como bem nos apontou João Costa durante a apresentação desse trabalho ao PPGLI / UFAL. Noite se, entretanto, que esta possibilidade pouco ajudaria nossas hipóteses, segundo as quais gênero semântico, e não especificidade, é o fator primordial.

II A nosso ver, o principal deles reside no fato de que a hipótese de que os ONs são pronominais prediz que devem ser regidos pelo Princípio B, e não pelo Princípio C, da Teoria da Ligação. Ainda que os proponentes da hipótese sustentem que esta predição se confirma (cf. Bianchi & Figueiredo Silva 1994, Kato 2005), gostaríamos de declarar aqui que ainda não estamos convencidos disso. Para alguma discussão das razões que temos para esta posição, ver Menuzzi (1994).

SYNTACTIC ERGATIVITY AND ARGUMENT HIERARCHY IN KADIWÉU

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RESUMO
Este artigo analisa dados de Kadiwéu e, com base no orden dos constituintes e posição do advérbio, mostra que, assumindo-se a proposta de Jesiok e Carnie (2003), é possível identificar certas evidências de ergatividade sintática no Kadiwéu. Os dados deste artigo derivam de Sandalo (1995, 1997), de notas de campo (1993-1999) e de pesquisa de campo mais específica sobre esse tema.

ABSTRACT
This paper analyses data of Kadiwéu and shows, via constituent order and adverb placement, that, assuming Jesiok & Carnie’s proposal, it is possible to appreciate clear evidence for syntactic ergativity in Kadiwéu. The data for this paper come from Sandalo (1995, 1997), from field notes (1993-1999), and from more specific field research in this topic.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE
Ergatividade, Estrutura Argumental, Kadiwéu.

KEYWORDS
Ergativity, Argument Hierarchy, Kadiwéu.
1. Introduction

Person hierarchy has been a topic of concern in the typological literature since the seventies (cf. Dixon 1994). Only recently has person hierarchy been approached in formal linguistics. Aissen (1999, 2000) has formalized the phenomenon in terms of ranked constraints built out of relational hierarchies by means of Functional Optimality Theory. This is not, however, the only approach to person hierarchy in formal linguistics. Jelinek (1993, 2000), Isaak (2000), and Jelinek & Carrie (2003) have approached this topic in a very different perspective, and the papers by Aissen brought about an interesting quarrel about this phenomenon (cf. Carrie 2002). Jelinek & Carrie (2003) attempted to show that the phenomena of ergative splits, object shift, differential object marking, dative/accusative alternations, clitic placement, and voice alternations driven by argument hierarchies are sensitive to presuppositionality and the claim (following the work of Jelinek 1993, 2000 and of Isaak 2000) that all phenomena driven by argument hierarchies are better explained from the perspective of Diesing's (1992) mapping hypothesis syntactically encoded.

According to Diesing (1992), there is a direct mapping between syntactic constituent structure and semantic structures at some level of representation. In this hypothesis, the clause is divided into a nuclear scope (VP), that asserts the truth of the entities and provides the new information of the clause, and a restrictor, that asserts the presupposed information. Only non-presupposed material is allowed to stay in the nuclear scope. Presupposed material must leave the nuclear scope and be placed in the restrictive part of the clause.

This paper analyzes data of Kiowew and shows, via constituent order and adverb placement, that, assuming Jelinek & Carrie's proposal, it is possible to appreciate clear evidence for syntactic ergativity in Kiowew. The data for this paper come from Sandalo (1995, 1997), from field notes (1993-1999), and from more specific field research in this topic in January of 2004 (during the Field Methods Class in EVELIN), and in November of 2003 and February of 2004 in the Kiowew territory.

2. Agreement and ergativity

Kiowew does not have case marking morphemes on nouns, but its agreement morphology indicates an ergative case system, as discussed below.

Kiowew has agreement prefixes for internal and external arguments. But direct arguments are in complementary distribution. There is a person hierarchy, 2 > 1 > 3, that defines the argument that is morphologically marked. If the object is third-person, a transitive verb agrees with the external argument regardless of the person of the subject.

1 jema:
   j-em-an
1SUBJ-want/love
'I love him/her.'

2 jemanaGa
   j-em-an-Ga
1SUBJ-want/love-pl
'We love him/her.'

3 emani
   a-em-an-i
2SUBJ-want/love-pl
'You love him/her.'

4 yema:
   y-em-an
3SUBJ-want/love
'He/she loves him/her.'
But the verb agrees with the internal argument if the external argument is third person and the internal argument is first or second person. In this case, the morpheme \( d \): ‘inverse’ must be present.

5 idema:
   \( i-d:-e\text{n}\)  
   1OBJ-inverse-want/love  
   'He/she loves me'

6 Godema:
   \( G-o-d:-e\text{n}\)  
   1pOBJ-inverse-want/love  
   'He/she loves us'

7 Gademani
   \( G-a-d:-e\text{m}a\text{n}\)  
   2OBJ-inverse-want/love-pl  
   'He/she loves you'

When there is no third person involved (that is, the direct arguments are first and second persons), the second person argument is marked. The inverse morpheme must be present.

8 Gademani
   \( G-a-d:-e\text{m}a\text{n}\)  
   2OBJ-inverse-want/love-pl  
   'I love you'

9 ademani
   \( a-d:-e\text{m}a\text{n}\)  
   2SUBJ-inverse-want/love-pl  
   'You love me'

Intransitive verbs (i.e. unaccusatives, reflexives, and verbs that contain an incorporated noun) are marked by subject prefixes that differ from the subjects of transitive sentences. Below are some examples to illustrate the intransitive agreement pattern.

10 idacotaGa
   \( i-d-a-c-o-t\)  
   3SUBJ-inverse-go-down-pl  
   'We go down.'

11 dapioq
   \( O-d-a-p\)  
   3SUBJ-inverse-warm  
   'It is warm.'

12 idaqakGa
   \( i-d-a-q\)  
   1SUBJ-inverse-squat-pl  
   'We squat.'

To sum up, Kaciwéu has a tripartite agreement system. Figure 1 below presents the three sets of agreement markers. Figure 1 attests that the intransitive set of agreement markers is different from the set of transitive subject agreement markers. Note that the fact that intransitive verbs are marked by a set of subject markers that differs from the set that marks the subject of a transitive verb indicates an ergative system.
One could, obviously, question whether the Kadiwéu agreement patterns indicate an ergative system or whether its agreement system is merely a morphological idiosyncrasy. Next section shows by adverb positioning and other constituent order that Kadiwéu is indeed a syntactic ergative language that shows a split driven by person.

3. The mapping hypothesis and ergativity in Kadiwéu

There are syntactic facts that show that Kadiwéu is indeed a syntactic ergative language. The first of these facts concerns focalization of subjects. As in syntactic ergative languages (see Bittner & Halle 1996), one can focalize an internal argument of a relative clause in Kadiwéu. But it is necessary to antipassivize a transitive verb to focalize its external argument in the same situation:

16. José aye yema Maria.
José aye y-ema Maria
José relative 3SUBJ-want/love Maria
'It is José that Maria loves.'

Other traditional tests for syntactic ergativity do not work consistently, however. Thus, if we coordinate sentences, the internal argument of a transitive sentence is preferred to be co-indexed with an intransitive subject but this is not obligatory. Also, it is better to antipassivize a sentence to relativize its transitive subject but this is not obligatory. Thus, other tests must be developed to clarify the analysis of Kadiwéu case system. This is what follows.

As mentioned above, Jelinek & Carnie (2003) argue that all phenomena driven by argument hierarchies are a reflex of Diesing's (1992) mapping hypothesis syntactically encoded. Recall that, in Diesing's hypothesis, the clause is divided into a nuclear scope (VP), that asserts the truth of the entities and provides the new information of the clause, and a restrictor, that asserts the presupposed information. Only non-quantificational/non-presuppositional material (like non-specific indefinites) is allowed to stay in the nuclear scope. Presupposed material (like definite NPs) must leave the nuclear scope and be placed in the restrictive part of the clause.

Jelinek (1993) notes that split case systems driven by person tend to occur in languages that do not have determiners. In these languages, third-person arguments are non-specific indefinites and therefore they are allowed to stay in the nuclear scope. First and second person arguments are intrinsically definite and therefore they must leave the nuclear scope and be placed in the restrictive part of the clause.

In Kadiwéu, argument hierarchy affects agreement, as seen above, as well as constituent order, as it can be noticed in the data below. First/second person internal arguments must precede the verb (OV order) but third person internal arguments follow it (VO order):
A pronoun subject (first and second persons) cannot ever be preceded by an adverb, what shows, assuming that the adverb is adjoined to VP, that a subject pronoun must be in a high subject position (probably SPEC, TP) like the subjects of better known accusative languages.

As the examples above show, however, an adverb, in this case jaG ‘already’, can precede a third person external argument. The fact that an adverb precedes a third person external argument suggests that this subject is not in SPEC, TP. It must be in a lower position, inside əP. Many authors have claimed that an ergative subject is licensed in situ (e.g. Nash 1996, Bitter & Hale 1996). This is the case of third person external arguments in Kadiwéu. They are ergative.

3.2. External arguments in embedded clauses

A third person external argument can (optionally) occupy a pre-complementizer position in embedded clauses in Kadiwéu. An internal argument cannot, regardless of its person if the external argument is third person. In the data below the complementizer is me and it is underlined.

(3rd person subject, 3rd person object)
24. Paulo yowo Exabigo me yema: Ekode
   Paulo 3SUBJ-thinks Exabigo COMP 3SUBJ-want/love Ekode
25. *Paulo yowo Ekode me yema: Exabigo
   Paulo 3SUBJ-think Ekode COMP 3SUBJ-love Exabigo

‘Paulo thinks that Exabigo loves Ekode’

(3rd person subject, 2nd person object)
26. *Paulo yowo aqamii me Gademani Exabigo
27. Paulo yowo me aqamii Gademani Exabigo
28. Paulo yowo Exabigo me aqamii Gademani

‘Paulo thinks that Exabigo loves you’
Note, however, that a first/second person external argument cannot be placed in the pre-complementizer position. The object moves (optionally) instead regardless of its person:

(2nd person subject, 3rd person object)

30. *Paulo yorwo aqami me emanini Ecabigo
   Paulo 3SUBJ-thinks 2PRONOUN COMP 2OBJ-love/want-pl Ecabigo
31. Paulo yorwo me aqami emanini Ecabigo
32. Paulo yorwo Ecabigo me aqami emanini
33. Paulo yorwo me Ecabigo aqami emanini

'Paulo thinks that you love Ecabigo.'

(neither subject nor object 3rd person)

34. *Paulo yorwo ee me aqami Gademani
   Paulo 3SUBJ-thinks 1PRONOUN COMP 2OBJ-love-pl
35. Paulo yorwo me ee aqami Gademani
36. Paulo yorwo aqami me ee Gademani

'Paulo thinks that I love you'.

The facts concerning the position of subjects in embedded clauses are further evidence for the claim that third person external arguments and first/second person external arguments do not occupy the same syntactic position.

3.3. Adverbs and internal arguments

The adverbs *jime* 'perhaps', *jaG* 'already', and *eG* 'still' can occupy any of the positions marked by (X) in the data below. The sentence is ungrammatical, however, if the adverb is placed in the position marked by (*).

37. Ecabigo (X) yora: (* X) Ekode
   Ecabigo 3SUBJ-love Ekode
38. Ecabigo (X) aqami (X) Gademani
   Ecabigo 2PRONOUN 2OBJ-inverse-love-pl

Some examples follow:

39. Ecabigo ja yora: Ekode
40. *Ecabigo yora: jaG Ekode
41. Ecabigo jaG aqami Gademani
42. Ecabigo aqami jaG aqami

The data show that an adverb cannot interfere between the verb and a post-verbal object. Recall that an object is post-verbal (VO order) when it is third person. The facts concerning adverb placement show that a post-verbal internal argument is internal to VP.

First and second person direct internal arguments cannot ever be post-verbal, however. They must be placed before the verb (OV order) and the inverse morpheme appears obligatorily. An adverb can occur between the verb and the object if the object is preverbal, and it shows that a preverbal internal argument has moved to outside of VP. Preverbal internal position arguments are first and second persons. I believe that the inverse morpheme is the head of a functional projection that receives an internal argument dislocated out of the VP. Note that the fact that an adverb can intervene between an ergative subject and an absolutive object shows that this object occupies the specifier position of an independent projection rather than a second specifier of *n*.

Note that although many theories of ergativity postulate that the internal argument of an ergative language occupies the SPEC position of TP (cf. Nash 1996 and Bittner & Halle 1995 for the languag-
es that they label syntactically negative), Kadiwéu does not favor this hypothesis. Although a definite (first and second persons) internal argument leaves the VP, it is lower than any subject. There are two pieces of evidence that it is lower in syntax than the subject: (i) it linearly follows the subject and (b) in embedded clauses a third person subject (the one that is licensed in situ) has priority over an internal argument to move, as seen in section 3.2.

The Kadiwéu facts concerning internal arguments resemble some facts of North American languages. The inverse voice (morphologically marked here by the inverse ɗ-) is used when the internal argument is presupposed. Like in a passive, the internal object is fronted, but unlike the passive, there is no intransitivization and no argument is demoted.

Carnie & Jelinek adopt a particular view of phases that is different from the one proposed by Chomsky (2001). They state (2003:8):

“Chomsky proposes that phases are, in essence, propositional; they consist of a predicate and its arguments (rP), or a temporal and force operator (TP or CP). Carnie offers an alternative view of phase. In this approach, phases minimally consist of (a) a predicative element (r or V), (b) a single argument (NP), (c) a temporal operator that locates the predicate and argument in time and space (Asp or T). For a single transitive clause, then, the first phase of a sentence consists of a lexical predicate which expresses an event or state (V), any internal arguments, and the Asp head.”

The authors propose that definite objects shift from inside the VP (possibly at LF in some languages) to the specifier of a projection above VP to get out of the nuclear scope defined by VP in better known languages. In Kadiwéu a presupposed internal argument (absolutive object) moves overtly. In other words, I believe that the inverse morpheme is a morphological realization of such projection.

4. Contrastive focus of objects

It is important to mention that while a first/second direct internal argument cannot ever be final, a third person internal argument can occupy a preverbal position. Note, however, that, in this case, it is interpreted as in contrastive focus. A preverbal focused object does not trigger agreement and the inverse morpheme does not appear:

43. Ecabigo Ekode yema:
   Ecabigo Ekode 3SUBJ-love/want
   Ecabigo loves Ekode (not somebody else)

One could question whether a third person in contrastive focus occupies the same position as the internal argument of the inverse voice (first/second person). Negation placement indicates that they do not occupy the same position:

Fe aqmí a(G) Gademeni
1PRONOUN 2PRONOUN NEG 2OBJ-inverse-love/want-pl
I don’t love you.

44. Ecabigo a(G) yema: Ekode
   Ecabigo NEG 3SUBJ-love/want
   Ecabigo doesn’t love Ekode.

45. *Ecabigo Ekode a(G) yema:
   Ecabigo Ekode NEG 3SUBJ-love/want
   Ecabigo doesn’t love Ekode

46. Ecabigo aG Ekode yema:
   Ecabigo NOT Ekode 3SUBJ-love/want
   Ecabigo doesn’t love Ekode

As it can be noticed above, a verb can be modified by aG ‘not’ when there is a pre-verbal object pronoun (inverse voice) but the same is not true if the object is a focused noun. The negative morpheme must precede the object.
Additional evidence for the claim that a focused object and an internal argument pronoun are not in the same position comes from the fact that there is no complementary distribution between a preverbal pronoun and a focused third person:

47. aqami jibole jalataGadomi
   2PRONOUN meat 1SUBJ-give-EPN-2OBL-benefactive
   I give you the meat (not something else)

Note that the regular position of a noun object is final if not focused, even in a double object construction:

48. Ecbigo aqami yolaGataGadomi jibole.
   Ecbigo gives you the meat.

5. Intransitives adverb placement

Finally, it is important to mention that the behavior of intransitive sentences (unergative or unaccusative verbs) is different concerning adverb placement, what constitutes further evidence that transitive subjects are special. Thus, an adverb can precede or follow a subject, regardless of its person, in an intransitive clause:

49. jeG ee id:abidi
   already 1PRONOUN 1SUBJ-inverse-stand up
   I already stand up

50. ee jiG id:abidi
    1PRONOUN already i-d-stand up

52. ee ja jalokodi
    1PRONOUN already 1SUBJ-run

53 * jeG ee ineligota
   jeGi ee i-n-edg-e-rewa
   already 1PRONOUN 1SUBJ-antipassive-eat-EPN-3OBL-DAT
   I already eat it in my imagination'.

51. jeG ee jalokodi
    already 1PRONOUN 1SUBJ-run
    I already run

The difference between antipassives and intransitives is not the presence/absence of an oblique argument. Note that one can add an oblique argument in an intransitive clause, and still the behavior regarding adverbs positioning does not change:

51. jeG ee jalokoditaGadomi
    already 1PRONOUN 1SUBJ-run-EPN-2-benefactive
    I already run for you.

6. Conclusion

This paper attempts to show that Kadiwéu is a syntactic ergative language that presents strong arguments to believe that there are different positions for nominative and ergative subjects as well as different positions for accusative and absolutive arguments. Furthermore, it shows that absolutive objects do not fill the specifier of TP.
It occupies a position outside of VP that is lower than the position of an ergative subject.

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Notes

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1 Kadiwê is a Waikurian language spoken by about 1,600 Indians distributed over an area of 538,000 hectares in the State of Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil. The Waikurian language family has two branches: (a) the Waikurian Branch, which includes Mbyá and its descendent Kadiwê; and (b) the Southern Branch, which comprises four other languages: Toba, Pilagá, Mocovi, and Apíben (Ceria & Sandalo 1995). The Kadiwês are the only surviving descendants of the Mbyá people, who in the 18th century dominated a large extension of the Brazilian and Paraguayan Chaco area (23°5' to 19° degrees of Latitude South, Sanchez Labrador, 1760). A short sketch in a 1760 grammar and dictionary by Sanchez Labrador (published in Susnik 1971) is
A REDUÇÃO VOCÁLICA NO PORTUGUÉS BRASILEIRO: AVALIAÇÃO VIA RESTRIÇÕES

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RESUMO
O presente trabalho refere-se à neutralização vocálica no Português brasileiro a luz da Teoria da Relatividade, um modelo basado em restrições. Mostramos a neutralização dos traços marcados que reduz o sistema de vogais a cinco e a três vogais, de modo paralelo.

Abstract
The present paper refers to neutralization of stressed vowels in Brazilian Portuguese under the framework of Optimality Theory, a constraint-based model. We will show the manifestation of the marked features so that a seven vowels system is reduced to five and to three vowels in parallel fashion.

Palavras-chave
Neutralização, redução vocálica, restrições

Key-words
Neutralization, vowel reduction, constraints

Introdução
Na fonologia estrutural, a neutralização ocupou expressivo espaço em trabalhos que adotaram a proposta de Trubetzkoy, como em Câmara Jr. (1970); mas na fonologia gerativa de Chomsky and Halle (1968), em que cada mudança de traço era explicada por uma regra específica