

Some thoughts on agreement in Amazonian

Jan-Wouter Zwart

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1. Ergative agreement ?
2. Agreement via probe-goal?

Ad 1

(1) Panará verbal agreement (Bardagil-Mas 2018:110ff)

a. *Intransitive*

Jy= py= mẽ= ra= pôô.
 INTR ITER DU 1SG.ABS arrive
 ‘The two of us are back.’ (obs)

b. *Transitive*

Ka hê ka= ra= sisyri inkjê.
 2SG ERG 2SGERG 1SGABS hit 1SG
 ‘You hit me.’ (el)

(2) Template morphology (111)

Position	SLOT	FUNCTION
PROCLITIC	1	mood
	2	ergative
	3	second person number
	4	reciprocal, reflexive
	5	iterative, direction
	6	dative
	7	postposition
	8	dual
	9	noun, classifier, dative
	10	absolutive
VERB	11	one—or more, in a serial construction

(3) Ergative paradigm (realis)(113)

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	rê	rê ... mẽ	nê
2	ka	ka ... mẽ	ka rê
3	ti	ti ... mẽ	nê

(4) System?

- a. 2 = ka
- b. unmarked/plural opposition
2: zero/rê, 1/3: plural suppletive nê
- c. 1/3 opposition rê/ti

- (5) YOU + > ka > unm/plural + > add rê
 - > unm/plural + > nê
 - > ME + > rê
 - > ti

(6) Absolutive paradigm (realis)(117)	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
(7) System?	1 ra (r)	mě ... ra (r)	ra (p)
a. 2 = a	2 a (k)	mě ... a (k)	rê ... a (rê ... k)
b. unmarked/plural opposition 2: zero/rê, 1/3: plural suppletive ra	3 ∅ (s/j)	mě ... ∅ (s/j)	ra (r)
c. 1/3 opposition ra/zero			

(NB before vowel it is more complicated, i.e. not a single suppletive plural 1/3)

(8) YOU	+	>	a	>	unm/plural	+	>	add rê	
	-	>		>	unm/plural	+	>	ra	
						-	>	ME	
							+	>	ra
							-	>	∅

(9) "you-based" paradigm

(10) What about the irrealis paradigm?

(11) much reduced (126)

- Inkjě hě ka= ∅= ∅= pîri swasîra.
1SG ERG IRR kill peccary
'I'll kill a peccary.'
- Ka hě ka= ti= ∅= pîri swasîra.
2SG ERG IRR kill peccary
'You'll kill a peccary.'
- Mâra hě ka= ti= ∅= pîri swasîra.
3SG ERG IRR kill peccary
'He'll kill a peccary.'

(12) object agreement (127)

- Ka-měrân ka= ti= rê= ra= sikâri inkjě.
2SG-PL.ERG IRR NSPK.ERG 2PL 1SG.ABS hit 1SG
'You guys are going to hit me.' (el)
- Inkjě-měrân ka= ∅= a= sikâri ka.
1SG-PL.ERG IRR SPK.ERG 2SG.ABS hit 2SG
'We are going to hit you_{SG}.' (el)

(13) *ti* appears in the 'ergative' slot (2), but also with intransitives (123)

Ka-měra ka= ti= rê= a= mõi.
 2SG-PL IRR 2PL leave.PLAC

'You all will leave.' (el)

- (14) Ergative paradigm (irrealis)(128)
- | | | |
|---|----|-------|
| | SG | PL |
| 1 | ∅ | ∅ |
| 2 | ti | ti rê |
| 3 | ti | ti |
- (15) System?
- a. 1 = unmarked (vs *ti*)
 b. 2/3 opposition
 within 2: unmarked/plural opposition (zero/*rê*)
- (16) ME + > zero
 - > *ti* > YOU + > unmarked/plural + > add *rê*
- (17) Absolutive paradigm I (intransitive subject)(irrealis)(128)
- | | | |
|--|------|---------|
| | SG | PL |
| | ∅ ∅ | ∅ ∅ |
| | ti a | ti rê a |
| | ti ∅ | ti ∅ |
- (18) System?
- a. 1 = unmarked (vs. *ti*)
 b. 2/3 opposition *a*/zero
 within 2: unmarked/plural opposition (zero/*rê*)
- (19) ME + > zero
 - > *ti* > YOU + > *a* > unmarked/plural + > add *rê*
- (20) "me-based" paradigm
- (21) *Intermediate conclusion*
 The main shift from realis to irrealis in Panará is from a *you*-based paradigm to a *me*-based paradigm (cf. Bardagil 2018:229 "the entailment hierarchy is slightly modified")
- (22) Absolutive paradigm II (object)(irrealis)(128)
- | | | |
|--|----|------|
| | SG | PL |
| | ra | ra |
| | a | rê a |
| | ∅ | ra |
- (23) System? = absolutive realis (7)
- a. 2 = *a*
 b. unmarked/plural opposition
 2: zero/*rê*, 1/3: plural suppletive *ra*
 c. 1/3 opposition *ra*/zero
- (24) YOU + > *a* > unmarked/plural + > add *rê* (=8)
 - > unmarked/plural + > *ra*
 - > ME + > *ra*
 - > ∅
- (25) Irrealis: subject/object opposition
 (subject: *me*-based, object: *you*-based)

(26) So how ergative is Panará agreement?

morphology

- a. realis: canonically ergative
- b. irrealis: tripartite (2SG $S^{TR} = \emptyset$, $S^{INTR} = a$, $O = a$)

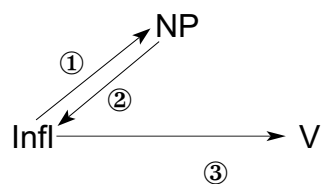
system

- a. realis: uniform (*you*-based)
- b. irrealis: accusative ($S = me$ -based, $O = you$ -based)

Ad 2

(27) What is the agreement mechanism?
Bardagil-Mas (2018:222) assumes a standard Probe-Goal Agree mechanism

(28) *probe-goal system of agreement*



- ① Infl probes for a goal with suitable feature
- ② NP shares feature value with Infl
- ③ Infl shares feature value with V

(29) Problems

- a. why not direct feature sharing between NP and V (Zwart 2006)
- b. agreement phenomena not involving Infl (Zwart 2012)

(30) *complementizer agreement*

a. de meid gaa-t uit as ze zin heb
the maid go-3SG out if 3SG.FEM liking have:SG
'the maid goes out when she feels like it'

b. de meid-e gaa-n uit as-se ze zin heb-be
the maid-PL go-PL out if-PL 3PL liking have-PL
'the maids go out when they feel like it'

(31) arguably analogical extension of inversion morphology (Goeman 2000)

SG heb-ze
PL heb-**be**-ze

(32) explains that it carries over to nonheads (Van Haeringen 1939)

a. jonge-s **die-e** werk-e will-e
boy-PL REL-PL work-INF want-PL
'guys who want to work'

b. ik zel es hor-e **wat-te** ze zeg-ge
1SG will:SG PRT hear-INF what-PL 3PL say-PL
'Let me find out what they say.'

- (33) more crazy still: speaker/gender agreement
- (34) *Ignaciano* (Arawak, Ott & Burke De Ott 1983:36)
- a. *ma-yana*
3SG.MASC-go
'he must go' (spoken by a male)
- b. *ñí-yana*
3SG.MASC-go
'he must go' (spoken by a female)
- (35) like in Panará, the agreement markers are clitics (reduced pronouns, Olza Zubiri et al 2004:93)
- a. *ema má-imaha ema apana*
3SG.MASC 3SG.MASC-see 3SG.MASC other
'He saw the other guy.' (spoken by a male)
- b. *eñí ñ-ímaha eñí apana*
3SG.MASC 3SG.MASC-see 3SG.MASC other
'He saw the other guy.' (spoken by a female)
- (36) this is very rare, but Cheke Holo (Solomons Islands) has a bit of it too, albeit only in the pronoun paradigm (Boswell 2018:95)
- 1SG *iaa*, 2SG *iago*, 3SG.M *mana/na'a* 3SG.F *na'a*
- (37) *na'a tei ugra sasa gnora ka grafi ia*
3SG.M_F go fish fish yesterday LOC afternoon DEM
'He went fishing yesterday afternoon.' (spoken by a female)
- (38) more common is addressee agreement (e.g. Basque, Miyagawa 2012:82)
- a. *Pettek lan egin d-i-k-∅*
Peter:ERG work:ABS do:PERF 3SG.ABS-AUX-ALLOC:MASC.INFRML-3SG.ERG
'Peter worked' (to a male friend)
- b. *Pettek lan egin d-i-n-∅*
Peter:ERG work:ABS do:PERF 3SG.ABS-AUX-ALLOC:FEM.INFRML-3SG.ERG
'Peter worked' (to a female friend)
- c. *Pettek lan egin d-i-zü-∅*
Peter:ERG work:ABS do:PERF 3SG.ABS-AUX-ALLOC:FRML-3SG.ERG
'Peter worked' (formal)
- (39) in languages like Maithili, Angika, Magadhi, addressee agreement replaces object agreement (ex. from Angika, Bhattacharya 2011:11)

- a. **huni ok-raa dekh-al-ak-hin** (object agreement in secondary slot)
 3:HON he-OBJ see-PAST-3SU-3OB
 ‘He saw him.’
- b. **huni ok-raa dekh-al-ak-hõ** (addressee agreement in secondary slot)
 3:HON he-OBJ see-PAST-3SU-2:HON
 ‘He saw him.’
- (40) in languages like Maithili, that use the object agreement slot also for possessor agreement, addressee agreement can also replace possessor agreement (Yadav 1997:181):
- a. **tõ ok-ra beta-ke dekh-l-əhik**
 2:NHON 3:NHON-GEN son-OBJ see-PAST-2NHON>3NHON
 ‘You saw his son.’
- b. **toh-ər beta ok-ra dekh-l-kəuk**
 2:NHON-GEN son 3:NHON-OBJ see-PAST-3NHON>2NHON
 ‘Your son saw him.’
- (41) This suggests that agreement can be triggered extragrammatically, at least for addressee agreement, possessor agreement, and perhaps even (discourse sensitive) object agreement.
- (42) even more common is *ad sensum* agreement, e.g. Swahili (Bokamba 1980:12)
- ki-jana a-me-anguka**
7-youth SU:1-PERF-fall
 ‘The young man fell.’
- (43) Question: what is the common denominator for verbal agreement phenomena?

References

- Bardagil-Mas 2018 *Case and agreement in Panará* • Bhattacharya 2011 Speaker-hearer in a clause: the case of addressee agreement, handout • Bokamba 1980 Verbal agreement as a non-cyclic rule in Bantu *CLS* 16, 10-29. • Boswell 2018 *A grammar of Cheke Holo* • Goeman 2000 Structurele aspecten van de morfologie van voegwoordvervoeging, *Nochtans was scherp van zin* 269-294 • Miyagawa 2012 Agreements that occur mainly in the main clause, *Main clause phenomena: new horizons* 79-111 • Olga Zubiri et al 2004 *Gramática moja-ignaciana* • Ott & Burke de Ott 1983 *Diccionario ignaciano e castellano con apuntes gramaticales* • Van Haeringen 1939 Congruerende voegwoorden *TNTL* 58, 161-176 • Yadav 1997 *A reference grammar of Maithili* • Zwart 2006 Local agreement, in *Agreement systems* 317-339 • 2012 Agreement without Agree, ms.