Hierarchies and inversion in Cariban languages

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Hierarchies in grammar

- many languages: sensibility to a hierarchy (“animacy”/“topicality”/“agentivity”/ “indexability”…)
- different languages, different hierarchies[1]
- is reflected differently in grammars

[1] Zúñiga 2006.

A classic: Plains Cree[2]

(1)

a. *ki-seːkih-aː-w*
2-frighten-DIR-3
'You frighten him/her.'

b. *ki-seːkih-ikw-w*
2-frighten-INV-3
'S/he frightens you.'

c. *ni-seːkih-aː-w*
1-frighten-DIR-3
'I frighten him/her.'

d. *ni-seːkih-ikw-w*
1-frighten-INV-3
'S/he frightens me.'

e. *ki-seːkih-iti-n*
2-frighten-INV-SAP
'I frighten you.'

f. *ki-seːkih-i-n*
2-frighten-DIR-SAP
'You frighten me.'

g. *Ø-seːkih-eː-w*
3-frighten-DIR-3
'S/he (PROX) frightens him (OBV).'

h. *Ø-seːkih-ikw-w*
3-frighten-INV-3
'S/he (OBV) frightens him (PROX).'

[2] Algonquian, North America. Dahlstrom 1986: 69–70; segmentation by Zúñiga 2008: 280.

Hierarchically conditioned access to slots

(2)

a. ***ki-****seːkih-aː-w*
2-frighten-DIR-3
'You frighten him/her.'

b. ***ki-****seːkih-ikw-w*
2-frighten-INV-3
'S/he frightens you.'

c. ***ni-****seːkih-aː-w*
1-frighten-DIR-3
'I frighten him/her.'

d. ***ni-****seːkih-ikw-w*
1-frighten-INV-3
'S/he frightens me.'

e. ***ki-****seːkih-iti-n*
2-frighten-INV-SAP
'I frighten you.'

f. ***ki-****seːkih-i-n*
2-frighten-DIR-SAP
'You frighten me.'

g. ***Ø-****seːkih-eː-w*
3-frighten-DIR-3
'S/he (PROX) frightens him (OBV).'

h. ***Ø-****seːkih-ikw-w*
3-frighten-INV-3
'S/he (OBV) frightens him (PROX).'

Hierarchy governing access to the prefix slot: 2 > 1 > 3

Obviation

(3) Plains Cree[3]

a. *t͡sanij-**wa*** *Ø-kiː-wiːt͡sih-eː-w* *meːrij*
J.-OBV 3-PST-help-DIR-3 M
'Mary (PROX) helped Johnny (OBV).'

b. *t͡saːnij* *Ø-kiː-wiːt͡sih-ikw-w* *meːrij-**wa***
J. 3-PST-help-INV-3 M.-OBV
'Mary (OBV) helped Johnny (PROX).'

Expanded hierarchy: 2 > 1 > 3PROX > 3OBV

[3] Wolvengrey 2011: 175.

Direction

(4)

a. *ki-seːkih-**aː**-w*
2-frighten-DIR-3
‘You frighten him/her.’

b. *ki-seːkih-**ikw**-w*
2-frighten-INV-3
‘S/he frightens you.’

c. *ni-seːkih-**aː**-w*
1-frighten-DIR-3
‘I frighten him/her.’

d. *ni-seːkih-**ikw**-w*
1-frighten-INV-3
‘S/he frightens me.’

e. *ki-seːkih-**iti**-n*
2-frighten-INV-SAP
‘I frighten you.’

f. *ki-seːkih-**i**-n*
2-frighten-DIR-SAP
‘You frighten me.’

g. *Ø-seːkih-**eː**-w*
3-frighten-DIR-3
‘S/he (PROX) frightens him (OBV).’

h. *Ø-seːkih-**ikw**-w*
3-frighten-INV-3
‘S/he (OBV) frightens him (PROX).’

Direction on hierarchy:

		DIR→	
2	1	3PROX	3OBV
		←INV	

Grammatical phenomena found in Plains Cree

- all related to hierarchy $2 > 1 > 3\textsc{prox} > 3\textsc{obv}$:
  1. hierarchically conditioned access to prefix slot
     (highest person “wins”)
  2. direction (verbal): DIR vs INV
     (is the direction of the action in accordance with the hierarchy?)
  3. obviation (nominal): PROX vs OBV
     (how low is a third person on the hierarchy?)

Generalized semantic roles

- classification of verbal arguments:
  - S: argument of intransitive verb
  - A: agent-like argument of transitive verb
  - P: patient-like argument of transitive verb
- morphosyntactic alignment: which argument is marked like which other argument? (verbal indexing, nominal flagging)

Scenarios

- classification of transitive clauses according to their A and P
- e.g., 1→3 ‘I X him/her’, 2→1 ‘you X me’
- local: interaction of 1 and 2
- direct:[4] SAP[5]→3
- inverse: 3→SAP
- nonlocal: 3→3

[4] Direct and inverse scenarios not congruent with grammatical DIR and INV!

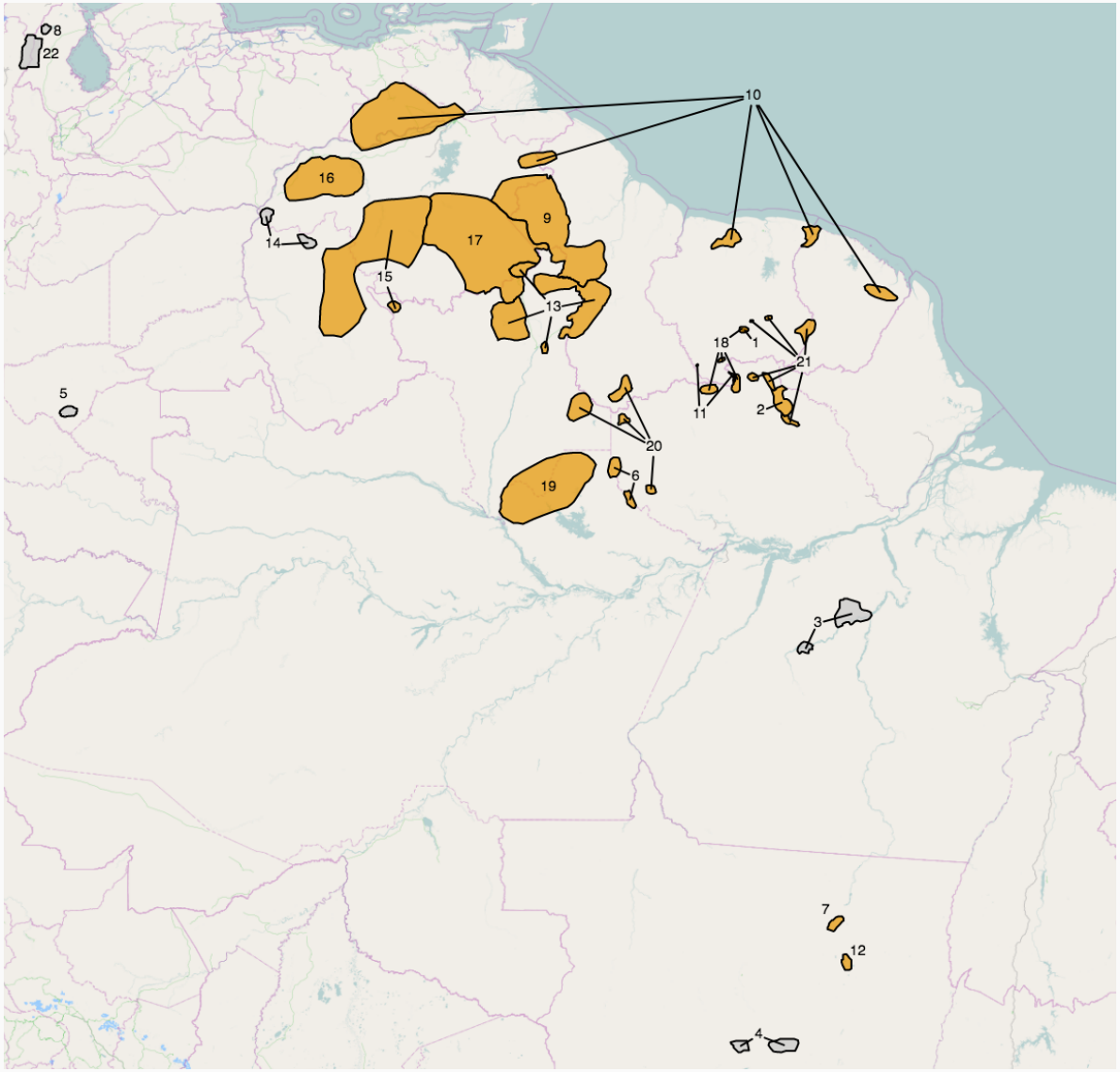
[5] Speech act participants: 1/2/1+2.

Scenarios: Plains Cree

A→P	1	2	3
1		*ki-*	*ni-*
2	*ki-*		*ki-*
3	*ni-*	*ki-*	*Ø-*

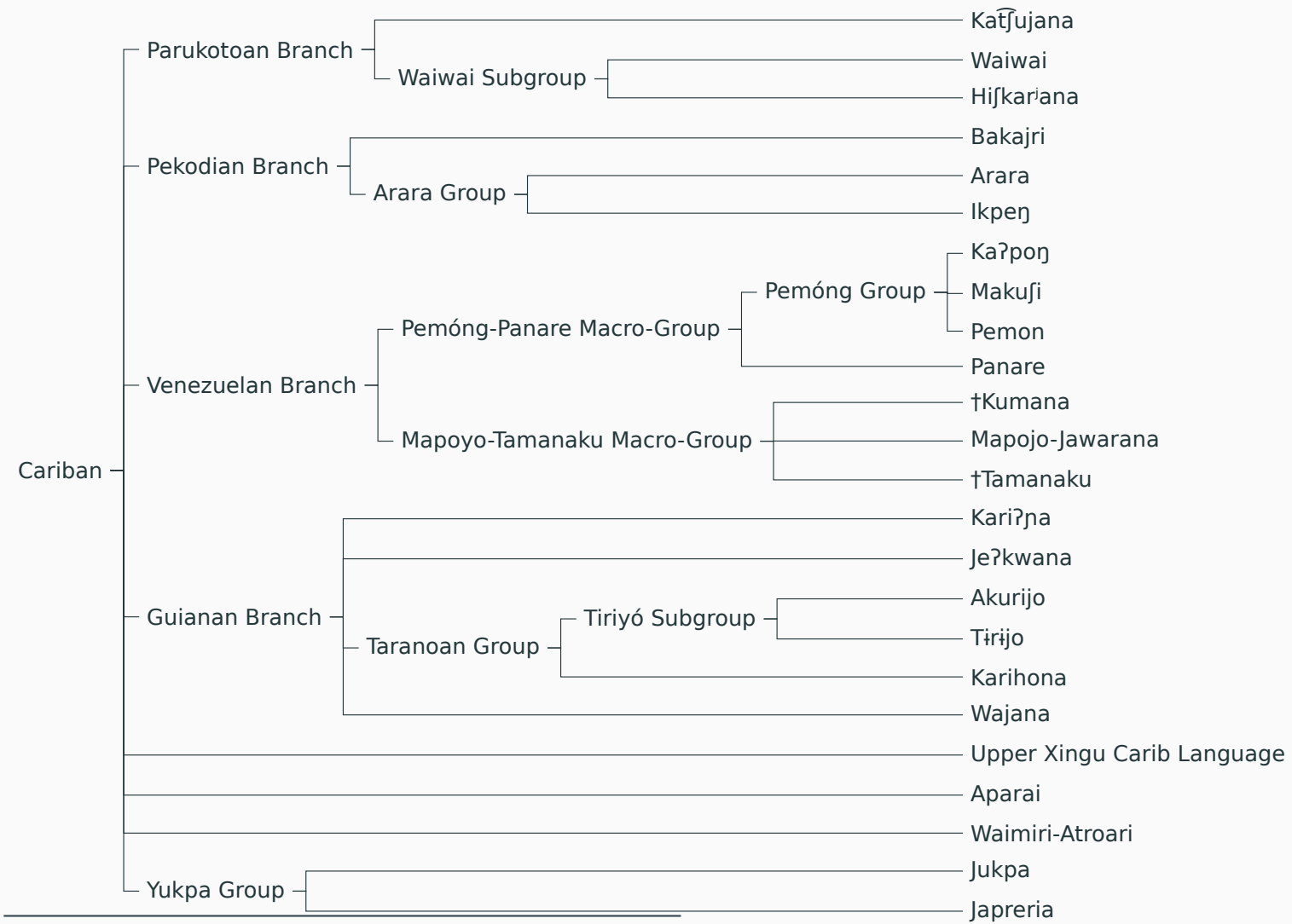
local direct inverse non-local

Cariban languages



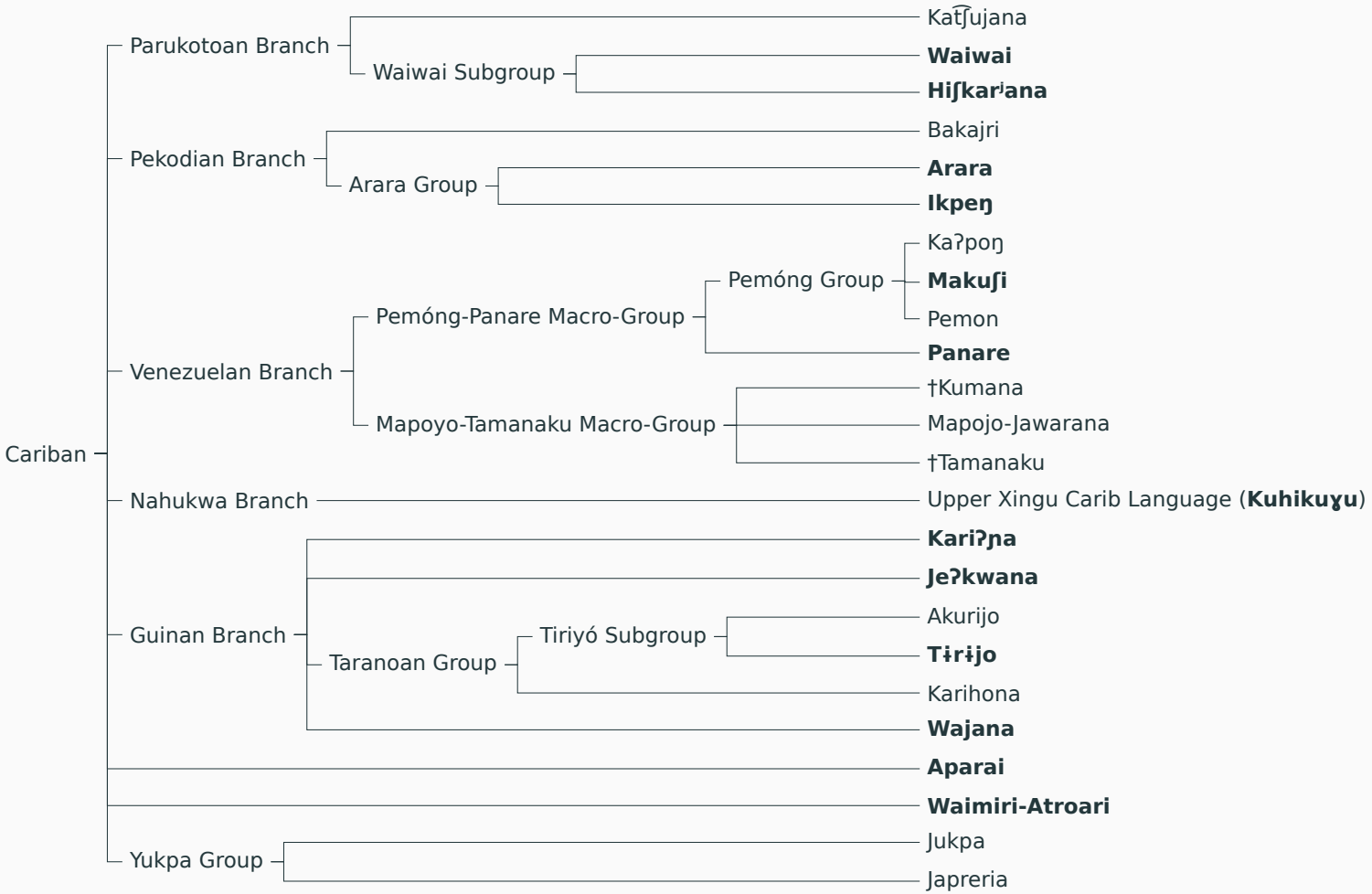
1. Akurijo
2. **Aparai**
3. **Arara**
4. Bakajri
5. Karihona
6. **Hiʃkarʲana**
7. **Ikpeŋ**
8. Japreria
9. Kaʔpoŋ
10. **Kariʔɲa**
11. Katʃ͡ujana
12. **Upper Xingu Carib Language**
13. **Makuʃi**
14. Mapojo-Jawarana
15. **Jeʔkwana**
16. **Panare**
17. Pemon
18. **Tɨrɨjo**
19. **Waimiri-Atroari**
20. **Waiwai**
21. **Wajana**
22. Jukpa

Cariban languages[6]



6 Gildea 2012: 445; Hammarström et al. 2016; Mehinaku & Franchetto 2014: 122.

Cariban languages



The Cariban Hierarchy

- many Cariban languages claimed to have hierarchical marking: Arara[7], Ikpeŋ[8], Upper Xingu Carib Language[9], Tɨrɨjo[10], Wajana[11], Waimiri-Atroari[12], Waiwai[13], Panare[14]
- usually of the form $\boxed{1 = 2 > 3}$

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7 Alves 2017: 148.

8 Pacheco 2001: 72.

9 Basso 2012: 64.

10 Meira 1999: 286.

11 Tavares 2005: 209.

12 Bruno 2003: 117–118.

13 Hawkins 1998: 27.

14 T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 197.

(pre-)Proto-Cariban[15]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S_A	S_P
1		*k-		*t-i-	*w-	*u-j-
2	*k-			*m-i-	*m-	*ɤ-j-
SAP				*kɨt-i-	*kɨt-	*k-
3	*u-j-	*ɤ-j-	*k-	*(n)i-	*Ø-	*(n)i-

[15] Meira et al. 2010: 497; Gildea & Zúñiga 2016: 497.

(pre-)Proto-Cariban[17]

- two prefix slots
- in slot 2:
  - **k-* ‘SAP.non-A’
  - **i-* ‘3P’
  - **j-* linking prefix, combining (pro-)nouns with verbs & nouns[16]
- in slot 1 in combination with **i-* ‘3P’:
  - **t-* ‘1A’
  - **m-* ‘2A’
  - **kɨt-* ‘SAP.A’
  - **n-* ‘3’

[16] See Rodrigues 2009.

[17] Meira et al. 2010.

(pre-)Proto-Cariban

- in slot 1 in combination with **j-* ‘LK’:
  - **u-* ‘1P’
  - **ɤ-* ‘2P’
- **u-* ‘1P’, **ɤ-* ‘2P’, and **n-* ‘3’ are likely to have come from pronouns **(ɤ)wɨ* ‘1’, **ɤmɤ* ‘2’, and **inɤrɤ* ‘3’[18]
- no pronominal origin claimed for **t-* ‘1A’, **m-* ‘2A’, **kɨt-* ‘SAP.A’

[18] Meira et al. 2010: 489, 497.

(pre-)Proto-Cariban

- no hierarchical marking; zero marking for 3A
- but 1→2 = 2→1 = 3→SAP:

A→P	1	2	SAP	3
1		***k-**		**t-i-*
2	***k-**			**m-i-*
SAP				**kɨt-i-*
3	**u-j-*	**ɤ-j-*	***k-**	**(n-)i-*

The local prefixes

It is an open question how many *k*- prefixes we have, either synchronically or diachronically: should *k*- '1 + 2', *k*- '1 → 2', *k*- '2 ← 1', and *k*- '3 → 1 + 2' be seen as four, three (collapsing the "local" prefixes), two (one nonverbal and one verbal, presumably meaning **'involving both first and second person, at least one of which occurs as the O argument'**), or perhaps even a single prefix (**involving 1 or 2 as non-A**).

(Meira et al. 2010: 495)

Loss of **i-* ‘3P’

- **i-* ‘3P’ was lost in most languages (epenthetic **ɨ*)
- causes ablaut (umlaut) of **ɤ* to **e*
- Tɨrɨjo, Wajana, and Kariʔɲa preserved **i-*, but generalized it to intransitive verbs[19]
- Panare seems to have preserved the distinction (but probably just TR vs INTR):

(5) a. ***nɨ-****sɨrkeʔ-jah* *kən*
3-tire-REC MED.DEM.ANIM.SG
‘S/he got tired.’[20]

b. ***ni-****petjuʔma-jah* *kən*
3A.3P-hit-REC MED.DEM.ANIM.SG
‘S/he hit him/her.’[21]

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19 Meira et al. 2010: 495.

20 T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 199.

21 my glossing, T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 201.

Proto-Cariban with loss of *i-*[22]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S_A	S_P
1		*k-		*t-	*w-	*uj-
2	*k-			*m-	*m-	*ɤj-
SAP				*kɨt-	*kɨt-	*k-
3	*uj-	*ɤj-	*k-	*n-	*n-	

- hierarchy: 1 = 2 > 3
- also, SAP markers are coded for role:
  - *t-/*uj- '1', *m-/*ɤj- '2', *kɨt-/*k- 'SAP'

[22] Gildea & Zúñiga 2016: 497.

Restructuring

- most daughter languages restructured person marking paradigm
- similarities and differences, with hierarchical traits
- reanalysis of former nominalizations; complete restructuring and loss of hierarchical traits in the Upper Xingu Carib Language, Pemóng group

Fully ergative: Kuhikuɣu[23]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S
1		*e-*		*i-*	*u-*
2	*u-*			*i-*	*e-/a-/o-/Ø-*
SAP				*i-*	*ku(k)-*
3	*u-*	*e-*	*ku(k)-*	*i-*	*i-/is-/iɲ-*

[23] Franchetto 1986: 158.

Kuhikuɣu

(6) a. ***u-****upaɣi-taɣɨ*
1-burp-CONT
'I'm burping'[24]

b. ***u-****ikeni-kɨɣɨ* *nika* ***e-****heke*
1-believe-PNCT Q 2-ERG
'Do you believe me?'[25]

c. ***u-****adʲo-te-ɣaɣɨ* ***i-****heke*
1-boyfriend-VBZ-CONT 3-ERG
'He is dating me.'[26]

d. *katsoɣo* *api-lɨ* ***i-****heke*
dog hit-PNCT 3-ERG
'S/he hit the dog.'[27]

Kuhikuɣu

e. *aŋi taɣi heke **e-**e-taɣɨ*
Q hunger ERG 2-kill-CONT
'Are you hungry?'[28]

f. *t-umuku-ɣu imputa-te-lɨ isi heke*
COR-son-POSS cure-VBZ-PNCT mother ERG
'The mother gave medicine to her son.'[29]

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24 Santos 2007: 64.
25 Santos 2007: 106.
26 Santos 2007: 111.
27 Santos 2007: 107.
28 Santos 2007: 91.
29 Santos 2007: 33.

Fully ergative: Makuʃi[30]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S
1		*a(j)-…-u-ja*		*i(t)-…-u-ja*	*u-*
2	*u(j)-…-Ø-ja*			*i(t)-…-Ø-ja*	*a-*
SAP				*i(t)-…-Ø-Ø*	*-nɨ*
3	*u(j)-…-i-ja*	*a(j)-…-i-ja*	*u-…-nɨkon*	*i(t)-…-i-ja*	*i-*

[30] Abbott 1991: 101.

Makuʃi

(7) a. ***u-****wetun* *sɨrɨrɨ*
1-sleep Speaker.Involvement
'I'm sleeping'[31]

b. *mɨrɨrɨ* *warantɨ* ***u-****pɨikaʔtɨ****-Ø-****jaʔ-nɨkon*
MED.DEM.INAN like 1-help-2-ERG-PL
'Like that you all help me.'[32]

c. ***u-****koneka-ʔpɨ****-i-****ja*
1-make-PST-3-ERG
'He made me.'[33]

d. *more* *weʔnun-pa****-i-****ja*
baby sleep-CAUS-3-ERG
'She put the baby to sleep.'[34]

Makuʃi

e. *kureʔne* *e-es-enupa-ʔpɨ-ja* *ajawɨ* *pe* ***a-****kuʔ-saʔ*
much 3-DETRZ-teach-PST-ERG crazy PST 2-make-CPL
mɨrɨrɨ
Addressee.Involvement
'Your much learning made you crazy.'[35]

f. *tɨ-tawarai* *jenumɨ-ʔpɨ* *i-wanɨjakon-ja* *wanɨ-ʔpɨ*
COR-knife drop-PST 3-companion-ERG be-PST
'His companion had dropped his knife.'[36]

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31 Abbott 1991: 102.
32 Abbott 1991: 102.
33 Abbott 1991: 84.
34 Abbott 1991: 41.
35 Abbott 1991: 70.
36 Abbott 1991: 128.

Kariʔɲa[37]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S_A	S_P
1		*kɨ-*		*si-*	*w-*	*ɨ-*
2	*kɨ-*			*mi-*	*m-*	*a-*
SAP				*kɨsi-*	*kɨt-*	*kɨ-*
3	*ɨ-*	*aj-*	*kɨ-*	*ni-*	*n-*	*n-*

- no changes

[37] Courtz 2008: 75–79.

Tɨrɨjo[39]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S_A	S_P
1		*k-*		*wi-*	*wɨ-*	*ji-*
2	*k-*			*mi-*	*mɨ-*	*ə-*
SAP				*k(ɨt)-*	*ki-/kɨt-*	*k-*
3	*ji-*	*ə-*	*k-*	*ni-*	*nɨ-*	*n-*

- extended **w-* '1S_A' to 1→3 scenarios[38]

[38] Gildea 1998: 81.

[39] Meira 1999: 283–291.

Aparai[40]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S
1		*k-*		*ɨ-*	*ɨ-*
2	*k-*			*m-*	*m-*
SAP				*s-*	*s-*
3	*j-*	*o-*	*k-*	*n-*	*n-*

- **w*- for 1→3
- loss of split-S

[40] E. Koehn & S. Koehn 1986: 108.

Jeʔkwana[41]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S_A	S_P
1		*məni-*		*wi-*	*w-*	*j-*
2	*kɨ-*			*mi-*	*m-*	*əj-*
SAP				*ki-*	*k-*	*kɨ-*
3	*ɨ-/j-*	*əj-*	*kɨ-*	*ni-*	*n-*	*ni-*

- **w*- for 1→3
- innovative form *mən(i)*- for 1→2

[41] Cáceres 2011: 167.

Wajana[42]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S_A	S_P
1		*kuw-*		*wi-*	*w-*	*j-/ɨ-*
2	*ku-*			*mi-*	*m-*	*əw-*
SAP				*si-*	*h-/k-*	*k-/ku-/kut-*
3	*ɨ-, j-*	*əw-*	*ku-*	*ni-*	*ni-*	*ni-*

- **w*- for 1→3
- addition of **w* to 3→2
- innovative 1→2 form *kuw*- (probably from pronoun)

[42] Tavares 2005: 206.

Hiʃkarʲana[43]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S_A	S_P
1		*k-*		*ɨ-/w-*	*(k)ɨ-*	
2	*uro m-*			*m-*	*m-*	*o(w)-*
SAP				*t-*		*t-*
3	*ro-*	*oj-*	*k-*	*n-*		*n-*

- **w*- for 1→3
- innovative 2→1, 3→1 forms from first person pronoun **(ɤ)wɨ-rɤ* (+ **m*- ‘2A’)
- extension of **k*- to 1S

[43] Derbyshire 1985: 188–189.

Waiwai[44]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S
1		*k-*		*w-*	*k-*
2	*ow m-*			*m-*	*m-*
SAP				*t(ɨt)-*	*tɨt-*
3	*oj-*	*aw-*	*k-*	*n-*	*n-*

- **w*- for 1→3
- addition of **w* to 3→2
- innovative 2→1 form from **(ɤ)wɨ m-*
- **kɨt-* > *tɨt-*?
- loss of split-S

[44] Hawkins 1998: 178–180.

Panare[45]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S
1		*k(i)-, amən t(i)-*		*t(i)-*	*(w)-*
2	*(jɨ=)<-m(i)-*			*m(i)-*	*m(ɨ)-*
SAP				*n(i)-*	*n(ɨ)-*
3	*<-(j-), ju j-*	*a-(j-), amən (j-)*	*n(i)-*	*n(i)-*	*ju-, n(ɨ)-*

- loss of clusivity; third person morphology for INCL (like for EXCL elsewhere)
- innovative 1→2, 2→1, 3→1 forms from pronouns (alongside old 1→2)
- loss of split-S

[45] T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 196–202.

Waimiri-Atroari[46]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S_A	S_P
1		*k-/h-*		*h-*	*h-*	*w-*
2	*aa=(k-)*			*m-*	*m-*	*m-*
SAP				*h-/ʃ-*	*h-*	*h-*
3	*aa=*	*a-*	*h-*	*n-*	*n-*	*n-*

- innovative 2→1 and 3→1 forms (from **(ɤ)wɨ k-*, **(ɤ)wɨ j-*?)
- unclear origin of different *h-* prefixes (**(kɨ)t-*?)

[46] Bruno 2003: 87.

Ikpeŋ[47]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S_A	S_P
1		*k(w)-*		*j-, in-*	*k-*	*g-/ɨ-*
2	*ugw-*			*m-*	*m-*	*w-/o-*
SAP				*kut-*	*kut-*	*ugw-/wɨ-*
3	*g-/ɨ-*	*w-/o-*	*ugw-/wɨ-*	*i-*	*Ø-*	*j-/i-*

- innovative 2→1, 3→SAP, SAP.S_P forms from **uku j-*
- innovative 1→2 form *kw-*
- unclear origin of *g-*, *wɨ-*, and *j-/in-*
- no addition of **n-* to third person forms

[47] Pacheco 2001: 64–86.

Arara[48]

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S_A	S_P
1		*ko-*		*j-/ini-*	*k-/w-*	*j-/ɨ-*
2	*ugu-*			*mi-*	*m-*	*o-*
SAP				*kud-/kuti-*	*kut-*	*ugu-*
3	*j-/ɨ-*	*o-*	*ugu-*	*i-*	*Ø-*	*i-*

- **uku j-* for 2→1, 3→SAP, SAP.S_P
- 1→2 with *ko-*
- unclear origin of *j-/ini-*
- no **n-* in third person forms

[48] Alves 2017: 152.

Reoccurring changes

- **w-* for 1→3
- innovative forms for 1→2
- innovative forms for 2→1
- (addition of **w* to 3→2)
- (loss of split-S)

*w- for 1→3

- Tɨrɨjo, Aparai, Jeʔkwana, Wajana, Hiʃkarʲana, Waiwai
- does not affect other parts of the system
- *t- would have to be glossed ‘1>3’, whereas *w- can simply be ‘1A’
- “more hierarchical”

Innovative forms in local scenarios

- Jeʔkwana: *mən(i)-* for 1→2 (< **ɤmɤ ni-*?)
- Wajana: *kuw-* for 1→2 (< **?*)
- Hiʃkarʲana: *uro m-* for 2→1 (< **(ɤ)wɨ-rɤ m-*)
- Waiwai: *ow m-* for 2→1 (< **(ɤ)wɨ m-*)
- Panare:
  - *(jɨ=)-<-mi-* for 2→1 (< **(ɤ)wɨ-rɤ m-*)
  - *amən ti-* for 1→2 (< **ɤmɤ-rɤ t-*)
- Waimiri-Atroari: *aa=(k-)* for 2→1 (< **(ɤ)wɨ k-*)
- Ikpeŋ, Arara:
  - *ko-* for 1→2 (< **?*)
  - *ugu-* for 2→1, 3→1SAP (< **uku j-*)

Innovative forms in local scenarios

- 1.PRO + **k-* for 2→1: Waimiri-Atroari
- 1.PRO + **m-* for 2→1: Hiʃkarʲana, Waiwai, Panare
- **uku j-* for 2→1: Ikpeŋ, Arara
- 2.PRO + **t-* for 1→2: Panare
- **kuw-* for 1→2: Wajana, Ikpeŋ, Arara
- *məni-* for 1→2: Jeʔkwana
- all same effect: 1→2 and 2→1 are distinct from one another

What is kept distinct?

- Proto-Cariban is reconstructed as having 1→2 = 2→1 = 3→SAP
- different innovations result in different patterns:

- 2→1 = 3→SAP = 1→2
  - Aparai
  - Kariʔɲa
  - Tɨrɨjo
- 2→1 ≠ 3→SAP = 1→2
  - Hiʃkarʲana
  - Waiwai
- 2→1 = 3→SAP ≠ 1→2
  - Jeʔkwana
  - Ikpeŋ
  - Arara
- 2→1 ≠ 3→SAP ≠ 1→2
  - Panare
  - Waimiri-Atroari
- …no pattern 2→1 = 1→2 ≠ 3→SAP

Heath (1991, 1998)

- pragmatics: statements about addressee are dangerous
- avoidance of face threatening acts, trying not to impose on other person
- politeness
- indirectness: avoid open usage of second person form
- polite pronouns in European languages (e.g. use of third person forms)
- in languages with rich person indexing on verb: substitution not of pronouns, but of bound markers
- avoidance of transparency – who did what to whom?
- especially in 1→2 and 2→1
- different strategies

Heath (1998: 85)

1. marker disguised by partial phonological distortion
2. one of the two markers expressed by isolated suppletive allomorph
3. one of the two markers (elsewhere nonzero) expressed by zero
4. number neutralization, sometimes including use of PL for semantic SG
5. 1 or 2 marker merged with (or replaced by) 3 marker
6. entire combination expressed by unanalyzable portmanteau
7. entire combination expressed by zero (special case of portmanteau)
8. inclusive marker replaces 1 or 2 marker, or entire combination

Proto-Cariban

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S_A	S_P
1		***k-***		**t-i-*	**w-*	**u-j-*
2	****k-***			**m-i-*	**m-*	**ɤ-j-*
SAP				**kɨt-i-*	**kɨt-*	****k-***
3	**u-j-*	**ɤ-j-*	****k-***	**n-i-*	**Ø-*	**i-*

- strategy 8: inclusive marker replaces 1 or 2 marker, or entire combination

Proto-Cariban

A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S_A	S_P
1		***k-***		**t-i-*	**w-*	**u-j-*
2	****k-***			**m-i-*	**m-*	**ɤ-j-*
SAP				**kɨt-i-*	**kɨt-*	****k-***
3	**u-j-*	**ɤ-j-*	****k-***	**n-i-*	**Ø-*	**i-*

- strategy 8: inclusive marker replaces 1 or 2 marker, or entire combination

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A→P	1	2	SAP	3	S_A	S_P
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2	****k-***			**m-i-*	**m-*	**ɤ-j-*
SAP				**kɨt-i-* ?	**kɨt-*	****k-***
3	**u-j-*	**ɤ-j-*	****k-***	**n-i-*	**Ø-*	**i-*

- strategy 8: inclusive marker replaces 1 or 2 marker, or entire combination

The case of Jeʔkwana *mən(i)-*

(8) *tikinɲe a-w-ei-ahə=həkə əəwasintʃ͡ʃə-ʔra* ***mən-****ɨrɨ-a*
lazy 2-INTR-COP-PTCP=COND eat-NEG 1>2-make-NPST
'If you're lazy I won't feed you.'[49]

- "some mysterious morphological material either replaces or supplements **k(ɨ)-* for the 1A2O meaning"[50]
- suggestion: from Proto-Cariban **ɤmɤ ni-*, '2.PRO 3-'

[49] Cáceres 2011: 316.

[50] Gildea 1998: 83.

The case of Jeʔkwana *mən(i)-*

- in most other Cariban languages, **n-* can be seen as a 3P marker:

(9) Tɨrɨjo[51]

a. *n-apə-i*
3P-catch-DUB
'S/he has caught (it).'

b. *pakira apə-i*
peccary catch-DUB
'He/she has caught the peccary.'

[51] Meira 1999: 289.

The case of Jeʔkwana *mən(i)-*

- this is not the case in Jeʔkwana:

(10) *əremi* ***n-****ɨrɨ-a=to* *jaawə*
song 3-make-NPST=PL then
'They sing ceremonial chants.'[52]

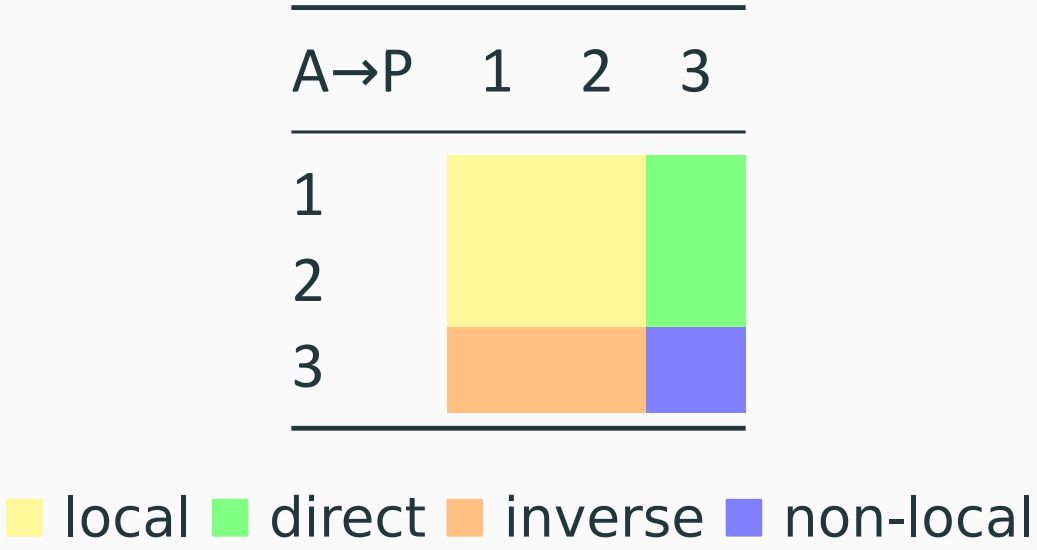
- strategy 5: replacement with 3 marker?

[52] Cáceres 2011: 182.

Original Proto-Cariban system?

- spread of **k-* to 1→2, 2→1 solidly attested in family
- some “innovations” potentially retentions?
- more thorough investigation & reconstruction of person marking in subgroups needed

Inverse scenarios vs inverse marking



Inverse scenarios vs inverse marking

A→P	1	2	3
1			DIR
2			DIR
3	INV	INV	

local direct inverse non-local

Inverse scenarios vs inverse marking

A→P	1	2	3
1			DIR
2			DIR
3	INV	INV	DIR/INV

local direct inverse non-local

Inverse scenarios vs inverse marking

A→P	1	2	SAP	3
1		*k-		*t-
2	*k-			*m-
SAP				*kɨt-
3	*uj-	*ɤj-	*k-	*n-

local direct inverse non-local

- *uj-, *ɤj-, *k- = ‘INV’
- *t-, *m-, *kɨt- = ‘DIR’

The linking prefix **j-*

- linking (pro-)nouns with verbs or nouns
- nominal or verbal argument directly before head
- P NP inside VP; tight integration
- alternation between **NP j-V* and **n-V* in 3→3 scenarios
- search for INV marker begins

> The obvious answer is that [Proto-Cariban **j-*] served as en explicit morphological marker of inverse [...]. This analysis is particularly appealing since it has been claimed that a morphological marker of inverse is critical to membership in the class of inverse systems [...].

(Gildea 1998: 86–87)

Gildea (1994): Kariʔɲa

- “Semantic and pragmatic inverse: ‘Inverse alignment’ and ‘inverse voice’ in Carib of Surinam”
- DIR and INV prefixes in mixed scenarios
- in 3→3, we find either *NP Ø-V* (< **NP j-V*) or *n-V*
- which one is DIR and which one is INV?
- can’t be assigned to either group
- corpus analysis reveals difference in topic persistence: *NP Ø-V* much less topical
- however, *NP Ø-V* is the only way of introducing new referents in P role
- suggests passive construction (*t-V* A-OBL P-AUX) as expressing INV

Panare

- T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne (2013) analyze *j-* as an INV marker, both in mixed and non-local scenarios:[53]

(11) a. *ju* *j-ama-jah* *kən*
1SG INV-knock.down-REC MED.DEM.ANIM.SG
'S/he knocked me down.'

b. *toman* *j-ama-jah* *kən*
T. INV-knock.down-REC MED.DEM.ANIM.SG
'S/he knocked Tom down.'

[53] T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 202.

Panare

- EXCL is expressed as free pronoun *ana* + third person indexing
- hierarchy: 1SG > 2 > 3/1PL[54]

(12) a. *amən j-ama-jah ana*
2SG INV-knock.down-REC EXCL
'We knocked you down.'

b. *amən ana n-ama-jah ana*
2SG EXCL 3.DIR-knock.down-REC EXCL
'We knocked you down.'

[54] T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 25.

Panare

- different hierarchy: $1/2 > 3_{\text{pre-verb}} > 3_{\text{post-verb}}$[55]

Our interpretation of [*j*-] as the inverse marker gives rise to the hypothesis that free O arguments that occur in pre-verbal position are formally proximate[56]

(13) a. *toman* *j-ama-jah* *kən*
T.(PROX)? INV-knock.down-REC MED.DEM.ANIM.SG
'S/he knocked Tom down.'

b. *tahma* *n-iɲi-jah* *kən* *mit͡ʃi*
ugly 3.DIR-see-REC MED.DEM.ANIM.SG cat(OBV?)
'He saw the ugly cat.'[57]

[55] T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 197.
[56] T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 203.
[57] T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 72.

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agentive transitive argument
ANIM	animate
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
COND	conditional
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
COR	coreference
CPL	completive
DEM	demonstrative
DETRZ	detransitivizer
DIR	direct
DUB	dubitative
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive
INAN	inanimate
INCL	inclusive
INTR	intransitive
INV	inverse
LK	linker
M	masculine
MED	medial
NEG	negation
NPST	non-past
OBL	oblique
OBV	obviative
P	patientive transitive argument
PL	plural
PNCT	punctual
POSS	possessive
PRO	pronoun
PROX	proximal/proximate
PST	past
PTCP	participle
Q	question particle/marker
REC	recent past
S	intransitive argument
S_A	S marked like A
S_P	S marked like P
SAP	speech act participant
SG	singular
TR	transitive
VBZ	verbalizer