

Person markers, ergativity
and nominativity in Parib
languages.

Série de prefixos pessoais Kuikúro

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

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Eugene, 20/8/87

Formas pronominais de A

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

Padrão 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. 2	Nominativo ↓
Modos descritivos	3	Ergativo

Bruna
Franchetto

SYSTEM I - KVIKÚRO

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

"The Matipú stole my pans"

2. u-inti - sâ agu- ntára
 1S-daughter-REL dance - CONT

"My daughter is dancing"

3. kuk- aki- sâ 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- ntára
 work - CONT

"The white is working"

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

"He is working hard"

4. papé ahehi- cárâ u-héke
 paper write- CONT 1-ERG
 "I'm writing on the paper"

4a. u- t- ahehi- cárâ (papé- ki)
 1-DETR - write - CONT (paper- INST)
 "I'm writing (on a paper)"

final ... dev

5. t-umuru ikain-jâ isi-héke
 REFL-son raise-PONT mother-ERG

"The mother raised her son"

5a. i-muru t-ikain-jâ léha
 3-son DETR-raise-PONT

"Her son got up"

5b. i-t-ikain-jâ léha
 3S-DETR-Raise-PONT

"He got up"

6. ku- ñ - api- rái âgéle
din-DETR- hit- INT 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!"⁴

6c. akiñá ti - ñ - iha- tái e- íña
story tex-DETR- show- INT 2-PURP
 "We (ex.) shall tell a story to you!"⁴ (or)

akiñá iha - tái ti- héke e-íña
tex- ERG

"We (ex.) shall tell a story to you!"⁴

6d. akiñá iha - tái e- héke u- íña
2-ERG 1-PURP
 "You shall tell a story to me!"⁴ (or)

akiñá e - g - iha-tái u-íña
2-DETR- show-INT 1-PURP

"You shall tell a story to me!"⁴

6e. akiñá iha-tái i - héke u-íña
show-INT 3-ERG 1-PURP
 "He shall tell a story to me!"⁴

6f. koréci e- iguhe - tái ti - héke
tomorrow 2-teach - INT tex-ERG
 "Tomorrow we (ex.) shall teach you!"⁴

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

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

Bruno
Franchetto

GALIBÍ

[3]

A\O	1 in.	1 in.	1	2	1ex	3	S
						küsi-	ki-
1			Ki"-			s-	y-, φ
2		Ki"-				m-	a-
1 ex.			a-			n-	n-
3	Ki"-	y, φ	a-	n-		n-	n-

Morphological Pattern

1 in.	$A \neq S = P$	ERG (NOM)	P/A hierarchy:
1	$A \neq S = P$	ERG	
2	$A \neq S = P$	ERG	1 in., 1, 2 > 1ex, 3
1 ex.	$A \neq S = P(*)$	ERG	
3	$A \neq S = P(*)$	ERG	

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

[4]

HIXKARYANA

A\O	1 in.	1 in.	1	2	1ex	3	S
						t+	t+
1			Kt-			t-	K-/R-
2		mt-		mt-	mt-	mt-	mt-/dR-
1 ex.			o-			n-	n-
3	Kt-	r-	o-	n-	n-	n-	n-

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

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

APALÁÍ

[5]

A/O	1 in	1	2	1 ex	3	S
1 in					S-	S-
1					∅	∅
2		w-		m-	m-	m-
1 ex				o-	n-	yña-
3	ki'			o- -yña		n-

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

P/A hierarchy

1 in, 1, 2 > 1 ex, 3

WAIKAI

[6]

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.	$A = S \neq P$	NOM		
1	$A = S \neq P$	NOM		
2	$A = S \neq P$	NOM		
	$A \neq S = P (*)$	ERG		
3	$A \neq S = P (*)$	ERG		

P/A hierarchy

1 in, 1, 2 > 1 ex, 3

SYSTEM II

GALIBÍ

8. moxko kari?na ene:yan
he indian ♀-save
"He save the indian"

(Hoff, 1968)

- 8a. kai'tsusí k-ene?nuy!
jaguar 3S-drink
"The jaguar is drinking"

(Boutle, 1963)

HIXKARYÁNA

9. Bi'ryekomo y-otaha-no wosi
child 3-hit-^{i.p.} woman
"The woman hit the child"

(Derbyshire, 1979)

- 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
child 3-pull monkey tail
"The child pulls the tail of the monkey"

(Howard, 1986)

APALAI

11. y-rato epekah- no papa
1-knife ♀-buy - i.p. father
"Father bought my knife"

(Koehn, 1962,
1974)

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

HIXKARYÁNA

12. ohxe ihananíhmíri komo wosi wyá
well teaching them women by
"The well teaching of them by the woman"

APALAI

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

*One
Facet*

GALIBÍ

13. moxko kari?na kin-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:l̪i
path 2A3P-found
"You found the path"

(Lesure), 1984)

13c. si- ka:p̪i
1A3P-do
"I did it"

13d. ki- ko:toya
1/2-cut
"You cut me / I cut you"

(Boutle)

13e. na?na ni- woyā
1ex. 3P-hit
"He (ex.) hit him"

13f. na?na woyā
1ex. hit
"He hits us"

13g. kin- i?sen
3S-swim
"He is swimming"

HIXKARYĀNA

14. ni- otaha- no
3A3P-hit - i.p.
"She hit him"

(Derbyshire)

14a. r- aheno
3A1P-reduce-i.p.
"He seduced me"

14b. ki- hananīhi - yatxkonī
1A2P-teach - dist.past.cont.coll.
"I used to teach all of you"

Bone
Falls

14c. t̄- onye- no
1in. A3P - see - i.p.

"He (in.) save him"

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

"He (ex.) hit him"

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

"He (ex) save you"

14f. atohra w- aka
not/going 1Sii-AUX
"I did not go"

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

14h. amna n̄- n̄ki- no
1ex 1exS- sleep - i.p.
"He (ex.) slept"

WAIWAI

(Howard)

15. Ša'pari oy- eska
dog 1P- bit
"The dog bit me"

15a. 'wewe w- aknipu
wood 1P- burn
"I burnt the wood"

15b. k- etapesi
1A2P- hit
"I hit you"

15c. Ša'pari amna n̄- eska
dog 1ex(ex) 1exP-bit
"The dog bit us (ex)"

15d. 'wewe amna n- akñipu
wood 1ex 3- burn
"He (ex.) burnt the wood"

15e. k- era'swasí
1Si- be afraid
"I'm afraid"

Frank
Franklin

15f. tusmuyi w- asi
dirt 1Sii- AUX

"I'm dirt"

15g. ñ- epirkesi

3S- fall
"I fell"

15h. amna ñ- epirkesi

1ex 1ex S- fall

"We(ex.) fell"

APALAI

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

(Koehn)

16a. o- pi'po?no

2P- hit-i.p-

"I hit you"

16b. m̄- pipo?no

2A-

"you hit me"

16c. kaikuši ki- esekano
Jaguar sin P- bit-i.p.
"The Jaguar bit us (in.)"

16d. yna esekano kaikuši

1ex

"The Jaguar bit us (ex.)"

16e. epukano

φ(1S)- fall-i.p-

"I fell"

16f. ynan - epukano

1ex - fall

"We (ex.) fell"

Br. Francis