

'Split ergativity' in Cavineña revisited

1 Brief typological profile

- Cavineña: Amazonian. Northern Bolivia. Tacana family. Approx. 1000 speakers.



- Ergative dependent-marking language with head final properties:

(1) a. Transitive clause

Iba=ra_A =tu_O iye-chine **takure_O**.
 jaguar=ERG =3 kill-REC.PAST chicken.ABS

'The jaguar killed the chicken.' n1.0227

b. Intransitive clause

[Tuke tupuju] =tu_S **iba_S** tsajaja-chine.
 3SG behind =3 jaguar.ABS run-REC.PAST

'The jaguar ran behind him (i.e. the jaguar chased him).' sg010

- Free constituent order.
- Nouns/NPs always follow the above ergative pattern.
- Pronouns are problematic.

2 Camp (1985)'s 'split ergativity' analysis

2.1 Cavineña pronouns

Table 1: Cavineña absolutive and ergative pronouns Camp (1985: 40)

CASE	person	SG	DL	PL
ABS	1	<i>i-ke</i> / =∅	<i>yatse</i>	<i>ekwana</i>
	2	<i>mi-ke</i> / = <i>mi</i>	<i>metse</i>	<i>mikwana</i>
	3	<i>tu-ke</i> / = <i>tu</i>	<i>tatse</i>	<i>tuna</i>
ERG	1	<i>e-ra</i>	<i>yatse-ra</i>	<i>ekwana-ra</i>
	2	<i>mi-ra</i>	<i>metse-ra</i>	<i>mikwana-ra</i>
	3	<i>tu-ra</i>	<i>tatse-ra</i>	<i>tuna-ra</i>

- 3 number distinctions.
- singular absolutive pronouns: full forms vs. short (clitic) forms.
- segmentation possibilities: *-ra* 'ERG', *-ke* 'EPenthesis'.

2.2 A<O combinations

If A<O on a 1>2>3 person hierarchy scale:

- A is ERG and O is ABS
- A immediately precedes O

(2) a. A3 / O1

[Yatse-ra_A jipe-etibe-ya=ju] **tatse-ra_A yatse_O**
 2DL-ERG approach-INCR-IMPV=DS 3DL-ERG 1DL.ABS

isara-tsa-kware.

greet-COME(O)-REM.PAST

'As we_i approached them_j, they_j greeted us_i.' (Camp 1985: 45)

b. A2 / O1

[Riyake wekaka] **mi-ra**_A **ekwana**_O isara-nuka-wa.
this day 2SG-ERG 1PL.ABS greet-REITR-PERF

‘Today you spoke to (lit. greeted) us again.’ (Camp 1985: 45)

c. A3 / O2

Ejebucha=ama **tu-ra**_A **mikwana**_O a-ya
harm=NEG 3SG-ERG 2PL.ABS do-IMPFV

‘He will do nothing to you.’ ao046

2.3 A>O combination (‘split’)

If A>O on a 1>2>3 person hierarchy scale

- both O and A are ABS (=> ‘split’)
- O immediately precedes A

(3) a. O3 / A1

Muda **tu-ke**_O **yatse**_A ba-chine.
scary 3SG-EP.ABS 1DL.ABS see-REC.PAST

‘We thought (lit. saw) it was dangerous...’ (Camp 1985: 41)

b. O2 / A1

Yusurupai **mi-ke**_O **ekwana**_A a-ya...
thank 2SG-EP.ABS 1PL.ABS do-IMPFV

‘We thank you...’ (Camp 1985: 45)

c. O3 / A2

Ejetupu **tu-ke**_O **mikwana**_A e-a-u pista_O?
when 3SG-EP.ABS 2PL.ABS POT-do-POT airstrip

‘When could you make the airstrip?’ me227

• Pronouns order generalisation:

- the lower in the hierarchy, the earlier in the sequence
- i.e. 3 precedes 2 precedes 1 (regardless of function)

2.4 When is there no ‘split’?

• Factor (1): mood/polarity of the clause

- > no ‘split’ in sentences of ‘low activity’, notably in ‘intention’ (hortative) sentences:

(4) O3/A1

...jutakiju barratu=ju=dya **e-ra**_A **pa-kemi-ti!**
therefore cheap=LOC=FOC 1SG-ERG HORT-buy-GO

‘... I’m going to go buy it where it’s cheap!’ (Camp 1985: 42)

• Factor (2): constituent order

- > no ‘split’ when A pronoun in 1st position in a sentence:

(5) O3/A1

E-ra_A bakwe a-kware “...”
1SG-ERG CONTR do-REM.PAST

‘I told him “...” (Camp 1985: 43)

- Factor (3): difference between main and subordinate clause

> no 'split' when A pronoun in subordinate clauses:

(6) A in subordinate temporal clause; O3/A1

[Peadya caneco_O e-ra_A a-wa=ju]_{SUB} =tu_S amena [ekwe e-wane]_S
 one cup 1SG-ERG do-PERF=DS =3 FILL 1SG.GEN 1-wife
 je-chine [ike kweja=ra].
 come-REC.PAST 1SG inform=PURP.MOT

'After I had had a cup (of manioc beer), my wife came to inform me (that our ducks had been stolen).' ju006

2.5 Rules of pronouns use

	Clause	position of A	clause 'activity'	hierarchy	A pronoun	O pronoun
(1)	Subord.	any	any	any	ERG	ABS
(2)	Main	1 st	any	any	ERG	ABS
(3)	Main	not 1 st	'low activity'	any	ERG	ABS
(4)	Main	not 1 st	'high activity'	A<O	ERG	ABS
(5)	Main	not 1 st	'high activity'	A>O	ABS	ABS

3 Second position (2P)

3.1 Second position clitics

- Observation: Cavineña has morphemes that are **enclitics to last phonological word of the first immediate constituent of a main clause**:

(7) =pa 'REP' in (8a-d) =datse 'FRUST'
 =ni 'MAYBE' in (8d) =tukwe 'COUNT.EVID'
 =bakwe 'CONTR' in (5) =shana 'PITY'

(8) a. Predicate

E-maju-u =pa [ekwe e-bakwa]_S...
 POT-die-POT =REP 1SG.GEN 1-child

'It is said that my child could die....' aj058

b. NP (S function)

[Dutya uu=kwana]_{CS} =pa ushuri=tere_{CC} ju-kware
 all domestic.animal=PL =REP skinny=ONLY be-REM.PAST

'It is said that all the domestic animals were very skinny (because they had not been fed for a long time).' ti005b

c. Postpositional phrase

[Tumeke mejiji=ju] =pa =tuna_S tawi-nati-kware.
 that beach=LOC =REP =3PL sleep-GO-REM.PAST

'It is said that they slept on that beach.' hm044

d. Adverbial subordinate clause

[Tuke_O ba-tsa-tsu] =ni =pa iba_S diru-kware.
 3SG see-COME(O)-SS =MAYBE =REP jaguar go-REM.PAST

'It is said that the jaguar_i might have run away when he_i saw him (the hunter, coming to his_i side).' se028a

3.2 Free pronouns vs. bound pronouns

• Observations:

- Hierarchy ('split' & ordering restrictions) => 2P.
- Prosody: 2P pronouns are unstressed.
- Modifications: 2P pronouns cannot be modified (e.g., =ama 'NEG', =dya 'FOC', =kamadya 'ONLY', etc.).

• 2 systems of pronouns:

1— free pronouns: fill NP slots, stressed, can be modified:

Table 2: Cavineña absolutive and ergative free pronouns (revised).

CASE	person	SG	DL	PL
ABS (S/O)	1	<i>i-ke</i>	<i>yatse</i>	<i>ekwana</i>
	2	<i>mi-ke</i>	<i>metse</i>	<i>mikwana</i>
	3	<i>tu-ke</i>	<i>tatse</i>	<i>tuna</i>
ERG (A)	1	<i>e-ra</i>	<i>yatse-ra</i>	<i>ekwana-ra</i>
	2	<i>mi-ra</i>	<i>metse-ra</i>	<i>mikwana-ra</i>
	3	<i>tu-ra</i>	<i>tatse-ra</i>	<i>tuna-ra</i>

2 — bound pronouns: same forms as free pronouns but:

- unstressed;
- enclitics to the last phonological word of the first immediate constituent of a main clause;
- cannot be modified;
- can co-occur with an NP (as in (3c)) or even a free pronoun coding the same argument, as in (9);

(9) Tu-ke_O =tu-ke_O =Ø_A a-kware=ama, Hermano!
 3SG-EP.ABS =3SG-EP.ABS =1SG.ABS do-REM.PAST=NEG brother

'No! That (straw hats), I didn't make, Brother!' ab095

- ordered according to a person hierarchy: 3 precedes 2 precedes 1;
- undergo morphological processes resulting in 'split' (rule: -ra 'ERG' is deleted when a bound pronoun occurs last in the 2P clitic sequence)

Table 3: Cavineña absolutive and ergative bound pronouns (revised).

CASE	person	SG	DL	PL
ABS (S/O)	1	=Ø(<i>ike</i>)	= <i>yatse</i>	= <i>ekwana</i>
	2	= <i>mi(-ke)</i>	= <i>metse</i>	= <i>mikwana</i>
	3	= <i>tu(-ke)</i>	= <i>tatse</i>	= <i>tuna</i>
ERG (A)	1	=Ø(<i>era</i>)	= <i>yatse(-ra)</i>	= <i>ekwana(-ra)</i>
	2	= <i>mi(-ra)</i>	= <i>metse(-ra)</i>	= <i>mikwana(-ra)</i>
	3	= <i>tu(-ra)</i>	= <i>tatse(-ra)</i>	= <i>tuna(-ra)</i>

• Revisiting 'split' ergativity:

- No bound pronouns in subordinate clauses => no 'split'.
- No bound pronouns in 1st position => no 'split'.
- No bound pronouns in hortative clauses ('low activity' sentences) => no 'split'.

4 References

Camp, E. 1985. Split Ergativity in Cavineña. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. Vol 51, No 1, 38-58.

Abbreviations:

<	LOWER THAN	INCR	INCREMENTATIVE
>	HIGHER THAN	LOC	LOCATIVE CASE
1, 2, 3	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person	NEG	NEGATIVE
2P	SECOND POSITION	O	TRANSITIVE OBJECT
A	TRANSITIVE SUBJECT	PERF	PERFECT
ABS	ABSOLUTIVE CASE	PL	PLURAL
ASSOC	ASSOCIATIVE	POT	POTENTIAL
CONTR	CONTRASTIVE	PURP	PURPOSE
COUNT.EVID	COUNTRARY TO EVIDENCE	REC.PAST	RECENT PAST
DL	DUAL	REITR	REITERATIVE
DS	DIFFERENT SUBJECT	REM.PAST	REMOTE.PAST
EP	EPENTHESIS	REP	REPORTATIVE
ERG	ERGATIVE	RESTR	RESTRICTIVE
FOC	FOCUS	S	INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT
FRUST	FRUSTRATIVE	SG	SINGULAR
GEN	GENITIVE CASE	SS	SAME SUBJECT
HORT	HORTATIVE	SUB	SUBORDINATE CLAUSE
IMPFV	IMPERFECTIVE		