Deriving Panará ergative case

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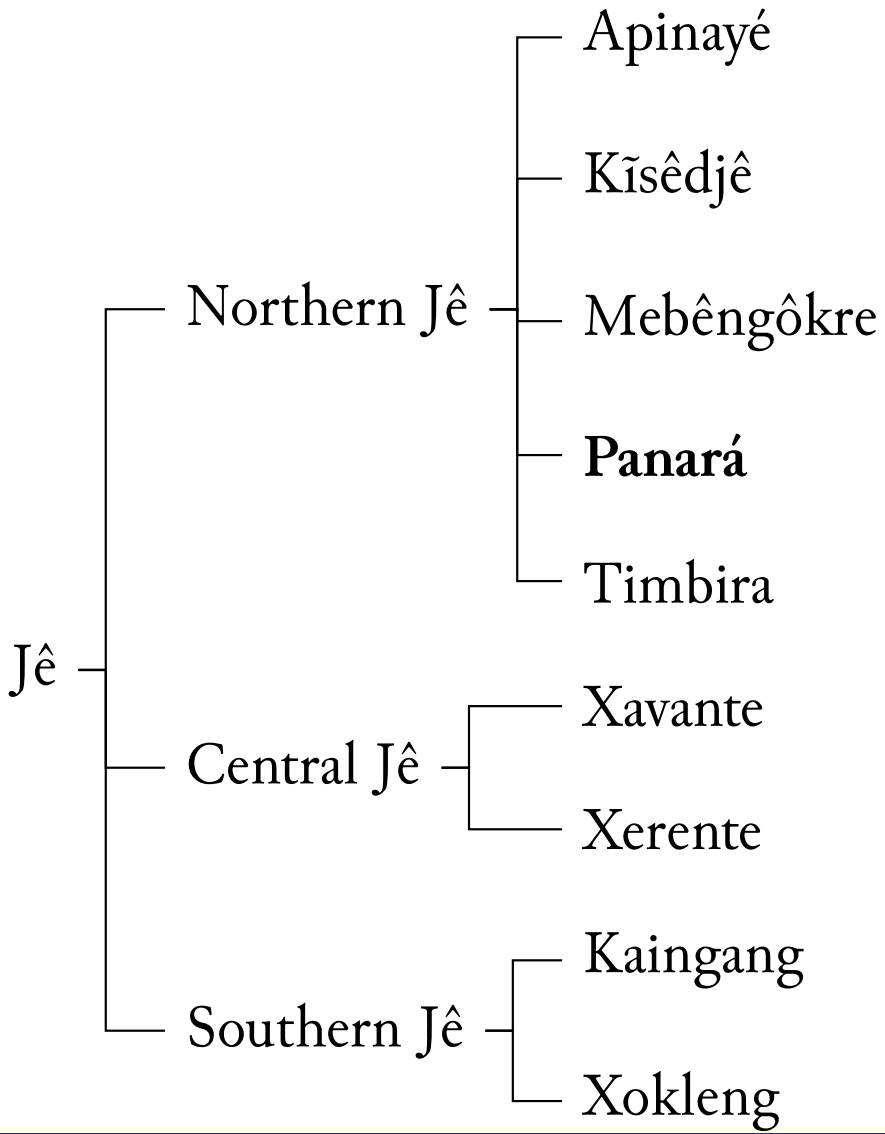
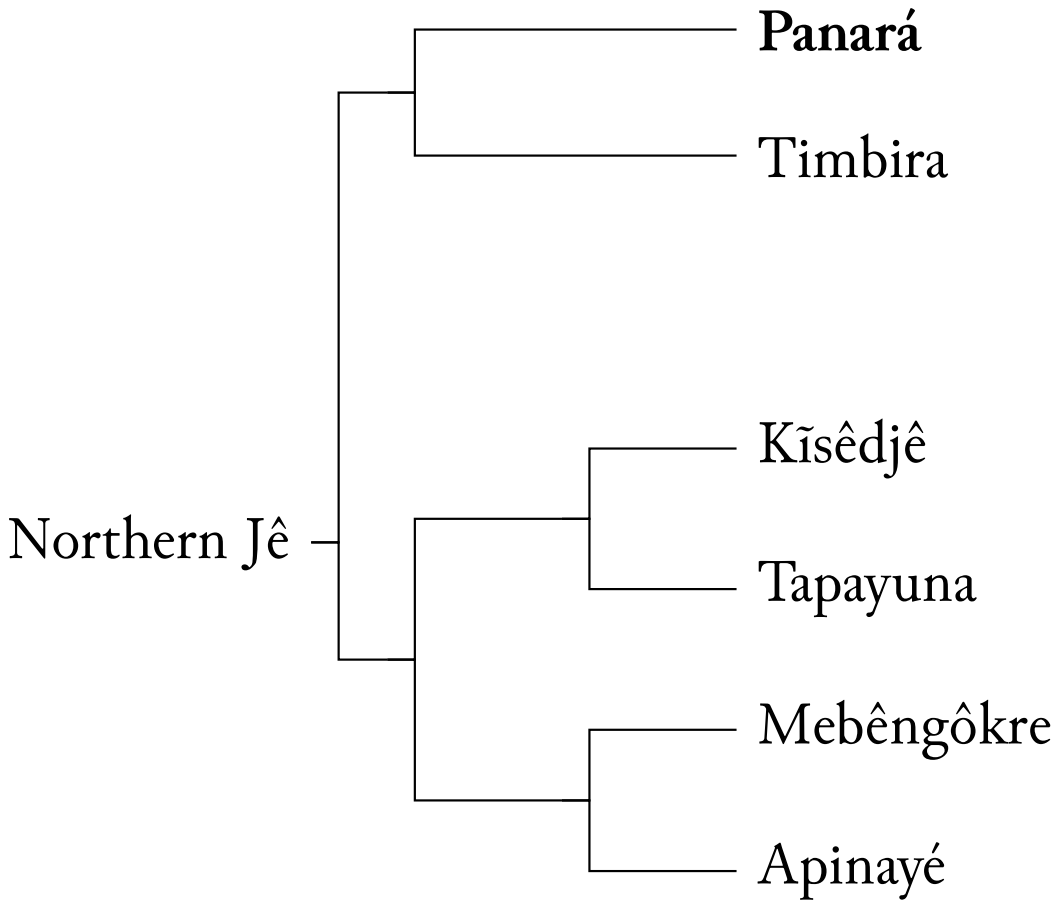
Family tree


Jê
Northern Jê
Apinayé
Kĩsêdjê
Mebêngôkre
Panará
Timbira
Central Jê
Xavante
Xerente
Southern Jê
Kaingang
Xokleng

Northern Jê languages



(Lapierre et al. 2016)

Panará

- Brazil, North of Mato Grosso - South of Pará

Panará

- Spoken by 500-600 people
- Four villages
- Fieldwork conducted in Nãsepotiti

Today's talk

- Panará is exceptional among Jê languages in presenting a uniformly ergative case marking (Bardagil-Mas forthcoming, Salanova 2017)
- This talk presents ongoing research on the syntactic processes that derive ergative case in Panará
- Diagnosing inherent and structural case
- Ergative-absolutive asymmetries in syntactic operations

Panará verbal morphology

- Major parts of the verb package and its polysynthetic flavour

Mood | ERG/NOM | RECP/REFL | ITER/DIR | P | DU | ABS | CLF, DAT | **Verb** | ASP

(1)

Jy=	py=	ra=	kõ=	mẽ=	ra=	tẽ.
INTR	DIR	3PL.ABS	COM	DU	2SG.ABS	leave

'The two of us are going away with them.'

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Case marking in Panará

(2) a. **Ka** [jy= **a**= tẽ].
2SG INTR 2ABS fall
'You fell down.'

b. **Ka** **hẽ** [**ka**= ra= sisy-ri] inkjẽ.
2SG ERG 2ERG 1ABS hit-PRF 1SG
'You hit me.'

Case marking in Panará

- Irrealis mood

(3) a. **Mãra** [ka= **ti**= kre] kooma krekjã amã.
3SG IRR 3SG.NOM sing now night INES
'He is going to sing tonight.'

b. Pykooma **mãra hẽ** [ka= **ti**= a= sisy-ri] ka.
morning 3SG ERG IRR 3SG.NOM 2ABS hit-PRF 2SG
'Tomorrow he will hit you.'

The allomorphy of case

	Realis	Irrealis	Conditional
Intransitive	jy=	ka=	tu/ta=
Transitive	∅	ka=	ta=

Table : Panará modal clitics.

	Marking on arguments	Marking on verbs
Realis, etc.	ergative	ergative
Irrealis	ergative	accusative

Table : Panará case marking.

Case and verb form in Panará

- No interaction: grammaticalized into a different system

(4)

—Ju	rãhã	jy=	a=	tẽ	Kôtikô	tã?
wh-	TMP	INTR	2SG.ABS	leave	Kôtikô	ALL

'When did you go to Kôtikô?"

—Ra=	tẽ-**ri**	**pjoo**	Kôtikô	tã.
1SG.ABS	leave-PRF	NEG	Kôtikô	ALL

'I didn't go to Kôtikô.'

(5)

Inkjẽ	ka=	tẽ-**ri**	moto	amã	Sõkarasã	tã.
1SG	IRR	go-PRF	boat	INES	Sõkarasã	ALL

'I will go to Sonkarasã by boat.'

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Ergative case

Structural case does not depend on the particular thematic role assigned to the nominal or the particular lexical item that selects it

Non-structural case does not depend on the structure of the clause, and instead depends either on the selecting lexical item or the thematic role the nominal bears

Inherent case is determined by the thematic role

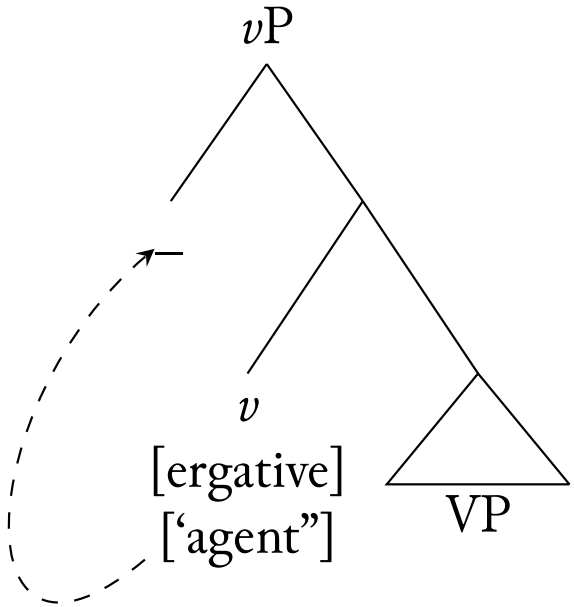
Lexical case is determined by the lexical item involved

(Woolford 2006)

Panará ergative is structural

- Predictions for a non-structural case:
  - Assigned upon merge (with v) together with θ-role
  - Case preservation

(6)



We are going to see that Panará ergative is a structural case

No θ-relatedness

- Ergative case appears on the external argument of transitive clauses, regardless of the θ-role

(7) *Non-agentive causer*

Inkô	hẽ	ti=	pu	pârikâ	amã.
water	ERG	3SG.ERG	full	canoe	INES

'Water filled the canoe.'

(8) *Psych-verbs*

Ka	hẽ	ka=	sunpa	nãkã.
2SG	ERG	2SG.ERG	fear	snake

'You're afraid of snakes.'

Case preservation

- Inherent case is assigned upon merge
- Further structural changes do not affect it

(9) *Icelandic (Maling 2002)*

a. Ég hjálpaði honum.
ISG.NOM helped him.DAT
'I helped him.'

b. Þeim var hjálpað. PASSIVE
them.DAT was helped
'They were helped.'

Panará complex predicates

- Panará has a series of complex predicates (Dourado 2008)
  ãto 'to send", *ãte* 'to stop / to allow", and *sũũ* 'to say"

(10)

Rê=	ka=	sũũ	inkjẽ	[myn=	r=	anpũ.]
1SG.ERG	2SG.DAT	say	1SG	DIR	1SG.ABS	see

'I told you to look at me.'

Panará complex predicates

- Panará complement clauses

(11)

Mãra	hẽ	ti	sũũ	[pjã	rê=	∅=	wajãri	].
3SG.ABS	ERG	3SG.ERG	say	what	1SG.ERG	3SG.ABS	make	

'He said what I did.'

Inkjẽ	jõpãã	hẽ	[inkjẽ	hẽ	rê=	kâ=	po	kjorinpe]	ti=	pjãni.	
1SG	child	ERG	1SG	ERG	1SG.ERG	skin	thresh	rice	3SG	want	

'My child wants me to thresh the rice.'

Panará complex predicates

- In complex predicates DPs must appear in the upper predicate

(12)

Inkjẽ	hẽ	rê=	k=	ãte-	ri	[jy=	k=	ãpâ	rahê]	**ka**
1SG	ERG	1SG.ERG	2SG.ABS	allow	PRF	INTR	2SG.ABS	eat	FIN	2SG

'I let you eat.'

Inkjẽ	hẽ	rê=	k=	ãte-	ri	**ka**	[jy=	k=	ãpâ	rahê]
1SG	ERG	1SG.ERG	2SG.ABS	allow	PRF	2SG	INTR	2SG.ABS	eat	FIN

*Inkjẽ	hẽ	rê=	k=	ãte-	ri	[jy=	k=	ãpâ	**ka**	rahê]
1SG	ERG	1SG.ERG	2SG.ABS	allow	PRF	INTR	2SG.ABS	eat	2SG	FIN

Panará complex predicates

- This is not a general property of final clauses

(13) ... ra= sõ pârâsô ahê.

IPL.ABS POSS money FIN

'... in order to have money.'

Panará complex predicates

- Assuming that INFL licenses mood, and that aspectual suffixes also indicate TAM activity, the lower predicate is a finite clause
- There is a type of hyperraising out of lower predicates in Panará

(14) Rê= k= ãte- ri [jy= k= ãpâ ⟨ka⟩ rahê] ka.

1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS allow PRF INTR 2SG.ABS eat FIN 2SG

'I let you eat.'

Panará complex predicates

- When the lower predicate contains a transitive verb, the corresponding DP surfaces without ergative case:

(15)

Mãra	hẽ	ti=	ra=	k=	ãtori	ka	[ka=	ra=	sikâ	rahê]	inkjẽ.
3SG	ERG	3SG.ERG	1SG.ABS	2SG.ABS	send	2SG	2SG.ERG	1SG.ABS	hit	FIN	1SG

'He made you beat me.'

- Verbal morphology shows that the external argument has ergative case *in the lower predicate*
- If this is (hyper)raising and not prolepsis, the ergative from the lower predicate cannot receive inherent case

Syntactic ergativity: Ā-movement

- In Panará, ergatives and absolutives can wh-extract and relativize

(16) a. Prẽ hẽ ti= s- anpũ inkjêê?
who ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS see woman
'Who saw the woman?"

b. [Inpy hẽ ti= pĩ-ri suasĩra] asâ.
man ERG 3SG.ERG kill-PRF peccary fierce
'The man that killed a peccary is fierce.'

Syntactic ergativity: Embedded extraction

- Absolutive$_{intr}$

(17) Ti= s- anpũ Perankô hẽ [joopy jy= tẽ].
3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS see Perankô ERG jaguar INTR leave
'Perankô saw the jaguar that fled.'

(18) Joopy ti= s- anpũ Perankô hẽ [*e* jy= tẽ].
jaguar 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS see Perankô ERG INTR leave
'Perankô saw the jaguar that fled.'

- Absolutive$_{tr}$

(19) Kôôtita rê= sanpũ [joopy hẽ ti= pĩri *e*].
chicken 1SG.ERG see jaguar ERG 3SG.ERG kill
'I saw the chicken that the jaguar killed.'

Extraction of ergatives

(20) a. Inkjẽ hẽ rê= sanpũ [joopy hẽ ti= pĩri kôôtita.]
ISG ERG ISG.ERG see jaguar ERG 3SG.ERG kill chicken
'I saw the jaguar that killed a chicken.'

b. *Joopy rê= sanpũ [ti= pĩri kôôtita].
jaguar ISG.ERG see 3SG.ERG kill chicken
'I saw the jaguar that killed the chicken.'

c. *Joopy hẽ rê= sanpũ [ti= pĩri kôôtita].
jaguar ERG ISG.ERG see 3SG.ERG kill chicken
'I saw the jaguar that killed the chicken.'

d. Joopy rê= $\boxed{\text{tân}}$= sanpũ [ti= pĩri kôôtita].
jaguar ISG.ERG ?? see 3SG.ERG kill chicken
'I saw the jaguar that killed the chicken.'

Extraction of ergatives

- These are not two juxtaposed clauses

(21) ***Joopy** rê= sanpũ [*e* ti= pĩri kôôtita].
jaguar 1SG.ERG see 3SG.ERG kill chicken
'I saw the jaguar that killed the chicken.'

(22) [Joopy rê= sanpũ], [ti= pĩri kôôtita].
jaguar 1SG.ERG see 3SG.ERG kill chicken
'I saw a jaguar; it killed the chicken.'

Extraction of ergatives

(23) *Without a perception verb on the main clause*

a. *Ipẽ ka= pĩri [ti= sipyri Pakrekaka].
enemy 2SG.ERG kill 3SG.ERG kidnap Pakrekaka
'You killed the Kayapo that had kidnapped Pakrekaka.'

b. Ipẽ ka= tân= pĩri [ti= sipyri Pakrekaka].
enemy 2SG.ERG ? kill 3SG.ERG kidnap Pakrekaka
'You killed the Kayapo that had kidnapped Pakrekaka.'

(24) *Not a hanging topic*

a. Rê= tân= sanpũ joopy [ti= pĩri kôôtita].
1SG.ERG ?? see jaguar 3SG.ERG kill chicken
'I saw the jaguar that killed the chicken.'

Extraction of ergatives: recap

- Ergatives have a restriction in Ā-extraction
- A clitic *tân* on the matrix verb allows for the extraction
- The ergative DP surfaces without ergative case on the matrix clause

Interim summary: inherent case

- There is no θ-relatedness
- There is no case preservation:
  - A DP can 'raise to absolutive" in complex predicates
  - Ergatives Ā-extracted from relatives lose their morphological case
- Variable syntactic ergativity is not derivable by inherent case approaches (Deal 2016)

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The sources of case

- If absolutive is assigned by T, only one absolutive per sentence is allowed (Legate 2008)

(25)

Mãra	hẽ	ti=	ra=	k=	ãtori	ka	[ka=	ra=	sikâ
3SG	ERG	3SG.ERG	1SG.ABS	2SG.ABS	send	2SG	2SG.ERG	1SG.ABS	hit

rahê]	inkjẽ.
FIN	1SG

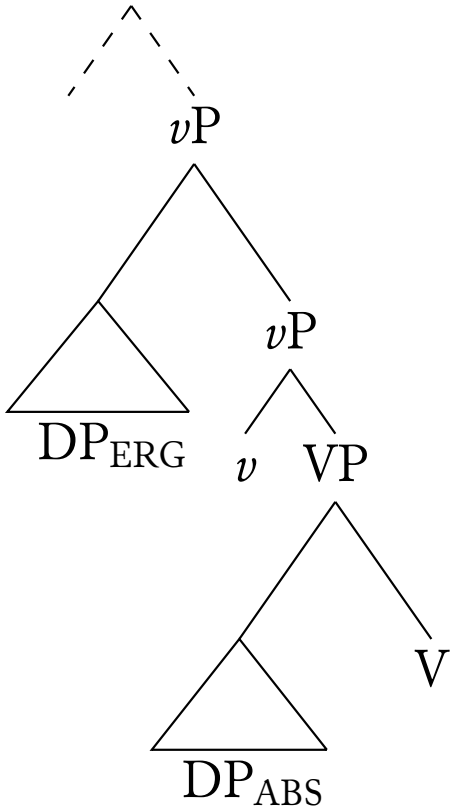
'He made you beat me.'

- Panará absolutive is a morphological default case (lack of morphological case is lack of case)

Structural ergative

- Panará ergative is a structural case assigned by *v* after the entire domain is merged

(26)



Structural ergative

- Causative *ho* increases the valency of intransitive predicates

(27)

a. Ka jõpãã jy= sõti.
2SG child INTR sleep
'Your child sleeps.'

b. Ka hẽ ka= ho= sõti ka jõpãã.
2SG ERG 2SG.ERG CAUS sleep 2SG child
'You made your child sleep [You slept your child].'

(28) *Inkjẽ hẽ rê= ho= kuri inkjẽ jõpãã suasĩra jĩ.
1SG ERG 1SG.ERG CAUS eat 1SG child peccary meat
Intended: 'I made my child eat peccary meat.'

Structural ergative

- Addition of an absolutive by P-incorporation and stranding of the object does not result in ergative case

(29) Inkjẽ jy= ria= **kõ**= ra= kwy kamera.

1SG INTR 2PL.ABS COM 1SG.ABS go 2PL

'I went with y'all.'

No case competitor

- Ergative case appears with a small class of transitive verbs that have an oblique internal argument, lacking an obvious case competitor

(30) *Transitive verbs with oblique internal argument*

a. Prĩ hẽ ti= piasôô-ri [sõsê hã].
child ERG 3ERG suckle-PRF breast ADES
'The child suckled on the breast.'

b. Pakwa hẽ ti= pu [kan amã].
banana ERG 3SG.ERG full basket INES
'The basket is full of bananas.'

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- Panará's clear-cut ergative case marking suggests a classic view of direct 'dependent" case coming from functional heads
- The conditions of well-formedness of Panará ergative challenge recent inherent case approaches to ergativity
- What are the configurations that force/ allow cliticization to the finite predicate head?
- Future research includes more exhaustive elicitation work on extraction asymmetries, and a unified account with the irrealis-triggered alginment split in the cross-reference paradigms

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Selected references

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