

Concordância, switch-reference e caso tripartido em línguas Pano^{*}

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Abstract

Em Souza (2013), proponho uma análise para a língua Yawanawá (Pano) em que o sistema de caso é tripartido (ergativo-nominativo-acusativo) e neutralizações na morfologia de superfície são responsáveis pela aparente cisão descrita por diversos autores (Valenzuela (2000), Ferreira (2000), Camargo (2002), Costa (2002), Paula (2004), Fleck, 2005, Zariquiey (2006), entre outros). Esta proposta baseia-se no trabalho de autores como Legate (2008) e Legate (2012), assim como Comrie (1991) e Goddard (1982), que sugerem uma análise equivalente para as línguas australianas da família Pama Nyungan, cujo sistema de caso também apresenta cisão de pessoa à la hierarquia de Silverstein (1976). Temos dois objetivos nesta apresentação. O primeiro é demonstrar que o conceito de sistema tripartido se aplica não somente ao Yawanawá, mas às línguas pano em geral. Esta proposta demonstra que o termo ‘ergatividade-cindida’ não passa de um rótulo descritivo sem qualquer poder explicativo, e que uma análise tripartida nos permite fazer previsões que são plausíveis tanto de um ponto de vista teórico, quanto diacrônico para esta família linguística. O segundo objetivo desta apresentação é apresentar evidências que o sistema de switch-reference destas línguas corrobora a proposta do sistema de caso tripartido. Mais uma vez, partiremos de dados primários da língua Yawanawá, e para esta análise, nos basearemos em Baker (2013), que mostra que os marcadores de switch-reference nas línguas Pano concordam com o caso do sujeito de referência. Este fato será utilizado como diagnóstico para mostrar que, apesar da morfologia de superfície ser diferente, tanto pronomes [+participante] quanto [-participante] têm o mesmo caso subjacente em construções transitivas e intransitivas.

1 Introduction

1.1 Goals

- Show that Panoan languages have a tripartite case system and not a “split-ergative” one;
- show that the switch-reference system of these languages provides independent evidence for this claim.

1.2 Proposal

- Same-subject (SS) markers in Panoan languages agree with the case of the reference subject (Baker, 2013). The fact that the same SS marker is used with first, second, and third person pronouns shows that these pronouns have the same underlying case in a given construction despite their distinct surface morphological patterns.

1.3 The Panoan language family

- Panoan languages are spoken in the Southwestern Amazon region, in South America (Peru, Brazil, and Bolivia).
- “The [Panoan] languages show close similarities, indicating a fairly shallow time-depth and recent expansion and split” (Loos, 1999, p. 227). Estimates trace Proto-Panoan to 1,000 years ago (compare to Indo-European, approx. 6,000 years ago) (Lathrap, 1970, p. 187).

^{*}Thank you to Morgan Moyer and Augustina Owusu for helpful comments on this presentation and to the audience at the Australian National University at Canberra for insightful discussion on an earlier version of this talk.

- All uncited data comes from my own research in the Yawanawa language documentation project (ProDocLin – Museu do Índio/UNESCO, 2010-2013)

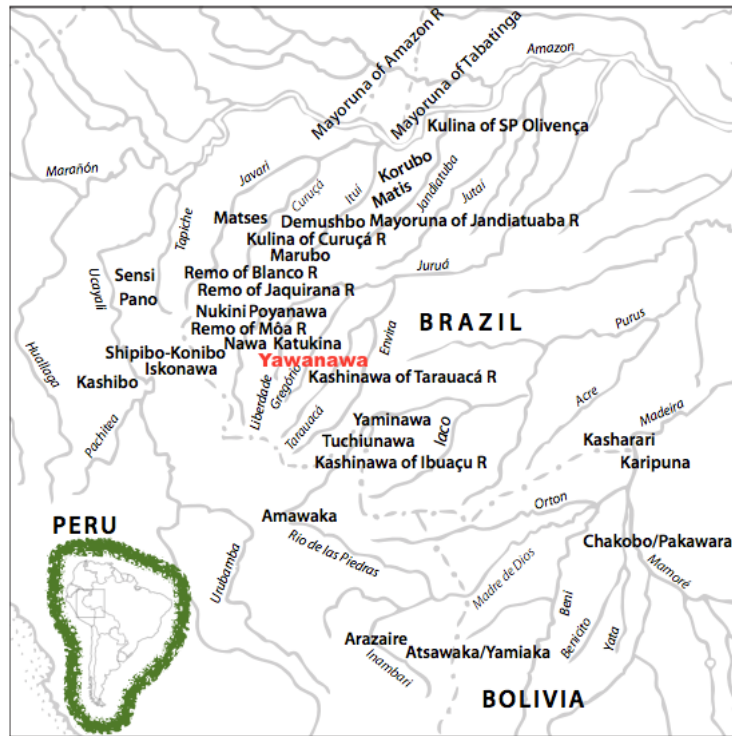


Figure 1: Map of Panoan Languages (adapted from Fleck (2013, p. 8))

2 The case system: Yawanawa data

(1) Yawanawa's 1SG/2SG pronouns: NOM-ACC pattern¹

- a. Participant pronoun as transitive subject
Ē/Mī yawa rete-a.
 1s/2s wild.boar kill-PRF
 'I/You killed a wild boar.'
- b. Participant pronoun as intransitive subject
Ē/Mī itxu-a.
 1s/2s run-PRF
 'I/You ran.'
- c. Participant pronoun as object
 Yawā **ea/mia** naka.
 wild.boar.ERG 1s/2s bite.PRF
 'The wild boar bit me/you.'

(2) Yawanawa's 3SG pronouns: ERG-ABS pattern².

- a. 3SG pronoun as transitive subject
Atū yawa rete-a.
 3s wild.boar kill-PRF
 '(S)he killed a wild boar.'
- b. 3SG pronoun as intransitive subject
A itxu-a.
 3s run-PRF
 '(S)he ran.'

¹Same pattern applies for 1PL/2PL, see Souza (2013). I have omitted the case labels here for expository reasons.

²Same pattern applies for full DPs, see Souza (2013)

- c. 3SG pronoun as object
 Yawã **a** naka.
 wild.boar.ERG 3S bite.PRF
 ‘The wild boar bit him/her.’
- (3) Yawanawa’s 3PL pronouns: tripartite pattern
- a. 3PL as transitive subject
Ahaũ epe shewa-kân-i.
 3P straw weave-PL-PROG
 ‘They are weaving straw.’
- b. 3PL as intransitive subject
Ahu ve-kân-i.
 3P come-PL-PROG
 ‘They are coming.’
- c. 3PL as object
 Ê **atu** kux-a.
 1S 3P hit-PRF
 ‘I hit them.’

Table 1: **Yawanawa**’s case morphology (Panoan, Souza, 2013, pp. 113–7)

	TRANS. SUBJ	INTRS. SUBJ	OBJECT
1sg	ẽ	ẽ	ea
2sg	mĩ	mĩ	mia
1pl	nũ	nũ	nuke
2pl	mã	mã	matu
3sg	atũ	a	a
nouns	-nẽ, -n	∅	∅
3pl	ahãu	ahu	atu

3 The problem with split-ergativity

- The case systems of Panoan languages has been uncontroversially described as ‘**split-ergative**’ by a number of authors: Valenzuela (2000), Ferreira (2000), Camargo (2002), Costa (2002), Paula (2004), Fleck, 2005, Zariquiey (2006), a.o.³
- The problem: ‘**split-ergative**’ is a descriptive label with no explanatory power. Systems look arbitrary and no predictions can be drawn.

Table 2: **Wariapano**’s case morphology (Panoan, Valenzuela, 2000, pp. 114-118)

	TRANS. SUBJ.	INTRS. SUBJ.	OBJECT
1sg	ibi	ibi	ia
2sg	mibi	mibi	mia
3sg	jabi	jabi	ja
1pl	nobi/numi	nobi/numi	noko
2pl	mibonbi	mibonbi	mito/miato
3pl	jabonbi	jabonbi	jato
nouns	-n	-∅	∅

³A well-known exception is Shipibo Valenzuela (2003), which is ERG-ABS across the board. But see appendix.

Table 3: **Shanenawa**'s case morphology (Panoan, Cândido, 2004, p. 89)

	TRANS. SUBJ.	INTRS. SUBJ.	OBJECT
1sg	in	in	ia
2sg	min	min	mia
1pl	nun	nun	nuku
2pl	man	man	matu
3sg	atun/ahun	a/∅	a/∅
3pl	atun/ahun	atu/ahu	atu/ahu
nouns	-n, -ni, -na, -nu	-∅	∅

Table 4: **Kashibo**'s case morphology (Panoan, Zariquiey, 2011, p. 221)

	TRANS. SUBJ.	INTRS. SUBJ.	OBJECT
1sg	‘ ën	‘ ëx	‘ ë
2sg	min	mix	mi
3sg	an	ax	a
1du.incl	nun	nux	nu
2du	mitsun	mitsux	mitsu
3du/pauc	atun	atux	atu
1pl.incl	nukaman	nukamax	nukama
1pl.excl	‘ ëkaman	‘ ëkamax	‘ ëkama
2pl	mikaman	mikamax	mikama
3pl	akaman	akamax	akama
‘who’	=n	=x	-∅
nouns	=n	∅	∅

4 Inspiration across the South-Pacific

Pama Nyungan languages (Australia) have very similar ‘split-systems’:

Table 5: **Pitta-Pitta**'s case morphology (Pama Nyungan, Blake, 1977, p. 18)

	TRANS. SUBJ.	INTRS. SUBJ.	OBJECT
pronouns	-lu	-∅	-na
nouns	-lu	-∅	-na

Table 6: **Pitjantjatjara**'s case morphology (Pama Nyungan, Eckert and Hudson, 1988, pp. 104,109,145,148)

	TRANS. SUBJ.		INTRS. SUBJ.		OBJECT	
	<i>long</i>	<i>short</i>	<i>long</i>	<i>short</i>	<i>long</i>	<i>short</i>
1sg	ngayulu	- <u>na</u>	ngayulu	- <u>na</u>	ngay <u>unya</u>	<u>ni</u>
2sg	nyuntu	-n	nyuntu	-n	nyunt <u>unya</u>	-nta
3sg	paluru	∅	paluru	∅	pal <u>unya</u>	-∅
1du	ngali	-li	ngali	-li	ngal <u>inya</u>	-linya
2du	nyupali	-n	nyupali	-n	nyupal <u>inya</u>	-nta
3du	pula	-pula	pula	-pula	pul <u>anya</u>	-∅
1pl	nganana	-la	nganana	-la	nganan <u>anya</u>	-lanya
2pl	nyura	-n	nyura	-n	nyur <u>anya</u>	-nta
3pl	tjana	-ya	tjana	-ya	tjan <u>anya</u>	-∅
common nouns	-ngku, -tju, -tu, -<u>tu</u>		-∅		-∅	
proper nouns	-lu, -tju, -tu, -<u>tu</u>		-nya, -nga		-nya, -nga	

Table 7: **Diyari**’s case morphology (Pama Nyungan, Goddard, 1982, pp. 170–1)

	TRANS. SUBJ.	INTRS. SUBJ.	OBJECT
non sg. 1 & 2	∅	∅	-na
other pronouns	-li	∅	-na
non sg. common N	-li	∅	-na
female names	-ndu	-ni	-na
male names	-li	-na	-na
sg. common N	-li, -yali	∅	∅

5 Abstract case vs. surface morphology

- Split ergativity, Silverstein (1976, p. 113)’s generalization: nominals higher in the person hierarchy (animate nouns, 1st and 2nd person pronouns) tend to have NOM-ACC case pattern; lower nominals (inanimate nouns, 3rd persons) tend to have ERG-ABS case pattern. Some languages have an intermediate terrain with three distinct forms for transitive subject, intransitive subject and object.
- Goddard (1982), Comrie (1991) : Split case MARKING vs. split case SYSTEM. A distinction is drawn between “case” and “case form” (abstract case and surface morphology). ‘The case of any nominal can be determined by substituting for it a nominal from the subclass with tripartite marking, therefore such languages must be regarded as having three core cases.
- Baker (2015) follows Legate (2008): nominative-accusative pronouns have the same word order and binding properties as ergative-absolutive NPs. It is most easily understood if the syntactic rules of case assignment are tripartite across the board and then case is spelled out differently after different lexical items. Thus, ‘absolutive’ is not a structural case. It is a morphological default that substitutes for more specific nominative and accusative marking, when in lack. ⁴

5.1 Independent evidence: apparent case mismatches

Djapu, (Pama-Nyungan, Morphy 1983, cited by Legate 2008): all elements of an NP, whether continuous or discontinuous, must be marked for case and match in case.

(4) All elements of a DP must match in case

- a. nganapurru-nggalangu-**w** djamarkurli-**w** yumurrku-**w** dhiya-ku Djapu-**w**
1PL.EXCL-OBL.S-**DAT** children-**DAT** small.PL-**DAT** this-**DAT** Djapu-**DAT**
‘for these our small Djapu children’ (Morphy, 1983, p. 123)
- b. Bala ngayi ga:rri-nya-mara-m birrka’mirr rdung’rtung ngurikal-yi
then he.NOM enter-NMLZR-CAUSE-UNM anything.ABS palpitating.ABS that.OBL-ANAPH
yolngu-wal.
person-OBL
‘Then he puts some other palpitating thing into that person.’ (Morphy, 1983, p. 40)

It is possible to combine a demonstrative, which has ERG-ABS surface morphology and a human noun, which has tripartite ERG-NOM-ACC surface morphology, giving rise to apparent case mismatches.

(5) Apparent case mismatches in Djapu’s NPs:

- a. Wungay’ marrtji-nya [ngunhi-ny-dhi yolngu-**n**
honey go-PAST.NONINDIC [that.ABS-PRO-ANAPH person-**ACC**
wapirti-warrtju-na-puyngu-**nha**-ny] weka-nha.
stingray-spear.PL-NMLZR-INHAB-**ACC**-PRO] give-PAST.NONINDIC
‘We would go and give honey to those people who were spearing stingrays
(lit. ‘to those stingray-spearing people’).’ (Morphy, 1983, p. 110)
- b. [Dhuwa.∅ dhe.∅] yurru lili dha:parng rongiyi-rr.
[this.ABS you.NOM] FUT HITHER unsuccessful return-UNM
‘YOU will return empty handed [but not I].’ (Morphy, 1983, p. 84)

⁴Though the two authors disagree with respect to the mechanism of ergative case assignment: inherent case (Legate, 2008) vs. dependent case (Baker, 2015).

- (6) Mismatch disappears, if all nominals are assumed to have tripartite abstract case. ‘ABS’=NOM/ACC.⁵
- a. Wungay’ marrtji-nya [**ngunhi**-ny-dhi yolngu-**n**
honey go-PAST.NONINDIC [that.NOM/ACC-PRO-ANAPH person-ACC
wapirti-warrtju-na-puyngu-**nha**-ny] weka-nha.
stingray-spear.PL-NMLZR-INHAB-ACC-PRO] give-PAST.NONINDIC
‘We would go and give honey to those people who were spearing stingrays
(lit. ‘to those stingray-spearing people’).’ (Morphy, 1983, p. 110)
- b. [Dhuwa.Ø nhe.Ø] yurru lili dha:parng rongiyi-rr.
[this.NOM/ACC you.NOM] FUT HITHER unsuccessful return-UNM
‘YOU will return empty handed [but not I].’ (Morphy, 1983, p. 84)

Jaminawa/Yaminahua (Panoan, Faust and Loos 2002, p. 55): adjuncts have different morphology depending on whether they agree with an ergative (-xō) or an nominative (-ax) subject. Participant pronouns have NOM-ACC morphology, giving rise to an apparent case mismatch.

- (7) Apparent case mismatches on Jaminawa’s argument-adjunct agreement:
- a. Yome-**ax** ē niri o-ni.
boy-when.NOM 1SG.NOM here come-PAST.REM
‘When I was a boy, I came here.’
- b. Yome pisht-**ax** ē na-kera-ni.
boy small-when.NOM 1SG.NOM die-INCEPT-PAST.REM
‘When I was a boy, I almost died.’
- c. **Ē** naetapa-**xō** koma rete-ni.
1SG.NOM young-when.ERG pheasant hunt-PAST.REM
‘When I was young, I hunted a pheasant.’
- d. Yome pishta-**xō** ē pari oī-pao-ni.
boy small-when.ERG 1SG.NOM father see-PAST.PROG-PAS.REM
When I was little, I used to see the priest.’
- (8) Mismatch disappears, if all pronouns are assumed to have tripartite abstract case. “Ē”=ERG/NOM⁶
- a. Yome-**ax** ē niri o-ni.
boy-when.NOM 1SG.ERG/NOM here come-PAST.REM
‘When I was a boy, I came here.’
- b. Yome pisht-**ax** ē na-kera-ni.
boy small-when.NOM 1SG.ERG/NOM die-INCEPT-PAST.REM
‘When I was a boy, I almost died.’
- c. **Ē** naetapa-**xō** koma rete-ni.
1SG.ERG/NOM young-when.ERG pheasant hunt-PAST.REM
‘When I was young, I hunted a pheasant.’
- d. Yome pishta-**xō** ē pari oī-pao-ni.
boy small-when.ERG 1SG.ERG/NOM father see-PAST.PROG-PAS.REM
When I was little, I used to see the priest.’

5.2 Bringing it home

Neutralizations of abstract case in surface morphology are far from exotic:

Table 8: Latin (Comrie, 1991, p. 43)

	NOM	ACC	VOC
“war”	bell um	bell um	bell um
“world”	mundus	mundum	munde

⁵This is the same example as the last one, except I changed the ABS gloss into NOM/ACC, that is, I glossed the morphological neutralization.

⁶This is the same example as the last one, except I changed the NOM gloss into ERG/NOM, that is, I glossed the morphological neutralization.

Table 9: Brazilian Portuguese

	NOM	ACC
1SG	eu	me
2SG	tu/você	te
3SG	ele/ela	ele/ela

Table 10: English (Arregi and Nevins, 2013)

	NOM	ACC	GEN
3S.MASC	he	him	his
3S.FEM	she	her	her

6 Back to South America: proposal for Panoan system

Table 11: Yawanawa's case system

	ERG	NOM	ACC
1sg	ẽ	ẽ	ea
2sg	mĩ	mĩ	mia
1pl	nũ	nũ	nuke
2pl	mã	mã	matu
3sg	atũ	a	a
nouns	-nẽ, -n	∅	∅
3pl	ahãu	ahu	atu

Table 12: Kashibo's case system

	ERG	NOM	ACC
1sg	‘ën	‘ëx	‘ë
2sg	min	mix	mi
3sg	an	ax	a
1du.incl	nun	nux	nu
2du	mitsun	mitsux	mitsu
3du/pauc	atun	atux	atu
1pl.incl	nukaman	nukamax	nukama
1pl.excl	‘ëkaman	‘ëkamax	‘ëkama
2pl	mikaman	mikamax	mikama
3pl	akaman	akamax	akama
‘who’	=n	=x	-∅
nouns	=n	-∅	-∅

Predictions:

- Morphological neutralizations will create different surface ‘case splits’;
- Systems may go fully ERG-ABS or NOM-ACC.

7 Independent evidence from switch-reference

So far, 2 pieces of evidence point in the direction of a tripartite case system for Pama Nyungan and Panoan languages:

- apparent case mismatches on the elements of a DP,
- subject-adjunct agreement.

Case agreement on switch reference markers will be introduced as a third piece of evidence for this analysis.

7.1 What is switch-reference again?

Consider the ambiguous English sentence: (Jacobsen, 1967)

(9) After he_i came, $he_{i/j}$ left.

Switch-reference languages never have such ambiguities. A switch-reference marker is a morpheme that indicates subject retention or subject switch between a subordinate clause and a main clause.

- (10) a. After he_i came-**SS**, he_i left.
b. After he_i came-**DS**, he_j left.

- (11) Mojave (Yuman, Langdon and Munro 1979)
a. [nya-isvar-**k**] i:ma-k
when-sing-**SS** dance-tns
‘When he_i sang, he_i danced.’
b. [nya-isvar-**m**] i:ma-k
when-sing-**DS** dance-tns
‘When he_i sang, he_j danced.’

Some properties of switch-reference markers:

- may or may not carry other meanings in addition (tense/aspect),
- are obligatory even if sentence is not ambiguous (syntactic, not pragmatic).

(12) Yawanawa (Panoan): SS vs. DS, overlapping events

- a. [Ē atsa pi]-**kĩ** (ē) Livia kena.
1S.ERG yucca eat-**SS.SIMULT** 1S.ERG Livia call.PRF
‘When I was eating yucca, I called Livia.’
- b. [Ē atsa pi-ai]-**nũ** ea Livia-nē kena.
1S.ERG yucca eat-IMPF-**DS.SIMULT** 1S.ACC Livia-ERG call.PRF
‘When I was eating yucca, Livia called me.’

(13) Yawanawa (Panoan): SS, sequenced vs. overlapping events

- a. [Yuma atxi]-**shũ** ē pi-a.
fish catch-**SS.PREV** 1S.ERG eat-PRF
‘I caught and ate fish.’
- b. [Pi-pai]-**kĩ** ē yuma atxi-a.
eat-DES-**SS.SIMULT** 1S.ERG fish catch-PRF
‘I caught fish to eat.’ lit. ‘Willing to eat, I caught fish.’

7.2 Switch-reference agreement in Panoan

(14) A key property of Panoan switch reference: Yawanawa SS marker agrees with case of reference subject.

- a. Ē kehuisā mutsa-**shũ**/*ashe tua-i.
1S.ERG bacaba.fruit squeeze-**SS.PREV.ERG**/***SS.PREV.NOM** strain-PROG
‘I squeezed bacaba and now I’m straining it.’
- b. E-wē kuka-∅ niik-**ashe**/*shũ iyā kesha-ki nuku-a
1S-POSS uncle-NOM hunt-**SS.PREV.NOM**/***SS.PREV.ERG** lake edge-at arrive-PRF
runu-wā-nē she-a.
snake-AUM-ERG swallow-PRF
‘My uncle went hunting and when he arrived at the edge of a lake, an anaconda swallowed him.’

- Agreement on switch-reference morpheme is **not** with thematic role of subject (vs. Valenzuela 2003):

In (15-a), ‘monkey’ is the theme argument of the intransitive verb ‘die’ and has absolutive case. An applicative morpheme in (15-b) introduces a malefactive argument. This introduced argument takes absolutive case and ‘monkey’ gets ergative case, even though the thematic role remains constant.

(15) Case alternation with theta role remaining constant in Shipibo (Panoan, Baker 2013, p. 35) :

- a. Nokon shino-ra mawa-ke.
my.GEN monkey.ABS-PRT die-PRF
‘My monkey died.’
- b. Nokon shino-**n**-ra / (*shino-ra) e-a mawa-xon-ke.
my.GEN monkey-**ERG**-PRT / (*monkey.ABS-PRT) me-ABS die-APPL-PRF
‘My monkey died on me.’

When a new clause marked with SR is introduced, the SS marker agrees with the ergative argument ‘monkey’, which is **not an agent**.

(16) Agreement on SR markers not related to thematic role in Shipibo (Baker 2013, p. 36):

- [Yapa payot-a pi] -**xon**-ra, nokon shino-**n** e-a mawa-xon-ke.
[fish spoil-PTPL eat] -**SS.ERG**-PRT my.GEN monkey-**ERG** me-ABS die-APPL-PRF
‘Having eaten spoiled fish, my monkey died on me.’

- Agreement on switch-reference morpheme is **not** with verbal transitivity (vs. Valenzuela 2003):

Verbs in applicative constructions in Shipibo remain intransitive. There are two auxiliaries in the language that are used in short answers: *ik-* substitutes intransitive verbs and *ak-*, transitive. The obligatory use of *ik-* below shows that *mawa* ‘die’ remains intransitive despite applicativization.

- (17) Intransitive verbs in applicative constructions remain intransitive (Baker 2013, p. 41):
 Mi-n shino-n-ki mi-a mawa-xon-a? **Ik**-ama / (*Ak-ama).
 you-GEN monkey-ERG-Q you-ABS die-APPL-PTPL do.**INTR**-NEG / (*do.TR-NEG)
 ‘Did your monkey die on you?’ ‘No.’

Therefore, SR markers in Shipibo agree with the case of the reference subject and not with its thematic role, or with the transitivity of the reference verb.

7.3 So far...

- case systems with person ‘splits’ are tripartite: ERG-NOM-ACC ;
- switch-reference markers keep track of subject reference in complex constructions;
- switch-reference markers in Panoan languages agree with the case of the reference subject.

7.4 The two systems converge

Pitjantjatjara (Austin 1981, Pama-Nyungan citing Glass and Hackett 1970, pp. 39,99): Purpose clauses are marked by *kija* if subject is the same (SS), and *jaku* if subjects are different (DS). The SS marker is followed by an ERG marker if the subject of the main clause is ERG, as in (18-a). There is no such case agreement on DS markers, as in (18-c).

- (18) Pitjantjatjara’s agreement on switch-reference markers⁷
- Ergative agreement with transitive subject
 [wati nyarra]-**lu** kupurlu- $\emptyset$ manyji-nu, jiji- $\emptyset$ pungku-kija-**lu**.
 [man that]-**ERG** club-ABS get-PAST child-ABS hit-PURP(SS)-**ERG**
 ‘That man got a club to hit the child.’
 - Nominative agreement with intransitive subject
palunyanya kutipija-ngu, lankurru palyal-kija- $\emptyset$.
 he-**NOM** goaway-PAST spearthrower.ABS make-PURP(SS)-**NOM**
 ‘He went away to make a spear thrower.’
 - No agreement with DS marker
 paarlparniya- $\emptyset$ ninti-la, mirru mukul junku-jaku.
 sinew-ABS give-IMP spear.thrower hook put-PURP(DS)
 ‘Give (me) sinew so (I) can put the hook on the spear thrower.’

Pronouns have NOM-ACC surface morphology, but the agreement marker on the same-subject switch reference marker is ERG, which is evidence for the tripartite case system.

- (19) Pitjantjatjara’s pronouns agree with ergative SS marker despite ambiguities
- katima, mungarrji-**lin** ngalku-kija-**lu**
 bring.FUT afternoon-1DU.INCL.**ERG**/NOM eat-PURP(SS)-**ERG**
 ‘(I) will bring(it) back for us two to eat in the afternoon.’
 - pampuny-jamaal-**tu** wanti
 touch-REL(SS)-**ERG** leave-IMP
 ‘Leave (it) without touching (it)!’

⁷The NOM form of the 3rd person pronoun in (18-b) from this source differs from the form given by Eckert and Hudson (1988). We do not know this difference is due to dialectal variation or to some mistake.

Yawanawa: SS marker *shũ* agrees with ergative subjects and *ashe* with nominative subjects. The same markers are used both for participant and non-participant pronouns. This is evidence that participant pronouns in transitive subject position are indeed ergative, despite having NOM-ACC surface morphology.

(20) Yawanawa's SS marker agrees in ergative case with participant and non-participant pronouns

- a. A-tũ awa txatxi-**shũ** rete-a.
3S-**ERG** tapir stab-SS.PREV.**ERG** kill-PRF
'He stabbed and (then) killed the tapir.'
- b. Ē kehuisā mutsa-**shũ** tua-i.
1SG.**ERG**/NOM bacaba squeeze-SS.PREV.**ERG** strain-PROG
'I squeezed the bacaba fruit and now I'm straining it.'
- c. Shukuvena ni-**ashe** shanēihu i-pau-ni.
Shukuvena stand-SS.PREV.**NOM** chief AUX.INTR-IMPF-REM.PST
'When Shukuvena was alive, he was the chief.'
- d. Ē ni-**ashe** ě shaneihu
1SG.NOM/ERG stand-SS.PREV.**NOM** 1SG.NOM/ERG chief
i-pau-ni.
AUX.INTR-PROG.PST-REM.PST
'When I was alive, I was the chief (said the ghost)'

8 Conclusions

- Ergative languages split along a person/animacy hierarchy *a la* Silverstein (1976) have a tripartite case system. Other unrelated languages with tripartite systems are Nez Perce (Shahaptian, USA), Coast Tsimshian (Tsimshianic, Canada), Semelai (Austro-Asiatic, Malaysia) (Baker, 2015).
- Tripartite languages may or may not have explicit three-way morphology in subsets of nominals. They often have ERG-ABS in some set and NOM-ACC in others.
- In tripartite languages, 'absolutive' is not a core case, but a label given to the syncretic form of certain nominals which do not have distinct morphology for NOM and ACC.
- The case systems of a number of tripartite Panoan languages have been mislabeled as 'ergative' in their descriptions. The analysis parallels that of Pama-Nyungan languages.
- Case agreement on elements of a DP, adjuncts, **and switch-reference markers** are important independent pieces of evidence for underlying three-way case systems.

9 Appendix

As mentioned, Shipibo (Panoan) is an apparent counter-example to the tripartite generalization for Panoan languages, since its case system is ergative-absolutive across the board. Two comments are in order, however:

- as laid out in the predictions for tripartite languages, morphological neutralizations may shift case systems diachronically towards ergative-absolutive or nominative-accusative;
- despite the ERG-ABS case, some grammatical systems of Shipibo show either a split or a tripartite alignment (see examples below).

9.1 Plural agreement marker

"The verbal suffix -kan indicates that the S or A argument of the clause is plural (...) -kan operates on a nominative basis." (Valenzuela, 2003, p. 521):

(21) Plural agreement marker in Shipibo follows nominative pattern

- a. Jaino-a-x bo-**kan**-ai chiponki....
there:LOC-ABL-S go.N.SG-**PL**-INC down.the.river
'Then they went down the river.... '

- b. Ja-tian ani nonti-n westiora atsa xeati chomo
that-TEMP big canoe-LOC one yuca drinkjar:ABS INTERIOR-seat-**PL**-INC
na-yasan-**kan**-ai...

'Then they put ajar of yuca beer in a big canoe.....'
- c. ...Ja Joni icha pltI-a bane-ni-ke; jatibi roo rete-kin
that man:ABS much food-PROP remain-REM-CMPL all howler.monkey:ABS kill-SSSA
keyo-ax.
finish-PSSS
'And so the man remained with a lot of food, after having killed all the howler monkeys.'

9.2 Emphatic pronouns

"Emphatic pronouns occur necessarily in the -n form and are coreferential with the S [intransitive subject] or A [transitive subject] argument of the same clause." (Valenzuela, 2003, p. 522):

(22) Emphatic pronouns in Shipibo follow a nominative-accusative case pattern:

- a. Mane-ra ja-**n**-bi-x mawa-ke.
Mane:ABS-EV 3-NOM-EM-S die-CMPL
'Mane himself died / died by his own action.'
- b. Wesna-**n**-ra ja-**n**-bi rao xea-ke.
Wesna-ERG-EV 3-NOM-EM medicine:ABS drink-CMPL
'Wesna herself drank the medicine.'
- c. Nato r-iki e-n piti be-a, ja-**Ø**-bi moa bo-tan-we.
this EV-COP 1-ERG eat-INF:ABS bring-PP2:ABS 3-ACC-EM:O already carry-go.and.do-IMP
'This is the fish I have caught, you better take THIS home already (rather than continue waiting for your father who also went fishing).'

From Valenzuela (2003): "Although emphatic pronouns follow a **nominative-accusative** distribution in terms of case-marking, their overall alignment is **tripartite** (...)

(23) Tripartite distribution of emphatic pronouns in Shipibo:

- a. Intransitive subject: PRO-n + bi + -x
E-a-ra e-**n**-**bi**-x-bi-shaman beno-ama-[a] iki.
1-ABS-EV 1-NOM-**EM-S**-NICELY get.married-NEG-PP2 AUX
'I didn't get married according to my own will.'
- b. Transitive subject: PRO-n + bi + -Ø
Wesna-**n**-ra ja-**n**-bi rao xea-ke.
Wesna-ERG-EV 3-NOM-EM medicine:ABS drink-CMPL
'Wesna herself drank the medicine.'
- c. Object: PRO-Ø + bi + Ø
- d. Nato r-iki e-n piti be-a, ja-**Ø**-bi moa bo-tan-we.
this EV-COP 1-ERG eat-INF:ABS bring-PP2:ABS 3-ACC-EM:O already carry-go.and.do-IMP
'This is the fish I have caught, you better take THIS home already (rather than continue waiting for your father who also went fishing).'

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