UNACCUSATIVES THAT DO ASSIGN ACCUSATIVE CASE

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Abstract

This paper examines the assignment of the abstract Case to intransitive subjects in Tenetehára. It is argued that the Case of this argument is dependent on either the head v^o or the head T^o, either option being context sensitive. Based on this, the theoretical proposal advocated is that the syntactic parameter that distinguishes Tenetehára from accusative and ergative languages has to do with the fact that both the head T^o and the head v^o can be potential case assigners in intransitive clauses. As a consequence, the structural Case of intransitive subjects is not uniformly assigned. In this sense, Tenetehára allows an internal parametric variation not predicted by Laka's (1993, 2000) and Bobaljik's (1993) system in the sense that the structural Case of the intransitive subject can be, in principle, either the nominative or the accusative. Another conclusion is that Burzio's (1986) Generalization does not hold in Tenetehára, inasmuch as the unaccusative subject gets accusative Case assigned by the head v^o, a fact that brings further evidence to Laka's (2000) proposal, according to which the assignment of accusative (=absolutive) Case is blind to whether the predicate licenses an external argument with an agent θ-role or not. According to this view, we assume that Case theory is only sensitive to whether one or more arguments necessitate Case.

Keywords: Minimalism. Case Theory. Unaccusativity. θ-roles. Agreement.

Resumo

Este artigo tem por objetivo averiguar a atribuição do Caso abstrato ao sujeito de verbos intransitivos em Tenetehára. Argumenta-se que a atribuição do Caso a esse argumento depende se os núcleos v^o ou T^o são acionados a atribuir esse caso, situação que depende da natureza sintática da construção. Tendo em conta esse fato, a proposta teórica que entretemos é a de que o parâmetro sintático que distingue o Tenetehára de línguas acusativa e ergativas tem a ver com o fato de que os núcleos T^o e v^o podem ser atribuidores potenciais de Caso nas orações intransitivas. Como consequência dessa proposta, o Caso estrutural de sujeitos intransitivos não é uniformemente atribuído. Nesse sentido, Tenetehára permite uma variação paramétrica não prevista por Laka (1993, 2000) e Bobaljik (1993), uma vez que o Caso estrutural do sujeito intransitivo pode ser tanto o nominativo como o acusativo. Outra conclusão a que chegamos é que a generalização de Burzio (1986) não se sustenta em línguas como o Tenetehára, visto que sujeito do verbo inacusativo pode ter o Caso acusativo atribuído pelo núcleo v^o. Esse fato fornece evidência adicional à proposta de Laka (2000), conforme a qual a atribuição do Caso acusativo (=absolutivo) é cega ao fato de o predicado licenciar um argumento externo com papel-θ de agente ou não. Assim sendo, assumimos neste artigo que a Teoria de Caso é somente sensível a se um ou mais argumentos necessitam Caso.

Palavras-chave: Minimalismo. Teoria de Caso. Inacusatividade. Papel-θ. Concordância.

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1. Objectives

One of the main purposes of this article is to examine the Case system of Tenetehára in order to show that intransitive subjects are dependent on either v or T for having their structural Case valued in narrow syntax. Another objective is to find a unified answer to the following questions:

(1)
    a)   Why aren't unergative and unaccusative subjects encoded uniformly?
    b)   Can intransitive subjects and objects have their structural Case valued by the same head in embedded clauses and, if so, which head is this?
    c)   What is the structural Case of transitive subjects (A) in contexts in which the nominative prefixes are not triggered on the verb stem as, for instance, in the inverse clauses?

In Tenetehára, nominal phrases do not exhibit morphological Case marking. However, the agreement system compensates for the lack of Case in D/NPs in the sense that it is head-marked on the verb, in order to encode the grammatical roles of subject and object. For this reason, the language uses two sets of person markers: the nominative prefixes and the accusative/absolutive clitics, as shown in the table below:

(2)

Set 1: Nominative prefixes		
	Singular	Plural
1st person	a-	*xi-/za-*_{inclusive} *uru-*_{exclusive}
2nd person	*(e)re*	pe-
3rd person	*u- ~ o- ~ w-*	-

(3)

Set 2: Accusative/absolutive clitics		
	Singular	Plural
1st person	he-	*zane-*_{inclusive} *ure*_{exclusive}
2nd person	*ne-*	pe-
3rd person	i- h-	-

2. Theoretical hypotheses

The theoretical hypothesis I will be exploring is that the Case system of Tenetehára allows a parametric variation not predicted by the Obligatory Case Parameter [Bobaljik's (1993) and Laka's (1993)].

Recall that the OCP predicts the existence of only one active Case feature in intransitive clauses. This theory postulates that the head v^o assigns accusative/absolutive, whereas the head T^o licenses nominative. In this system, the nominative Case assigned/valued by T^o is labeled as C1 and the accusative case assigned/valued by v^o is referred to as C2. Assuming that a parameter is always binary and that it can activate either $C1_{nominative}$ or $C2_{acusative}$ in intransitive clauses, this proposal only predicts the following parametrical possibilities among languages:

NOMINATIVE SYSTEM

(4) If $C1_{nominative}$ is active.

    (a) $V_{transitive}$ $(C1_{nom},\ C2_{acc})$

    (b) $V_{intransitive}$ $(C1_{nom})$

ERGATIVE SYSTEM

(5) If $C2_{acusative}$ is active

    (a) $V_{transitive}$ $(C1_{erg},\ C2_{acc})$

    (b) $V_{intransitive}$ $(C2_{acc})$

Languages of the first type are, for example, English and Latin where the nominative Case can be assigned by T, either to the intransitive subjects or to the transitive subjects. On the other hand, in ergative languages like Inuit (BOBALJIK, 1993), the accusative is valued by *v*, either to the intransitive subject and to the transitive object, as follows:

(6a)   *Jaani-up$_{C1}$*   *natsiq$_{C2}$*   *kapi-jaNa*
         Jaani-ERG   seal   stab-TRANS
         'Jaani stabbed a seal.'

(6b) *inuk*$_{C2}$ *tikit-tuq*

person-ABS   arrived

'The person arrived.'

(6c) *ilinniaqtitsiji*$_{C2}$ *uqaq-tuq*

teacher-ABS   spoke

'The teacher spoke.'

The next sections aim to provide the reader with empirical evidence in order to demonstrate that OCP does not account for the Tenetehára Case system. The reason: this language allows an internal parametric variation not stipulated by OCP in that the structural Case of intransitive subjects are dependent on either *v* or T.

3. The relevant data

3.1 The inverse system

Tenetehára is like other Tupí-Guaraní languages in that a person hierarchy determines the occurrence of the agreement prefixes on the verb stem. In this hierarchy, the first person is higher than the second person. The second person is, in turn, higher than the non-focal third person argument. When both the subject and the object are realized as an NP, the focalized argument outranks the non-focalized one. This hierarchy can be informally stated as follows:

(7) $1 > 2 > 3^{focal} > 3^{non\text{-}focal}$

Since there is just one verbal slot for the person markers in the verb, the nominative prefix is triggered on the verb stem whenever the subject is higher than the object in this hierarchy. Nevertheless, when it is the object that is higher than the subject in the person hierarchy, the object is always morphologically realized by the accusative clitics, thereby giving rise to an inverse system.[2] Note in particular that, in such contexts, the relational prefixes {∅- ∞ r-} must obligatorily appear between the clitics and the verb stem, except when the object is of third person as in (10b). Compare examples (a) and (b):

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[2] The Tupian literature treats this phenomenon as Indicative II, see Rodrigues (1953), or as inverted sentence" [see Bendor Samuel (1972) and Payne (1994)]. Harrison (1986:417), for example, notes that this grammatical device "is not a true promotion, in the sense where passive promotes a direct object to subject".

A > O

(8a) *a-(a)ro-rəm*   *awa*

I-wait-FUT   man

'I will wait for the man.'

O > A

(8b) *he.r-aro-rəm*   *awa*

me-ACC-wait-FUT   man

'The man will wait for me.'

A > O

(9a) *(e)re-aro-ràm*   *awa*

2-wait- INT   man

'You will wait for the man.'

O > A

(9b) *ne.r-aro-rəm*   *awa*

me-ACC-wait-FUT   man

'The man will wait for you.'

A > O

(10a) w_i-*exak* $Fábio_i$ *Márcia*

3SG-see   Fábio   Márcia

'Fábio saw Márcia.'

O > A

(10b) *upaw* $Márcia_i$ *Fábio* h_i-*exak-∅*

all   Márcia   Fábio   3SG-see-DESLOC

'All Márcia, Fábio saw.'

[lit.: It means that Fábio saw Márcia in every detail, and not partially.]

3.2 Agreement in intransitive clauses

In monoargumental clauses, what is observed is that unaccusative and unergative subjects are not encoded on the verb uniformly. Clear evidence in favor of this comes from the fact that both subjects can be marked on the verb either by the nominative prefixes

or by the accusative/absolutive clitics. Furthermore, the distribution of the person markers is regulated by the grammatical status of the clause, that is, their occurrence depends on whether the clause is a subordinate or a root clause. In this sense, in root clauses, the subject is encoded on the verb stem by the nominative prefix, whereas, in subordinate clauses, the subject is encoded by the accusative/absolutive clitics. This system is evident when one compares the examples (a) and (b) below:

(11a)   *a-ker*   *kwej*
        I.NOM-sleep   PERF
        '(I) have already slept.'

(11b)   *he-∅-ker*   *pà*
        I.ABS-sleep   COMP
        'While I was sleeping (....).'

(12a)   re-*apyk*
        2SG-sit down
        '(…) when you sit down.'

(12b)   *ne-∅-apyk*   *mehe*
        2SG-ABS-sit down   COMP
        '(…) when you sit down.'

(13a)   a-*ha*   *kwez*
        1SG-go   IPASS
        'I have just gone.'

(13b)   *he-∅-ho-re*   *o-ho*
        1SG-go-after   3SG-go
        'After I went, he went.'

(14a)   a-*in*   *he-∅-hy*   *hie*   *pe*
        I-ABS-be   my-ABS-mother   belly   in
        'I was still in mother's belly.'

(14b) *he-∅-hy*　　　　　*hie*　*pe*　*he-r-ein*　　　　*mehe*
my-ABS-mother　　　belly　in　1SG-ABS-be　　COMP

u-màno　　　*he-r-u*　　　　*a'e*
3SG-die　　my-GEN-father　　he
'When I was still in mother's belly, he, my father, died.'

4. The grammatical status of person markers

A way to give a more theoretical explanation to the complementary distribution of the person markers shown within transitive and intransitive constructions is to propose the following generalization:

(15)　*The nominative prefix is triggered whenever T has a nominative Case feature to assign, whereas the accusative/absolutive clitics occur in context wherein v licenses accusative case.*

The immediate consequence of the generalization (15) is that intransitive subjects and transitive subjects will be dependent on T to have their Case valued in root clauses, as follows:

(16)　Case assignment in intransitive clauses
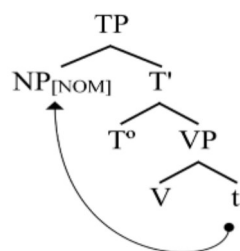
Evidence in favor of the structure above comes from the fact that, in root clauses, transitive and intransitive subjects cannot be encoded by the accusative clitics, as the ungrammaticality of the sentences (b) below indicate:

(17a)　*a-(a)ro-rəm*　　　*awa*
I-wait-FUT　　　　man
'I will wait for the man.'

(17b) *he-r-aro-rəm   awa
       I-ACC-wait-FUT   man
       'I will wait for the man.'

(18a) a-ker   kwej
       I.NOM-sleep   PERF
       '(I) have already slept.'

(18b) *he-ker   kwej
       1SG-sleep   PERF
       '(I) have already slept.'

In conclusion, the paradigm above clearly indicates that that the root clauses exhibit a nominative-accusative system in that the transitive subject and the intransitive subject receive the same structural Case.

4.1 The accusative Case assignment

Another consequence of the generalization (15) is that T does not have the ability to assign nominative Case in the subordinate intransitive clause. In such contexts, the Case features of the intransitive subjects are valued by *v*, not by T. Consequently, T cannot enter the derivation with a Case feature to assign in the subordinate intransitive clauses. If it did, the nominative prefixes could occur on the verb stem in these clauses, a situation that is not possible, as the ungrammaticality of the sentence below indicates:

(19) *he-∅-hy   hie   pe   **a**-in   mehe
      my-ABS-mother   belly   in   1SG-ABS-be   COMP

      u-màno   he-r-u   a'e
      3SG-die   my-GEN-father   he
      'When I was still in mother's belly, he, my father, died.'

(20) *re-∅-apyk   mehe
      2SG-ABS-sit down   COMP
      '(…) when you sit down.'

Another piece of evidence in favor of the analysis T cannot assign Case in certain contexts comes from the antipassive constructions. Although antipassive is semantically transitive in the sense that the verb selects an agent and an affected object, it is syntactically intransitive. This grammatical property is confirmed by the fact that Tenetehára antipassive construction exhibits the following properties:

(21)
   a)   the object is marked with the oblique Case marker *-ehe*;
   b)   the external argument is treated as an intransitive subject insofar as it can only be morphologically realized by the accusative clitics;
   c)   the antipassive marker *-puru* must appear on the transitive stem.

The properties in (21a-c) become particularly evident by the transitivity alternation in the examples below. Note that the nominative prefix {a-} "I" encodes the subject in the active construction, whereas the accusative clitic *he-* "I" refers to the external argument in the antipassive construction.

(22a) *a-Ɂu*   *pira*
       I-NOM-eat   fish
       "I eat fish"

(22b) *he-∅-puru-Ɂu-wer*   *pira*   *r-ehe*
       I-ABS-ANT-eat-DESID   fish   OBLIQ-to
       "I want to eat fish"

Interestingly, if one substitutes the accusative clitic *he-* for the nominative prefix *a-* in the antipassive construction, the result is an ungrammatical sentence, as follows:

(23)   *a-∅-puru-Ɂu-wer*   *pira*   *r-ehe*
       I-ABS-ANT-eat-DESID   fish   OBLIQ-to
       "I want to eat fish"

Thus, the ungrammaticality of (23) clearly demonstrates that only accusative clitics are allowed to encode the antipassive subject, which, in turn, lends further support to the following hypotheses:
   (i)   the antipassive is really a subtype of intransitive verb;
   (ii)   the external argument behaves as an intransitive subjects;

(iii) the person markers *he* "I" and *a-* "I" have a different syntactic distribution: the first occurs in accusative assignment slots, whereas *a-* appears in nominative assignment slots.

(iv) the (unaccusative) external subjects of antipassive receive the accusative Case which is assigned by v, not by T.
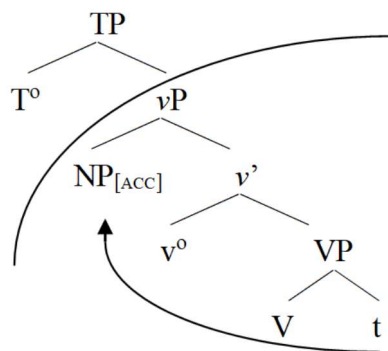
4.2 The proposal

Due to the fact that accusative clitics can encode transitive objects in the inverse system, intransitive subjects (i.e. unaccusative and unergative subjects) in embedded clauses and the external argument of antipassive verbs, a natural conclusion is to posit that it is the head *v* that assigns accusative Case in transitive, subordinate intransitive and antipassive constructions. In this sense, my proposal is that *v* constitutes a strong phase, in as much as a syntactic position is always projected for assigning structural accusative Case in all of these constructions. The syntactic trees below show the derivation of the accusative Case assignment in the *v*P layer:

(24) Derivation of antipassive constructions
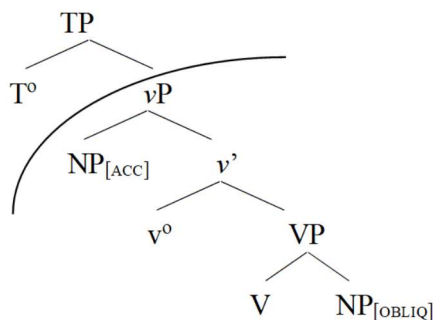
(25) Derivation of unaccusative verbs in subordinate clauses

Notice that the proposal above entails that T cannot enter the derivation with a Case feature to assign due to the fact that the Case features of the intransitive subjects have already been satisfied before T is merged into the structure. In sum, based on this analysis and on the data examined thus far, we are in condition to answer the question raised in (1a): the reason why unergative and unaccusative subjects are not encoded uniformly has to do with the fact that their structural Case is dependent on either T or v. Either option is, of course, context-sensitive, as it depends on the grammatical status of the clause and on which Case is active in each context. Another conclusion is that Tenetehára Case system exhibits a split ergative pattern, since it exhibits a mixture of ergative and accusative characteristics. In other words, the intransitive subjects and transitive subjects are dependent on T to receive nominative Case in root clauses. Nevertheless, the transitive object and the intransitive subject are dependent on v to have structural Case, particularly in subordinate clauses, in the antipassive construction and in the inverse system. This allows us to answer the question raised in (1b), since the transitive object and the subordinate intransitive subjects can have their structural Case valued by the same head, that is, the head v. In short, this Case split system emerges because both T and v can be Case assigners in monoargumental clauses. To answer the question (1c), I will assume that the transitive subject does receive Case from T, even though the nominative prefixes are not triggered in the sentences that exhibit the inverse system. The reason is that, since there is just one slot per clause for the person markers, it will be only the accusative clitics that occur when the object outranks the subject in the person hierarchy.

5. Adjacency effects in embedded clauses

Another piece of evidence that the transitive object and the intransitive subject are really dependent on v to have structural Case comes from syntactic adjacencies in embedded clauses. In these clauses, the word order is rigid, while, in the independent clauses, it is more flexible, being possible the occurrence of the SVO and VSO orders. To account for this syntactic difference, I will contend that this asymmetry is directly connected to the extent of movement of the lexical verb in the v-VP complex in the OV-C^0 clauses. More precisely, I will hypothesize that the verb moves only to the head v^0 in OV embedded clauses, in contrast to SVO clauses, in which the verb can perform movement up to a higher position. Evidence in favor of this analysis comes from the following empirical facts:

(26)

    a)   The OV-C° word order is rigid in the embedded clauses.

    b)   The appearance of the prefix {r- ∞ ∅-} on the verb stem is a reflex of the internal argument movement to Spec-vP for Case reasons.

Based on the above correlation, one can conclude that the prefix {r- ∞ ∅-} occurs only when the core argument and the verb are sitting in a Spec-Head relation within the vP. On the other hand, this prefix is never triggered in SVO and VSO clauses because the object and the verb are not in a Spec-Head relation in the vP[3]. In the literature on Tupí, the prefix {r- ∞ ∅-} is directly connected to the adjacency of the core arguments, so that, when the argument is adjacent to the verb, the prefix must occur:

(27)   *he-∅-hy*   *hie*   *pe*   *he-r-ein*   *mehe*
          my-ABS-mother   belly   in   1SG-ABS-be   COMP

          u-màno   *he-r-u*   *a'e*
          3SG-die   my-GEN-father he
          'When I was still in mother's belly, he, my father, died.'

(28)   *o-mo-no*   *mani'ok*   ***r**-etyk*   *pà*   *kury.*
          3SG-CAUS-go manioc   ABS-throw   COMP now
          '(The people) came (in order) to throw the manioc (by the river).'

What this shows is that the appearance of the prefix {r- ∞ ∅-} on the verb stem can be interpreted as the reflex of the fact that transitive object and the intransitive subject raises to Spec-vP, followed by verb movement to the head v°, thereby creating the rigid OV order. This claim is corroborated by the fact that nothing can intervene between the object and the verb, nor can the word order change from OV to VO in the embedded clause. This prediction is borne out by the ungrammaticality of the sentences below:

(29)   *o-mo-no*   *mani'ok*   **kury* *r-etyk*   *pà*
          3PL-CAUS-go manioc   now   ABS-throw   COMP
          '(The people) came (in order) to throw the manioc (by the river).'

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[3] I refer the reader to another article where I discuss in detail the derivation of the VSO, SVO and SOV orders in Tenetehára.

(30) *o-mo-no*   [**r-etyk*   *mani'ok*   *pà*]   *kury*
    3 PL-CAUS-go   ABS-throw   manioc   COMP   now
    '(The people) came (in order) to throw the manioc (by the river).'

Interestingly, if the embedded predicate occurs as an independent clause, the verb can precede the subject and the object. In this case, the word order changes from (S)OV to VSO. Here, the verb morpheme used is the allomorph {*w-*} of the nominative prefix, which marks the subject, and not the relational prefix r-. Compare the examples below.

(31) *o-mo-no*   *mani'ok*   **r-etyk**   *pà*   *kury.*
    3SG-CAUS-go   manioc   ABS-throw   COMP   now
    '(The people) came (in order) to throw the manioc (by the river).'

(32) ***w*ᵢ-etyk**   *teko*ᵢ   *mani'ok*   *kury*
    3SG-throw   people   manioc   now
    'The people threw the manioc (by the river).'

Based on the data presented above, one way to give a more theoretical status to the prefix {r- ∞ ∅-} is to posit that its occurrence is the morphological spell-out of the abstract Case assignment mechanism, established between the transitive object and the verb in a Spec-Head relationship within the vP projection. Under this hypothesis, I contend that the occurrence of the prefix {r- ∞ ∅-} should be interpreted as the reflex of a syntactic AGREE operation between v° and a DP requiring structural Case. This proposal means that the internal DP in the c-command domain of v° must obligatorily raise from within the lexical projection VP, in which it receives its θ-role, to the Spec position of the functional projection vP in order for its structural Case to be checked, as shown in (33):

(33)

Agree Operation
= Case evaluation mechanism of the DP

The most important aspect of this proposal is that it can also explain the Case pattern in subordinate intransitive constructions, antipassives and the inverse system, wherein the relational prefix intervenes between the internal argument and the verb. More precisely, my proposal is that the occurrence of the relational prefix {r- ∞ ∅-} signals the checking of the abstract Case of the transitive object, the unergative and unaccusative subject and the external subject of antipassive construction. Consequently, when these arguments occur in the Spec position of vP, the relational prefix {r- ∞ ∅-} is obligatorily spelled out to signal that the structural accusative Case is assigned by the head v°. Based on this analysis, I will thus assume that the occurrence of the relational prefix {r- ∞ ∅-} on the verbal stem together with the fixed OV order of the embedded clauses can be used as a diagnostic to determine:

a)   that transitive objects and unaccusative subjects do raise to Spec-vP to receive accusative Case;

b)   that the lexical verb moves only up to the head of vP and remains there throughout the derivation, explaining why SVO and VSO orders are banned from embedded clauses that exhibit final complementizer;

c)   that unergative and antipassive subjects check accusative Case in Spec-vP.

This proposal is reinforced by the fact that the prefix {r-} is not part of the verb stem. A piece of evidence in favor of this analysis comes from the object incorporation construction in (30):

(34)   *o-ho*   *pina*   ***r**-etyk*   *pà*
       3sg-go   hook   abs-throw   comp
       'He went to fish.'
       [lit.: 'He went to throw the hook.']

(35)   *u-pina-etɨk*
       3sg-hook-throw
       '(He) is fishing.' [lit.: 'He is throwing the hook.']

Here, the incorporated object pina, 'hook', does not trigger the prefix {r-} on the verb stem. This fact allows us to conclude that the prefix is not part of the verb stem. If it were, it would have to appear in every context, both in OV clauses and when the object incorporates into the verb. This is, of course, not the case.

6. Final remarks

Based on the empirical evidence presented thus far, my proposal is that the syntactic parameter that distinguishes Tenetehára from accusative and ergative languages has to do with the fact that T and *v* can be potential case assigners in intransitive Clauses. In sum, one can conclude that the structural Case of intransitive subjects is not uniformly assigned. In this sense, Tenetehára allows an internal parametric variation not predicted by Laka's (1993, 2000) and Bobalijk's (1993) system in that the structural Case of the intransitive subject can be, in principle, either the nominative or the accusative, as follows:

a) $V_{transitive}$ $(C1_{nom}, C2_{acc})$

b) $V_{intransitive}$ $(C1_{nom})$

c) $V_{intransitive}$ $(C1_{acc})$

Recall that such a Case pattern does not emerge in nominative-accusative and ergative languages. It is traditionally assumed that, in nominative-accusative languages, the intransitive subjects receive Case from T in normal conditions, whereas, in ergative languages, the Case of intransitive subject will depend on which Case is active. In general, there is only one active Case in intransitive clauses of ergative clauses. More to the point, it will be the nominative if T bears the active case and it will be the accusative if *v* carries the active Case.

Another conclusion is that Burzio's Generalization does not hold in Tenetehára. The reason is simple: unaccusative subjects do in fact receive structural accusative (=absolutive) in subordinate clauses. This brings further evidence to Laka's (2000) proposal, according to which the assignment of accusative (=absolutive) Case is blind to whether the predicate licenses an external argument with an agent θ-role or not.[4] According to this view, the most important thing is to consider that Case theory is only sensitive to whether one or more arguments necessitate Case. Thus, the type of theta roles that the external or internal arguments display is not relevant to operation of Case assignment. To summarize, Tenetehára exhibits the following syntactic characteristics:

(i)   intransitive subjects will be assigned either nominative Case or accusative Case;

(ii)   antipassive subjects will be uniformly assigned accusative.

(iii)   Burzio's generalization is violated;

(iv)   transitive object is uniformly assigned accusative Case by v°;

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[4] Laka (2000:105) argues that "*it is not clear what principle or principles could derive BG, because there is no explicit connection between external θ-role assignment and Accusative Case assignment besides the very one stated by the generalization itself. (....).*"

(v) the transitive subject is uniformly assigned nominative case by T in root active clauses and in transitive subordinate clauses;

Based on the analysis developed thus far, Tenetehára Case system can be stated as follows:

Tenetehára Case system			
Status of constructions	Intransitive subjects	Transitive objects	Transitive subject
Independent/main clause	NOM	ACC	NOM
Antipassive constructions	-	OBLIQUE	ACC
Inverse system	-	ACC	NOM
Subordinate clauses	ACC	ACC	NOM

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Abbreviations

ABS: absolutive Case;

ACC: accusative Case;

COMP: complementizer;

DAT: dative Case;

DPASS: distant past;

DPASTU: unattested distant past;

ERG: ergative Case;

FOC: functional head encoding the focal feature;

FUT: suffix signaling future time;

INTS: intensifier;

IPASS: immediate past;

NOM: nominative Case;

GEN: genitive Case;

NOML: nominalizer;

POSS: possessive affix;

OBLQ: oblique Case;

OBL.TOP: topicalization of oblique phrases;

OBJ.TOP: topicalization of direct object for discourse related reasons such as contrastive focus;

PL: affix which indicates the plurality;

PERF/FEM: affix indicating the perfective and the gender feminine;

PROG: progressive;

REFLEX: affix for encoding the reflexive voice;

TRANS: transitivity.