

Case and Person in the Direct-Inverse System of Yimas

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Canonical Direct-Inverse System: Algonkian

Blackfoot (Frantz 2000)

*nits-ik-ákomimm-**a**-wa*

1SG-VERY-fond_of-H→L-3SG

‘I love my daughter’

n-itan-a

1SG-daughter-SG

*nits-ik-ákomimm-**ok**-(w)a*

1SG-VERY-fond_of-L→H-3SG

‘my daughter loves me’

n-itan-a

1SG-daughter-SG

Japhug (Jacques 2010)

pɥ-mtó-t-a

AOR-see-PAST-1SG

'I saw him/her/it'

pɥ'-wɣ-mto-a

AOR-INV-see-1SG

'he/she/it saw me'

Yimas

ŋaykum

woman.II.PL

patn

betelnut.V.SG

na-mpu-ŋa-r-akn

V.SG.NOM-3PL.ERG-give-PFV-3SG.DAT

panmal

man.I.SG

nam-n

house-OBL

‘the women gave the man the betelnut in the house’

		PRONOUN	ERG	NOM	ACC
1	DL	<i>kapa</i>	<i>ŋkra-</i>	<i>kapa-</i>	<i>ŋkra-</i>
	PL	<i>ipa</i>	<i>kay-</i>	<i>ipa-</i>	<i>kra-</i>
	SG	<i>ama</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ama-</i>	<i>ŋa-</i>
2	DL	<i>kapwa</i>	<i>ŋkran-</i>	<i>kapwa-</i>	<i>ŋkul-</i>
	PL	<i>ipwa</i>	<i>nan-</i>	<i>ipwa-</i>	<i>kul-</i>
	SG	<i>mi</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>nan-</i>

Table 1: Yimas Indexing Affixes for Local Persons

	PRONOUN	ERG	NOM	DAT
SG	<i><u>mn</u></i>	<i>n-</i>	<i><u>na-</u></i>	<i><u>-nakn</u></i>
DL	<i><u>mrm</u></i>	<i><u>mp-</u></i>	<i><u>impa-</u></i>	<i><u>-mpn</u></i>
PC	<i><u>mηkt</u></i>	<i><u>ηkl-</u></i>	<i><u>kra-</u></i>	<i><u>-ηkt</u></i>
PL	<i>mum</i>	<i><u>mpu-</u></i>	<i><u>pu-</u></i>	<i><u>-mpun</u></i>

Table 2: Yimas Indexing Affixes for Non-local Persons

ama arm tar-kwalca-k
1SG water CAUS-rise-IRR

arm ama-tar-kwalca-n
water 1SG.**NOM**-CAUS-rise-PRES

ima-ka-tar-kwalca-n
water.NOM-1SG.**ERG**-CAUS-rise-PRES

‘I’m causing the water to rise’

na-ka-ŋa-r-mpn

V.SG.NOM-1SG.ERG-give-PFV-3DL.**DAT**

‘I gave them (DL) it’

impa-mp-ŋa-t

3DL.**NOM**-3DL.ERG-give-PFV

‘they (DL) gave them (DL) (something)’

na-mp-kra-ŋa-t

V.SG.NOM-3DL.ERG-1PL.**ACC**-give-PFV

‘they (DL) gave us it’

SUBJECTS:

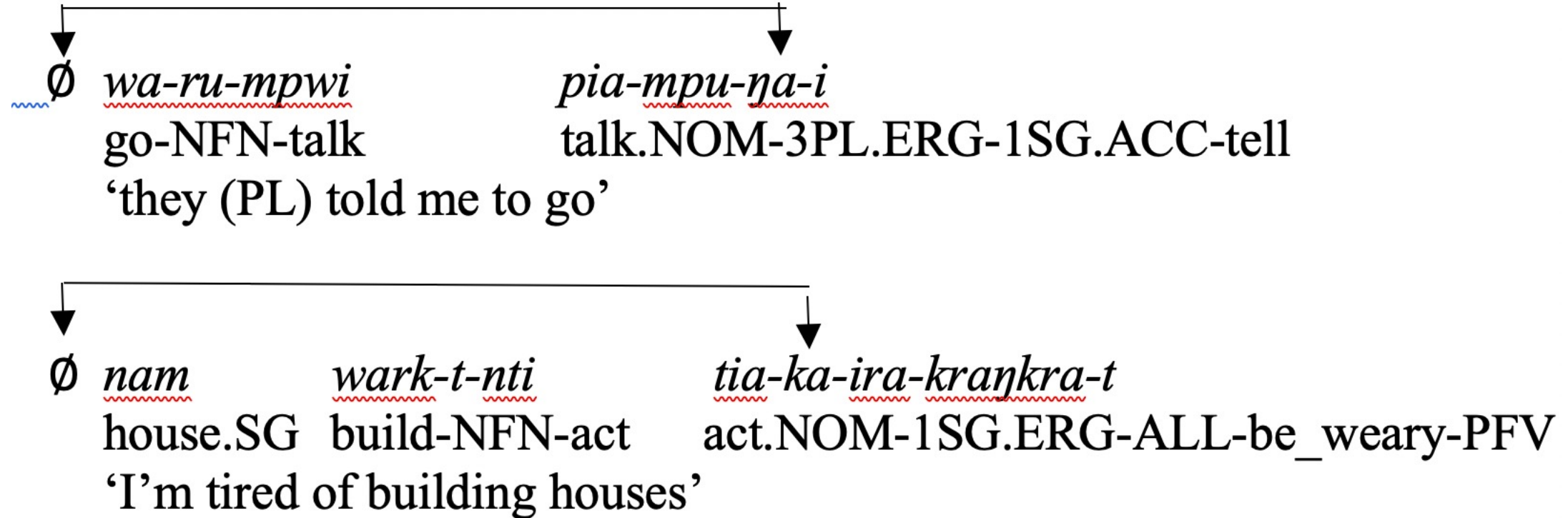
1. Genitivization

ama-na *tuku-t-wal*
1SG-POSS wash.sago-NFN-custom.V.SG
'my manner of washing sago'

ama *tar-kwalca-t-nti* *mpu-na-nti* *mama-nti* *antiak*
1SG CAUS-rise-NFN-act 3PL-POSS-act bad-act COP.act
'their (PL) waking me up was bad'

tia-ka-n(a)-aykpiŋa-n *God-na* *anti*
act.NOM-1SG.ERG-PRES-know-PRES God-POSS ground
papk-t-wal
carve-NFN-custom.V.SG
'I know how God made the world'

2. Controlee in non-finite complements



3. Realization as ERG

na-ka-wayk-t

3SG.NOM-1SG.ERG-buy-PFV

'I bought it'

ama-wa-t

1SG.NOM-go-PFV

'I went'

ta-ka-wa-t

NEG-1SG.ERG-go-PFV

'I didn't go'

OBJECT:

1. Restricted realization

(ama) kul-cpul

1SG 2PL.ACC-hit

'I hit you (PL)'

pu-ka-tpul

3PL.NOM-1SG.ERG-hit

'I hit them (PL)'

2. Unique suffix for 3SG OBJ in NEG verbs

ta-ka-tay-c-ak

NEG-1SG.ERG-see-PFV-3.SG.NOM.**OBJ**

'I didn't see him'

ta-pu-n-tay-c-ak

NEG-3-2SG.ERG-see-PFV-3SG.NOM.**OBJ**

'you (SG) didn't see him'

ta-ka-tay-c-um

NEG-1SG.ERG-see-PFV-3PL.NOM

'I didn't see them (PL)'

ta-ŋa-tay-c-um

NEG-1SG.ACC-see-PFV-3PL.NOM

'they (PL) didn't see me'

OBJECT_θ

1. Possessor raising

ŋarwa *wa-kwalca-r-akn*
penis.IX.SG IX.SG.NOM-rise-PFV-3SG.DAT
'he has an erection'

**ŋarwa* *wa-na-kwalca-t*
penis.IX.SG IX.SG.NOM-3SG.NOM-rise-PFV
'he has an erection'

nan̄kun *na-ka-tu-r-akn*
mosquito.V.SG V.SG.NOM-1SG.ERG-kill-PFV-3SG.DAT
'I killed the mosquito on her'

ta-mpu-ant-kia-k-nak-mpwi
NEG-3PL.ERG-hear-NIGHT-IRR-3SG.DAT-talk.NOM
'he didn't listen to her plea'

2. Applicative

ura-kay-taŋ-ntak-mpi-na-ntuk-mpun

IX.PL.NOM-1PL.ERG-COM-leave-SEQ-stay-RM.PAST-3PL.DAT

‘we (PL) left them (pieces of coconut) with them (PL)’

Mitchell *kat*

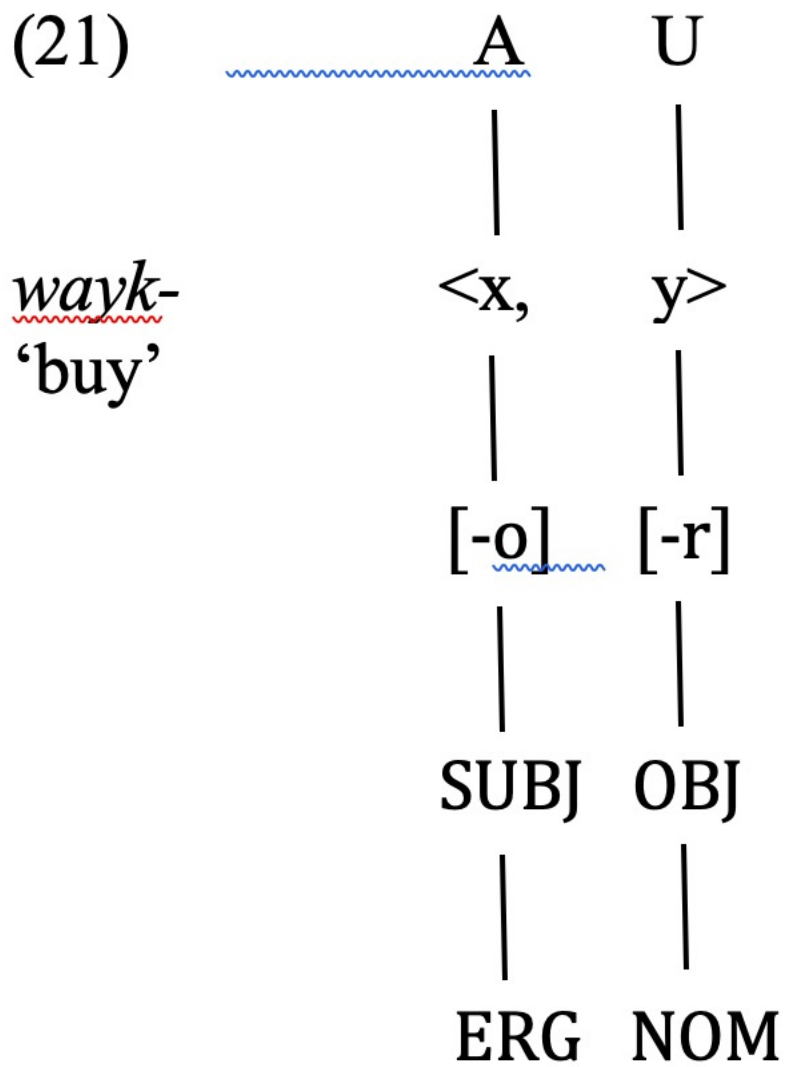
PN card.V.PL

ya-ka-taŋ-wayk-r-akn

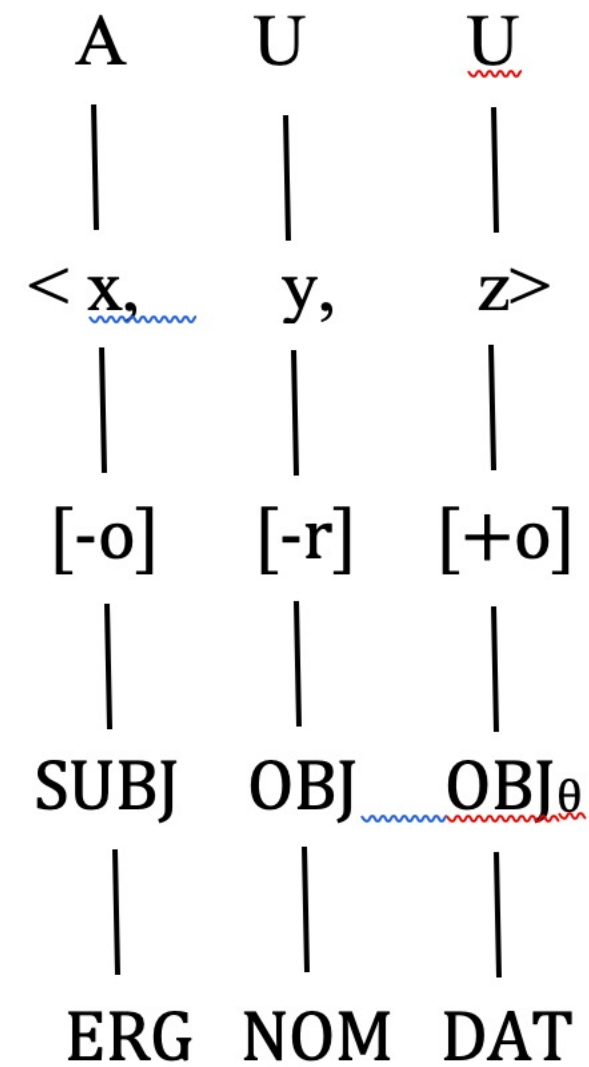
V.PL.NOM-1SG.ERG-COM-buy-RM.PAST-3SG.DAT

‘I bought the (pack of) cards for Mitchell’

(21)



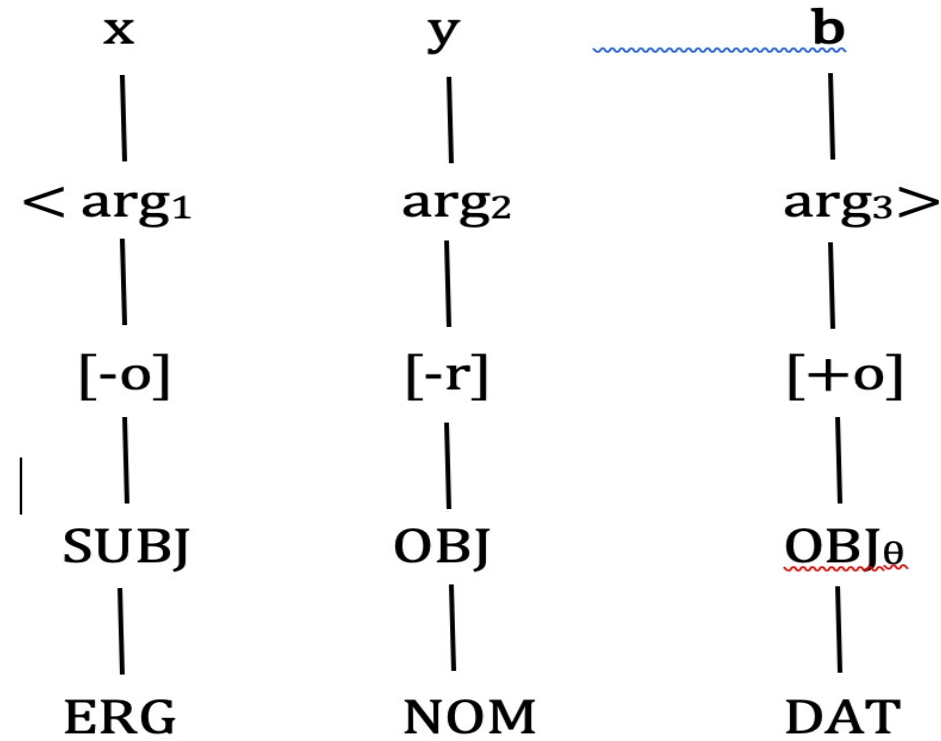
APPL: *tan-* COM
 \Rightarrow
 (add *object_θ*)



à la Kibort (2007, 2008)

	<arg ₁ <u>arg₂</u> >	arg ₃	arg ₄ ...	<u>arg_n</u> >
intrinsic	<u>[-o]</u>	[-r]	[+o]	[-o]
default	<u>[-r]</u>	[+o]	[+r]	[-r]
GF	SUBJ	OBJ	<u>OBJ_θ</u>	OBL
CASE	all: ERG~NOM	<u>1/2:ACC</u> <u>3:NOM</u>	1/2:ACC 3:DAT~NOM	Flag: <i>-n~-nan</i>
				Flag: <i>-n~-nan</i>

Table 3: Grammatical Functions and Case Assignments in Yimas



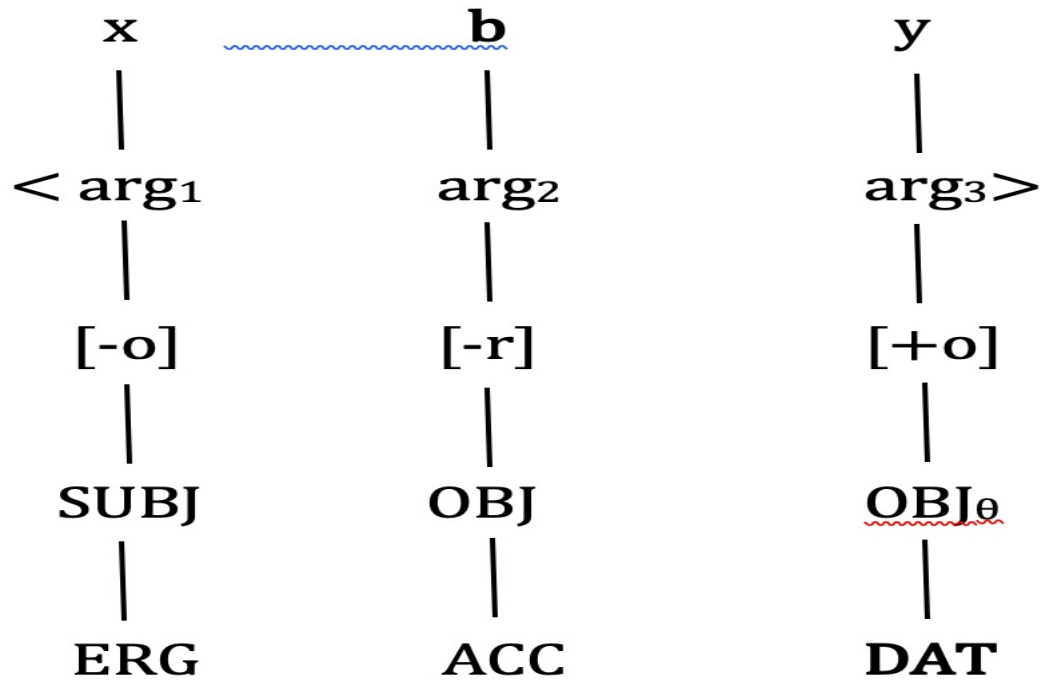
patn

betelnut.V.SG

'I gave the betelnut to them (PL)'

na-ka-ŋa-r-mpun

V.SG.NOM-1SG.ERG-give-PFV-3PL.DAT



patn

betelnut.V.SG

'they (PL) gave us (PL) the betelnut'

na-mpu-kra-ŋa-t

V.SG.NOM-3PL.ERG-1PL.ACC-give-PFV

knn

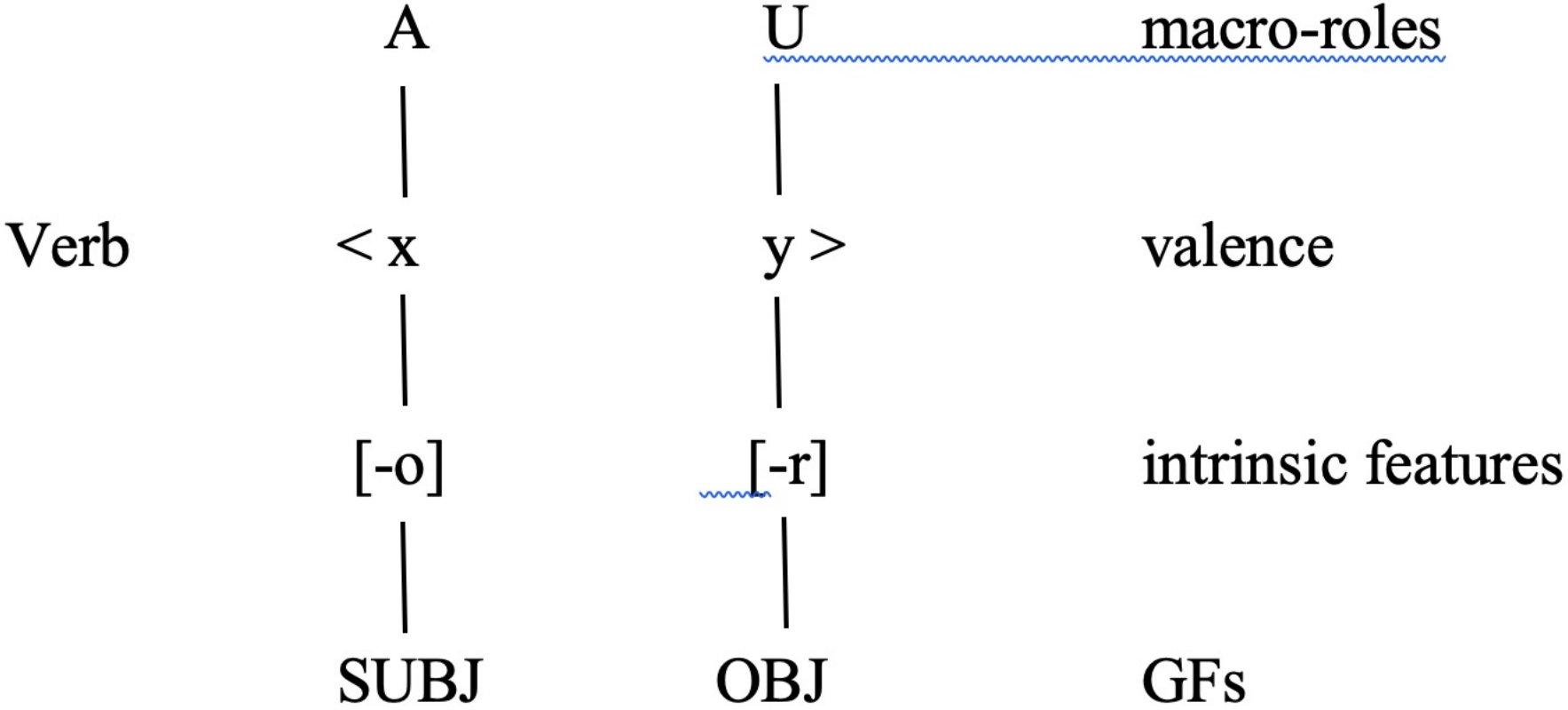
leaf_spine.VI.SG.

'come and get and give me the leaf spine'

ŋa-ŋa-ya-k(a)-awt-mpi-ŋa-na-ŋ

IMP-1SG.ACC-come-SEQ-get-SEQ-give-IMP-VI.SG.NOM

canonical bivalent verb lexical entry



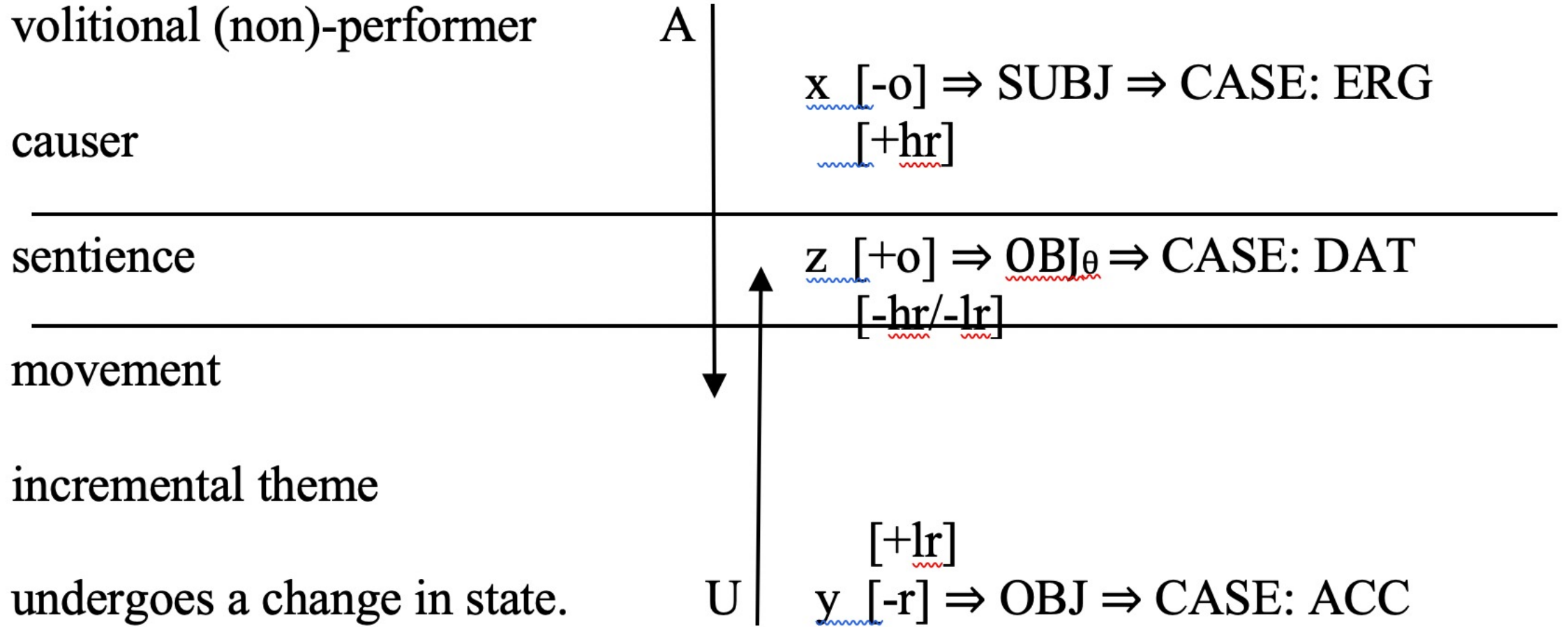


Figure 1: Canonical Case Assignment for Yimas Verbs

Constraints

1. The Prominence Constraint. More prominent pronominal indexes occur closer to the verbal complex.

2. The Person-animacy Hierarchy:

first person > second person > third human > third animate >
third inanimate

3. The Case Hierarchy:

ACC > ERG > DAT > NOM > OBL

na-ŋa-mpa-na-ŋkan-mpan-ra

IMP.PL-give-IMM-IMP-PC-3PL.DAT-V.PL.NOM

‘you (PC) give them (PL) food right now’

amtra

food.V.PL

4. if a verb bears any index, there must be a nominative present and it must be on the absolute periphery of the verb, either the left or right edge of the verb depending on mood or modality. The only exception to this concerns the accusative indexes; as the highest ranked case, they can never be realized as anything other than accusative and further must be realized as a bound index. Hence a Faithfulness constraint for accusative, Ident (ACC), outranks a Markedness constraint, NOM: Ident (ACC) > NOM.

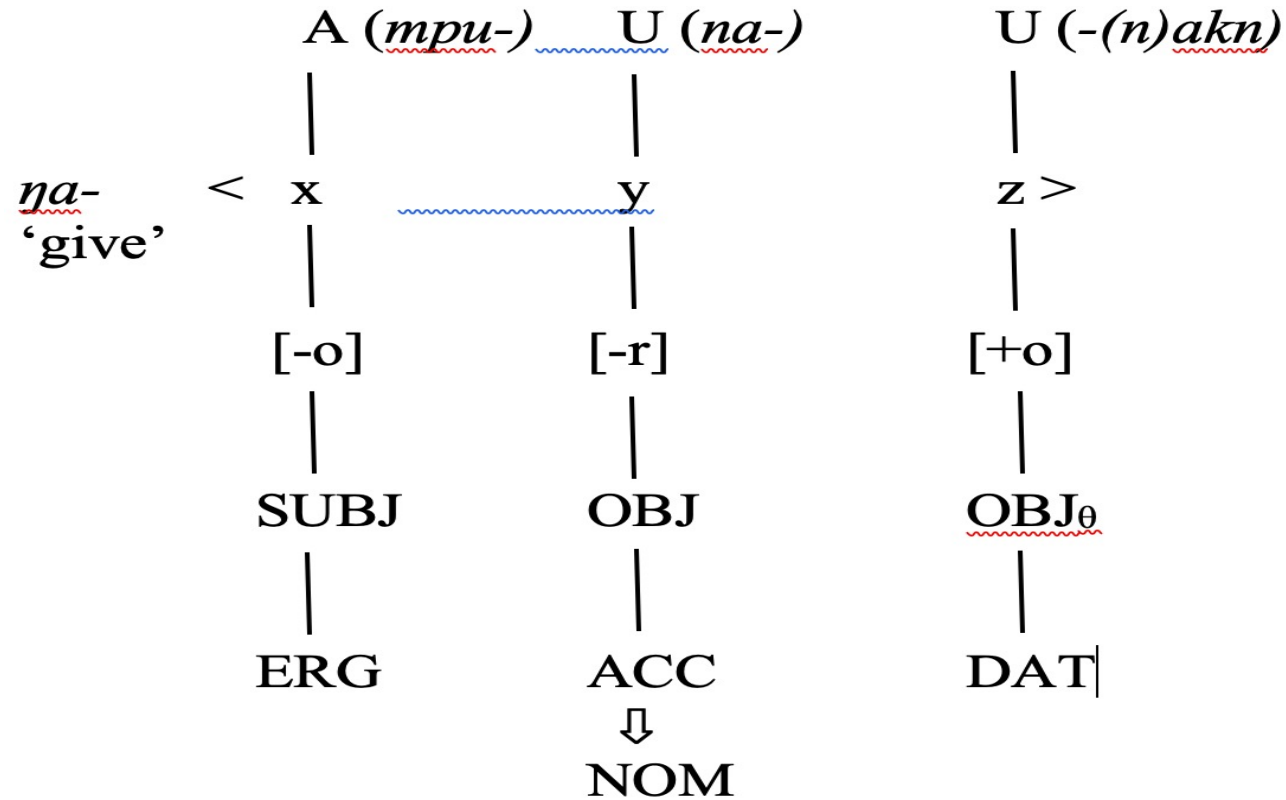
numpran

na-mpu-ŋa-r-akn

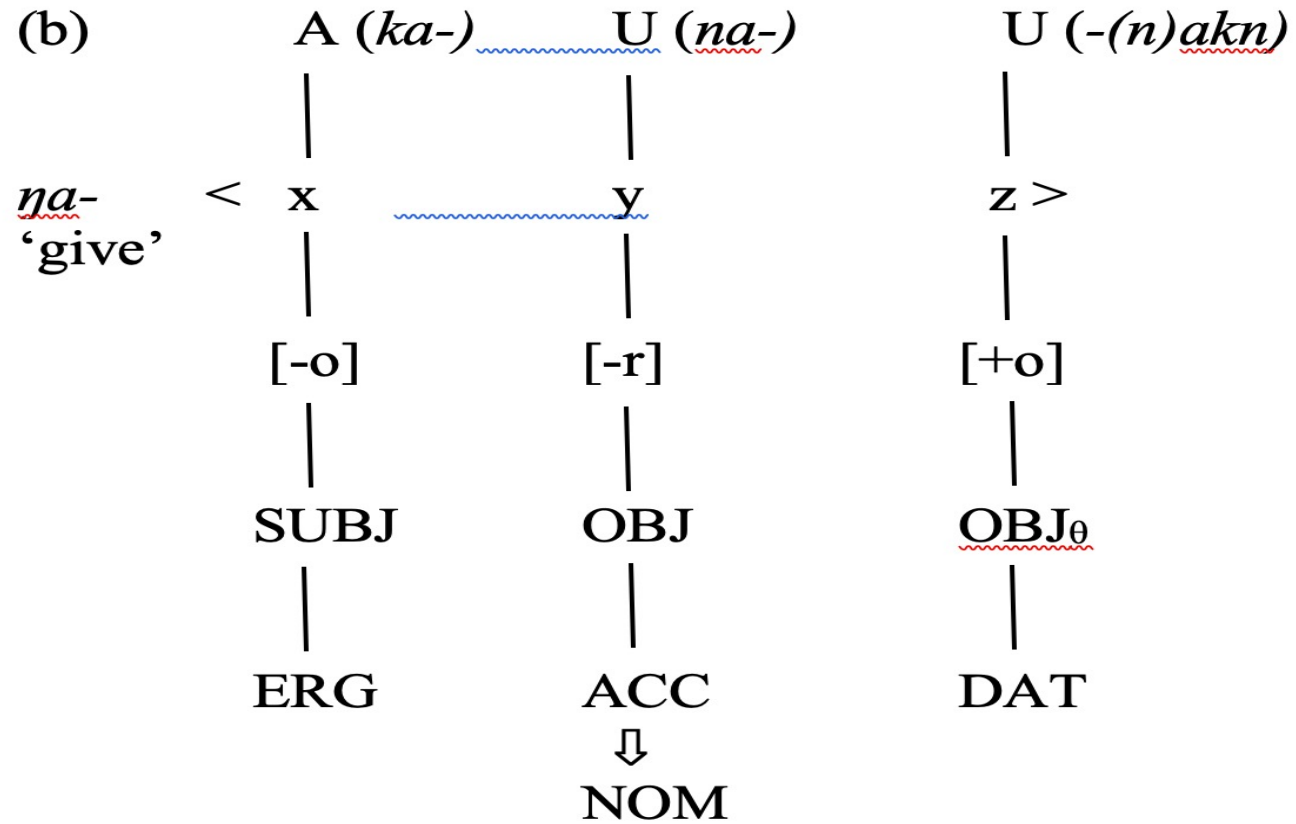
pig.III.SG

III.SG.NOM-3PL.ERG.-give-PFV-3SG.DAT

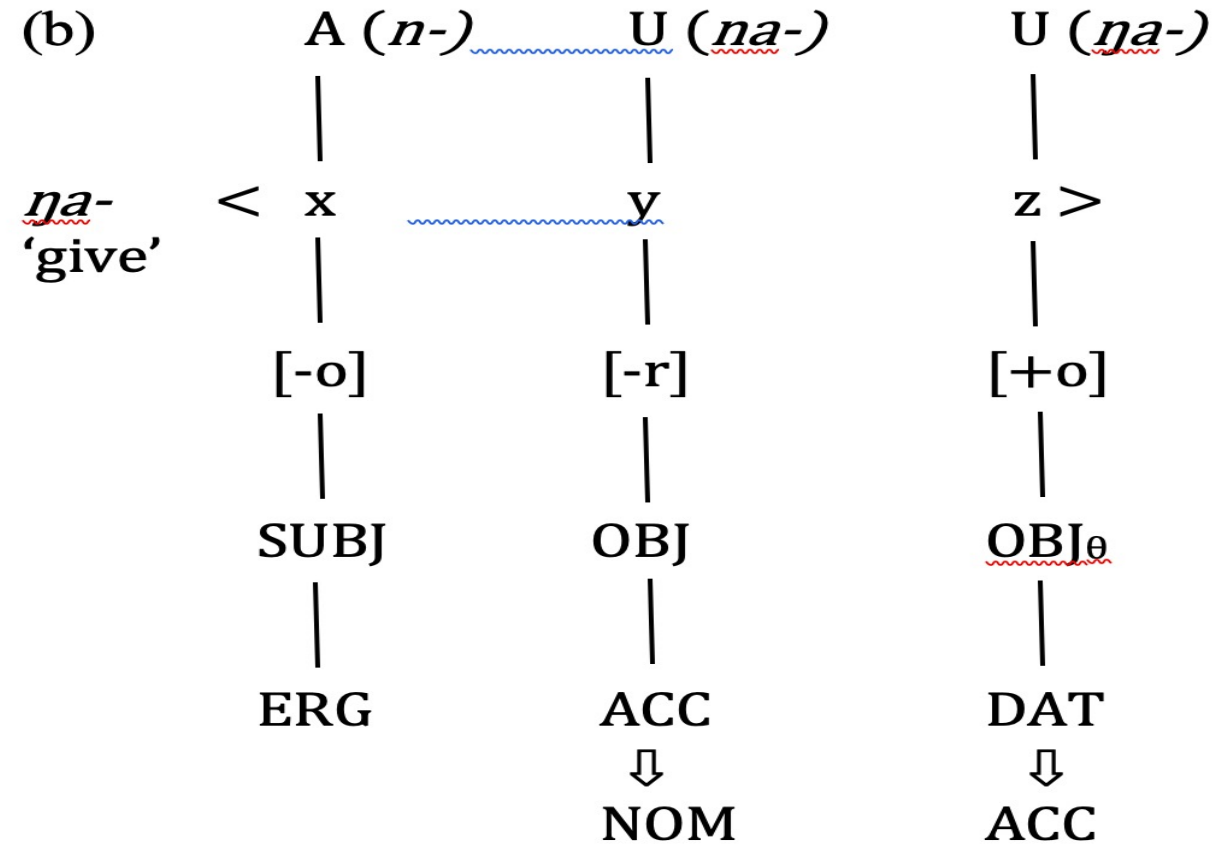
'they (PL) gave pork to him'



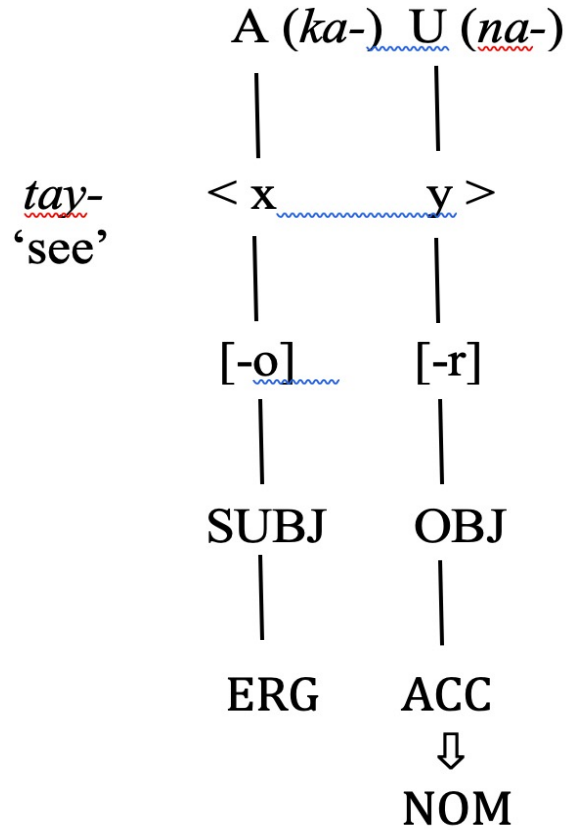
(a) *numpran* *na-ka-ŋa-r-akn*
 pig.III.SG III.SG.NOM-1SG.ERG-give-PFV-3SG.DAT
 'I gave pork to him'



(a) *numpran* *na-n-ŋa-ŋa-t*
 pig.III.SG III.SG.NOM-3SG.ERG-1SG.ACC-give-PFV
 'he gave me pork'

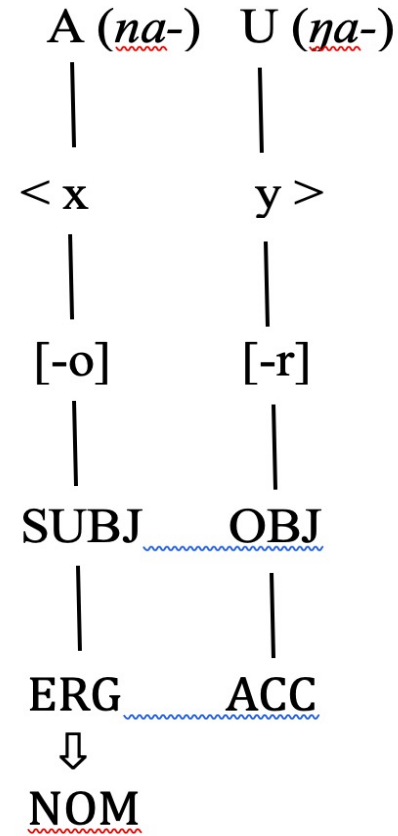


) (a) direct
na-ka-tay
 3SG.NOM-1SG.ERG-see
 'I saw him'



PROM: 1 > 3
 ERG > NOM

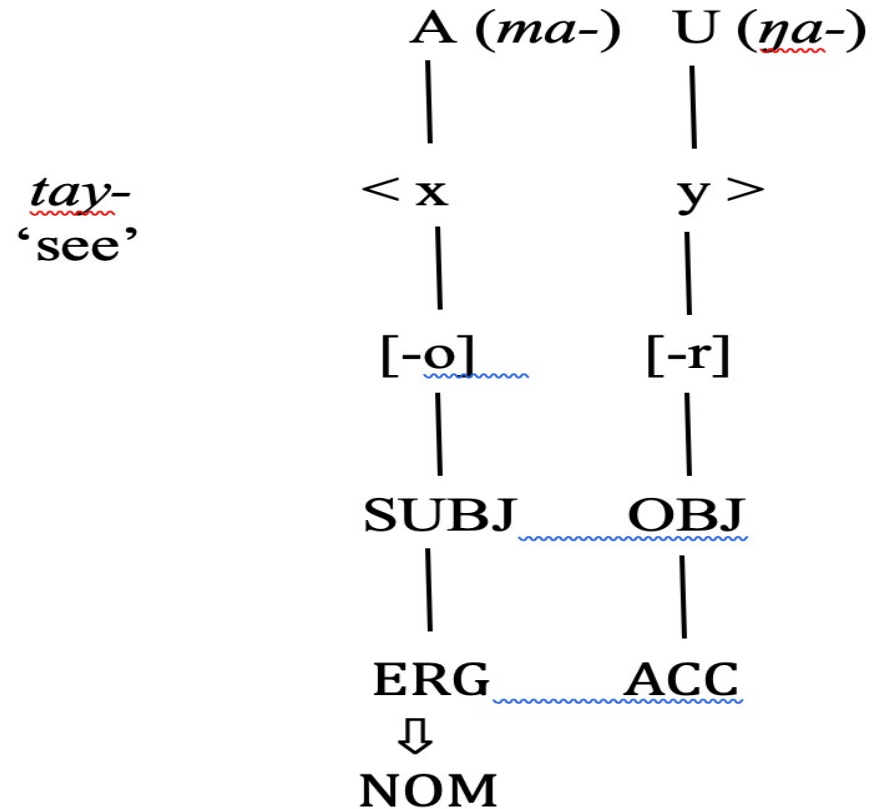
(b) inverse
na-ηa-tay
 3SG.NOM-1SG.ACC-see
 'he saw me'



1 > 3
 ACC > NOM

(a) *ma-ŋa-tay*
 2PL.NOM-1DL.ACC-see
 'you (SG) saw me'

(b) *ipwa-ŋkra-tay*
 2DL.NOM-1DL.ACC-see
 you (DL) saw us (DL)'



PROM: 1 > 2
 ACC > NOM

kapa kampan-tay
1DL 1.SUBJ/2SG.OBJ-see
'we (DL) saw you (SG)'

makaw wa-mpan-ŋa-t
makau.V.SG IX.SG.NOM-1.SUBJ/2SG.OBJ_θ-give-PFV
'I gave you (SG) makau'

ŋkul-cay
2DL.ACC-see
'I saw you (DL)'

kapa makaw wa-kul-ŋa-t
1DL makau.IX.SG IX.SG.NOM-2PL.ACC-give-PFV
'we (DL) gave you (PL) makaw'

SUBJ = 1SG.ERG

OBJ = 2DL.ACC

PERS: 1
NUM: SG
CASE: ERG

PERS: 2
NUM: DL
CASE: ACC

	Block	Ident (ACC)	Person	NOM	Case	PROM
<i>ama kapwa V</i> 1SG 2DL		!* ~~~~~				
<i>kapwa ka-V</i> 2DL 1SG.ERG-	!* ~~~~~	!* ~~~~~		*		
<i>kapwa ama-V</i> 2DL 1SG.NOM-	!* ~~~~~	!* ~~~~~				
<i>ka-ηkul-V</i> 1SG.ERG-2DL.ACC-	!* ~~~~~		*	*		
<i>ηkul-ka-V</i> 2DL.ACC-1SG.ERG-	!* ~~~~~			*	*	
<i>ama-ηkul-V</i> 1SG.NOM-2DL.ACC-	!* ~~~~~		*			
<i>ηkul-ama-V</i> 2DL.ACC-1SG.NOM-	!* ~~~~~			*	*	
<i>ηkul-V</i> 2DL.ACC-			*	*		

