Innovative ergative main clause grammar in Ye'kwana (Cariban)

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1. Main clause "Set I" system

- A, S and O indexing on the verb
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A/O	1	2	1+2	3	Sa
1		man-		w(i)-	w-
2	k(ü)-			m(i)-	m-
1+2				k^-/ki-	k-
3	y^-	a(y)-/ö(y)-/o(y))-	k(ü)-	n(i)-/kün-	n-
So	w-/(y-)/ü-	a(y)-/ö(y)-/o(y))-	k-	n-/i-	

Table 1: Set I person markers

- No case marking for A, S or O
- Standard Cariban OVA/VS order and possibility of AVO/SV
- *-tö* and *=to* collective markers

	O	V		A	

(1)
    ashichadü *künedantoichenña*   *tüwü yawö*
    ashichadü kün-edantö-i=de'a   tüwü yawö
    sugar.cane 3A3O.PST-find-PST=confirm 3.SG then
    'He found the sugar cane.' (Cania.007)

    [A   ]   V   [O   ]

(2)
    kanno   *wodinñamo'kö* *neijö'aato*   *mödö*   *tuna*   *yawö*
    kanno   wodinñamo-'kö n-ei-jötü-a=to   mödö   tuna   yaawö
    DEM.ANIM.PL.1 women-DIM 3A3O-get-ITER-Npst=COLL DEM.INAN water then
    'The girls are getting the water.' (DescPared.013)

    S   V

(3)
    mödö   *nattaamei*
    mödö   n-atame-i
    DEM.INAN 3S-end-PST
    'That ended.' (ConvChurB.096)

    ADV   V   S

(4)
    yööje'daane   *kennejenkatöne*   *künwanno*
    yööje-'da-:ne   k-ennejenka-tö-ne   künwanno
    thus-NEG-INTENS 1S.PL-grow-COLL-DIST.PST 1pl
    'We didn't grow this way.' (ConvChur.439)

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        <ADV      V  >                          V                    ADDRESSEE
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(5) "eduwa kaajoja"   *künö'düaakö*   *tüweichakonouwö*   *yawö*

eduwa k^-ajojo-a   kün-ö'dü-aakö   t-weichakono-ø=uwö   yaawö

now   1+2A3O-touch-NPST   3A3O.PST-talk-PST.IPFV   3REFL-friend-POSS=DAT   then

'"Now we grab him" he said to his friends then.' (TigMor.031)

1.1. Nominal predication

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          SUBJ       PRED
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(6)   a. tüwü Sichömüna

   3.SG Sichömüna

   'He was Sichömüna.' (CManYude.004)

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          SUBJ                 S-COP                        PRED
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   b. yui   küna'jaakö   yawö Yudeke

      i-dui   kün-a'ja-aakö   yawö Yudeke

      3-older.brother   3.PST-COP-PST.IPFV   then Yudeke

      'His older brother was Yudeke.' (CManYude.005)

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          PRED       SUBJ          S-COP
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(7)   ajo'jo i'yadü   na

   ajo'jo   i-wüwa-dü   na

   big   3-basket-POSS   3.COP

   'His basket is big.' (Mdwk.137)

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          PRED              S-COP
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(8)   waakü'je   na   denñaane

   ^-wakütü=je   na   de'a-:ne

   1-favourite=AZR   3.COP   confirm-INTENS

   'I like it.' (ConvChur.209)

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          PRED              SUBJ
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(9)   a. yööje'da   edö

   yööje-'da   edö

   thus-NEG   DEM.INAN.1

   'This is not like that.' (CtoCti.412)

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          PRED              SUBJ
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   b. "sadonojünü   ewü yawö"

      sadö-no-jünü   ewü yaawö

      over.here- PP.NZR-NEG   1SG then

      'I'm not from here.' (Kms.115)

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          PRED              SUBJ    S-COP
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   c. Ye'kwanaje'da   sotto   nato   yawö

      ye'kwana=je-'da   sotto   na=to   yaawö

      ye'kwana=AZR-NEG   person 3.COP=COLL   thus

      'Those people are not Ye'kwana.' (HistAna.151)

1.2. Other copular constructions

(10)

S	V		S-AUX		
amödö	oowanomajai	ma	mödö	jökkö	

amödö oowanoma-jai ma mödö jökkö
2SG learn-ABIL 2.COP DEM.INAN on
'You can study that.' (ConvChurB.342)

(11)

O	V		A-AUX		OBL
iyö	cho'kwa'se	küna'jaakö		yawö na'kwaka	

iyö i-ko'kwa-'se kün-a'ja-'kö yawö na'kwa=aka
DEM 3O-wash-DESID 3.PST-COP-DIST.PST then water=in
'He wanted to wash it in the water.' (CManYude.030)

(12)

A	O-V		A-AUX	
ye'kwana	önnü'da	mödö	na	

ye'kwana ön-üdü-'da mödö na
ye'kwana NEG-do-NEG DEM.INAN 3.COP
'Ye'kwanas don't do that.' (ConvChurB.053)

2. The morphosyntax of possession

- Morphology
  - Possessed suffix indicates possessed status
  - Person of the possessor prefixed on the possessed noun
  - collective number by an enclitic =*komo*
  - Possessor unmarked
- Syntax
  - Nominal possessor precedes the possessed item (third person only)
  - Personal pronouns can co-occur with possessor prefixes
  - When preceded by a free nominal possessor, the possessed noun does not bear the 3rd person prefix (N/DEM in Table 1)

Possessor	hand	tobacco	eye	drink
ewü '1SG'	y^-amö-dü	^-kawai-chü	y^-enu-du	^-wokü-dü
amödö '2sg'	ay-amö-dü	a-kawai-chü	ay-enu-du	o-wokü-dü
tüwü '3SG'	y-amö-dü	^-chawai-chü	ch^-önu-du	^-yokü-dü
küwü '1+2'	k-amö-dü	kü-kawai-chü	k-önu-du	kü-wokü-dü
tüwü '3REFL'	t-amö-dü	tü-kawai-chü	t-önu-du	tü-wokü-dü
önwanno '2PL'	ay-amö-dü=komo	a-kawai-chü=komo	ay-enu-du=komo	o-wokü-dü=komo
tünwanno '3PL'	y-amö-dü=komo	^-chawai-chü=komo	ch^-önu-du=komo	^-yokü-dü=komo
künwanno '1PL'	k-amö-dü=komo	kü-kawai-chü=komo	k-önu-du=komo	kü-wokü-dü=komo
tünwanno '3REFL.PL'	t-amö-dü=komo	tü-kawai-chü=komo	t-önu-du=komo	tü-wokü-dü=komo
nña '1+3'/N/DEM	N amö-dü	N kawai-chü	N enu-du	N wokü-dü

Table 2: Possessive morphosyntax

3. Main Clause Ergative Imperfective

- O and S indexed on the verb root
- Allows co-occurrence of 3O marker on the V with a preceding O but not of the 3S marker with a preceding S
- Intransitive verbs take the *w-* 'Intransitive' marker
- Clear case marking on A when explicit
- OVA/AV only (standard Cariban Set II construction word order)
- Negative and plural markers = nominal negative *-jünü* and possessive plural *=komo*

	S	O	Abs Pl	A	Erg Pl
1Sg	ø-w-/^-w-	y^-/^-		ü-uwö	
2	a-w-/ö-w-/o-w-	a(y)-/ö(y)-/o(y))-	=komo	ö-uwö	-ññe
3	i-w-	i-/t-/ø-	=komo	chö-uwö	-ññe
3Refl	tü-w-	t(ü)-	=komo	tü-uwö	-ññe
1+2	kü-w-	k(ü)-	=komo	kü-uwö	-ññe
N	w-	i-/t-/ø-	=komo	=uwö	

Table 3: Absolutive person markers and Ergative case marking

3.1. The morphosyntax

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          [     O     ]        o-V                     A-ERG  /   O            o-V
(13) simada ejudu      tüdüdü         mödö      üuwö,   simada tüdüdüjünü
     simada oju-dü      t-üdü-dü       mödö      ü-uwö   simada t-üdü-dü-jünü
     arrow  handle-POSS 3O-make-NZR    DEM.INAN  1SG-ERG arrow  3O-make-NZR-NEG
     'I'm making the bow, not making the arrow. (Mrcb.Aux.082)
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          o-V                     A-ERG
(14) tüdüdüjünü         mödö        chöuwö
     t-üdü-dü-jünü       mödö        chö-uwö
     3O-put-NZR-NEG      DEM.INAN    3-ERG
     'She's not imposing it (on us).' (ConvChur.036)
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          o-V                     A-ERG
(15) yoowanomadü     mödö        chöuwö
     y^-owanoma-dü   mödö        chö-uwö
     1O-teach-NZR     DEM.INAN    3-ERG
     'He is teaching me.' (Sno.Elt.013)
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          [      OBL       ]        O              o-V
(16) iyeke        tümantö        ñöödö      aminñö'kadü
     iye-ke        t-mantö-e      ñöödö      ø-aminñö'ka-dü
     wood-INSTR    ADV-cover-PST.PTCP DEM.ANIM 3O-kill-NZR
     '(I) kill it by covering with branches (ExpCaz.086)
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           s-V
(17) yaatamedü
     i-w-atame-dü
     3-INTR-end-NZR
     'It's ending (about to end)' (ConvChurB.019)
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      LOCATIVE   s-V

(18) chö'na   küwö'düdü   mödö   yawö

     i-tö'na   k-w-ö'dü-dü   mödö   yaawö

     3-against   1+2-INTR-arrive-NZR DEM.INAN then

     'We're getting to that' (Kms.278)

      ADV   s-V   S   s-V

(19) yööje   wö'düdü   yawö, ewü tü'tajötüdü   yawö

     yööje   ø-w-ö'dü-dü   yaawö ewü ø-tü'tajötü-dü   yaawö

     thus   1SG-INTR-talk-NZR   then   1SG 1SG-think-NZR   then

     'I say like that, I think.' (ConvChur.098)

      ADV   S   V

(20) mmm, akuda'ye,   nña wetadawokajodü   mödö

     mmm   akude=aiye   nña w-etadawa'kajo-dü mödö

     mmm   late=shortly   1+3 INTR-work-NZR   DEM.INAN

     'Yes, wait a moment, we're working' (Kms.087)

3.2. *The range of aspectual meanings with* -dü

Past progressive

(21) yööje i'chödükomo

     yööje   i-tö(mö)-dü=komo

     thus   3S-go-NZR=PL

     'That way they were going.' (ConvChurB.303)

(22) ijoodü   etadüjomma   sotto   wöömadü

     i-joodü-ø   ø-eta-dü-jo-mma   sotto   w-ööma-dü

     3-smell-POSS 3O-hear-NZR-ANT-EXCL person INTR-die-NZR

     'On smelling it (hearing its smell), people were dying.' (CtoCti.312)

(23) ¿wade'data   ju'jö   u'jötüdü   yawö?

     wade'data   ju'jö-ø   ø-utu-jötü-dü   yaawö

     sloth   head-POSS 3O-give-ITER-NZR then

     '(He was) already giving her sloth heads?' (CtoWoshi.156)

Past-Imperfective

(24) Yanwaakomo ajöijötüdükomo   yawö

     yanwa=komo ø-ajöi-jötü-dü=komo yawö

     man=PL   3O-grab-ITER-NZR=PL then

     'We would grab the men.' (HistAna.110)

Habitual

(25) "möötö yeichüdenña   yö'düdü   weneene"

     möötö i-w-ei-dü=de'a   i-w-ö'dü-dü   weneene

     there.1 3S-INTR-COP-NZR=exactly 3S-INTR-arrive-NZR always

     '"He always arrives when (the sun) is there".' (Kms.235)

Gnomic

(26) kawadi tawe'dato'kö   weeka'tümüdümmaane

     kawadi tawe'de-to-'kö w-eeka'tümü-dü-mma-:ne

     deer   short-NZR-DIM INTR-run-NZR-EXCL-INTENS

'The deer runs short (it gets tired quickly).' (Morr.Wa.029)

(27) ¿ö'waasa'kö   kasudiina   wattaamedü   na'kwai?
ö'washa'kö   kasudiina   w-atame-dü   na'kwa=ai
how.much   gas   INTR-consume.itself-NZR water=through
'How much gas is spent by river?' (ConvChur.087)

Procedural

(28) a. awa'deene   akköötödü   yawö   jojudu a'töi
     awa'de-:ne   ø-akköötö-dü   yaawö jojudu a'töi
     first-INTENS   3O-cut-NZR   then   wall   chair
     'First you (general) cut the support for the wall.' (DescPared.007)

   b. yootonno yawö   yuduwa ñüüdü   yawö
     yootonno yaawö yuduwa i-mü-dü   yaawö
     after   then   tree.SP 3O-tie-NZR   then
     'Then you (general) tie the yuduwa.' (DescPared.009)

   c. yootonnojeene   yawö   sooko'nödü   yawö
     yootonno=je-:ne   yaawö ø-sooko'nö-dü   yaawö
     after=AZR-INTENS   then   3O-make.mud-NZR   then
     'Then you (general) make the mud.' (DescPared.011)

Passive like examples

(29) ¿aakene   e'tödü   mödö?
aakene   ø-e'tö-dü   mödö
how   3O-to.name-NZR   DEM.INAN
'How is it said?' (ConvChurB.191)

(30) ¿ne'kotojo mö'dö   owanomadü?
ne'kotojo mö'dö   ø-owanoma-dü
what.for   DEM.ANIM 3O-teach-NZR
'Why teach her?' (ConvChur.075)

(31) inña mödö   yuduwa eichü   yawö, jü   de'köi yawö
inña mödö   yuduwa ø-ei-dü   yaawö jü   de'köi yaawö
there DEM.INAN tree.SP 3O-get-NZR then   mountain over   then
'That yuduwa is gotten there.' (DescPared.041)

3.3. Imperfective copula

- Covers the same functions as a Set I copula
- Has the same range of semantic interpretations as other imperfective verbs

As the copula of a non verbal predicate:

	N /	PRED	S-COP

(32) *Woshi,*   *tüwotonku'töjö'e*   *aweichüüne*
Woshi   tüw-otonku'tö-jötü-e   a-w-ei-dü-:ne
Woshi   PTCP.INTR-lie-ITER-PST.PTCP   2-INTR-COP-NZR-INTENS
'Woshi, you're a liar.' (CtoWoshi.042)

	PRED	S-COP	

(33) *ajo'jo*   *yeichü*   *mödö*
ajo'jo   i-w-ei-dü   mödö
big   3S-INTR-COP-NZR   DEM.INAN
'It is big' (Mdwk.209)

PRED   [SUBJ   ]   S-COP

(34) *yööje*   *kanno*   *jaamo*   *weichüjünü*
yööje   kanno   ^-ja-mo-ø   w-ei-dü-jünü
thus   PL.DEM1   1-grand.son-PL-POSS   INTR-COP-NZR-NEG
'Those my grandchildren are not like that.' (ConvChurB.244)

PRED   S-COP

(35) *waakü'je'da*   *yeichü*   *jenñemma*
^-wakütü=je-'da   i-w-ei-dü   jenñemma
1SG-favourite=AZR-NEG   3S-INTR-COP-NZR   maybe
'It could be that I don't like it' (ConvChur.168)

As an auxiliary of negation and desiderative:

PRED   PRED   S-AUX

(36) *kone'da'dammaja,*   *a'deuwü'da*   *aweichü*   *edöje,*
kone'da-'da =mmaja a'deuwü-'da   a-w-ei-dü   edöje
bad-NEG =also   speak-NEG   2S-INTR-COP-NZR   thus
'It doesn't matter if you don't speak.' (lit. 'that you're not talking') (ExpTab.027)

(37) *önnüjötü'da*   *yeichü*
an-üdü-jötü-'da   i-w-ei-dü
NEG-do-ITER-NEG   3S-INTR-COP-NZR
'He wasn't doing anything.' (ExpTab.250)

(38) *ene'se*   *mö'dö*   *weichüwö*
ø-ene-'se   mö'dö   w-ei-dü=wö
3O-see-DESID   DEM.ANIM   INTR-COP-NZR=part
'He always wants to see.' (ExpTab.329)

O-V   O-V   A-AUX

(39) *"öyönö'se,*   *öyönö'se*   *yeichü*   *mödö*   *yawö,*
öy-önöö-'se   öy-önöö-'se   i-w-ei-dü   mödö   yaawö
2O-eat.meat-DESID   2O-eat.meat-DESID   3S-INTR-COP-NZR   DEM.INAN   then
'He wants to eat you.' (Mnwn.158)

4. Origins of the construction

- Already well understood across the family (Gildea 1998.161-168)
    - Nominalization takes ergative morphosyntax: possessed by notional S/O, with notional A as an oblique (dative), optionally expressed
    - The nominalization occurs as the predicate of a predicate nominal clause, with the subject being a demonstrative pronoun (usually distal 'that').
    - After the reanalysis, the erstwhile nominalization becomes a main clause verb; Cognate reanalysis are found in Kuikuru -*lü* 'punctual', Makushi, Pemón and Kapóng -*Ø* 'Universal/Present Tense', Panare -*n* 'Nonspecific Aspect', Katxúyana -*rɨ* 'Imperfective' (Gildea 1998), and perhaps Kari'nja -*rɣ* 'Progressive' (Yamada 2008).
- This section will illustrate only the origins of this specific construction in Ye'kwana.

4.1. The nominalized clause as the predicate of a predicate nominal clause

(40)

			[o-V-NZR]PRED	SUBJ
iyödenña	*maane*	*mödö,*	*tüdüdüüne*	*mödö*
iyö de'a	maane	mödö	t-üdü-dü-:ne	mödö
DEM CONFIRM	RECTIF	DEM.INAN	3O-do-NZR-INTENS	DEM.INAN

'That is what we are doing.' (lit. 'That is exactly it. That is the doing of it (by us).') (ConvChur.451)

(41)

[S	V-NZR]PRED	SUBJ		
¿Muttu	*waanontödü*	*mödö*	*yawö*	*mödöje?*
muttu	w-aanontö-dü	mödö	yaawö	mödö=je
bird.SP	INTR-command-NZR	DEM.INAN	then	DEM.INAN=AZR

'Is that the command of the muttu bird?' (Mdwk.170)

4.2. "Bridging" context

(42)

¿yööjejünka	*yeetümüdü?*	*ku-ta-ta-ta-ta....*	*ke*
yööje-jünü=ka	i-w-eetümü-dü	ku-ta-ta-ta-ta	ke
thus-NEG=QP	3S-INTR-sing-NZR	ku-ta-ta-ta-ta	QUOT

'His singing is like that, right?' or 'He sings like that, right?' (TigRan.017)

(43)

nñammaane	*nña*	*weichüdö*	*mödö*	*yawö*
nña-mma-:ne	nña	w-ei-dü=dö	mödö	yaawö
1+3-EXCL-INTENS	1+3	INTR-COP-NZR=CONTR	DEM.INAN	then

'Us, we have always been like this' or Us, that (is) our (way of) being.' (ConvChurB.186)

(44)

mödöje	*yeichü*
mödö=je	i-w-ei-dü
DEM.INAN=AZR	3-INTR-COP-NZR

'That's the way he is.' or 'Like that (is) his being.' (ConvChurB.336)

(45)

mödö	*awa'deene*	*akköötödü*
mödö	awa'de-:ne	ø-akköötö-dü
DEM.INAN	first-INTENS	3O-cut-NZR

'That one first is cut.' or 'that is first, the cutting of it (is first).' (DescPared.008)

4.3. A possible pathway of semantic expansion

- Begins with HABITUAL and GNOMIC readings already in the source construction.
- The PROCEDURAL reading is almost identical to the source meaning.
- Expands to describe events in progress (by adding the PROGRESSIVE, becomes IMPERFECTIVE).
- Use in text provides context for PAST-PROGRESSIVE and PAST-HABITUAL readings.
- Once it is usable for Additional use in text
- Narrative tense

Total of innovative examples:	328	from 4543 records
Present, present progressive, gnomic	42	represented equally in all genres
Past progressive, past imperfective	41	with 37 examaples in stories
Procedural	76	with 43 examples in descriptions
Habitual	22	with 12 examples in descriptions
dü copula	86	with 41 examples in mixed genre texts
Bridging context	22	with no examples in conversation
Narrative past perfective	39	with 34 examples in stories

Table 4: Semantic distribution of main clause -dü in text corpus (4543 records)

4.4. The many functions of the ergative marker

Agent of passive

(46) *¿ne'köömü   yöönedü   öuwö?*
ane'köömü   i-w-ööne-dü   ö-uwö
INTERR.INAN   3S-INTR-DETR.see-NZR.1   2-AGT
'What do you see?' (lit. 'What is seen <u>by you</u>?') (ConvChurB.195)

Causee

(47) *tönööjo'se'da   wöönene   ünnakomouwö   ñöödö*
t-önöö-joo-'se-'da   w-öönene   ü-nna=komo=uwö   ñöödö
3O-eat.meat-CAUS-DESID-NEG   1SG-as.for 1SG-child=PL=CAUSEE DEM
'I don't want to make <u>my kids</u> eat that one.' (ConvChurB.368)

Addressee

(48) *ke   sottouwönñe   künö'daakö   Kamasi*
ke   sotto=uwö-nñe   kün-ö'dü-aakö   Kamashi
QUOT   person=DAT-PL   3S.PST-talk-PST.IPFV Kamasi
'Said Kamasi <u>to the people</u>.' (Kms.575)

Recipient

(49) *Kamasiuwö   kuntuichenña   yawö*
Kamashi=uwö   kün-uttu-i=de'a   yaawö
Kamasi=DAT   3A3O.PST-give-PST=again then
'He gave it again <u>to Kamasi.</u>' (Kms.297)

Possessor with possessive predicate (the *mihi est* type)

(50) *mö'döuwö   küna'jaakö   tüweiyemmaja   yaawö*
mö'dö=uwö   kün-a'ja-aakö   tüw-ei-e=mmaja   yaawö
DEM.ANIM=DAT.Psr   3S.PST -COP-PST.IPFV   PTCP.INTR-COP-PST.PTCP=also then
'<u>This one</u> also had it.' (lit. 'It was also <u>to this one</u>.') (CtoCti.394)

Experiencer of emotions/desires

(51) *tünonñe*   *üuwö*
      tünonñe   ü-uwö
      dangerous 1SG-DAT
      'I am afraid of them.' (lit. '(they are) dangerous <u>to me</u>.') (ConvChur.419)

(52) *ka'deddu*   *tujunne'da*   *küuwö*   *na*
      k-a'deu-dü   t-jumma-e-'da   k^-uwö   na
      1+2-word-POSS   ADV-want-PST.PTCP-NEG   1+2-ERG   3.COP
      '<u>We</u> don't want/love our language.' (lit. 'Our language is not desireable <u>to us</u>.') (ConvChur.151)

4.5 Reanalysis and subject properties

- If the verb with *-dü* were still a nominalization, then the subject of all the imperfective examples from section 3 would be the inanimate distal demonstrative *mödö*.
- In contrast, if the verb with *-dü* has been reanalyzed, then we would expect that the subject of the imperfective clause would be one of the core participants of the imperfective verb: for intransitive verbs, the S, and for transitive verbs most likely the A (but conceivably the O).
- In the cognate construction in Makushi, Akawaio, and Kuikuru, the subject is absolutive S plus Ergative A (Gildea 1998, Franchetto in press). In a distinct ergative construction (*t-V-se*) in Tiriyó and Wayana, the subject is also absolutive S plus ergative A (Gildea 1997).
- Subject properties in Cariban languages are generally quite limited (cf. Hoff 1995.362, Gildea 1997.179-182, 1998.154-160). Candidates in Ye'kwana are:

The subject (S/A) controls coreference with a third person reflexive possessive prefix *tü-* in the same clause.

examples

The subject (S/A) controls coreference with the zero subject (S/A) of an immediately conjoined clause

	OBL	S_i-V	

(53) a. *ye'wö*   *weetadawakkojodü*   *mödö*
         i-de'wö   ^-w-etadawa'kajo-dü   mödö
         3-on   1SG-INTR-work-NZR   DEM.INAN
         'I am working.' (ExpTab.002)

         (A*i*)   O   V   /   [O   ]
      b. Ø   kawai   ekauwüdü,   inchonkomo'kö   kawaichü
              kawai   ø-ekauwü-dü   inchomo=komo-'kö kawai-chü
              tobacco 3O-flatten-NZR old=PL-DIM   tobacco-POSS
         '(I'm) cooking tobacco, the old men's tobacco.' (ExpTab.003)

The subject (S/A) controls coreference with the zero subject (S/A) of the complement (?) of the aspectual main verb 'finish'

example

5. Further developments

5.1. A Narrative Past Perfective

(54) *"aiju'kö   i'saakö"   künaijukui   adödü*
     ø-aijuku-kö   ø-i'sha-kö   kün-aijuku-i   ø-adö-dü
     3O-kill-IMP   3O-peel-IMP   3A3O.PST -kill-PST   3O-take-NZR
     '"Kill it and skin it" and he killed it and took it.' (CtoWoshi.078)

(55) *ajöichü   chöuwönñe   ti'yuju'jö   tüdüdü*
     ø-ajöi-dü   chö-uwö-nñe ti'yuju'jö   t-üdü-dü
     3O-grab-NZR   3-ERG-PL   upside.down   3O-put-NZR
     'They grabbed her and put her upside down.' (CManYude.061)

(56) *¿ajichotojaato   wöömadü?*
     ajichoto=je-to   w-ööma-dü
     young.woman=AZR-NZR   INTR-die-NZR
     'Did the young woman die?' Kms.501

5.2. Complex tenses with a copular auxiliary

Set I copula

(57) *sotto   chiijadükomo   ma'jane*
     sotto   i-tija-dü=komo   m-a'ja-ne
     person   3O-make.laugh-NZR=PL   2s-COP-DIST.PST
     'You <u>used to</u> make people laugh.' (Cania.027)

(58) *chü'tajötüdü   küna'jaakö   edöje,*
     i-tü'tajötü-dü   kün-a'ja-aakö   edöje
     3S-think-NZR   3.PST-COP-PST.IPFV   thus
     'He <u>used to</u> think that way.' (Mdwk.053)

(59) *mödöjemmaane   tüdüdü   weiya   denñaawü*
     mödö=je-mma-:ne   t-üdü-dü   w-ei-i   de'a=ewü
     DEM.INAN=AZR-EXCL-INTENS   3O-put-NZR   1SG-COP-PST   also=1SG
     'I <u>could</u> also put it like this.' (ConvWHO.061)

Innovative tense copula

(60) *yööje*   *yawaanadü*   *yeichü*
　　　yööje   i-w-awaana-dü   i-w-ei-dü
　　　thus   3S-INTR-amanecer-NZR 3-INTR-COP-NZR
　　　'He <u>always</u> woke up (he <u>used to</u> wake up) that way.' (ConvChurB.305)

List of abbreviations

A	agent-like argument	DESID	desiderative	NEG	negative
ABIL	abilitative	DETR	detransitive	NZR	nominalizer
ADV	adverbial	DIM	diminutive	O	patient-like argument
AGT	agent	DIST	distant	PL	plural
ANIM	animate	ERG	ergative	POSS	possessive
ANT	anterior	EXCL	exclusively	PP	pospositional
AZR	adverbializer	IMP	imperative	PST	past
CAUS	causative	INAN	inanimate	PTCP	participle
COLL	collective	INTENS	intensifier	QUOT	quotative
CONFIRM	confirmative	INTERR	interrogative	RECTIF	rectifier
COP	copula	INTR	intransitive	S	single argument
DAT	dative	IPFV	imperfective	SG	singular
DEM	demonstrative	ITER	iterative		

Orthographic conventions

All the symbols stand for their IPA equivalents except:

j	/h/	*'*	/ʔ/	^	<Leftward accent shift>
y	/j/	*ch*	/tʃ/		
ü	/ɨ/	*sh*	/ʃ/		
ö	/ə/	*ñ*	/ɲ/		

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