
"y fell"

16f. ynan - epukano
1ex - fall
"He (ex.) fell"

Amo
Franch