



# **Aspects of Amahuaca Grammar**

## **An Endangered Language of the Amazon Basin**

**Margarethe Sparing-Chávez**

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# Contents

List of Tables

About This Book...Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald

Preface

Abbreviations

Introduction

Farewell to Amahuaca: An Amazonian language in danger of extinction

Demographic information of the Amahuaca people

Amahuaca: An endangered language

## 1 General Characteristics of Amahuaca

1.1 The case-marking system

1.2 Tense/aspect system

1.2.1 Unmarked tense/aspect set

1.2.2 Marked tense/aspect set

1.3 Operators that function as IRMs

1.3.1 Tense/aspect operators

1.3.2 Suffixes of motion

1.3.3 Suffix expressing possible event

## 2 Interclausal Reference in Amahuaca

2.1 Description of IR-constructions in Amahuaca

2.1.1 Set A

2.1.2 Set B

2.2 Conclusions

2.3 IRMs in narrative discourse

2.3.1 Sample narrative

2.3.2 Analysis

2.3.3 Participant orientation

## 3 The Functions of Noun Phrases

3.1 Grammatical relations

3.2 Grammatical relations and case markings

3.3 Semantic roles

3.4 Discussion of semantic roles in discourse

3.4.1 Preliminary considerations

3.4.2 Semantic roles

3.4.3 Description of the SRs in the text

3.5 Conclusions

## 4 Sentence Types

4.1 Modality

4.2 Interrogatives

4.2.1 Common questions

4.2.2 Specific questions that require a question word

4.3 Imperatives

4.3.1 Common commands singular and plural with intransitive verbs

4.3.2 Common commands singular and plural with transitive verbs

4.3.3 Examples of singular and plural familiar commands

4.3.4 Imperatives expressing encouragement

4.3.5 Imperatives using *-comun* 'indeed'/'please'

4.3.6 Expressing immediate action in imperatives

- 4.3.7 Putting emphasis on the importance of a request
- 4.3.8 Indirect commands first person singular and plural
- 4.3.9 Third person singular and plural indirect imperatives
- 4.3.10 Common prohibitions for second person singular and plural
- 4.3.11 Changing a prohibition into a request not to do something
- 4.4 Conclusions
- 5 Uncertainties of Life: Evidentials
  - 5.1 Zero marker for firsthand knowledge
  - 5.2 The reportative *-quiha*
  - 5.3 Conjecture
  - 5.4 Mirativity
  - 5.5 Conclusions
- 6 I Want to But I Can't: The Frustrative in Amahuaca
  - 6.1 Definition of the term "frustration"
  - 6.2 The frustrative morpheme in Amahuaca
    - 6.2.1 Function and meanings
    - 6.2.2 Usage of *-pana-* in different contexts
  - 6.3 The origin of *-pana-*
  - 6.4 Conclusions
- 7 Morphemes
- 8 Final Words
  - 8.1 Language and culture
  - 8.2 Language and worldview
- Appendix How I Killed a Tapir
- Bibliography

## List of Tables

- Table 1.1. Case-marking system
- Table 1.2. Unmarked tense/aspect operators
- Table 1.3. Marked tense/aspect operators
- Table 2.1. Suffixes of motion functioning as IRMs
- Table 2.2. IRMs, Set A
- Table 2.3. IRMs, Set B
- Table 2.4. Sequence and non-sequence IRMs
- Table 3.1. Case markings
- Table 4.1. Imperative markings and modifiers
- Table 4.2. Indirect imperatives
- Table 4.3. Prohibitions

## About This Book

Margarethe Sparing-Chávez was a dedicated linguist who devoted many years to the Amahuaca people and to studying and analyzing their language and their culture. Margarethe's name is known among scholars of Panoan languages (to which Amahuaca belongs), thanks to the papers she published and presented. But her commitments kept her busy and did not allow her time to complete what she considered the major task—a full grammar of Amahuaca. The urgency of this task was corroborated by the degree of endangerment of Amahuaca, now spoken by only 250–300 people. Like so many indigenous languages of South America, Amahuaca, with its intricate structure, is rapidly passing into extinction. It is not being learnt by children any more. And no one but Margarethe, with the help of her husband Jorge Chávez, could make sure the language is documented before it disappears.

It was with delight that now [2007], more than a year ago, I received a message from Margarethe: despite her cancer, she had started putting together materials on Amahuaca grammar. I offered to read the grammar, and comment on it. Chapter after chapter arrived, almost until the end. On 6 September 2006, Margarethe passed away, having left behind the eight chapters and an appendix for what was to be a grammar of Amahuaca.

Together with Jorge Chávez and Bill Dyck, we managed to put together the most up-to-date version of each of the chapters. Editorial changes were minimal; streamlining glosses, adding missing items to the references and to the abbreviations, and eliminating occasional repetition. We are especially grateful to Jessica Cleary-Kemp for proof-checking the manuscript.

This book is not a full reference grammar of Amahuaca. It is a collection of chapters written over a period of more than twenty years. What it does is cover major grammatical issues crucial for understanding the language.

The preface tells the story of how Margarethe and Jorge started working with the Amahuaca, acknowledging the input of the Amahuaca people and of colleagues, especially those to whom Margarethe referred to as 'my SIL family'.

The introduction is about the social and demographic situation of the Amahuaca, and other Panoan-speaking groups of Peru. The next chapter discusses the general characteristics of Amahuaca. Chapter two, on interclausal reference in Amahuaca (a revised version of Sparing-Chávez 1998), discusses clause linking and switch-reference—the backbone of the language. The third chapter deals with the functions of the noun phrases, revealing the fascinating split-ergative patterns characteristic of Amahuaca as a Panoan language. Chapter four, on sentence types, considers declarative, interrogative and imperative types, with a particular attention to a wealth of command strategies in Amahuaca.

Amahuaca, like many other Panoan languages, has a highly sophisticated multi-term evidential system. The system described for Amahuaca in chapter 5 is typologically unique, combining reference to information source and to speaker's attitude to what is being reported. This makes the chapter on evidentials, and the 'uncertainties of life', particularly valuable.

Many Amazonian languages have a frustrative form—'I want to do it, but can't'. So far, there has not been an in-depth study of this phenomenon. Margarethe's chapter 6, on frustrative, contains a highly detailed text-based analysis of this not very well understood category, making it a real gem.

Chapter 7 contains a brief list of most frequent morphemes. The major features of the language and the prospectives for its survival are outlined in the brief 'final words' of chapter 8.

Throughout the book, every statement is amply illustrated with textual examples. The Appendix contains a story, 'How I killed a tapir', by José Andrades Ríos, with translation into English.

Why is this book so important?

It is the only current statement of the grammar of Amahuaca, a highly endangered Panoan language with numerous fascinating properties. It will be an asset to linguists of all persuasions, and to the



Amahuaca people themselves, for years to come. Future linguists may try and undertake further study, for which a very solid foundation has been laid in this book.

Last, but not least, this publication celebrates the life and achievements of Margarethe Sparing-Chávez, a wonderful, warm person, a devoted language analyst, and an inveterate thinker. Margarethe's voice will live through what she had time to write. This is the fruit of an exemplary life of self-sacrifice, always putting others first.

Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald



## Preface

While I studied at UC Berkeley from 1968–1972, I saw *Farewell to Eden* by Matthew Huxley with Cornell Capa's absolutely stunning photographs of the Amahuaca people, resembling a stone age group. The pictures were taken in the 1950s a few years after contact.

As I leafed through the pages, I was wondering, how it would be to live among a group of people like them. Some fifteen years later, there I was, living with the Amahuacas on the Inuya River. What an experience! It took me about five years to learn the language with its rather complicated but very logical grammatical system.

However, did the Amahuacas ever live in "Eden"? Huxley, who spent several weeks with the people in Varadero, a location on the headwaters of the Inuya, himself observed in his Introduction to *Farewell to Eden*: "...murder amongst the socially developed Montaña tribes was organized into inter-village raids and intertribal wars; the frequent murders and vendettas amongst the Amahuacas are individual affairs... an Amahuaca mother will murder a newborn simply because she feels she would be overburdened by it." Generally it was believed that twins should not live. They meant bad luck to them. This does not sound to me like "Paradise" at all. In the meantime some of these customs have changed.

During the fifteen years when my husband and I stayed with the Amahuacas in different communities on the Inuya, Ucayali, Yurua, Purus, and Piedras Rivers, we witnessed a revenge killing in Pacheco on the Inuya. One night some Amahuacas came from upriver and killed five men, apparently a revenge killing in a feud that dated back many decades, possibly even a whole century.

Huxley, who made a fairly accurate description of many of the customs of the people, no doubt chose the title of his book in spite of his observations. Because of facts that can easily be proven, I would prefer the title: *Farewell to Amahuaca: An endangered language of the Amazon Basin*.

This book is not a traditional grammar. Instead it is a collection of essays written over some twenty years. Several topics have been presented at linguistic conferences; a few were published years ago.

Without the help of the Amahuaca people this grammar write-up would have been impossible. Above all I want to thank José Piño Bonangué who taught me the language and helped with many projects, such as making reading materials for the schools, collecting and transcribing folklore materials, and helping in translating Scripture. Several of the older people, who have passed away in the meantime, taped the folklore material for us, and helped check the translated Scripture portions for comprehension.

I want to thank also some of my colleagues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL): Mary Ruth Wise, Des Derbyshire, David Weber, Thomas Payne, and Eugene Loos with whom I discussed some of the difficulties of the Amahuaca grammar. I also appreciate the insightful comments of Tom Givón of the University of Oregon. Professors Alexandra Aikhenvald and Robert Dixon of the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology at LaTrobe University invited me to present a paper on Imperatives. The discussion of the latter was very helpful. Finally my husband, Jorge Chávez, who participated in the training of many of the school teachers of different indigenous groups as well as the Amahuaca community leaders, was always willing to discuss complicated matters with me. All the aforementioned deserve special appreciation for their efforts and kindness to me.

I have included in this grammar the most important typological issues, such as constituent order and the anti-passive as well as important morphemes.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore I have discussed in detail the basics of tenses, interclausal relationship markers (IRMs), valency, split ergativity, evidentiality, noun phrases, verb phrases, the frustrative, questions and imperatives, as well as morphemes that are treated as clitics.

The language is quite complicated with some twenty IRMs that include SS, DS, SO, OS, TR, INTR, verbs with different time lapses such as yesterday, about a week ago, about a year ago, a long time ago, and a very long time ago, purpose, singular and plural which are all part of the IRMs. Yet once one speaks the language, which took me about five years, it is logical, and has only a few irregularities.

In the Appendix I have included a text with a fairly literal translation for linguists who read the grammar and want to analyze a text on their own.

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<sup>1</sup>Example of such morphemes are: *-mun* 'focus', *-nox*, *-taish* 'habitual', *nico* 'endearment', *-ti* 'enablement', *-pu* 'male vocative', *-pai/-pahi* 'desiderative', *-qui* 'actuality aspect (that is the way it is)', *-nu/-qui* 'declarative', *-can/-vo/-vaun/-vaux* 'pluralizer', *-ti* 'nominalizer', *-hi* 'transitive verb', *-quin* 'intransitive verb'.

## Abbreviations

1 .....	first person	MIR .....	mirative
2 .....	second person	MOD .....	modal
3 .....	third person	NAR .....	narrative
ABS .....	absolute	NEG .....	negative
ACC .....	accusative	NOM .....	nominative
ACN .....	action	NOMIN .....	nominalization
ACT .....	actuality	NONSQ .....	non-sequential
AG .....	agent(ive)	NP .....	noun phrase
ASP .....	aspect	O .....	object
ASSUM .....	assumed	OS .....	object is coreferent with subject
ATTN .....	attention	PAT .....	patient
BENEF .....	benefactive	PERS .....	personal
COM .....	commitment	PERS.COMM .....	personal communication
COMPL.PAST ..	completed past	PF .....	perfect aspect
CONTR.FACT ..	contra-factual	PFTV .....	perfective aspect
CUST .....	customary	PL .....	plural
DECL .....	declarative	POSS .....	possessor
DIR .....	direction	PRES .....	present, present tense
DIST .....	distant	PRET .....	pretense
DO .....	direct object	PROG .....	progressive
DS .....	different subject	PROSP .....	prospective aspect
EMPH .....	emphatic	PURP .....	purposive
ENCOUR .....	encouragement	QUEST .....	question
ENDEARM .....	endearment	QUEST.KNOWL ..	questionable knowledge
ERG .....	ergative	REC .....	recent
EXP .....	experiencer	RECIP .....	recipient
F .....	feminine	REF .....	referent
FO .....	focus	REFL .....	reflexive
FRUST .....	frustrative	REL.CL .....	relative clause
FUT .....	future	REL.PRON .....	relative pronoun
GEN .....	genitive	RELEV .....	relevance
GR .....	grammatical relation	REM .....	remote
HAB .....	habitual	REP .....	repetitive action
HORT .....	hortative	REPORT .....	reportative
IMM .....	immediate	S .....	subject
IMP .....	imperative	SG, sing .....	singular
INDEF .....	indefinite	SO .....	subject is coreferent with object
INF .....	infinitive	SIM .....	simultaneous
INFER .....	inferred	SQ .....	sequence
INSTR .....	instrument	SR .....	switch reference/semantic role
INTENS .....	intensifier	SRs .....	semantic roles
INTER .....	interrogative	SS .....	same subject
IO .....	indirect object	Subj .....	subject
IR .....	interclausal reference	SUG .....	suggestion
IRM .....	interclausal reference morpheme	SUBS .....	subsequent
IRMs .....	interclausal reference morphemes	TAM .....	tense, aspect, mood
IRS .....	interclausal reference system	TH .....	theme
ITR .....	intransitive	TR .....	transitive
LOC .....	locative/location	V .....	verb
M, m .....	masculine	VAL .....	valence
MALF .....	malefactive/malefactee	VOC .....	vocative
MAN .....	manner		

# Introduction

## Farewell to Amahuaca: An Amazonian language in danger of extinction

Amahuaca belongs to the Panoan language family together with Capanahua, Cashibo-Cacataibo, Chacobo (in Bolivia), Cashinahua, Chitonahua, Isconahua, Matses, Matis (in Brazil), Panobo (extinct), Isconahua, Sharanahua-Mastanahua, Shipibo-Conibo, Yaminahua, and Yora (also known as Nahua).

A number of Panoan languages have become extinct and others are facing extinction. The rubber boom and following epidemics took many lives in all of the groups. Today a combination of many young people marrying outside their own language groups and acculturation to the dominant mestizo (people of mixed origin, Spanish and indigenous) culture is causing several of the Panoan groups to lose their mother tongue. Also, for years the people have been told that their culture and language is inferior to Spanish culture and language with the result that many have embraced the mistaken idea that to be “civilized” means to speak Spanish.

The Panoan people groups live in an area extending from the Amazon River in Peru and Brazil into northern Bolivia. In Peru they are located in the east, extending from the Ucayali River to the border with Brazil. Shipibo-Conibo and other groups along the Ucayali River have had constant contact with the outside world for more than a century. Those further east, with less access to the major river systems, remained in isolation until a few decades ago. The Matses were contacted in 1969, the Yoras in 1984, and the Chitonahuas, who can be considered a subgroup of the Yaminahuas, in 1995. Most of these groups continue to speak their language. Most of the communities have schools and Scripture translated into their language.

The Panoan language family consists primarily of small jungle groups with populations ranging from less than 100 to a little over 1,000 people. An exception is the Shipibo-Conibo who number almost 30,000. The remarkable cultural and linguistic homogeneity of the Panoan ethnic groups is reflected in the names of the groups. Many end in *-bo*, a plural marker, as for example: *Shipibo* (*shipi* is a small monkey), or in *-nahua*, a term referring to ‘people’, as in *Capanahua*, ‘squirrel people’, *Sharanahua* ‘good people’, etc. An interesting common denominator among two Panoan language groups living 700 miles from each other is their association of rain with the wild boar, as reported by the French anthropologist Philippe Erikson. The Chacobo in Bolivia call rain falling on a sunny day: *yawa oi* ‘wild boar rain’. The Matis in Brazil explain that rain falling on a sunny day is caused by wild boars that are wailing for their peers (Erikson 1994:5).

One characteristic common to most Panoan languages is their preciseness in expressing past action. Amahuaca, for example, has four different suffixes to specify when an action or event took place: earlier today, yesterday, several days up to a month ago, or more than a year ago.

He killed the wild boar with an arrow:

*Piyanmun jan yaa rutuxohnu* (earlier today).

*Piyanmun jan yaa rutushinxohnu* (yesterday).

*Piyanmun jan yaa rutuyanxohnu* (several days to one month ago).

*Piyanmun jan yaa rutunixohnu* (a long time ago).

## Demographic information of the Amahuaca people

An estimated 250–300 Amahuacas live in Peru, widely scattered throughout the southeastern part of the Amazon Basin in the states of Ucayali and Madre de Dios, on the following rivers: Inuya, Sepahua, Purús, Curiuja, Curanja, Yuruá, Upper Ucayali, and Las Piedras. Possibly 220 Amahuacas live on the Upper Purús in Brazil, in the state of Acre. Most of the latter have never been contacted and still practice a nomadic life-style, moving every few years to a new site.

Franciscan missionaries made the earliest known contact with the Amahuaca people in 1686 when they encountered a dozen huts on the Conguati River. The Amahuacas used to be a hostile people who raided isolated communities, killing not only men, but also some of the women and children. They took the rest of the women to be their wives and their children as slaves. In those years they were more numerous. Records show that in 1925, after the atrocities of the rubber boom, they still numbered about 3,000. Revenge killings within the group and warfare with neighboring groups, particularly with the Piros, Shipibos, and Yaminahuas, greatly reduced the population. While most of the Amahuacas lived in relative isolation at the beginning of the twentieth century, today only a few live in areas without permanent contact.

In 1948 a small group of Amahuacas was contacted by Henry Osborne of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) on the headwaters of the Inuya River.<sup>2</sup> They resembled a Stone Age group. The men wore bark belts, and the women homespun cotton wrap-around skirts. Using dye extracted from jungle fruits, they painted their bodies with black and red-orange designs. Long strings of small black seeds interspersed with monkey teeth adorned their bodies. The men wore elaborate headdresses made of the inner layers of bamboo, covered by strips of black monkey fur and woven cloth soaked in red dye. Most wore nasal disks.

The people lived in family groups, several walking hours from their neighbors. The settlements, usually with about fifteen people, were politically autonomous. They usually lacked headmen and shamans. Their social organization was extremely simple: the extended family. They practiced polygamy. Their preferred marriage pattern was between cross cousins. The people were semi-nomadic, moving every year or two to a new clearing. They practiced slash-and-burn agriculture. The main crops were manioc, corn, and bananas. They also depended on hunting, fishing, and gathering wild jungle fruits.

During the last four decades of the twentieth century, the Amahuacas were in a process of transformation, which probably started when they moved away from their feared enemies, the Yaminahuas, and relocated close to Spanish-speaking communities on the Ucayali River. Soon they began to learn Spanish and assimilate into the mestizo culture. The move also gave them access to health services and education. They started their own schools, first with Amahuaca teachers, who were later replaced with mestizo teachers. Gradually more of the Amahuaca people have become bilingual, using Amahuaca and a rudimentary Spanish. Reflecting upon the changes taking place, one of the men expressed the people's attitude towards their own language and culture saying: "The customs of the past served our people well. Now all has changed and we must change, too." Now one wonders when they would cease to be Amahuacas. Is it when the mother does not speak the language and/or does not teach it to her offspring any longer or is it when both parents are not full-blooded Amahuacas?

The name "Amahuaca" appears to be a derivation of *hamun-huaca*. *Hamun* is a capybara, and *huaca* probably used to mean "people". This term is no longer in use. The people themselves use *yora* meaning body, person, people.

Amahuaca does not have many dialectal distinctions. There are only slight differences between the groups on different river systems.

## **Amahuaca: An endangered language**

According to Mary Ruth Wise of SIL International: "In 1900 there were sixteen or seventeen languages in the Peruvian Amazon with a population of 200 or less. Eleven of those are now extinct and the others have fewer than twenty speakers" (1994:1). Some languages, including Amahuaca, had a population of approximately 1,000 about a century ago and now have less than fifty native speakers, unless there are still uncontacted groups of that particular ethnic group, as might be the case with Amahuacas.

One of the important factors for survival of an ethnic group is a strong sense of identity. The Amahuacas lack this. Not only are they spread over a large area of the Amazon Basin, but they also are very individualistic. The communities that do not have bilingual schools live in small family groups. The men hunt and fish by themselves, and when they go to the small jungle town of Atalaya, everyone goes

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<sup>2</sup>Osborne (1948:188-190).

his own way. I have noticed that many other groups, for example, the Yaminahuas and Cashinahuas do things together.

During the last twenty-five years many outsiders, for example, lumber workers, have been invading the Amahuaca communities. The Amahuacas on the Yuruá live close to the military in Breu, where they can watch television, another outside influence that does not help their situation.

Last but not least, the older people, including the *curacas* (chiefs), have passed away and Peruvian laws have changed. Some of their old practices, such as endocannibalism that includes their custom of how to dispose of the dead, have been outlawed. Consequently now they have a more modern system that affects their culture in different ways. The office of *curaca* that has been handed down from father to son, has changed to *teniente gobernador* who is elected by the people.

# 1 General Characteristics of Amahuaca

Amahuaca grammar strongly reflects the notions of attention flow and viewpoint. (Attention flow determines the linear order of sentence constituents, and viewpoint refers to the speaker's perception of a situation.)<sup>3</sup> Consequently, word and clause order, and an extensive morphology marking case, tense/aspect, focus (central element of a sentence), pragmatic considerations, and evidentiality dominate the morphosyntactic strategy of the grammar. Like all Panoan languages, Amahuaca is highly agglutinative. Operators are suffixes and some function as clitics that are phonologically bound to the last constituent of a clause or sentence. It is not unusual to attach tense-aspect-person-mood morphemes to a noun or pronoun, or case markers to verb phrases. Likewise, clause-level evidential operators can be suffixed to almost any constituent. There is strong indication that the whole sentence, rather than the constituent marked, is the scope of the affixation.

As is typical in clause-chaining languages, Amahuaca distinguishes between independent and dependent clauses. Independent clauses are inflected for tense-aspect-person-mood, and usually are sentence final. Dependent clauses carry the IR-morphology.

Again following the general trend, Amahuaca is best classified as an SOV language (Wise 1979), but not in an exclusive sense. Whereas dependent clauses (particularly clauses in a chain with IR-morphology) strongly prefer SOV/SV word order, independent clauses and sentences display more freedom. Their word order depends on verbal aspect<sup>4</sup> and pragmatic considerations (which in the context of this paper means that a sentence constituent or a clause is considered prominent). While independent sentences in unmarked aspect have SOV/SV word order (e.g. 1 below), those in marked aspect display OVS/VS word order (e.g. 2 below). Other orders (OVS/VS in unmarked aspect and SOV/SV in marked aspect) are clearly pragmatically marked (e.g. 3a, 3b below).

## 1.1 The case-marking system

The case-marking system is basically tripartite with ergative, absolutive, and nominative cases (Table 1.1).<sup>5</sup> In pragmatically neutral independent clauses, split ergativity is governed by verbal aspect.

(1) Unmarked aspect, transitive and intransitive verb.

a. Xano -n -mun maninha -Ø vi -xo -hnu.<sup>6</sup>  
 woman-ERG-TH banana(s)-ABS get-3PAST.PFTV-DECL  
 'The woman got/brought bananas.'

b. Xano -vaun -mun maninha -Ø vi -xo -hnu.  
 woman-ERG.PL-TH banana(s)-ABS get-3PAST.PFTV-DECL  
 'The women got/brought banana(s).'

<sup>3</sup>I am adopting the terms "attention flow" and "viewpoint" from DeLancey (1981).

<sup>4</sup>I am taking the terminology on aspect and markedness from Comrie (1976).

<sup>5</sup>The data in this paper are presented in practical orthography, shown here as /phonemic/, [phonetic], and {practical}:

/a/ [a] = {a}; /i/ [i] = {i}; /o/ [o, u] = {o}; /w/ [i, i<sup>v</sup>] = {u};  
 /~ / [ˀ, VN] = {Vn}; /p/ [p, b] = {p}; /t/ [t, d] = {t}; /k/ [k, g] = {c, qu};  
 /ʔ/ [ʔ] = {h}; /ts/ [ts, tθ] = {tz}; /ch/ [tʃ] = {ch}; /j/ [ʃ, x] = {x};  
 /h/ [h] = {j}; /s/ [s, š] = {z}; /sh/ [ʃ] = {sh}; /m/ [m, m<sup>b</sup>] = {m};  
 /n/ [n, n<sup>d</sup>] = {n}; /r/ [r̥] = {r}; /w/ [w, β] = {v}; /y/ [y] = {y}

Accents are generally not written (Shell and Wise 1971:28–29).

<sup>6</sup>h > Ø / \_n after a stressed syllable. Other examples are 2b, 9a, and 10.

- c. Hun povi  $\emptyset$  -mun nashi-xo -hnu.  
 my sibling-ABS-TH bathe-3PAST.PFTV-DECL  
 'My sibling bathed.'
- d. Hun povi -vo -mun nashi-xo -hnu.  
 my siblings-ABS.PL-TH bathe-3PAST.PFTV-DECL  
 'My siblings bathed.'

(2) Marked aspect, transitive and intransitive verb.

- a. Maninha- $\emptyset$  -mun vi -hax huha - $\emptyset$  -hqui -nu.  
 bananas-ABS-TH get-3PAST.PF mother-ABS -3ACT -DECL  
 'Mother has gotten/brought bananas.'
- b. Nashi-mun-ax hun povi - $\emptyset$  -hqui -nu.  
 bathe-TH -PAST.PF my sibling-ABS-3ACT-DECL  
 'My sibling has bathed.' (Lit.: 'Bathing is what my sibling has been doing.')
- c. Nashi-mun-ax hun povi -vo -hqui -nu.  
 bathe-TH -PAST.PF my siblings-ABS.PL-3ACT-DECL  
 'My siblings have bathed.' (Lit.: 'Bathing is what my siblings have been doing.')

These examples illustrate that in pragmatically neutral contexts, SOV/SV constituent order is used in unmarked aspect and OVS/VS in marked aspect. The clause-initial constituents in these examples receive the clitic *-mun* 'theme'. The following constituents are found in initial position: any subject governed by a verb in unmarked aspect (1a-d), direct objects (2a), and intransitive verbs in marked aspect (2b, c).

Examples 3a, b illustrate the tripartite case-marking system in contexts with pragmatically marked subject:

(3) Marked aspect, transitive and intransitive, pragmatically marked subject.

- a. Xano -n -mun maninha- $\emptyset$  vi -hax -qui -hnu.  
 woman-ERG-TH bananas-ABS get-PAST.PF-3ACT-DECL  
 'It is the woman who has gotten/brought bananas.'
- b. Joni-x -mun ca-hax -qui -hnu.  
 man-NOM-TH go-PAST.PF-3ACT-DECL  
 'It is the man who has gone.'
- c. Joni-vaux -mun vo -hax -qui -hnu.  
 man-NOM.PL-TH go.PL -PAST.PF-3ACT-DECL  
 'It is the men who have gone.'

Table 1.1. Case-marking system

	Agent ergative	Obj/Subj absolutive	Subject nominative
Singular	-n	$\emptyset$	-x
Plural	-vaun	-vo	-vaux

As mentioned above, SOV and SV orders in marked aspects are pragmatically marked. Evidence for this claim is that these orders are infrequent in discourse, and appear in contrastive environments (Chafe 1976).

As Table 1.1 reflects, in the case-marking system neither the syntactic terms subject and object nor the semantic concepts of agent and patient are adequate. They need to be redefined.<sup>7</sup>

## 1.2 Tense/aspect system

Amahuaca has very few free temporal adverbs. Instead, it has a detailed grammatical morphology that encodes tense and/or aspect, and other temporal nuances. For example, the system includes bound temporal adverbs encoding different degrees of time lapses between events. In this brief sketch I will outline the tense system only as far as it relates to the interclausal reference system (IRS). The tense/aspect operators described are those used in declarative clauses. There are different sets of operators for questions and commands.

As mentioned in section 1.1, the tense/aspect system is divided into two sets: unmarked and marked. They differ formally as well as semantically.

The unmarked aspect operators (Table 1.2) have the following formal characteristics: the forms are one single unanalyzable suffix encoding either aspect only, e.g. *-non* ‘prospective aspect’, or tense + aspect + person, e.g. *-xo* ‘third person, narrative past, perfective’. They can be preceded by bound temporal adverbs, e.g. *-shinxo* ‘1-3 days ago, third person, narrative past, perfective’, and preceded or followed by plural subject markers, e.g. *-haino* ‘continuous aspect, plural’.

The marked forms (Table 1.3) have the following formal characteristics: they consist of two separate operators, which can either occur together on the same constituent, e.g. *-haxqui* (example 3), or they can occur on different constituents, e.g. *-hax ...-qui* ‘past perfect, third person actuality aspect’. The forms encoding tense/aspect, are often analyzable, e.g. *-ca-tzi* ‘future’ consists of *-ca* ‘go’ + *-tzi* ‘commitment’. Like the operators of the unmarked category, those of the marked category can also be preceded by bound temporal adverbs, resulting in hypermorphemes such as *-shinax/-shinnax* ‘1-3 days ago’ (from *-shin* + *-hax*).

### 1.2.1 Unmarked tense/aspect set

There are two past tenses in perfective aspect: the narrative past and the immediate past. The narrative past has three different forms: *-cu* ‘first and second person’, and *-xo* ‘third person’ encode recent past; *-tai* which does not inflect for person, encodes ‘one planting season ago’.

- (4) a. Hiya-x    -mun    hun-Ø    jo    -cu                    -hnu.  
       I    -NOM-TH    I    -ABS    come-1/2REC.PAST.PFTV -DECL  
       ‘It is I who came.’

<sup>7</sup>Ergative case marking occurs on any pre-verbal subject, i.e. agent, of a transitive verb. If it is governed by a verb with unmarked aspect, a pre-verbal agent is considered pragmatically neutral. If, however, the verb has marked aspect, the pre-verbal agent is considered pragmatically marked. (Incidentally, the ergative marker is not limited to transitive subjects; it is also used to mark locative, instrumental, and genitive phrases.)

Absolutive case marking in the singular occurs on all direct objects and on all post-verbal subjects, whether governed by transitive or intransitive verbs; these post-verbal subjects are considered pragmatically neutral.

Absolutive case marking also occurs on any pre-verbal subject of an intransitive verb with unmarked aspect; such a subject is considered pragmatically neutral.

Nominative case marking occurs on any pre-verbal subject governed by an intransitive verb with marked aspect. Such subjects are considered pragmatically marked.

Grammatical categories involved are as follows:

**Agent** = pre-verbal subject governed by a transitive verb with unmarked aspect; it is inflected for ergative case.

**Object** = direct object; it is inflected for absolutive case.

**Subject** = (a) post-verbal subject governed by a verb with marked aspect; (b) pre-verbal subject governed by an intransitive verb with unmarked aspect; these subjects are inflected for absolutive case; (c) pre-verbal subject which is pragmatically marked; it is inflected for nominative case.



- b. Jaa -x -mun jan -Ø Jo -xo -hnu.  
 he -NOM-TH he -ABS come-3REC.PAST.PFTV-DECL  
*'It is he who came.'*

The above past tenses (with *-tai* as an exception) can combine with the following operators expressing time lapses: *-shin* '1-3 days ago', *-yan* '4 days till a planting season ago', *-ni* 'a long time ago'. The forms for immediate past are: *-ha* 'first person', and *-qui* 'second and third person'.

- (5) a. Moha-mun hun-Ø jo -ha -nu.  
 now -TH I -ABS come-1IMM.PAST.PFTV-DECL  
*'Now I have (just/actually) arrived.'*
- b. Moha-mun jan-Ø jo -qui -hnu.  
 now -TH he -ABS come-2/3IMM.PAST.PFTV-DECL  
*'Now he has (just/actually) arrived.'*

The temporal adverb *-moha* 'now' is optional, but is often used in the immediate past construction in perfective aspect. Incidentally, if we compare the above forms *-ha* 'first person' and *-qui* 'second and third person immediate past perfective' with the form encoding actuality aspect in the marked tense/aspect set, we note that they are identical, (see Table 1.3, person and actuality aspect column). It appears that the above form also encodes actuality aspect, despite the fact that in general the actuality mode is used in marked contexts. I have therefore added it in parenthesis in the free translation of (5b). The above distinction between marked and unmarked, however, still holds: the unmarked tense/aspect form consists of one single morpheme and the marked form of two (compare the forms of Tables 1.2 and 1.3).

The unmarked tense/aspect set also contains a pair of singular and plural forms that encode perfect of result. They can combine with the operators expressing time lapses. The plural forms can be best translated as passives, but they do not follow the normal criteria for passive constructions,<sup>8</sup> and are more strictly the indefinite third person subject of an active construction.

- (6) a. Hapo -Ø rutu -ha -vo.  
 chief -ABS kill -PF.RESULT-ABS.PL  
*'The chief has been killed by them.'*
- b. Hapo -Ø rutu -shin -a -vo.  
 chief -ABS kill -1-3.days.ago-PF.RESULT-ABS.PL  
*'The chief was killed yesterday/a few days ago.'*

Other members of the unmarked tense/aspect set that also figure in the IRS are the repetitive/continuative operator *-hai/-haivo* (7), and the prospective aspect operator *-non/-novo* (8).

- (7) Huha -n -mun maninha -Ø vi -hai -hnu.  
 mother-ERG-TH bananas -ABS get-REP-DECL  
*'Mother is (continuous) getting/bringing bananas.'*

The aspect marker *-hai* shares some of the semantic features of the habitual aspect *-nox* and the customary aspect *-taish*,<sup>9</sup> which are part of the marked category. The difference, however, is that *-hai* encodes repeated or continued events that are viewed from an outside perspective.

- (8) Hupa -Ø jiri-non -nu.  
 father-ABS eat-PROSP-DECL  
*'Father is intending to eat.'*

<sup>8</sup>For a discussion on the criteria for passive constructions see Givón (1982:143).

<sup>9</sup>These two morphemes are not included in Table 1.2 because they do not figure in the interclausal reference system.

The form *-non* expresses an intended or possible event. There is no bias as to whether or not the event will be taking place.

Table 1.2. Unmarked tense/aspect operators

Tense/ aspect	Temporal adverb	Tense/aspect marker	Time lapse	Gloss
Narrative past, perfective	-shin -yan -ti -ni	-cu (1,2), -xo (3) -can-xo (3pl)	-shincu, -shinxo -yancu, -yanxo -tai, -tai -nicu, -nixo	'1-3 days ago' '4 days - one planting season ago' 'a planting season ago' 'a long time ago'
Perfect of result		-ha (sg) -ha-vo (pl)	-shina, -shinavo -yanta, -yantavo -ti, -tivo -niha, -nivo	'1-3 days ago' '4 days - one planting season ago' 'a planting season ago' 'a long time ago'
Immediate past, perfective		-ha (1), -qui (2,3)		'just' ('actually')
Narrative past, perfective		-tai -can-tai (3pl)		'one planting season ago'
Repetitive /continuative		-hai (sg) -hai-vo (pl)		'always, to continue'
Prospective		-non (sg) -non-vo/-no-vo (pl)		'to intend'

### 1.2.2 Marked tense/aspect set

Unmarked aspects encode events that are not perceived as actually taking place at the present moment; marked aspects encode events that someone is actually engaged in or will be engaged in. The most complex form in the marked set is *-hax* (9a). It has imperfective as well as perfect characteristics. As Comrie (1976:63) has shown, that is not self-contradictory. It is imperfective in that it pays attention to the internal structure of the event and perfect in that the past event is relevant to the present moment.

The form *-hax* expresses a completed past event. It can be combined with temporal adverbs to render the following hypermorphemes: *-shinax/shinnax* '1-3 days ago', *-yantax* '4 days till a planting season ago', *-taix* 'a planting season ago', and *-nix*, 'a long time ago' (9b).

- (9) a. Tapaz      -mun-ax            jan-∅   -hqui -nu.  
house.build -TH-PAST.PF   he -ABS-ACT -DECL  
'He has built a house.' (Lit: 'Housebuilding is what he has been doing.')
- b. Tapaz      -mun-ix                            jan-∅   -hqui -nu.  
house.build -TH -DIST.PAST.PF   he -ABS-3ACT-DECL  
'He has built a house a long time ago.' (Lit: 'Housebuilding is what he has been doing a long time ago.')

The present tense operator *-hi* does not make a formal distinction between progressive and non-progressive events. It appears, however, that the operator encodes a stretch of time. The boundaries are defined in relation to other events.

- (10) Tapaz      -mun-i            jan-∅   -hqui -nu.  
house.build-TH-PRES   he-ABS -3ACT-DECL  
'He builds/is building a house.' (Lit.: 'Housebuilding is what he is doing.')

The form *-hi*, besides expressing present tense, also functions as an infinitive marker for intransitive verbs, very much like *to* in English. In this function it contrasts with *-quin* ‘infinitive marker for transitive verbs’: *nashi-hi* ‘to bathe’, *pi-quin* ‘to eat (meat)’.

There are two future tenses in the marked category that are analyzable operators: *-xanhqui* ‘immediate future’, and *-catzi* ‘unspecified future’. *-xanhqui* is a composite of *-xan* ‘immediate future’ and *-qui* ‘present tense’ (allomorph of *-hi*). *-catzi* is a composite of *-ca* ‘go’ and *-tzi* ‘commitment’. Although *-catzi* encodes ‘unspecified future’, it appears that it is perceived as actual involvement, in that literally the first step towards the fulfillment of the event has been taken.

(11) Tapaz -mun -xanhqui jan -∅ -hqui -nu.  
house.build-TH -IMM.FUT he -ABS-3ACT-DECL  
‘He is going (beginning today) to build a house.’

(12) Tapaz -mun -catzi hun-∅ -hca -nu.<sup>10</sup>  
house.build-TH -FUT I -ABS-1ACT-DECL  
‘I am going to build a house.’

Table 1.3. Marked tense/aspect operators

Tense	Temporal adverb	Tense marker	Person and actuality aspect	Time lapse (temporal adverb + tense marker)	Gloss
Past perfect, present relevance	-shin -yan -ti -ni	-hax	-ca -qui	-shinax -yantax -taix -nix	‘1–3 days ago’ ‘4 days - one planting season ago’ ‘a planting season ago’ ‘a long time ago’
Present (progressive)		-hi			‘1 <sup>st</sup> person’ ‘2 <sup>nd</sup> or 3 <sup>rd</sup> person’
Future		-xanhqui -catzi			‘immediate future’ ‘unspecified future’
Infinitive markers		-hi -quin			‘to, intransitive’ ‘to, transitive’

## 1.3 Operators that function as IRMs

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, two systems are basic to the IRS: case marking and tense/aspect. The operators of the two systems in combination constitute the IRMs. In addition, a small number of verbal suffixes encoding motion and possible events also figure in the IRS.

### 1.3.1 Tense/aspect operators

The operators of the unmarked and marked tense/aspect sets encode the following temporal relationships in the IRS: the past tense forms *-ha*, *-cu*, and *-xo* encode sequence of events (21, 22, 23, 47). The temporal adverb forms *-shin*, *-yan*, *-ti*, and *-ni* specify the degree of the time lapses between the events (18). They have perfect aspect, relating the past event to the present moment. The infinitive markers *-hi* and *-quin*, and the repetitive/continuous aspect *-hai*, encode non-sequential events (27, 28, 47). The future tense *-catzi* and the prospective aspect *-non* encode subsequent events or purpose (36, 39).

<sup>10</sup>Amahuaca has a tendency to insert a glottal stop (h) between an accented monosyllabic morpheme followed by an unaccented one. If the succeeding morpheme begins with a glottal stop, the following change takes place: h > c/h\_.

### 1.3.2 Suffixes of motion

There are five suffixes in this set. One of them, *-tan*, expresses motion: ‘go and come back’, and/or ‘immediate action’. Four of them express direction: *-cahin* and *-vahn* express ‘movement away from a focal point’; *-quiran* and *-vuran* express ‘movement towards a focal point’. All of them imply perfective aspect and encode sequential events in the IRS (see examples 13–17).

### 1.3.3 Suffix expressing possible event

Possible event, or enablement, is expressed by the suffix *-ti* ‘can, be able, may’. (See examples 194 and 195.)

## 2 Interclausal Reference in Amahuaca

Ever since William Jacobson coined the term switch-reference in his seminal paper of 1967 entitled: “Switch-reference in Hokan-Coahuiltecan,” linguists have detected this syntactic clause-linking device not only in the Americas, but all over the globe: in New Guinea, Australia, and Africa. Switch-reference, as defined by Jacobson (1967:240), consists simply in the fact that a switch in subject or agent is obligatorily indicated in certain situations by a morpheme, usually suffixed, which may or may not carry other meanings in addition. Meanwhile switch-reference has become an important issue in typological studies, and the experts speak of canonical (Haiman), prototypical vs. non-prototypical (Comrie), anticipatory vs. non-anticipatory and real vs. unreal (Givón) switch-reference systems. Although the scope of the phenomenon described has changed, the basic assumption that this type of clause-linking device primarily encodes referential relations has remained the same.

Amahuaca, like other members of the Panoan<sup>11</sup> language family of South America, has a well developed clause-linking morphology which exhibits all of the characteristics of classic switch-reference systems (Jacobson 1967) plus the additional feature of encoding coreference between subjects and objects. It is this feature that makes the system very productive. However, maintaining referential continuity is only one of the functions of this system, and not necessarily even the most important one. Other functions include encoding transitivity and temporal or logical relations between events. Therefore the term switch reference does not accurately describe the system and I will refer to it as interclausal reference system (IRS), following Franklin (1983).

My purpose in this discussion is twofold: (1) to describe the IRS of Amahuaca in terms of previous typological characterizations of switch reference (e.g. Haiman and Munro 1983, Haiman 1983, Comrie 1983, Givón 1983, and Longacre 1983), and (2) to question the assumption that clause-linking morphology primarily establishes cross-clausal reference between subjects or agents. Instead, I suggest that in Amahuaca to a large extent temporal and/or logical relations take precedence over referential ones. I will attempt to show in this study that two systems are basic to the IRS: case-marking and tense/aspect, and that the referential parameter is subsidiary to the temporal parameter. These claims disqualify Amahuaca as a prototypical switch-reference language as described by Comrie (1983:36). I therefore propose a more general typology of interclausal reference that is not strictly concerned with the referential tracking function.

In Chapter 1, I described some fundamental characteristics of Amahuaca and, as a background to the investigation of interclausal relations, outlined the case-marking and tense/aspect systems, as well as discussed a small number of suffixes which figure in the IRS. In this chapter, Section 2.1, I describe the basic properties of the IR-suffix system. Section 2.1.1 presents and illustrates the constructions in some detail with examples and summary displays of the morphemes and their grammatical functions. In Section 2.2 I summarize my findings and relate them to the studies previously mentioned. Finally, in Section 2.3 I analyze a short text, and briefly discuss the pragmatic functions of the IRS.

My language data for this chapter comes from field work in the settlements of Nuevo San Martín on the Inuya River and Laureano on the Purús River during several trips from November 1985 to June 1992 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

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<sup>11</sup>For studies pertaining to interclausal relations in Panoan languages refer to the following works in the bibliography: Cromack (1968:158–162); Faust (1973:101–111); Faust and Loos (2000); Kneeland (1979:63, 86–87, 104–109, 127–132); Lauriault (1957:166–169); Loos (1963:721–722), (1967:67–82); Lorient and Hollenbach (1970:43–66); Montag (1981:583–587); Russell (1965:60–64), (1975:51–55); Shell (1957:179–218); Wistrand (1969:165–167).

Some scholars of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Peru, working with languages pertaining to the Panoan family, discovered and described the clause-linking device in the 1950s, but they used different terms (see, for example, Shell 1957). Russell’s work (1965, 1975) describes part of the Amahuaca IRS.

## 2.1 Description of IR-constructions in Amahuaca

Following Comrie (1983:23) I will use the term “marked” clause to refer to the clause that is marked for continuing or switch reference and controlling clause to refer to the clause that contains the antecedent. In Amahuaca, as in most languages with IR-systems, the marked clause normally precedes the controlling clause. The controlling clause can be either another non-final clause immediately to the right of the marked clause, or a chain-final independent clause. On occasion, a marked clause may have a number of non-final clauses to its right. Yet the IRM disregards these and refers directly to the final independent clause. Sentence 53 of Section 2.3 illustrates this claim. The first IRM *-haito* on line 53a does not refer to the clause to its immediate right, but to the final independent clause at the end of the chain. (See Section 2.3.3 for a discussion on the significance of this irregular pattern on discourse level).

There are cases in which the linear order of the marked and controlling clauses is reversed, i.e. the controlling clause is to the left of the marked clause. This happens when the controlling clause is pragmatically marked (38). A clause marked with an IRM can also be embedded in an independent controlling clause (40).

As in several other languages, e.g. Huichol (Comrie 1983), Kewa (Franklin 1983), Wojokeso, Guanano (Longacre 1983), Kashaya (Oswalt 1983), Panare (T.Payne 1990) (see also Haiman 1983:108), the IRMs in Amahuaca encode both referential and temporal information. The operators are portmanteau, i.e. one operator makes reference to more than one sentence element. The IRM *-haivaun*, for example, refers to the subject of the marked clause, indicating that it is plural and that it is not co-referential with the subject of the controlling clause. It further refers to the marked and controlling verbs, encoding that the events are non-sequential.

Unlike the above mentioned languages, however, Amahuaca appears to have two distinct sets. These I will describe as Set A and B.<sup>12</sup> Set A distinguishes between coreference and non-coreference of the subjects of two clauses, same subject (SS) and different subject (DS), and coreference of subject and object (SO). Set B distinguishes between coreference (SS) of subjects, and coreference of object and subject (OS). On the temporal parameter Set A encodes temporal or logical relations between two clauses. The operators encoding SS also specify whether the verb of the controlling clause is transitive or intransitive. Furthermore, four of the Set A operators encode direction of the action expressed by the controlling verb. Set B encodes temporal or logical relations and transitivity of the controlling verb. Although the sets operate for all persons, there is no person-marking inflection on the marked verb. Only where necessary for clarity the subject of the marked clause is inflected for singular or plural.

In cases where there are overlapping references in participant sets, i.e. changes from plural to singular (*we/I*, *they/he*) or vice versa (*I/we*, *he/they*), the SS-morpheme is used. This appears quite natural for the first person since the first person plural (*we*) is treated as a single form, but it also applies to the third person. This type of construction is not very common in Amahuaca. I only found one example in some sixty pages of oral narrative text, and upon trying to elicit examples, the native speakers were in disagreement with each other.<sup>13</sup>

Clause chaining is an extremely prominent and obvious aspect of Amahuaca discourse structure. In particular, narratives typically consist of chains of several clauses joined by IRMs. It is not unusual to find a series of ten or more clauses which consist of little more than a chain of verb phrases followed by an independent clause. Amahuaca narrative sentence structure closely resembles Wojekeso of New Guinea and Guanano of Colombia, whose distinct and final verb at the end of the sentence is like “an engine that pulls a train of cars” (Longacre 1971:2, 1983:186). While the relationship between a marked clause and its sentence-final controlling clause is one of dependence/independence by virtue of the verb

<sup>12</sup>One could argue that Amahuaca has three sets of IRMs: A, B, C. Set C would have one basic member, *-pana-* ‘frustrative’. This operator functions very much like the conjunction ‘but’ in English. It links two opposing ideas. It takes case-markings, thus encoding whether or not the controlling verb is transitive or intransitive. It can also be marked for plural, thus encoding that the unstated subject of the marked verb is plural. *-pana-* is not sensitive either to cross-clausal referential relations or to temporal relations (see Section 6.2). A number of IRMs can be affixed to *-pana-* to express temporal relations between the events of the marked and controlling verbs.

<sup>13</sup>For more discussion on the issue of overlapping reference, see Comrie (1983:26–30).

affixation of the final controlling clause for tense/aspect-person-mood (the marked clause depends on the controlling clause for completion), the relationship between neighboring marked clauses appears to be one of coordination; the clauses are of equal rank. There exists, of course, a certain degree of dependency between a marked clause and its adjacent non-final clause; the clause on the right has some control over the one on the left. Comrie speaks of stacked dependency, i.e. where one clause is dependent on another that is in turn dependent on another (1983:23–25, 37). However, since the marked clauses are the same structurally but contrast with the final/independent controlling clause, it appears advantageous to consider the marked clauses coordinates. If we consider, for instance, the clauses 51c, d, and e in Section 2.3.1, we note that the morphology of the two adjacent marked clauses (51c, d) is very similar, but contrasts considerably with the final controlling clause (51e).<sup>14</sup>

Again in line with the general pattern, it is the verb of the marked clause that receives the IRM. There are, however, a few exceptions in which a noun or pronoun receives the IRM (27, 28).

With regard to the discussion on iconic marking,<sup>15</sup> the Amahuaca constructions display a divided picture. Several compound IRMs of Sets A and B abide by iconic principles in that the IRMs are verbal (tense related) affixes attached to verbs. However, those displaying case-marking morphology do not seem to abide by iconic principles, at least not from a synchronic point of view. Case-marking semantically applies to nouns and pronouns, and one would expect them only to be formally marked. The Amahuaca constructions at large, as the discussion on clitics in Chapter 1 confirms, support Comrie's view that the morphological marking is a characteristic of the dependent clause as a whole (1983:23).

The above sketch shows that Amahuaca displays most of the properties that are typical of switch-reference systems, as described by Comrie (1983:21–33). The unusual features in Amahuaca, as well as in some other Panoan languages, are:

- 1) Sensitivity to subject/object coreference as well as subject/subject coreference and non-coreference.<sup>16</sup>
- 2) Incorporation of case-marking morphology into the IRS.
- 3) Expression of transitivity as well as temporal/logical relations.

As mentioned before, there are two sets of IRMs in Amahuaca: A and B. The basic references that the IRMs establish in Set A are the temporal ones, and in Set B the referential ones. The IR-morphology in both sets is a combination of the tense/aspect and case-marking morphology.

The temporal relations encoded in the IRS include absolute and relative tenses.<sup>17</sup> The relationships between two events can be (a) sequential, (b) non-sequential, or (c) subsequent.

(a) Sequential events refer to events that follow each other in chronological order. They contrast along aspectual lines: (1) The action expressed in the controlling verb immediately follows and might be the consequence of the action of the marked verb. The action expressed in the marked verb has perfective aspect with present relevancy, i.e. it is considered complete before the action of the controlling verb begins. (2) The action of the controlling verb follows the action of the marked verb. The marked verb expresses perfect aspect, i.e. it emphasizes that it is relevant to the following action. As we noted in the tense/aspect system, so in the IRS the operators can combine with temporal adverbs to express degrees of time lapses between the events of the marked and controlling verbs. Thus *-hax* 'SS,

<sup>14</sup>Many of the arguments Roberts (1988:53ff.) puts forth for Amele also hold for Amahuaca.

<sup>15</sup>For a more detailed discussion on switch-reference and iconic principles see Haiman (1983:105ff.), Givón (1983:67), and Comrie (1983:22).

<sup>16</sup>Finer (1985:41) claims that there appear to be no languages that signal coreference or non-coreference between objects of adjacent clauses or between the subject of one clause and the object of another. However, in Panoan languages SO-reference does exist. Besides Amahuaca it has been found in at least two other languages: Capanahua and Matsés (also known as Mayoruna). See Loos (1963) and Kneeland (1979), respectively. Peter Cole (1981), Thomas Payne (1980), and Anthony Woodbury (1983) report SO-reference markers as well. Equally, temporal references have been reported by various scholars, e.g. Haiman (1983) and Longacre (1983). Longacre claims for Guanano that the encoding of temporal relations is more basic than referential relations. The encoding of transitivity of the controlling verb also exists in other languages of the Panoan family, e.g. Shipibo (Faust 1973), in addition to the studies mentioned above.

<sup>17</sup>For a definition and discussion on absolute and relative tenses, see Comrie (1985:122–125).

transitive controlling verb, sequential actions' + *-shin*, '1 to 3 days ago' combine into *-shinax/-shinnax* 'the action of the marked verb occurred yesterday or 1 to 3 days before the action of the controlling verb' (example 20). Despite the time lapse between the events, the notion of relevance is preserved.

(b) Non-sequential actions or events (I am using the two terms indiscriminately) refer to simultaneous actions which can be completely parallel, or partially overlapping, i.e. the action of the marked verb is continuing while the action of the controlling verb occurs.

(c) Subsequent action in the context of this paper means that the action of the controlling verb precedes the action of the marked verb.

Depending on the context, temporal relations can be interpreted as logical relations. For instance, subsequent action often expresses purpose (35, 37–39); sequential action can express potential fact (22), reason-result (47, 49), or concession-contrary expectation (19); simultaneous actions can be interpreted as condition-consequence (31).

In the DS and OS-constructions there are two ways to indicate a plural subject of the marked clause: (1) The subject is identified through a noun phrase. In this case the noun phrase receives the plural case-marker, either ergative (*-vaun*) if governed by a transitive verb, or absolutive (*-vo*) if governed by an intransitive verb, or nominative (*-vaux*) if it is pragmatically marked and is governed by an intransitive verb. (2) The subject is not identified through a noun phrase. In this case the IRM receives the plural marking, which is either in the ergative case [in DS-constructions encoding sequence or non-sequence (26, 34)], or in the absolutive case [in the DS-constructions encoding subsequent time or purpose (39b)], or in the OS-constructions (48). The IRMs encoding plural subject of the marked clause are never inflected for nominative case, as examples (26) and (34) illustrate. Although the verbs are intransitive, the case-marking is ergative (*-vaun*; see discussion in Section 2.1.1.1.2.3).

The IR-constructions in Amahuaca operate on all sentence types including questions, commands, and declarative sentences. The majority of the examples cited in this study consist of declarative sentences which are morphologically coded with the clitic *-nu* 'declarative' for all persons, when the clause that it marks contains new information, or *-cu/-qui* 'first', 'second' or 'third person', respectively, when the clause contains known information. In order to avoid unnecessary complications I selected examples with two clauses only: a marked clause and an independent clause as its controlling clause.

## 2.1.1 Set A

This set consists of IRMs encoding sequential and non-sequential events.

### 2.1.1.1 IRMs encoding sequential events

There are two distinct types of IRMs that encode sequential events: (1) suffixes of motion, and (2) forms that are combinations of tense/aspect and case-marking morphemes.

#### 2.1.1.1.1 Suffixes of motion functioning as IRMs

These operators, strictly speaking, are not IRMs, but are auxiliary-like affixes that govern a set of IRMs and thus play an important role in the overall system. There are five contrastive forms: *-tan*, *-cahin*, *-vahn*, *-quiran*, and *-vuran*. They specify the direction and/or immediacy of the action expressed in the controlling verb. Also all but *-tan* are best described by using the term valence, which in the context of this paper means that the operators express whether the marked verb is (a) intransitive, governing a singular subject (14, 15b) (Valence 1), or either (b) intransitive, governing a plural subject (15b) or (c) transitive (15a, 16) (Valence 2). In these operators the SS-function is coded zero ( $\emptyset$ ). They can be followed by other IRMs, including those encoding DS and SO references (17) [see discussion in Section 2.2, Supposition (i)].



**-tan** encodes that one event closely follows another and often the second one is a result of the first one and involves movement.

- (13) Hino nincaa -tan -Ø -mun yohinna jonu-u -qui-hnu.  
 dog hear -SQ.IMM.ACN-SS-FO animal hide-REFL-3IMM.PAST-DECL  
*'Upon hearing the dog, the animal hid itself.'*

The following operators can be subdivided into pairs, whereby the direction of the controlling verb is the criterion for the division.

When the controlling verb expresses 'moving away from a focal point', **-cahin** or **-vahin** are used.

**-cahin** encodes valence 1.

- (14) Junu-naqui pacuu -cahin -Ø -mun hina-n pocu-vahin-xo -hnu.  
 river-middle jump-SQ.VAL1-SS-FO jaguar-ERG cross-go -3.PAST-DECL  
*'Having jumped into the middle of the river the jaguar crossed (it) and went.'*

**-vahin** encodes valence 2. Example (15b) shows that **-vahin** replaces **-cahin** when the intransitive marked verb governs a plural subject.

- (15) a. Haa jo -hato<sup>18</sup> nincaa -vahin -Ø -mun hun jato yohi-cu -hnu.  
 tapir come -NONSQ.SO hear -SQ.VAL2-SS-FO I them tell -1PAST-DECL  
*'When I heard the tapir coming, I went to tell them.'*
- b. Junu-naqui pacuu -vahin -Ø -mun pocu-can-vahin-xo -hnu.  
 river-middle jump(ITR)-SQ.VAL2-SS-FO cross-they-go -3.PAST-DECL  
*'Having jumped into the middle of the river, they crossed (it) and went.'*

When a controlling verb expresses 'moving toward a focal point', **-quiran** and **-vuran** are used.

**-quiran** encodes valence 1.

- (16) Hiya nu -ri xucuu -quiran -Ø vacon vama -hi -yu.  
 me here -ward approach -SQ.VAL1-SS wasp(s) drive.off-come-IMP  
*'Come close to me and drive off the wasps.'*

**-vuran** encodes valence 2.

- (17) Nocoo-haito vuchi -vuran -Ø -mun muchi -can-xo -hnu.  
 arrive-NONSQ.SO see -SQ.VAL2-SS-FO surround-PL -3PAST-DECL  
*'Seeing him approach, they came and surrounded him.'*

The following example shows a combination of an IRM encoding direction with a DS-morpheme.

**-cahin** + DS-morpheme **-hain**.

- (18) Povunnava ruzoo -cahin -hain -mun chipo vo -can-xo -hnu.  
 name precede -SQ.VAL1-NONSQ.(DS)-FO behind go.PL-they-3PAST-DECL  
*'Povunnava went first and they followed.'*

<sup>18</sup>*-haito* > *-hato* after a stressed syllable.

Table 2.1. Suffixes of motion functioning as IRMs

	Go	Come	Immediate action
Valence 1	-cahin	-quiran	-tan
Valence 2	-vahin	-vuran	

### 2.1.1.1.2 Sequential IRMs that are composed of tense and case-marking suffixes

This set includes the following IRMs: *-hax* and *-xon* encoding SS-function, *-xo* SO-function, *-cun* DS-function, and *-havan* DS.PL-function. The SS morphemes distinguish between transitive and intransitive controlling verbs. The forms *-cu*, *-hax*, and *-xon* are also used in connection with adverbs of place. The form *-cu* is suffixed to a root encoding 'location' and the compound constitutes the adverb: *ho* 'there' + *-cu* = *hocu* 'over there'. Either *-hax* or *-xon* can be affixed to the adverb, thus encoding 'being there, someone is performing an intransitive or transitive action' (e.g. *hocuhax* or *hocuxon*, respectively). It also appears on first person plural pronouns: *nocu* 'us', *nocun* 'our' or 'we, ergative'. As already indicated, the form *-cu* also encodes 'declarative', and more generally appears to express 'discontinuity of a state or event'.

#### 2.1.1.1.2.1 Same subject

*-hax* encodes that the controlling verb is intransitive.

- (19) Yantan horo -hax -mun jatzanamu-u -yama-shin -cu -hnu.  
 late cultivate-SQ(SS)ITR-FO get.tired -REFL-NEG -1-3days.ago -1PAST-DECL  
 'Cultivating till late yesterday, I didn't get tired.' or 'Although I cultivated till late yesterday, I didn't get tired.'

The following is an example of combining an IRM with a tense modifier.

*-shinax/-shinnax* (*-shin* '1-3 days ago' + *-hax*) expresses a time lapse between the events of the marked and controlling verbs.

- (20) Pucallpa-n ca-shinnax -mun hun jo -ha -nu.  
 Pucallpa-LOC go-1-3days.ago.SQ(SS)ITR-FO I come -1IMM.PAST-DECL  
 'Having gone to Pucallpa yesterday, I just returned.'

*-xon* encodes that the controlling verb is transitive.

- (21) Nihii ca-xon -mun hun haa rutu-cu -hnu.  
 woods go-SQ(SS)TR-FO I tapir kill-1PAST-DECL  
 'Having gone hunting, I killed a tapir.' or 'I went hunting and killed a tapir.'

The following example can be interpreted as describing a temporal or logical relation.

- (22) Chaii nihii ca-xon yohinna ha-ti -mun-hnu.  
 far woods go-SQ(SS)TR game kill-can-FO -DECL  
 'If one walks far, one can find game.' or 'Having gone far, one can find game.'

### 2.1.1.1.2.2 Subject is coreferential with object

**-xo** encodes SO

- (23) Coriiqui vi -xo -mun jan hiya hachi -xo -hnu.  
 money take-SQ(SO)-FO he me grab -3PAST-DECL  
 ‘After I took the money, he grabbed me.’

A glance at Tables 2.1 and 2.2 shows that the above IRMs are derived from the tense/aspect and case-marking systems: *-ha* ‘first person, immediate past, perfective aspect’ + *-x* ‘nominative’, and *-xo* ‘third person, past, perfective aspect’ + *-n* ‘ergative’. Comparing the three above IRMs, the following pattern emerges:

<i>-ha -x</i>	nominative
<i>-xo -n</i>	ergative
<i>-xo -∅</i>	absolutive

We note that the case markers and in most cases also the theme markers have been suffixed to the marked verb. Also, the perfective aspect of the tense marker has been changed to perfect aspect with present relevancy. This was especially evident in (20). Although the IRM encodes a time lapse between the two events, the first event is relevant to the second.

### 2.1.1.1.2.3 Different subject

In Amahuaca the IRMs encoding DS-function do not encode whether or not the controlling verb is transitive. (Cashibo-Cacataibo, a language also belonging to the Panoan family, does.)<sup>19</sup> The DS-IRMs distinguish between identified (through a noun phrase) and non-identified plural subjects of the marked clause.

**-cun** encodes either a singular or plural identified subject of the marked clause.

- (24) Hupa-n capuu tzaca-cun -mun coca -n maru-xo -hnu.  
 father-ERG alligator stab -SQ(DS)-FO uncle-ERG kill -3PAST-DECL  
 ‘After father stabbed the alligator, (my) uncle killed it.’ (Lit.: ‘Father having stabbed the alligator, ....’)

- (25) Jan vutza -vaun capuu tzaca-cun -mun coca -n maru-xo -hnu.  
 his brother-ERG.PL alligator stab -SQ(DS)-FO uncle-ERG kill -3PAST-DECL  
 ‘After his brothers stabbed the alligator, (my) uncle killed it.’ (Lit.: ‘His brothers having stabbed the alligator, ....’)

**-havan** replaces *-cun* when the plural subject of the marked clause is not identified.

- (26) Moha jiri -havan -mun jan jo -qui -hnu.  
 now eat(ITR)-SQ(DS.PL)-FO he come -3IMM.PAST-DECL  
 ‘Now that they had eaten, he arrived.’ (Lit.: ‘Now they having eaten,....’)

Like the SS and SO-IRMs, the DS-IRMs are combinations of tense/aspect and case markers: *-cu* ‘first/second person past perfective aspect’ + *-n* ergative case, and *-ha* ‘first person immediate past

<sup>19</sup>Cashibo-Cacataibo forms are:

*-kish* ‘SQ(DS).ITR’ = *-ki* ‘SQ(DS)’ + *-sh* ‘ITR’.  
*-kishun* ‘SQ(DS).TR’ = *-ki* ‘SQ(DS)’ + *-shun* ‘TR’.

perfective aspect' + *-vaun* plural ergative case (*-van* in the example above appears to be derived from *-vaun*).

The following examples show that the IRMs, under certain circumstances, can be suffixed to the subject of the marked clause. In (28) the verb that would normally receive the operator is pragmatically marked and therefore placed sentence-initial, and in (27) the reason is ellipsis of the verb 'say'. This is very common in narrated dialogue. Frequently the pronoun also is left out, thus causing the IRM to become a free form which either links two strings of dialogue or a string of dialogue with the continuation of the narrated events. Most IRMs can be used in this way.

- (27) Hiqui -ra -hqui hiya hiin-xon -I -yu, huha, jan-hcun -mun-quiha,  
 be.ready-QUEST-3ACT for.me see -BENEF -come-IMP mother she-SQ(DS)-FO -REPORT  
 ca-xon hiin -hi...  
 go-SQ(SS)TR look -NONSQ(SS)ITR  
 'Come, see for me, mother, if it (the clay pot) is ready,' she (said). Going (the old woman) looked,...

- (28) Vachin min-hcun -mun jan yohi-xo -hnu.  
 quarrel you-SQ(DS)-FO he say -3PAST-DECL  
 'He said that you had been quarreling.' (Lit.: Quarreling is what you had been doing...')

### 2.1.1.2 IRMs encoding non-sequential events

When the temporal relation between the clauses is non-sequential, *-hi* and *-quin* express SS, *-haito* expresses SO, and *-hain/-haivaun* DS. The SS-morphemes also encode whether or not the controlling verb is transitive, but the SO and DS-operators do not.

#### 2.1.1.2.1 Same subject

*-hi* encodes that the controlling verb is intransitive.

- (29) Jii rura-rura-hi -mun jan pacuu-xo -hnu.  
 tree fell -fell -NONSQ(SS)IT-FO he fall -3PAST-DECL  
 'While cutting down trees he fell.'

*-quin* encodes that the controlling verb is transitive.

- (30) Jiri-quin -mun non jato nincaa-cu -hnu.  
 eat -NONSQ(SS)TR-FO we them hear -1PAST -DECL  
 'While eating we heard them.'

I mentioned in Section 1.2.2 that *-hi* and *-quin* also function as infinitive markers. It is the characteristic of unspecified time boundaries that serves to encode non-sequential events in the IRS.

#### 2.1.1.2.2 Subject is coreferential with object

*-haito* encodes SO.

- (31) Hu-qui -ri nanu -haito -mun hun hino rutu-cu -hnu.  
 me-against-ward approach -NONSQ.SO -FO I jaguar kill -1PAST -DECL  
 'When the jaguar was coming towards me I killed it.'

The following example can be interpreted as describing a logical or temporal relation.

- (32) Hiya yono-xon -aito -mun miya copi-catzi hun-hca -nu.  
 for.me work-BENEF -NONSQ.SO -FO you pay-FUT I -1ACT-DECL  
 ‘If you work for me, I will pay you.’

If we analyze *-haito*, we note that *-hai* encodes ‘repeated or continuous action’ (see Table 1.2) and, although it might be difficult to prove that *-to* encodes the SO-feature of the IRM, the idea receives some support when we consider that the form *-to* also appears on the following object pronouns: *jato* ‘them, direct or indirect object’, and *mato* ‘you, plural, direct or indirect object’, whereby *ma-* and *ja-* share the roots with second and third person pronouns respectively: *man* ‘you, plural’, and *jan* ‘he’. However, when we compare *-haito* with its counterpart *-xo* ‘sequence, SO’ (23), we observe that *-xo* lacks the explicit reference to SO. (See discussion in Section 2.2 below Table 2.4, and Section 2.2, Supposition v).

### 2.1.1.2.3 Different subject

*-hain* and *-haivaun* encode DS.

*-hain* encodes either a singular or identified plural subject of the marked clause.

- (33) a. Xano -∅ hoxa-hoxa-hain -mun jan vacu junumuran-xo -hnu.  
 woman-ABS sleep-sleep-NONSQ(DS)-FO her child drown -3PAST-DECL  
 ‘While the woman continued sleeping her child drowned.’
- b. Xano -vo hoxa-hoxa-hain -mun jaton vacu-vo junumuran-xo -hnu.  
 woman-ABS.PL sleep-sleep-NONSQ(DS)-FO their child-ABS.P drown -3PAST-DECL  
 ‘While the women continued sleeping their children drowned.’

*-haivaun* replaces *-hain* when the plural subject of the marked clause is not identified.

- (34) Nocoo-haivaun -mun hun ca-cu -hnu.  
 arrive-NONSQ(DS.PL)-FO I go-1PAST-DECL  
 ‘As they were arriving, I left.’

When we compare the non-sequential DS-morphemes with their sequential counterparts (33, 34; 24–26), we recognize the same pattern: a (tense)/aspect marker + ergative case. The ergative case marker is generally used for IRM-marking only in connection with transitive verbs. In some of these constructions, however, neither the marked verbs (33, 34) nor the controlling verbs (26, 33, 34) are consistently transitive.<sup>20</sup> (See discussion in Section 2.2.)

### 2.1.1.3 Subsequent event

When the action of the controlling verb precedes the action of the marked verb and/or is the reason for it, *-xanhni/-catzi* or *-xanhquin* are used to encode SS-function and *-non* DS-function. *-xanhni/-catzi* specify that the controlling verb is intransitive. The difference between the two forms is that *-xanhni* emphasizes the logical relationship between the events and *-catzi* the temporal relations. The IRM *-xanhquin* encodes

<sup>20</sup>The interclausal reference system of Amahuaca, with its extended use of the ERG and ABS case markers (and see also Section 2.3), is another example of the widespread tendency DuBois (1987) discusses. He writes (p.850): “The discourse basis of ergativity may well be universally present in the spontaneous spoken discourse of all speech communities; it constitutes a type-independent pressure toward ergative structural alignment. But it competes with the pressure of topic continuity for the structuring of grammatical relations, and thus does not always emerge as overt fixed grammatical structure.”

transitive controlling verb, and *-non* does not encode transitivity. The form *-no* (without the final case-marking) resembles *-cun* (see Section 2.1.1.1.2.3) in that it compounds with morphemes encoding ‘location’, (and also with the verb ‘to be’), in order to function as an adverb of place: *nuno*, ‘(being) here’, *jano* ‘(being) there’.

### 2.1.1.3.1 Same subject

*-xanhni* encodes that the controlling verb is intransitive and that the relation between the events is one of purpose.

- (35) Mapoqui ca-xon mishqui-xanhni -mun ca-hi hun-hcai.<sup>21</sup>  
 downriver go-SQ(SS)TR fish -PURP(SS)ITR-FO go-PRES I -1ACT.DECL  
 ‘I am going fishing downriver.’ (Lit: ‘Having gone downriver I am going to fish.’)

*-catzi* encodes temporal relation (subsequent), and intransitive controlling verb.

- (36) Jiri-catzi -mun nashi-hi ca-hi hun-hca -nu.  
 eat-SUBS(SS)ITR-FO bathe-PRES go-PRES I -1ACT-DECL  
 ‘I am going to bathe and then I will eat.’

*-xanhquin* encodes that the controlling verb is transitive. The relationship of the events can be temporal (subsequent) or logical (purpose).

- (37) Chihi pima-xanhquin -co -mun caro xatu-xan.  
 fire light -PURP.(SS)TR-SUG-FO wood chop-IMP  
 ‘Chop wood to make a fire.’ or ‘Chop wood and make a fire.’

The following example shows that if the controlling clause is pragmatically marked, the clauses are in reversed order.

- (38) Caro-mun xatu-hi hun-hca -nu, chihi pima-xanhquin.  
 wood-FO chop-PRES I -1ACT-DECL fire light-SS.SUBS/PURP.TR  
 ‘I will make a fire, therefore I am chopping wood.’ (The controlling clause is pragmatically marked.)

### 2.1.1.3.2 Different subject

*-non/-novo* encodes either subsequent event or purpose. It does not specify whether or not the controlling verb is transitive.<sup>22</sup>

- (39) a. Chipi -n chihi pima-non -co -mun caro xatu-xan.  
 younger.sister-ERG fire light-PURP(DS)-SUG-FO wood chop-IMP  
 ‘Chop wood so that your younger sister can light a fire.’
- b. Chihi pima-no -vo-co -mun caro xatu-xan.  
 fire light -PURP(DS)-PL-SUG-FO wood chop-IMP  
 ‘Chop wood so that they can light a fire.’

The following is an example of an embedded IR-construction.

<sup>21</sup>*hun-hcai* appears to be a fusion of *hun-hca* + *qui*.

<sup>22</sup>The comparable form in Shipibo, a closely related language, makes the transitive/intransitive distinction:

*-no* + *-ash* SQ(SS) = *-nosh* NONSQ(SS)SUBS/PURP.ITR

*-no* + *-shon* SQ(SS) = *-noshon* NONSQ(SS)SUBS/PURP.TR

- (40) Jan vuvoca -mun hun juma -n raho maro-tan -non  
 his older.sibling -FO I village-LOC medicine buy -go -(SUBS)DS  
 nichin-cu -hnu.  
 send -1PAST.PFT-DECL  
 'I sent his older brother to the village so that he might buy medicine.'

A look at Tables 2.2 and 1.2 shows us that the operators encoding either subsequent time or purpose are those expressing futurity: *-non/-novo* 'prospective aspect', *-catzi* 'future', *-xanhquin* and *-xanhni* 'immediate future'. Both *-xanhquin* (which is not identical with *-xanhqui* in Table 1.3) and *-xanhni* are compounds of *-xan* 'immediate future' + *-quin* and *-hi*<sup>23</sup> 'infinitive marker' for, respectively, transitive and intransitive verbs.

Table 2.2. IRMs, Set A

Referent	Controlling verb	Sequence	Time lapse	Non-sequence	Subsequent events/purpose
SS	itr.	-hax	-shinax -yantax -taix -nix	-hi	-catzi -xanhni
	tr.	-xon	-shinxon -yanxon -tixon -nixon	-quin	-xanhquin
DS	sing.	-cun	-shincun -yancun -tain -nicun	-hain	-non
	pl.	-havan	-shinavaun -yantavaun -tivan -nivan	-haivaun	-novo/-nonvo
SO		-xo	-shinxo -yanxo -tixo -nixo	-haito	

### 2.1.2 Set B

This set resembles Set A in that the operators also contrast along temporal lines: sequential, non-sequential, and subsequent. Sequential event markers have implicit perfective aspect. Considering that several of the IRMs in Set B function as relative clause markers, this is not surprising. Where the IRMs of Set A primarily relate events to one another, which is achieved by the perfect aspect (present relevance), in Set B the focus shifts to relating participants (subjects or objects) to events which is achieved through perfective aspect. (The basic difference between the two sets then is one of focus. On the referential parameter the sets differ. The operators of Set A distinguish between coreference and non-coreference of subjects (SS, DS) and coreference of subject and object (SO). The operators of Set B encode coreference only, but distinguish between coreference of subjects (SS) and object with subject (OS). Several of the marked clauses in Set B are relative clauses.

<sup>23</sup>*h > n / h\_*.

Since the focus in Set B is on participants, I will use the referential parameter as the basic dividing line for grouping the IRMs.

### 2.1.2.1 Same subject

There are three pairs in this group. They encode whether the controlling verb is transitive or intransitive, and they differ along aspectual lines: *-hahton/-hahtox* encode perfective aspect, *-haiton/-haitox* repetitive/continuative aspect, and *-tihton/-tihtox* possibility.

#### 2.1.2.1.1 Perfective aspect (sequential events)

*-hahton* encodes transitive controlling verb.

- (41) Jaa hiya hiyu -hahton -mun hiya coriique hinan-xo -hnu.  
REL.CL me bring-(SQ)SS.TR-FO me money give -3PAST-DECL  
'He who has brought me here gave me money.'

*-hahtox* encodes intransitive controlling verb.

- (42) Jaa hiya hiyu -hahtox -mun jan na-xo -hnu.  
REL.CL me bring-(SQ)SS.ITR-FO he die-3PAST-DECL  
'He who brought me here died.'

#### 2.1.2.1.2 Repetitive/continuative aspect (non-sequential events).

*-haiton* encodes transitive controlling verb.

- (43) Hiya-x -viz nocoo-haiton -mun hun mana-cahan -cu -hnu.  
I/me-NOM-first arrive-(NONSQ)SS.TR-FO I wait -CONTR.FACT-IPAST-DECL  
'If I were to arrive first, I would wait (for him).' (Emphasis on 'I.')

*-haitox* encodes intransitive controlling verb.

- (44) Jari nashi-haitox -mun nashi-hi ca-hi hun-hca -nu.  
there bathe-(NONSQ)SS.ITR-FO bathe-PRES(SS) go-PRES I -1ACT-DECL  
'I am going bathing where I always bathe.' (Lit.: 'where I have always been bathing.')

When we line up the IRMs of examples (43, 44) and (31) of Set A we note the case-marking inflections as follows:

*-haito-n* 'SS-ergative'  
*-haito-x* 'SS-nominative'  
*-haito-Ø* 'SO-absolutive'

#### 2.1.2.1.3 Possibility (subsequent event)

*-tihton* encodes transitive controlling verb.

- (45) Chami cuna-tihton -mun hun yohi-cu -hnu.  
younger.brother call -(SUBS)SS.TR-FO I say -1PAST-DECL  
'I said I would call my younger brother.'



**-tihtox** encodes intransitive controlling verb.

- (46) Hizo rutu-tihtox -mun nihii ca-hi hun-hca -nu.  
 monkey kill-(SUBS)SS.ITR-FO woods go-PRES I -1ACT-DECL  
*'I am going hunting that I might kill a monkey.'*

### 2.1.2.2 OS-function

There are two pairs in this set. They differ along aspectual lines: *-ha/-havo* encode perfective aspect; *-hai/-haivo* encode repetitive/continuative aspect. The morphemes ending in *-vo* specify that the plural subject of the marked clause is unidentified. When the plural subject is identified by a noun phrase, the noun phrase is inflected for plural ergative case.

#### 2.1.2.2.1 Perfective aspect (sequential events)

**-ha** encodes either a singular or identified plural subject of the marked clause.

- (47) a. Hun povi -n hiya cuna-ha -mun hun ca-cu -hnu.  
 my sibling-ERG me call -(SQ)OS-FO I go-1PAST-DECL  
*'My sibling called me and I went.'* or *'Because my sibling called me, I went.'*
- b. Hun povi -vaun hiya cuna-ha -mun hun ca-cu -hnu.  
 my sibling-ERG.PL me call-(SQ)OS-FO I go-1PAST-DECL  
*'My siblings called me and I went.'* or *'Because my siblings called me, I went.'*

**-havo** encodes an unidentified plural subject.

- (48) Hiya cuna-havo -mun hun ca-cu -hnu.  
 me call -(SQ)OS.PL-FO I go-1PAST-DECL  
*'Having been called (by them), I went.'* / *'They called me and I went.'* / *'Because they called me, I went.'*

#### 2.1.2.2.2 Repetitive/continuative aspect (non-sequential events)

**-hai** encodes either a singular subject or an identified plural subject, and **-haivo** encodes an unidentified plural subject. The constructions are parallel to the *-ha/-havo* ones. Therefore I will not illustrate all the variations.

- (49) Hun povi -n hiya cuna-hai -mun hun ca-cu -hnu.  
 my sibling-ERG me call -(NONSQ)OS-FO I go-1PAST-DECL  
*'When my sibling kept calling me, I went.'* / *'Because my sibling kept calling me, I went.'*

When the plural subject of the marked clause remains unidentified (48), the construction is best translated as a passive one. There are, however, no equivalent singular constructions. In the singular the subject needs to be stated and its case-marking is governed by transitivity.

Table 2.3. IRMs, Set B

Referent	Controlling verb	Sequence	Time lapse	Non-sequence	Subsequent event
SS	tr/itr	- hahton/x	-shinahton/x -yantahton/x -tihton/x* -nicahton/x	-haiton/x	-tihton/x*
OS	sing/pl	-ha/- havo	-shina/vo -yanta/vo -ti/vo -niha/vo	-hai/haivo	-non/novo

\* Although these two forms are identical, they differ in meaning.

## 2.2 Conclusions

In the previous discussion I have described and illustrated those interclausal relation constructions in Amahuaca that encode temporal/logical and referential relations between a marked and a controlling clause. The IRMs were divided into two sets, A and B. Set A primarily displays contrasts on the temporal/logical parameter—distinguishing between sequence, non-sequence, and subsequent events—and secondarily on the referential parameter—distinguishing between SS, SO, and DS relations. Set B primarily displays contrasts on the referential parameter—distinguishing between SS and OS relations—and secondarily on the temporal/logical parameter—distinguishing between sequential, non-sequential, and subsequent events. The operators are compounds of tense/aspect and case-marking morphemes.

Comparing Amahuaca with some of the switch-reference languages described by Comrie, Givón, Haiman, Longacre, and Munro, we note that it shares the following properties with those languages: (a) Amahuaca is an SOV language, but not in an exclusive sense; (b) it has formal distinctions between dependent and independent clauses; (c) the IRMs encode both referential and temporal/logical information; (d) the IRMs are suffixed to the dependent verb (except in cases of ellipsis of the verb or pragmatically marked environments in which the verb precedes the subject noun or pronoun); (e) the marked clause precedes the controlling clause (except in cases of pragmatically marked environments); (f) the notions of subject and object in the IRSs have syntactic rather than semantic functions; (g) the IRMs are used for all persons; (h) the marked and controlling clauses are almost always adjacent to each other. Only on rare occasions, for the sake of pragmatic marking, a marked clause refers directly to a final controlling clause.

Other differences from most languages with IRSs are: (a) the case-marking and tense/aspect morphology is incorporated in the IRS; (b) there are distinct operators for SS, DS, and SO; (c) in Set A temporal distinctions are more basic than referential ones; (d) some of the IRMs encode transitivity of the controlling verb. None of these properties, however, are unique to Amahuaca.

The question that needs to be asked now is a typological one: can the Amahuaca system be classified as a real interclausal reference system? The above summary of properties that the language shares with so-called switch-reference languages indicates that it indeed needs to be included into the broader typological framework of interclausal reference languages. In order to pursue this issue further, I will apply Givón's criteria for anticipatory switch-reference languages (1983:77–78) to the Amahuaca data (his criteria partially overlap with the ones listed above):

- a. All languages of type (a) DS/SS system are strict SOV languages. As noted previously, Amahuaca is SOV, but not in an exclusive sense.
- b. In all those languages, the DS/SS morphology appears as verb-suffixes, i.e. also clause-final. This is basically so in Amahuaca.

- c. In all those languages only medial, non-finite clauses are involved in the SS/DS contrast. This argument applies to the Amahuaca data.
- d. Non-finite clauses are less likely to exhibit their own verb-inflections, such as tense-aspect-modality, mood, speech-act or pronominal agreement. This also applies to Amahuaca. Despite the fact that the IRMs in Amahuaca are derivatives of tense/aspect markers, and can combine with temporal suffixes to express time lapses between events, they do not encode tense but temporal relations. The controlling verbs encode tense.
- e. In all these languages, the SS-marker is consistently smaller in size than the DS-marker. Often the SS-marker is zero. This argument, although it does not directly address the question of a real or unreal IRS, is a crucial one with regards to the Amahuaca data. As Tables 2.2 and 2.4 show, several of the SS and DS-IRMs are equal in size. We need to decide whether or not the referential relations are explicitly coded or not.

If we dissect the sequence and non-sequence IRMs separating the tense/aspect and case-marking elements, we note the pattern in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4. Sequence and non-sequence IRMs

Referent		Sequence		Non-sequence		Subsequent	
SS		-ha	-x	-hi	-∅	-xan-hni	-∅
		-xo	-n	-qui	-n	-xan-hqui	-n
		-ha-(h)to	-x	-hai-to	-n		
		-ha-(h)to	-n	-hai-to	-x		
SO		-xo	-∅	-hai-to	-∅		
OS	sing.	-ha	-∅	-hai	-∅		
	pl.	-ha-vo	-∅	-hai-vo	-∅		
DS	sing.	-cu	-n	-hai	-n	-non	
	pl.	-ha-va	-n	-hai-vau	-n	-no	-n-vo

Following Haiman's model (1983:107), the Amahuaca marked verb can be symbolized as follows:

Marked verb = Verb + tense/aspect + case-marking ± number ± theme.

A close look at Table 2.4 reveals that, in fact, there is no overt DS-marker, but there is an overt coreference marker: *-to*. The form *-to* encodes SO when inflected zero for case (*-to-∅*), and SS when inflected for ergative (*-to-n*) or nominative case (*-to-x*). It is often used in relative clauses (41, 42, 44), but not exclusively so (43, 45).

The next question we need to address is: How do the coreference and non-coreference constructions differ? In coreference constructions only the controlling clause contains an explicit subject referent. In non-coreference constructions there are two possibilities for subject identification: (a) both the marked and the controlling clauses contain explicit subject referents (24, 25, 33a, b); (b) only the controlling clause contains an explicit subject referent. The (plural) subject of the marked clause is contained in the IRM, which is inflected for either plural ergative or absolutive case (26, 34).

In order to understand what actually triggers the SS/DS contrast I am applying to the Amahuaca data some of the origin hypotheses that have been advanced in the past by different scholars. In Haiman and Munro's introduction to *Switch-Reference and Universal Grammar* (1983:xiv) we find a list of suppositions (i–vi). (Also Givón, in the same volume (p.78), hypothesizes an origin.) I will apply these in the order listed, except for Haiman's gapping hypothesis. I will discuss it at the end.

- i. This asserts in part: The reduction of an entire SS-clause to the point where it is an auxiliary-like affix on the verb of the reference clause, (is) a clearly possible outcome of such a reduction process... The IRMs discussed in Section 2.1.1.1.1 confirm this possibility. They are

auxiliary-like affixes, their referential relations are coded zero, and the forms combine with DS and SO-IRMs.

- ii. SS and DS markers originate as deictics such as hither and hence. The origin of *-cun* and *-non* ‘DS’, *-hax* ‘SS, intransitive reference verb’, and *-xon* ‘SS, transitive controlling verb’ could be explained through this hypothesis. The forms *-hax*, *-xon*, when suffixed to adverbs, modify them, and *-cu* and *-no* (without the case marking) are integral parts of a series of adverbs encoding ‘discontinuity’ (see the discussions in Sections 2.1.1.1.2 and 2.1.1.1.3).
- iii. SS and DS-markers originate as case marker affixes. This supposition, of course, cannot be entirely true for Amahuaca, since the case-marking is only one part of the IRMs.
- iv. See below.
- v. SS-markers originate as temporal successive markers; DS-markers originate as temporal overlap markers. On the surface the Amahuaca data appear to disagree with this supposition since the *-hai* forms encode coreference as well as non-coreference. However, a closer look reveals that *-haito* (SO) and *-hai* (OS) focus on coreference of subject with object, but at the same time imply non-coreference of subjects. Also *-to-Ø/-x/-n* can be considered an explicit SO/SS indicator (see discussion in 2.1.1.2.2.). This can be considered as overriding the DS-quality. Interpreted as such, Longacre’s hypothesis, on which the above supposition is based, does apply to the Amahuaca data.
- vi. The causative may serve as a switch-reference marking mechanism. This does not apply to the Amahuaca data.

Givón’s hypothesis says in essence that the SS/DS-morphemes may arise diachronically from a contrast of subject pronouns in the succeeding clause and that this morphological contrast, either between stressed vs. unstressed pronouns or pronouns vs. zero, respectively, became cliticized on the preceding verb. This hypothesis could apply to the DS and SO constructions. The DS marker *-cun* could have derived from *nocun* ‘we (stressed)’, or ‘our (unstressed)’. The SO-marker *-hai-to* could have derived from *mato* ‘you, plural object’, or *jato* ‘them’.

Haiman’s hypothesis (iv) says in essence that IRMs are the result of a coordination reduction (or gapping) process. As stated above, in Amahuaca the subject is generally overtly expressed in the controlling clause, and only in certain DS-constructions is the subject also expressed in the marked clause. Thus there is backward gapping. Since the subject is lacking in the marked clause, it is the verb that takes the case-marking morphology.

The strongest support for the above hypothesis are the IRMs encoding plural subject. As we noted in examples 26 and 34, the plural marking *-van/-vaun* are anaphoric, referring back to a non-expressed plural subject. Since the subject is not overtly expressed, it is the verb that receives the marking for case and number.

The Amahuaca data also are relevant to one of Haiman’s propositions, which states: The characteristic index of cohesion is not “same x” but rather “necessarily same x” as the other clause, where “x” is subject... (1983:107). We find this proposition most clearly exemplified in the SS-constructions of Set B where *-tox/-ton* mark the coreference in a pronounced way, but it can also be applied to the rest of the coreference markers and can be extended to include the SO-construction of Set A as well.

If we return now once more to the question of authenticity, it seems to me that Amahuaca is a real clause-linking language with IRMs that explicitly mark coreference of subjects (SS), coreference of subjects with objects (SO, OS), and non-coreference of subjects (DS). The IRMs, although analyzable, have become frozen forms which do double duty in that they keep track of temporal/logical relations as well as of referential relations.

In this chapter so far I have described and illustrated the forms and usage of the IRS in Amahuaca on sentence level. In the following section I briefly examine the effect of the system on discourse level, focusing on participant orientation.

## 2.3 IRMs in narrative discourse

The organizing principle in narrative discourse is thematic. A paragraph contains one main theme and possibly a few sub-themes that contribute to the development of the main theme. The most frequent formal features to introduce a new main theme, and with that a new paragraph, are the following two: (1) repeating the preceding independent verb form with a dependent verb form (marked clause) (53a, 54a in example text below), or (2) the use of a general connecting phrase which refers back to the main theme of the previous paragraph (52a). (The clitic *-mun* ‘theme’ which is suffixed to a sentence constituent or to the last element of a whole clause does not mark the main theme or a sub-theme, instead it marks the central element in a sentence.)

As mentioned in Section 2.1, clause chaining is a very prominent feature of Amahuaca narrative discourse. The paragraph containing the main plot of the story generally consists of one or several long strings of marked clauses and a final controlling clause. The marked clauses express successive events that lead to the climax of the story, and the final controlling clause expresses the climatic event. Suspense is achieved by including many detailed successive events.

The extensive use of IRMs results in a highly complex cohesive system. The complexity is due to the fact that the IRMs encode not only participant reference (SS, DS, OS, and SO) and temporal/logical relations of events, which can include time spans between events, but also different kinds of events (transitive, intransitive, and movement towards or away from a focal point). Consequently there are no conjunctions, and the use of adverbs, pronouns, and other connectors is kept to a minimum.

The text to be analyzed is a mythological tale which has been recorded and transcribed. The editing process has been limited to incorporating only those changes a native speaker felt necessary to insure clear understanding of the story.

### 2.3.1 Sample narrative

- (50) a. Jan vacu xano -mun-quiha jan hain -vacu  
her child woman-TH -REPORT her niece-child
- b. xuni -vaun pi -han -pahon -ni -xo -hnu.  
old.person-ERG.PL eat-MALF-REP.ACN-REM -3PAST-DECL  
*‘They say that an old woman repeatedly ate a child of her niece.’*
- (51) a. ‘Hiya vacu chocho ha -ma -xon -vu, huha,’  
for.me child milk drink -cause -BENEF-IMP mother
- b. jan -**hcun** -mun-quiha,  
she -SQ(DS)-TH -REPORT
- c. vacu-qui chocho ha -ma -xon -**quin**  
child-PRET milk drink -cause -BENEF -NONSQ(SS)TR
- d. rutu-n -**xon**  
kill -MALF-SQ(SS)TR
- e. pi -han -pahon- ni -xo -hqui.  
eat -MALF-REP.ACN-REM-3PAST -DECL  
*‘(b) They say that she (the niece) said: (a) ‘Nurse (cause to drink) the child for me, mother.’ (c) Pretending to nurse the child, (d) she (the old woman) killed (e) and ate him/her.’*

- (52) a. Caa **-xon** -mun -quiha  
like.that -SQ(SS)TR -TH -REPORT
- b. xuni -vaun jan hain -vacu-n vacu rutu-n **-xon**  
old.person -ERG.PL her niece -child-POSS child kill -MALF-SQ(SS)TR
- c. pi -han -ni -xo -hnu.  
ate -MALF-REM -3PAST -DECL  
'(a) Like that they say (b) the old woman killed her niece's child (c) and ate him/her.'
- (53) a. Pi -han -pi -han **-haito** -mun -quiha  
eat-MALF-eat-MALF -NONSQ(SO)-TH -REPORT
- b. cuntii **-xon**  
pot -SQ(SS)TR
- c. cuntii hovi-hovi **-quin**  
pot bake-bake-NONSQ(SS)TR
- d. 'moha hi -qui -ra -hqui hiya hiin-xon -I -yu, huha,'  
now done-PRES-QUEST -ACT for.me see -BENEF -come-IMP mother
- e. jan-**hcun** -mun -quiha  
she-SQ(DS) -TH -REPORT
- f. ca **-xon**  
go -SQ(SS)TR
- g. hiin **-hi**  
look -NONSQ(SS)ITR
- h. vucuntu -u **-hax**  
shade.eyes-REFL -SQ(SS)ITR
- i. ni **-xon**  
stand-SQ(SS)TR
- j. hiin-hiin **-haito**  
look-look -NONSQ(SO)
- k. cachiho jo **-tan** -Ø  
behind come -SQ -SS
- l. hiin-ma -ma **-vuran** -Ø  
see-cause -NEG -SQ -SS
- m. hainvacu -n chihi-qui vuran-ni -xo -hqui.  
niece -ERG fire -against push -REM -3PAST -DECL  
'(a) While/because she kept eating, they say (b) that (the niece) made a clay pot. (c) While she was baking the pot, (e) they say that she said: (d) 'Come and look for me, mother, by now the pot must be ready,' (f) and (the old woman) went, (g) and while she looked (h) she shaded her eyes (with her hands), (i) and she stood (j) and while she kept looking, (k) the niece came from behind toward her (l) without causing her to see, (m) and pushed her into the fire.'

- (54) a. Chihi-qui jan vuran-**ha**  
fire -into she push -(SQ)OS
- b. totocototoco-**cax** -mun -quiha  
sizzle -(SQ)SS.ITR-TH -REPORT
- c. jan rapashcara -**cahtox**  
she turn.into.sparks -(SQ)SS.ITR
- d. jaa -razix xau -nix -quiha -qui -hnu.  
REL-all.of.the.kind become.turtle-REM.PAST -REPORT -3ACT -DECL  
'(a) She (the niece) having pushed her into the fire, (b) they say that she (the old woman) sizzled (c) and having turned into sparks (d) the rest of her turned into turtles, (they say).'
- (55) Jan nato -x -mun -quiha haa -ni -xo -hqui.  
her navel-NOM -TH -REPORT turn.into.tapir-REM -3PAST -DECL  
'It is her navel, they say, that turned into a tapir.'

### 2.3.2 Analysis

The entire narrative consists of six sentences. The first and last sentences are composed of one independent clause each. The rest have several marked clauses and one final controlling clause. The longest sentence (4 in example 53) consists of eleven dependent clauses, and spans the major part of the narrative.

The text is best divided into four parts:<sup>24</sup>

- Part I Exposition, sentence (50)
- Part II Inciting Moment, sentences (51) and (52)
- Part III Developing Conflict and Climax, sentence (53)
- Part IV Conclusion, sentences (54) and (55).

The exposition contains the major events in a nutshell: it introduces the participants (the old woman, the niece, and the child) and foretells what is about to happen.

The inciting moment includes the setting and the initial episode. It opens the conflict between the hero and the villain. The niece, who fills the role of hero in the narrative, asks the old woman, the villain, to nurse the child. The old woman pretending to do as requested, kills and eats the child. At the outset of the inciting moment the two major participants interact. The hero then leaves the scene, allowing the villainy to take place. The crucial episode, killing and eating the child, after being described in detail, is summed up by the narrator in a brief statement (52), thus underlining the fact that the world has been thrown into chaos.

At the outset of Part III, the developing conflict and climax, the narrator refers back to the episode that caused the chaos, thus linking it directly to what is about to happen in a reason-result relationship. This is the turning point in the story, the villain becomes the victim and the hero assumes her heroic role. By avenging the villain's crime, the hero re-establishes world order.

Part IV, the conclusion deals with one participant only. The villain, having been reduced to ashes, turns into animals.

### 2.3.3 Participant orientation

The old woman is the main participant. In the exposition she fills the subject slot, and she is present throughout the story. The narrator refers to the other major participant from the old woman's point of

<sup>24</sup>I have adapted Longacre's model (1976:214).

view: *hain-vacu* 'niece' means literally 'the daughter of a woman's sister. 'Outside of the exposition the main participant is referred to twice as mother (*huha*) in direct address (51) and (52) (this is the proper address to mother's sister in Amahuaca culture), and once as old woman (*xunivaun*) (52). In the conclusion reference is made to her three times through pronouns. The remaining eleven references are carried by IRMs.

The niece, after having been introduced, is referred to twice as niece (*hain-vacu* (52) (53)), twice in direct speech she refers to herself with the first person pronoun *hiya* 'for me' (51) and (53), and three times she is referred to by IRMs.

The minor participant, the child, is introduced as the niece's child (*jan vacu xano*), and is referred to as child (*vacu*) three times thereafter, twice in (51) and once in (52).

Three major principles appear to underlie participant orientation in this narrative: (1) participants are explicitly introduced at the beginning of the narrative; (2) the more important the participant, the less explicit is the reference to him/her (cf. Givón 1983:67); (3) strict economy is exercised in the usage of nouns and pronouns.

The most striking example of principle 3 is sentence (53): the old woman is in the foreground and a new episode begins with a switch in roles: She, the villain-hero becomes the victim and the victim (the niece who has been bereft of her children) becomes the hero. However, the switch in roles is signaled only by the IRM *-haito* 'SO' which, of course, besides expressing that the actor (the old woman) becomes the patient, also assumes a new actor (the niece). But not until ten clauses later is the new actor referred to explicitly.

In the context of the story, the IRM *-haito* 'non-sequential, subject is coreferential with object' in the marked clause *pihanpihan-haito-munhquiha* 'while/because she kept eating to the detriment of her niece' achieves two things on two levels: on the syntactic level it gives the reason for the final event, and on the discourse level it predicts the reversal of the roles of the two major participants. The author employed this IRM in a most strategic way: he suffixed it to the first verb phrase in the paragraph that contains the climax of the story. The function of the entire verb-phrase, which is a repetition of the last event of the previous paragraph, is to introduce a new theme (the destruction of the villain), and the function of the IRM in particular is to predict the role reversal of the participants. The author could have employed *-cun* (DS) instead of *-haito* (SO), because there is a switch in subjects between lines 4a and b. However, this would not have achieved the same effect. It appears to me that the marked clause has received special prominence through the IRM *-haito*, which does not refer to the adjacent clause but to the final independent clause. In (53j) the IRM *-haito*, is used again, but here in the standard way referring to the clause on its immediate right. (In sixty pages of oral narrative text I have only seen the IRM *-haito* used in this way. Further investigation in this area is necessary.)

Besides effecting economy, the IRM-strategy achieves referential continuity. The old woman remains present throughout the whole episode despite the fact that semantically she changes roles from actor to patient.

This short narrative shows the tremendous potential inherent in the IRS in Amahuaca. The system, although complicated on the surface, is compact, systematic, and logical.



### 3 The Functions of Noun Phrases

Noun phrases (NPs) have three basic functions: semantic, pragmatic, and grammatical. Semantic and pragmatic functions are aspects of meaning and grammatical functions are aspects of structure (Andrews 1985:62). The term ‘semantic functions’ which is synonymous with ‘semantic roles (SRs)’, specify the role of a NP, be it Agent, Patient, Force, Instrument, Recipient, or the like. Pragmatic function determines when a sentence might be used and contributes to the hearer’s knowledge of some area of the situation in question. It also refers to the speaker’s intentions or his intended topic, and thus often relates to extra-linguistic areas.

Semantic and pragmatic functions are signaled by grammatical forms and by overt coding features, such as word order, case marking, and cross referencing or agreement. The grammatical function of noun phrases expresses or gives form to semantic and pragmatic functions. It reveals the relationships between the different arguments.

The term “grammatical function” as used in this paper is synonymous with “grammatical relations (GRs)” that include subject, direct object, indirect object, and oblique object. Grammatical categories refer to case, person, number, gender, tense, aspect, and mood.

Predicates (verbs or verb phrases) have arguments and arguments have grammatical functions as well as SRs. A transitive (TR) verb can have three arguments: i.e. subject/agent, direct object/patient, indirect object/recipient.

While in English, German, and Spanish, as well as in many other Indo-European languages, constituent order and/or case marking guides us in the search of GRs and SRs, in Amahuaca the situation is more complex. As mentioned in section 1.1, it is a Split-Ergative language and the constituent order often depends on tense and aspect as well as, to a certain degree, on case and pragmatic considerations. This appears to agree with Thomas Payne’s observation about Gujarati, an Indo-Aryan language of India with ergative case, where “AGENTIVE participants are treated differently in the past tense than in the present tense” (1997:53, 54). He maintains and, as we shall see, Amahuaca confirms it that completed actions are more agentive than ongoing ones.

After discussing GRs in different languages and contrasting them with Amahuaca, I shall turn to constituent order, tense/aspect, pragmatic markings, and case in Amahuaca, in preparation for the attempt to answer the following questions: what are some important SRs in the language, how do they relate to the GRs, and what is their conceptual make-up? Besides using individual examples for illustrations, I shall analyze a short text and assign and comment on the SRs highlighting the SR of Referent, which appears particularly interesting in the language.

#### 3.1 Grammatical relations

Since English lacks explicit case markings, it is the constituent order that guides us in discovering subject, object, and other functions of a phrase or sentence.

- |         |                                 |     |
|---------|---------------------------------|-----|
| (56) a. | The dog is biting the cat.      | SVO |
| b.      | The dog bit the cat.            | SVO |
| c.      | It is the dog that bit the cat. | SVO |
| d.      | It is the cat that the dog bit. | OSV |
| e.      | The cat escapes/escaped.        | SV  |
| f.      | It is the cat that escaped.     | SV  |

Generally the subject (SUBJ) is sentence-initial, be it pragmatically marked or not. It precedes the verb and the direct object (DO) (if the verb is TR). Only in (56d) the DO precedes the SUBJ due to the fact that it is pragmatically marked and the verb is sentence-final. It can be said then that in English the

prominent constituent, the SUBJ, is sentenc-initial and the basic word order in active voice is SVO/SV. Tense/aspect do not influence constituent order.

Let us now look at the examples translated into Spanish.

- (57) a. El perro está mordiendo al gato. SVO  
 b. El perro mordió al gato. SVO  
 c. Es el perro que mordió al gato. SVO  
 d. 1) Es el gato a quien mordió el perro. OVS  
 2) Al gato mordió el perro. OVS  
 e. El gato se escapó. SV  
 f. Es el gato que escapó. SV

Spanish is quite similar to English in that the basic constituent order is SVO/SV. Only examples (d1, d2) with pragmatically marked DO differ. Where English has OSV, Spanish has OVS. With regards to GRs we notice some differences. Spanish has case marking: The SUBJ is in the nominative (NOM) and the DO in the accusative (ACC) case: *al gato* = ‘a él’. *Al* is a portmanteau morpheme consisting of the preposition *a* ‘to’, ‘at’, plus *el* ‘the’, masculine article (*a-c* and *d2*). Also, where English uses the relative pronoun *that*, for (56c, 56d) to pragmatically mark the SUBJ or DO, Spanish uses two different relative pronouns, *que* ‘who’, ‘that’ for the SUBJ and *a quien* ‘whom’ ‘that’ for the DO. Finally, since Spanish has case markings, a second variety of (57d) is possible: in (d2) the DO, which, as mentioned above, is in the ACC, can be placed sentence-initial to indicate prominence without confusing it with the SUBJ. The intransitive (ITR) sentences do not show any essential differences.

The German equivalents are as follows:

- (58) a. Der Hund beisst den Kater. SVO  
 b. Der Hund biss den Kater. SVO  
 c. Es ist der Hund, der den Kater biss. SOV  
 d. 1) Es ist der Kater, den der Hund biss. OSV  
 2) Den Kater biss der Hund OVS  
 e. Der Kater entwischt/entwischte. SV  
 f. Es ist der Kater, der entwischte SV

In German, word order is important only to a certain degree. It is mainly case marking that is decisive in determining SUBJ and DO. Like in Spanish, the SUBJ is in the NOM and the DO in the ACC. The basic word order is the same as in English and Spanish, namely SVO/SV. Differences occur in (c) and the examples (d1, d2) where we have marked prominence and the constituent order changes to SOV, OSV, and OVS respectively. In (d1) the SUBJ prominence is clearly marked, and in (d2) the sentence initial DO cannot be confused with the SUBJ due to the ACC case which reflects the DO function. One difficulty one faces in German, is that different cases on occasion are homophonous. Therefore I chose *der Kater* ‘the male cat’ rather than *die Katze* ‘the female cat’ which is the generic term for ‘cat’ in German. Like in English and Spanish, so in German tense/aspect do not affect the constituent order or the case marking.

In Amahuaca due to the Split-Ergative Tripartite system with Ergative (ERG), Absolutive (ABS), and Nominative (NOM) cases, the situation is more complex. As we shall see in the following examples, tense and aspect influence word order and case marking and thus play an important role in GR.

- (59) a. Mishito-Ø -mun pi -hi hino-Ø -hqui -hnu. OVS  
 cat -ABS-FO bite-PRES.PROG dog -ABS -ACT -DECL  
 ‘The dog is biting the cat.’
- b. Mishito-Ø -mun pi-hax hino-Ø -hqui -hnu. OVS  
 cat -ABS-FO bite-PAST.PERF dog-ABS -ACT -DECL  
 ‘The dog has bitten the cat.’

- c. Hina-n -mun mishito-Ø pi -hax -qui -hnu. SOV  
 dog -ERG-FO cat -ABS bite-PAST.PERF-ACT -DECL  
*'It is the dog that bit the cat.'*
- d. Hina-n -mun mishito-Ø pi -xo -hnu. SOV  
 dog -ERG-FO cat -ABS bite-3NAR.PAST.PFTV -DECL  
*'The dog bit the cat.'*
- e. Mishito-Ø -mun hina-n pi -xo -hnu. OSV  
 cat -ABS-FO dog-ERG bite-3NAR.PAST.PFTV -DECL  
*'It is the cat the dog bit.'*
- f. Paxa -mun-i/ax mishito-Ø -hqui -nu. VS  
 escape-FO -PRES.PROG/PAST.PERF cat -ABS-ACT -DECL  
*'The cat escapes/escaped.'*
- g. Mishito-Ø -mun paxa -xo -hnu. SV  
 cat -ABS-FO escape-3NAR.PAST.PFTV -DECL  
*'The cat escaped.'*
- h. Mishito-x -mun paxa -hax -qui -hnu. SV  
 cat -NOM-FO escape-PAST.PERF -ACT -DECL  
*'It is the cat that escaped.'*

Examples (59a, b) are in the present progressive and past perfect, both with marked aspect. The SUBJs are in the ABS case and sentence-final. They receive the aspect and mood markers. The DOs are also in the ABS case. They receive the topic marker and are sentence-initial. The word order is OVS. [The verbs in (a-e) are TR.]

In (c, d) we have the past perfect with marked aspect and the narrative past perfective with unmarked aspect. The word order changes to SOV. The SUBJs are in the ERG and the DOs in the ABS cases. In (c) the SUBJ is pragmatically marked.

We note that (e) has a pragmatically marked DO and the word order changes to OSV. The DO is in the ABS and the SUBJ in the ERG.

Finally (f, g, h) are sentences with ITR verbs. The first one (f), is in the present progressive and past perfective which are always marked in Amahuaca, and has VS word order. Examples (g, h) have SV word order, (g) is in the narrative past perfective (unmarked aspect) and (h) in past perfect (marked aspect). The SUBJ of (h) is pragmatically marked. Generally the SUBJs of ITR sentences are in the ABS. Only those with pragmatically marked SUBJ are in the NOM.

The above examples show that in Amahuaca constituent order (OVS, SOV, OSV, VS, and SV) is intrinsically intertwined with tense/aspect and case markings. There are two cases (ERG and NOM) that can express SUBJ and one case (ABS) that can express SUBJ or DO. Tense, aspect, and mood, as well as case markings are crucial in the language with regards to constituent order. The clause-initial constituents receive the clitic -mun focus (FO) and the clause final constituent, be it a noun, pronoun or verb phrase, receives the TAM morphemes.

## 3.2 Grammatical relations and case markings

Table 3.1. Case markings

	Subject ergative (TR)	Object /Subject absolutive (TR/ITR)	Subject nominative (ITR)
Singular	-n	-Ø	-x
Plural	-vaun	-vo	-vaux

(For examples of plural forms see examples (1d, 2c, 3c, 47b, 157a).)

### Subject types:

**Preverbal/sentence initial**, governed by a TR verb with unmarked aspect and pragmatically neutral SUBJ (59d) or with marked aspect and pragmatically marked SUBJ (59c); preverbal/mid-sentence with unmarked aspect and pragmatically marked DO (59e). It is inflected for ERG {-*n/-nun/-han* (SG) or -*vaun* (PL)}.

**Postverbal/sentence final**, governed by a TR or ITR verb with marked aspect and pragmatically neutral SUBJ (59a, b, f); preverbal/sentence initial, governed by an ITR verb with unmarked aspect and pragmatically neutral SUBJ (59g). It is inflected for ABS {- $\emptyset$ / (SG) or -*vo* (PL)}.

**Preverbal/sentence initial**, governed by an ITR verb with marked aspect and pragmatically marked SUBJ (59h). It is inflected for NOM {-*x* (SG) -*vaux* (PL)}.

### Objects:

They can occur anywhere in the sentence depending on whether or not the predicate has marked aspect or if the SUBJ or DO is marked for prominence. DOs are inflected for ABS {- $\emptyset$  (SG) or -*vo* (PL)}. IOs lack case marking.

## 3.3 Semantic roles

Having discussed constituent order, tense, aspect, case, prominence, and grammatical relations in Amahuaca, the questions still remain: What are some important semantic relations in the language? How do they relate to the grammatical relations, and what is their conceptual make-up? According to Comrie (1989:52–53), some of the most common semantic relations expressed by the grammatical categories of SUBJ, DO, and IO are Agent (AG), FORCE, Instrument (INSTR), Experiencer, (EXP), Recipient (RECIP), and Patient (PAT). In Amahuaca a further semantic role, Referent (REF), which can be either a Benefactee (BENEF) or Malefactee (MALF) is important. The grammatical relation generally is that of IO. In many languages it would be part of the RECIP role, but not in Amahuaca where, as we will see, it is quite involved. Further semantic roles I shall look at are: Time (TIME), Possessor (POSS), Location (LOC), and Direction (DIR).

To begin with, I will make some comparisons with English in order to highlight some basic differences between English and Amahuaca.

Assigning Semantic Roles. It is a known fact that semantic roles do not have a one-to-one relationship to grammatical relations and that a certain amount of interpretation is necessary in assigning semantic roles that are part of meaning rather than of linguistic form. They are roles the participants perform in the world portrayed in a text. Some might be optional, others are required so the text can be easily understood.

In English SUBJ can correspond to AG, INSTR, or PAT, as well as other semantic roles.

- (60) a. His father shot the deer with an arrow.      SUBJ - AG  
       b. The arrow killed the deer.                      SUBJ - INSTR  
       c. The deer died.                                      SUBJ - PAT

In (60a) the *arrow* is the INSTR. It is in an oblique case and sentence-final. In (b) it is the SUBJ and thus sentence-initial. Nevertheless, it is used for the same purpose in both sentences, namely to kill the animal. The deer is the DO in the first two sentences. It is the GOAL/PAT of the killing. In (c) the deer is the SUBJ and fills the semantic role of PAT. (In Spanish and German we have similar patterns.)

According to Fillmore (1977) this phenomenon is called *perspectivization*. The description of the same situation is from different points of view. In this connection Payne says that SRs are “conceptual notions whereas GRs are ‘morphosyntactic’. ... Morphosyntax ‘discretizes’ (imposes discrete categories upon) conceptual space.” An SR is not a discrete category, instead it can be viewed as one extreme of a continuum. Thus there are prototypical AGs who act consciously, have a purpose, and perform actions

which have a physical, visible effect, while others are less prototypical AGs, they are more or less agent-like (1997:49–52). The AG in (60a) fulfills the condition of being prototypical.

When we translate the above examples into Amahuaca, we note that (60b) is not possible.

- (61) a. Paca -n                    -mun japa                    -n                    chaxo-Ø ha -xo                    -hnu.  
 arrow-ERG/INSTR-FO his.father-SUBJ.ERG.AG deer kill-ABS/PAT-3PAST.PFTV-DECL  
*'It is a paca-arrow that his father used to kill the deer.'* (Due to the fact that killing a deer is generally done with that type of arrow, it needs to be marked for prominence.)
- b. \*Paca-n                    -mun chaxo-Ø                    ha -xo                    -hnu.  
 arrow-ERG/INSTR-FO deer -DO/ABS/PAT kill-NAR.PAST.PFTV-DECL  
*'The paca arrow killed the deer.'*
- c. Chaxo-Ø                    -mun ha-xo                    -hnu.  
 deer -SUBJ/ABS/PAT -FO die-NAR.PAST.PFTV -DECL  
*'The deer died.'*

In the above examples the SUBJ slots are filled with the following SRs: (61a) prototypical AG; (b) is not possible; (c) PAT. The SR INSTR in (b), although it is in the ERG, which often functions as AG, cannot function as such. INSTR can only be used in connection with an AG as in (a). We note then that SRs in Amahuaca correspond differently to GRs than in English.

In Amahuaca the ERG besides filling the SRs of AG and INSTR, is also used for TIME, POSS, FORCE, EXP and LOC.

- (62) Yamuu-n                    -mun jan-Ø                    ca -xo                    -hnu.  
 night -ERG/TIME-FO he -ABS go -3PAST -DECL  
*'He went by night.'*
- (63) Hupa -n                    -mun nan piya -hnu.  
 my.father-SUBJ/ERG/POSS-FO this arrow-DECL  
*'This arrow belongs to my father.'*
- (64) Junu -n                    -mun nonti vi -xo                    -hnu.  
 stream-SUBJ/ERG/FORCE-FO canoe took-3PAST-DECL  
*'The stream (lit.: current) took the canoe.'*
- (65) Ø                    Jo -hato                    -mun Hishmi-n                    japa  
 (his.father) come-NONSQ.SO-FO Hishmi-SUBJ/ERG/EXP his.father  
 nincaa -hi                    -hqui -nu.  
 hear -PRES.PROG -ACT -DECL  
*'Hishmi heard his father coming.'* (Lit.: '(His father) coming Hishmi heard his father.')
- (66) Vai -n                    jahaa-xon                    -mun vuvoca -n                    xuqui-Ø                    vana-xo                    -hnu.  
 field-ERG/LOC be -NONSQ.SS.TR-TP older.sister-ERG corn -ABS plant-3PAST-DECL  
*'While she was in the field, older sister planted corn.'*

As in many languages, so also in Amahuaca, the GR of FORCE (64) and EXP (65) is that of SUBJ, however the SRs are not AGs due to the fact that the SUBJs are not involved in voluntary actions. Example (66) is in the ERG and the SR is LOC, i.e. the place where an event is taking or took place. This contrasts with the following example, in which the SR is DIR:

- (67) Vai jari -mun ca-hi vuvoca -Ø -hqui-nu, xuqui-Ø vana-xanhni.  
 field to/DIR-FO go-PRES older.sister-ABS-ACT -DECL corn -ABS plant-PURP.SS.ITR  
*'Older sister goes to the field in order to plant corn.'*

In Amahuaca, the semantic role LOC is expressed through ERG case or the postposition *-qui* and DIR is expressed through different postpositions such as *-jari* 'to' and others.

As mentioned before, the semantic role RECIP also occurs in Amahuaca, but in a limited way. Grammatically it generally functions as an IO which lacks case marking.

- (68) Coriqui -Ø -mun japa -n Chiquicha nichin-xo -hnu.  
 money -ABS-FO her.father-ERG/AG Chiquicha send -NAR.PAST.PERF -1/2PAST-DECL  
*'Her father sent money to Chiquicha.'*

As hinted at above, a SR which I call REF, is not only frequent, but also of particular interest in Amahuaca. The two sub-types: BENEFA and MALF are IOs. They have an explicit coding on the corresponding TR verb root: *-xon* 'benefactive' (BENEFA) or (*-n/-nan/-han*) 'malefactive' (MALF). (Note that the MALF morpheme has the same form as ERG case). REF occurs frequently in the language.

- (69) Hina-n<sup>25</sup> -mun hiya hatapa quiyoo rutu -n -xo -hnu.  
 jaguar-ERG-FO me/REF chicken all killed-MALF-NAR.PAST.PERF-DECL  
*'The jaguar killed all my chickens.'* Lit.: *'The jaguar killed me all the chickens.'*

- (70) Ja jahaa-xon -mun, jochi -n hiya rutu-Ø  
 this be.so -NONSQ.SS.TR-FO older.brother-ERG me/REF jaguar-ABS  
 hino-xon -a -nu.  
 kill-BENEFA-RECENT.PAST.PERF-DECL  
*'This being the case, my older brother (just now) killed the jaguar for me.'*

The SR REF appears to function as a speech act. It requires some type of response, be it in word or action.

With the following myth I intend to illustrate the use of SRs in Amahuaca discourse, giving special attention to the SR REF. Due to the fact that the speakers use the IRM system wherever possible and prefer long sentences, particularly when the story reaches its climax, there are many covert/implicit SUBJs and DOs in the text which need to be made explicit. The TR or ITR verbs mentioned in connection of the IRMs refer to the final independent verb phrase.

*Sample Narrative: Jan tari xahu hinan vihanni – The jaguar stole the anteater's robe.*

- (71) a. Ruvo -qu i-mun-quiha hina -n xahu -Ø  
 upriver-at/LOC-FO -REPORT jaguar-SUBJ/ERG/EXP anteater-DO/ABS/PAT  
 b. vuchi -ni -xo -hnu.  
 meet/see-DIST.PAST-3PAST-DECL  
*'It is said that a jaguar met an anteater upriver.'*
- (72) a. Xahu -n -quiha tari -Ø cunuuya sharaa  
 anteater-SUBJ/ERG/AG-REPORT robe-DO/ABS/THEME colorful nice/MOD  
 b. vo -hain -mun, hina -n -rocon tari -Ø  
 wear-NONSQ.DS-FO jaguar-SUBJ/ERG/AG-indeed robe-DO/ABS

<sup>25</sup>Dictionary entry: *hino* 'dog', 'jaguar'; jaguar-ERG = *hina-n*.

- c. chaho xuni vo -ni -xo -hqui.  
dark old/MOD wear-DIST.PAST-3PAST-DECL  
*'While the anteater wore a colorful nice robe, the jaguar indeed wore a dark old robe.'*
- (73) a. Tari-∅ cunuuya sharaa vo -xo  
robe-DO.ABS colorful nice/MOD wear-SQ.SO
- b. hina -n xahu -∅ vuchi -xon -mun-quiha  
jaguar-SUBJ/ERG/AG anteater-DO/ABS/EXP observe-SQ.SS.TR-TH -REPORT
- c. jan-∅ nan jahaaquin yocaa-ni -xo -hnu:  
he -SUBJ/ABS this way ask -REM.PAST-3PAST-DECL
- d. ¿Raquiha min-∅ tari -∅ sharaa  
where/SOURCE you-SUBJ/ABS/AG robe -DO/ABS nice/MOD  
  
vi -ha -ra -hqui,  
get-IMM.PAST.PFTV-QUEST-DECL
- e. chahi? cato-quiha xahu -n:  
brother.in.law say -VOC.NONSQ.SO.REPORT anteater-SUBJ/ERG/AG
- f. Rama -mun hiya huha -n ha -xon -cun  
recently/TIME-FO me/IO/REF mother-SUBJ/ERG/AG make-BENEF-SQ.DS
- g. hun-∅ vu-ha -nu -pu,  
I -SUBJ/ABS/AG get-REC.PAST.PFTV-DECL-M.VOC
- h. cato -quiha hina -n: —iHiya-comun hinan-xanh-pu!  
(say)NONSQ.SO-REPORT Jaguar-SUBJ.ERG.AG me-IO/GOAL/SUG give -IMP-M.VOC
- i. Huna-∅ copi-quin hinan-non, quin -quiha  
mine -DO/ABS pay -NONSQ.SS.TR give -PURP NONSQ.SS.TR-REPORT
- j. hina -n xahu -∅ yohi-ni -xo -hqui.  
jaguar -SUBJ.ERG.AG anteater-DO/ABS/EXP say -DIST.PAST-3PAST -DECL  
*'As the jaguar observed the anteater wearing (his) colorful robe, he asked like this: "Where did you get your nice robe, brother-in-law?" saying, the anteater (answered): "Recently my mother made it for me and I got (it)," saying like that, the jaguar said to the anteater: "Why not give it to me, so I give you mine in exchange (lit.: in order to pay)."'*
- (74) a. —Jiya, rama -covin hiya huha -n  
in.no.way recently/TIME-very me.IO/ABS/REF mother-SUBJ/ERG/AG
- b. harohti-xon -cun hun-∅ vu -ha -nu -pu,  
finish -BENEF-SQ.DS I -SUBJ/ABS/AG wear-REC.PAST.PFTV-DECL-M.VOC
- c. cato -quiha hina -n vi -han -pai -covin -quin:  
(say)NONSQ.SO-REPORT jaguar-SUBJ/ERG/EXP get-MALF-want-very.much-NONSQ.SS.TR
- d. —Miya vutza -∅ hinan-non -murocon  
you.IO/GOAL another-DO/ABS give -PURP.DS-really

- e. min-∅                    hiya                    hinan-xanhquin    -hnon  
you-SUBJ/ABS/AG    me.IO/GOAL    give -PURP.SS.TR-FINALITY
- f. nashi-yo    -non    -hin            -pu,  
bathe-now-HORT    -go.ahead-M.VOC
- g. cax                    -quiha            nashi -can -∅                    -I                    -xo            -hqui.  
(say)SQ.SS.INTR-REPORT    bathe -they-SUBJ/ABS/AG-REM.PAST-3PAST-DECL  
“In no way, just recently my mother finished it for me and I am wearing it”; saying like that, the jaguar wanting very much to take it from him, (responded): “I will really give you another (one); so that you will give me (yours); now let’s go bathing,” he said and they went bathing.’
- (75) a. Xahu    -∅                    paran -nico-pai    -quin                    -mun    hina    -n:  
anteater-DO/ABS/PAT    betray -dear-want-NONSQ/SS.TR-TH    jaguar-SUBJ/ERG/EXP
- b. —Jovin-∅                    -mun    tunu-yama-hi                    min-∅                    -hqui    -nu    -pu,  
breath-DO/ABS-FO    hold-NEG-NONSQ.SS.TR    you-SUBJ/ABS/AG-2/3PRES-DECL-M.VOC
- c. hiya-x                    chahi-covin                    jovin    tunu-hi.  
I    -SUBJ/NOM/AG    long -very/MANNER    breath    hold-PRES.PROG
- hun-∅                    -hcai  
                  I    -SUBJ/ABS/AG.REP-1ACT/DECL  
‘Wanting to betray the anteater, the jaguar said: “You don’t hold your breath (at all, while it is I who) is holding my breath (lit.: breath hold) for a very long time.”’
- (76) a. —jHiin-catzi                    -murocon    jaati                    -xon-rivi                    jiqui-pu!  
look-PURP.SS.ITR-really                    this.way-also/MANNER    enter-M.VOC/IMP
- janh    -∅                    -cain,  
                  he(say)-SUBJ/ABS/AG-NONSQ.DS
- b. xahu    -∅                    jiqui                    -cahin-hain-quiha  
anteater-SUBJ/ABS/AG    enter.ahead-SQ.DS-REP-REPORT
- c. hino    -∅                    cain    -cahin-mun  
jaguar-ABS/SUBJ/AG    get.out-SQ.SS-FO
- d. tari -∅                    xuni                    xahu                    va    -xon    -tan,  
robe-DO/ABS/THEME    old/MOD    anteater.IO/REF    leave-BENEF-SQ.IMM.ACN.SS
- e. tari -∅                    cunuuya    sharaa                    vi    -han    -tan                    -quiha  
robe-ABS/DO/TH    colorful    nice/MOD    take-MALF-SQ.IMM.ACT.SS-REPORT
- f. jan-∅                    zauu-ni                    -xo                    -hqui.  
he -SUBJ/ABS/AG    dress-REM.PAST -3PAST-DECL  
“Really watch (me), enter (the water) also this way,” he said, (and) when he saw the anteater entering (the water), the jaguar got out, left the old robe for the anteater, took the colorful nice robe and dressed himself.’



- (77) a. Jan           tari -∅                   xahu                   vi -han -tan  
his/POSS   robe -DO/ABS/TH   anteater/IO/REF   take-MALF-SQ.IMM.ACN.SS
- b. zauu-vahin-quiha       hino -∅                   junu -n  
dress-SQ.SS-REPORT   jaguar-SUBJ/ABS/AG   water-ERG/LOC
- poopoo       -ca-hi  
          move.quickly-go-NONSQ.SS.ITR
- c. ca-ni           -xo       -hqui.  
go-DIST.PAST-3PAST-DECL  
*'Having taken the anteater's robe and dressed himself, the jaguar moved quickly along in the water.'*
- (78) a. Ca -quin           jan -∅                   hiin           -vo           -hain       -mun-quiha,  
go -NONSQ.SS.TR   he -/SUBJ/ABS/AG   look.around-move.ahead-NONSQ.DS-FO   -REPORT
- b. xahu -∅           cain -nico-ni           -xo       -hqui.  
anteater-SUBJ/ABS/AG   get.out-dear-DIST.PAST-3PAST-DECL  
*'As he was going and looking around while moving ahead, the dear anteater left (the water).'*
- (79) a. Cain -tan           -quiha       xahu -n                   jan       tari -∅  
get.out-SQ.IMM.ACN.SS-REPORT   anteater-ERG/SUBJ/EXP   his/POSS   robe-DO/ABS/TH
- b. yopa -ni           -xo       -hqui.  
not.find-REM.PAST-3PAST-DECL  
*'As the anteater got out (of the water), he did not find his robe.'*
- (80) a. Jan           tari -∅       hina-n                   vi -han -ni       -cun  
his/POSS   robe-DO/ABS   jaguar-SUBJ/ERG/AG   take-MALF-REM.PAST -SQ.DS
- b. caracun   zinaa-quin           hino -∅                   rutu-pai -nox -quiha  
therefore   hate -NONSQ.SS.TR   jaguar-DO/ABS/GOAL   kill -want-CUST-REPORT
- c. xahu -∅           -hqui -hnu.  
anteater-SUBJ/ABS/EXP -3ACT -DECL  
*'The jaguar stole the anteater's robe, therefore hating jaguars, anteaters (customarily) want to kill jaguars.'* (*'It is said that the jaguar stole the anteater's robe and therefore anteaters hating jaguars, habitually want to kill them.'*)

### 3.4 Discussion of semantic roles in discourse

This discussion is based on the sample narrative in (71)–(80).

#### 3.4.1 Preliminary considerations

Event or action propositions, as well as state propositions, are expressed through predicates/verb phrases that have a certain number of arguments, i.e. AG, REF, PAT, etc. State propositions refer to situations that are constant throughout the time periods in view, whereas Event propositions refer to events/actions that change either momentarily or permanently during the periods in view. Event processes are transitions from one state to another. Finer divisions can be made, but do not seem necessary for this investigation.

Verb phrases are very important in Amahuaca. Many dependent verbs carry IRMs and the participants remain implicit. At times dependent verbs follow each other rapidly marked with IRMs; little else is in between. The more suspense, the more clauses are in the sentences, the less direct reference is made to participants, and the less unnecessary “baggage” is added. It is the verb that generally is responsible for the development of the story. As mentioned earlier, the historical past (-*cu/-xo*) as well as other tenses with unmarked aspect belong to the category of most agentive events and in connection with the SUBJ/ERG result in the most prototypical AG. Independent verbs, among other optional morphemes, carry the TAM markers: the marked or unmarked tense morphemes, the actuality aspect -*qui*, and the declarative morpheme -*hnu/-hqui*. Transitivity, TR or ITR marked through most IRMs, generally refers to the final independent verb. The reportative (REPORT) -*quiha* refers to the speaker’s attitude about the truthfulness of the utterances. -*quiha* as well as the actuality ASP -*qui* and the DECL -*hnu/-hqui*, are part of the Evidentiality system.

### 3.4.2 Semantic roles

Sentence (71): *Meet/see/observe* in Amahuaca is a TR event verb. In the present situation it is an event-process verb. It has three arguments: LOC, EXP, PAT. Upriver (LOC) the jaguar meets the anteater. I assigned the SR EXP to the SUBJ/jaguar due to the fact that the meeting of the two participants appears to be accidental. It does not say that the jaguar was looking for the anteater. The anteater seems to be a prototypical PAT. Walking upriver, the jaguar meets him.

Sentence (72): *Wear/bring* is also a TR event-process verb. It has two arguments in both clauses: AG and FOCUS with modifiers. I decided to assign AG roles to both SUBJs because at least one of the participants, the anteater, consciously chose to wear his colorful robe. The SR FOCUS for the robe seems more fitting in this context than PAT, due to the fact that the robe remains unchanged. It is a piece of clothing that each one of them is wearing.

Sentence (73) is very complex. We have dialogues, questions, and imperatives. Lines (73a, b) repeat the event-process verbs *meet/see/observe* and *wear/bring*. In (a) I assigned the SRs: AG/anteater and THEME/robe with MODs. The IRM SO refers back to the (implicit) SUBJ/AG/anteater and points forward to the explicit DO/anteater in (b). It tells us that it is the anteater who is wearing the colourful robe. Clause (a) is an embedded construction. The clause in (b) contains two arguments: AG/jaguar and the already mentioned EXP/anteater. The jaguar is not only seeing but observing the anteater wearing his colorful robe. This in connection with the historical past of the final independent verb makes him a prototypical AG who is acting with volition. As he observes the anteater, he questions him (c) where he got the robe. In (c) we find the ITR verb phrase *ask* with one SR: AG/jaguar who is posing a question. In (d) we have the TR event verb phrase *get/receive/obtain* with three arguments: the SRs SOURCE/where, AG/you/anteater, and THEME/robe with a MOD, a ‘nice’ item which has been received presumably as a gift. The first word in (e) is a VOC, referring back to the AG/you/anteater. The verb *answer* in (e) remains implicit. *Answer* in (e) is ITR and takes one argument: AG/anteater. He answers the jaguar’s question by telling him, where he got his robe. The dominating verb phrase in (f, g) is *get*. It is a TR event verb with the AG/I and an imbedded clause that has the following SRs: TIME/recently, REF/me with the BENEF on the corresponding verb *make*, and AG/mother. His mother made the robe for the anteater and he got it from her. The first clause in (h) has an implicit verb, *answer* with one argument: AG/jaguar. The jaguar answers the anteater and expresses his desire to obtain the robe by suggesting quite bluntly: “Give it to me in exchange for mine (his old dark one).” *Give* in (h) is a TR event verb that actually has two arguments: GOAL/to me and the implicit DO/THEME/robe. In (i) the verb phrase *give* again serves as the main event verb. While it expresses the purpose, the other verb phrase, *copiquin* ‘pay’ is optional and functions as a type of reassurance. The jaguar reassures the anteater that he is willing to pay for his robe. The only explicit SR is mine/THEME which stands for the DO *my robe*. The final clause, (j), serves to end the conversation: *say* is the main verb with two arguments: AG/jaguar and EXP/anteater.

Sentence (74): In (a, b) the anteater explains how he got the colorful robe and mentions that he is not willing to let go of it. In (e-f) the jaguar continues to bargain. The first clause in (a, b) has a TR event verb phrase, *finish*, with one peripheral role and two major ones: TIME/recently, REF/me with the

BENEF on the verb phrase *finish*, and AG/SOURCE/mother. The latter SR appears to be a dual role. The next clause in (b) has a TR event process verb phrase, *wear/bring*, with two arguments: AG/anteater and an implicit SR: THEME/robe. In (c) we actually have a double TR event verb phrase, *want.to.get*, with three arguments, EXP/jaguar is explicit. The jaguar desires to get the anteater's robe. Two SRs remain implicit: REF/anteater with the (explicit) MALF on the verb phrase *get*, and the THEME/robe. The MALF predicts the fact that the jaguar is intending foul play. In (d) the jaguar explains how he wants to obtain the robe. The TR event verb phrase *give* has two arguments: GOAL/you/anteater and THEME/another (robe). In (e, f) the bargain continues with a further hint of the upcoming foul play. There are two clauses, one PURP clause and one HORT. The TR event verb phrase in (e) *give* has three arguments: AG/you/anteater, GOAL/me/jaguar, and an implicit SR: THEME/robe. The clause in (f) consists of one ITR event process verb phrase: *bathe*. It has an implicit argument: EXP/us. The jaguar in order to execute his plans, is suggesting/feels the need to go bathing and the anteater agrees. The final clause (g) is repeating the ITR event process verb 'bathe'. It has one argument which is suffixed to the verb root *bathe*: the SR AG/they/jaguar and anteater.

Sentence (75) is more or less straightforward. In (a) the jaguar is beginning to betray the anteater. *Want.to.betray* is a dual TR event process verb and has two arguments: PAT/anteater and EXP/jaguar. The clause ends with an implicit verb: *say* which is optional in this context. In order to betray the anteater, the jaguar tells him that he needs to hold his breath in order to keep under water for a long time, just as he, the jaguar is pretending to do. In (b) the jaguar blames the anteater for not holding his breath: *hold* is a TR event process verb with two arguments: THEME/breath and AG/you/anteater. In (c) *breath.hold* is an ITR process verb with one argument: AG/I which is repeated at the end of the independent clause, I/REP. The pronoun *I* is in the NOM case. This means it is prominently marked, and therefore it needs to be repeated in the ABS case at the end of clause. The verb phrase *breath.hold* has a MAN adverb expressing the degree of intensity.

Sentence (76) approaches the climax of the story. The jaguar is pretending to model what he wants the anteater to do, so he (the jaguar) can take off with the anteater's colourful robe. In (a) we actually have two clauses, with the first one being imbedded in the second one, *he (said)*. The imbedded clause is an imperative construction expressed through the M.VOC *-pu*. There are two verb phrases: *look*, and *enter* which are ITR event verbs. The imperative *enter* has a MAN adverb/modifier, *this.way.also* and appears to be the dominant verb phrase with one implicit argument: AG/you/anteater. The second clause in (a), as already mentioned, consists of one noun phrase, *he*, with the implicit ITR event verb: *say*. The only SR is AG/he/jaguar. Clause (b) has one ITR event verb phrase repeated from (a): *enter*. It has one argument: AG/anteater. The jaguar convinces the anteater to hold his breath and remain under water for a long time, long enough so that he (the jaguar) can take off his old robe, leave it for the anteater, snatch the anteater's robe, get dressed, and take off along the river bank. The next clauses (c-e) are quite involved with three verb phrases, each one with SS IRMs and a final independent verb phrase. The clause in (c) has an ITR event verb phrase: *get.out* with one argument, AG/jaguar. In (d) we have a TR event verb phrase, *leave* with three arguments: THEME/robe with the MOD/old, REF/anteater with the BENEF on the corresponding verb, *leave*, and an implicit SR: (SS)AG/jaguar. In (e) the narrator tells us that the jaguar exchanged his old robe for the anteater's colourful one. *Take* is a TR event verb that has three arguments, one explicit (the first one) and two implicit SRs: THEME/robe with the MODs/colorful, nice, REF/anteater with the MALF on the corresponding verb, *take*, and AG/SS/jaguar. Finally, (f) concludes sentence (76) with the ITR event verb, *dress*, which has as its only argument the SR AG/jaguar. The tense of the independent verb is the historical past, which always has unmarked aspect. This makes the AG/jaguar a prototypical AG.

Sentence (77) ends the foul play. The jaguar, after having stolen and dressed himself with the anteater's nice robe, moves quickly out of sight. In (a) the last part of sentence (76) is repeated which is a stylistic device in the Amahuaca language to properly highlight important events. The TR event verb phrase, *take*, has three arguments: THEME/(the jaguar's) robe, REF/anteater with the MALF morpheme on *take* and an implicit SR: AG/jaguar expressed through the SS-morpheme. The first ITR event verb phrase in (b), *dress*, has one implicit argument: the SR AG/SS/jaguar. The second clause in (b) has an ITR event verb phrase, *go*, with a second verb phrase, *move.quickly-go*, which appears to function as a MAN modifier: how did the jaguar go? By "moving along quickly". *Go* has two arguments: AG/jaguar and LOC/water.

Sentence (78) has three clauses. In (a) the ITR event verb phrase, *go*, contains the implicit AG/SS/jaguar, and the second clause has the ITR event process verb phrase, *look.around-move.ahead* with one SR, AG/he/jaguar. In (b) *get.out* is an ITR event verb phrase with an AG role, anteater. At this point the jaguar has disappeared and the anteater is getting out of the water.

In Sentence (79) the anteater discovers his plight. There are two clauses in (a, b). The first verb, *get.out*, is a repetition of the previous independent verb. It is an ITR verb phrase that contains the implicit AG role, SS/anteater and the second clause with the TR event verb phrase, *not.find*, has two arguments: EXP/anteater and THEME/robe.

Sentence (80), the conclusion, is a type of rationalization which explains the assumption that anteaters hate jaguars and want to kill them, because centuries ago the jaguar stole the anteater's colorful, nice robe which his mother had just made for him. There are three clauses. In (a) the TR event verb phrase, *take*, has three arguments: THEME/robe, AG/jaguar, and an implicit REF/anteater with the MALF on the verb root *take*. In (b) the first clause consists of the TR stative verb phrase, *hate*, which has two implicit arguments: GOAL/jaguar and EXP/SS/anteater. The third clause (b, c) consists of the dual TR event process verb phrase, *want.to.kill*, which contains two explicit arguments which remained implicit in the second clause: the SR GOAL/jaguar, and the one who feels hatred and therefore wants to kill, the EXP/anteater.

### 3.4.3 Description of the SRs in the text

The most prominent SR in the “Jaguar – Anteater” text is AG, with several prototypical ones. PAT is next, then EXP, THEME, REF, GOAL. The minor ones are: LOC, TIME, and SOURCE. The REF SRs are not only quite frequent, but they also reflect the Amahuaca culture to a certain degree. Doing favors on the one hand is like having a bank account for the people, be it sharing food, helping build a house or making a field, etc. On the other hand, people take things from others, often without asking permission or returning them. To ‘steal’ means to take what is hidden. In the myth, of course, the villain robs the victim, the jaguar takes the anteater's colorful robe which he had left apparently in full view at the river bank. However, the narrator makes it a point to mention that the jaguar leaves his old robe behind in favor of the anteater. He could have kept his and taken the other one as well. But he did not do that. Instead he acted generously. In a sense the myth does not only communicate that the villain outsmarted the victim, but it also implies that the victim acted like an immature child.

The conceptual make-up of most of the SRs is similar to those in other languages: AG (SUBJ) is an animate entity which acts with volition, performs an action that has visible effects, instigates a process, or controls an event. PAT (SUBJ or DO) can be an animate or inanimate entity. It often undergoes a visible change of state or location with or without someone else causing the change. PAT can be obtained or possessed. It does not act with volition, nor does it instigate an event. EXP (SUBJ/DO) is an animate entity whose registering nervous system is relevant in one way or another. The EXP reacts to the environment, desires, hates, appreciates something, is introduced to someone, experiences such sensations as sound, smell, noise, is addressed, or is affected emotionally by someone's activity. THEME (DO) is something that might move around literally or figuratively, but it remains unchanged. It specifies and/or terminates the meaning of the predicate. In the above text, of course, the robes are one of the major themes and the SR THEME is quite fitting. REF (IO) has two sub-roles: BENE and MALF. It is an animate entity in whose favor or for whose detriment something is done. The REF/BENE most often receives a favor such as help from someone or less often, an entity as a gift. The REF/MALF has something done to him/her that is harmful, be it something is taken away through thievery, or something harmful is being done to him/her. GOAL (DO/IO) is a point of termination, an animate entity who is the terminal owner of something, the entity towards which something is directed. SOURCE is the point of origin of an entity, i.e. an animate entity who might be the owner in a transfer or the entity where physical sensations (sound, smell, light, etc) originate. LOC is the place where something is going on or where something can be found. TIME is the time span that elapses between two events, the time at which an event is taking place or a period of time during which a certain event is taking place.

### 3.5 Conclusions

Although noun phrases are important in Amahuaca, they appear to be secondary to and often outnumbered by verb-phrases because of the fact that it is a clause-chaining language with an extensive IR system. IRMs mark not only different SUBJ (DS) and coreference of SUBJs (SS), but also coreference of SUBJs and DOs (SO/OS). They also specify time spans, transitivity of the main verb, movement to or away from the speaker, purpose, and the like (for details see Sparing-Chávez 1998:454–471). In these cases the noun phrases are covert/implicit. We noticed that in (76a) the IRM *-cain* ‘NONSQ.DS’ is suffixed to a pronoun because the verb ‘to say’ is covert. The IR system complicates matters in determining SRs to a certain degree, yet it is very economic and at the same time an efficient way of keeping track of participants.

SRs in Amahuaca as well as in other languages often do not correspond to the same grammatical categories. As noted above, SUBJ can be AG, EXP, FORCE and PAT. However, where in English as well as other languages SUBJ can fill the SR INSTR, in Amahuaca it cannot (61b), despite the fact that it is marked for ERG, the most agent-like case. The role of REF that in many languages coincides with REC, is conceptionally different in Amahuaca. As illustrated in the text, it has two sub-roles, the BENEf and MALF, and is encoded on the corresponding verb with either *-xon* ‘BENEf’ or *-n/-han* ‘MALF’. It thus adds an extra dimension to the SRs in Amahuaca. The examples show that there is a limited amount of conceptual, as well formal, differences in Amahuaca in comparison to English, Spanish, and German. Of course, the amount of isolated examples as well as those in the text are limited in scope and a more extensive investigation is needed to come to definite conclusions.

The encoding of SRs in Amahuaca is slightly more complicated than in the Indo-European and Romance languages used for comparative examples, due to the fact that it is a Split-Ergative language with ERG, ABS, and NOM cases, all three of which can mark SUBJ. The ERG SUBJ of TR verbs and the NOM SUBJ of ITR verbs, which is always pragmatically marked, most often correspond to AG. The ABS, which can be used with TR and ITR verbs, is less agentive than the ERG and can be either, SUBJ/AG or DO/PAT. Besides agentivity, prominence, tense, and aspectual idiosyncracies influence case marking as well as constituent order in crucial ways.

## 4 Sentence Types

In Amahuaca we can distinguish between simple, complex, and very complex sentences which I call compound sentences. Simple sentences can consist of just one-word utterances or a phrase.

- (81) a. Hunhun.  
‘yes’
- b. Maqui, yama-hnu.  
no, NEG -DECL  
‘No, there is none.’

Furthermore it can be an independent sentence with one predicate and with either an explicit (82a) or implicit subject (82b). In the latter example the context would reveal the subject.

- (82) a. Moha-mun hun jo -ha -nu.  
now -FO I come-REC.PAST -DECL  
‘Now I have arrived.’
- b. Joyaza-hi -hnu.  
come -NEG-DECL  
‘He has not arrived.’

Sentences with a dependent clause and a final independent clause are considered complex:

- (83) Nihii ca-xon -mun hun haa ha -cu -hnu.  
woods go-SS.TR-FO I tapir killed-1.2REC.PAST-DECL  
‘Having gone hunting, I killed a tapir.’
- (84) Jo -hato -mun jan mapoqui nashi-shin -xo -hnu.  
come-OS -FO he downriver bathe-yesterday-3PAST -DECL  
‘Upon arriving yesterday, he bathed downriver.’

Compound sentences are generally used in narrative texts and can consist of 2–15 dependent clauses and a final independent clause. The dependent clauses may consist only of a verb phrase that consists of a verb and an IRM.

- (85) Caan-caan -hi moha vari mazpanan racaa-hain, nocun tapaza-n ca-hax,  
walk-walk-PRES now sun overhead lay -DS our house -LOC go-SQ(SS)ITR  
canon, jari jajaa-haito-mun nocu jira-tzincan-ca -ni -xo -qui.  
now there be -OS -FO us eat-next -they-DIST-3PAST-DECL  
‘We walked and walked, and at noon (lit: when the sun was positioned overhead) we went to our house and now being there, next they gave us to eat.’

### 4.1 Modality

The four mood categories: declarative, exclamative, interrogative, and imperative, are present in the language. Declarative sentences end in *-qui* or *-nu* ‘declarative’. The former is the more common one, the latter is used for new information. Examples 81–85 above are declarative sentences. They often use the

Evidentiality system, particularly *-quiha* ‘reportative’. The exclamatory type is always a declarative sentence.

- (86)    ;Sharaa -covin -mun   min-hqui!  
 kind   -very -FO   you-DECL  
 ‘You are very kind!’
- (87)    ;Nincaa-can-pu!       ;Moha-mun   jochi            capuu  
 listen -PL -M.VOC   Now -FO   older.brother   alligator  
           ha   -qui                                    -hqui -nu!  
           killed -PERF.PAST.PRES.RELEV -ACT -DECL  
 ‘Listen! ;Now older brother killed the alligator!’

## 4.2 Interrogatives

Common questions are signaled through the clitic *-ra* ‘question’ and specific questions have a question word such as *raqui* ‘where’, *cutzahtin* ‘how much’, *jau* ‘what’, etc. The question morpheme is attached to the item in question, be it a verb, a noun/pronoun, adjective or adverb.

### 4.2.1 Common questions

- (88)    ¿Quirica   yovan-pai -hi -ra    chami            -hqui?    Hunhun, yovan-pai -hi  
 paper    talk   -want-PRES-QUEST   younger.brother-ACT   Yes,    talk   -want-PRES  
           jan-hqui -nu.  
           he -ACT -DECL  
 ‘Does younger brother want to read?’ ‘Yes, he wants to read.’
- (89)    ¿Moha-ra       min jira-hai?            Maqui, jira -yama-mun-ax            hun-hca -nu.  
 now   -QUEST you eat-2PFTV.PAST No,   eat -NEG -FO -INDEF.PAST I   -ACT-DECL  
 ‘Did you already eat?’ ‘No, I have not (yet) eaten.’
- (90)    ¿Coshma-yovaa-hax-ra-hcan-ni?       Maqui, huha-n            tapaz-an-quiha  
 hungry -very -PAST.PF.PRES.RELEV No,   mother-ERG   house-LOC-REPORT  
           jiri-xo        -can -qui -hnu.  
           eat-REC.PAST-they -ACT -DECL  
 ‘Are they very hungry? No, it is said that they ate at mother’s house.’

### 4.2.2 Specific questions that require a question word

- (91)    ¿Jau-ra       nan?   Nan-mun   coca -n       chinto       -hnu.  
 what-QUEST this   this-FO   uncle-ERG   type.of.arrow-DECL  
 ‘What is this? This is uncle’s arrow.’
- (92)    ¿Tzova-ra       nan?   Nan-mun   chami            -n   jaquinti -hnu.  
 who -QUEST this? This-FO   is.younger.brother-ERG   playmate-DECL  
 ‘Who is this? This is my younger brother’s playmate.’

- (93)    ζTzova-n    jaa   machito   -ra?    Huna-mun-hnu.  
 whose -ERG   that   bush.knife-QUEST   mine -FO -DECL  
 ‘Whose bush knife is that?’ ‘It is mine.’
- (94)    ζCutzatin   hino-ya   -ra        min?   Quimisha-mun   hun   hino-hnu.  
 how.many   dog -have-QUEST   you   Three   -FO   I        dog -DECL  
 ‘How many dogs do you have?’ ‘I have three dogs’ (Lit.: Three dogs are mine).
- (95)    ζRaqui       ca-shin-ax-ra   min-jo-hai?  
 where       go-yesterday-PF.PAST.PRES.RELEV-QUEST       you-come-REC.PAST  
 ‘Having gone where yesterday, did you (just) return?’

### 4.3 Imperatives

Imperatives can express commands, requests, encouragement, exhortations, and prohibitions. They are employed in a variety of situations: to tell people what to do or not to do. In indirect imperatives they express what the speaker and/or those with him intend to do or what the speaker wants a third party (that is someone other than the addressee) to do. (This at times is called Jussive.) Imperative constructions are also used as polite comments, in leave-taking. When someone says: *Mohamun cahanu*. ‘I am going now’. The response generally is: ¡*Catanpu!* ‘Go (Lit.: ‘Go and come back!’) or a bit more polite yet: ¡*Hunaa jocatzicomun catanpu!* ‘To indeed come again, go ahead’. The Amahuaca people hardly use any intonation or gestures to express meaning and they generally avoid showing emotions.

Imperatives can be formed in a variety of ways: with an initial independent term, *ti* ‘encouragement’, or with different bound morphemes or clitics. Amahuaca uses imperatives in second person singular and plural, first person singular and plural, first person plus one addressee, first person plus several addressees, and in third singular and plural. The third person plural in direct commands and prohibitives is the bound morpheme *-can* ‘plural’, which in other contexts serves as third person plural pronoun meaning ‘they’. The third person plural in indirect imperatives is *-vo* ‘plural’.

Imperatives can be independent clauses or they can be imbedded in larger structures. This is generally the case in discourse.

The most common form is a direct command in the second person singular or plural with no explicit marking for a command, except for the vocative clitic *-pu* ‘male vocative’ for a male addressing another male or *-u/-uu/-yu/-vu/* ‘female vocative’ for all other instances, i.e. a male speaking to a female or vice versa or a female addressing another female. Which allomorph to use depends on stress, the number of preceding syllables, and/or consonants or vowels preceding the female vocative clitic. For plural addressees *-can* ‘plural’ precedes the male/female vocative clitic. In the plural the male vocative *-pu* (preceded by *-can* ‘plural’) is used even if there are females among the addressees. The Amahuaca society is male-oriented and in daily conversations the male vocative is heard frequently, be it in imperatives, different utterances, declarative sentences, and the like. A question is probably the only construction in which the male vocative is not employed. The vocative clitics for non-male talk are used with less frequency and do not appear to be mandatory.

When using verbs of motion, it is quite common to employ *-tan* ‘away’ which can also mean ‘move away from the speaker’, ‘go along’ or ‘go and return’.

#### 4.3.1 Common commands singular and plural with intransitive verbs

In the following examples the direct commands are independent clauses. These I heard in conversations while living with the people. Most of the other data is taken from written texts.

- (96) a.    ¡Jiri-pu!  
 eat -M.VOC  
 ‘Eat!’
- b.    ¡Jiri-yu!  
 eat -F.VOC  
 ‘Eat!’



- c.    ¡Jiri-can-pu!  
eat -Pl -M.VOC  
‘(You all) eat!’
- d.    ¡Jiri-can-u!  
eat -Pl -F.VOC  
‘(You all) eat!’
- (97) a. ¡Jiri-hi jo -pu!  
eat -INF come-M.VOC  
‘Come to eat!’
- b.    ¡Jiri-hi jo- vu!  
eat -INF come-F.VOC  
‘Come to eat!’
- c.    ¡Jiri-hi vu -can-pu!  
eat -INF come-Pl -M.VOC  
‘(You all) come to eat!’
- d.    ¡Jiri-hi vu -can-u!  
eat -INF come-Pl -F.VOC  
‘(You all) come to eat!’
- (98) a. ¡Ca-tan -pu/-u/!  
go -ahead-M.VOC/-F.VOC  
‘Go ahead!’
- b.    ¡Vo -tan -can-pu/-u!  
go.PL-ahead-PL -M.VOC/-F.VOC  
‘(You all) go ahead!’

### 4.3.2 Common commands singular and plural with transitive verbs

- (99) a. ¡Hiya piya hinan-pu, jochi!  
me arrow give -M.VOC older.brother  
‘Give me the arrow, older brother!’
- b.    ¡Hiya piya hinan-u, chipi!  
me arrow give -F.VOC younger.sister/daughter  
‘Give me the arrow, younger sister!’
- c.    ¡Hiya piya hinan-can-pu!  
me arrow give -PL -M.VOC  
‘Give me the arrow!’
- d.    ¡Hiya piya hinan-can!  
me arrow give -PL  
‘Give me the arrow!’
- (100) ¡Quiha! Moha-mun-quiha hupa jo -qui -hnu.  
REPORT Now -TH -REPORT father come-2/3IMM.PAST.PFTV-DECL.
- ¡Nincaa-can-pu!  
listen -PL -M.VOC  
‘Pay attention to what is said! They say that father has come. (You all) listen!’

The above commands are heard frequently among family members and friends of all ages. In (100) the initial evidential marker *Quiha* ‘reportative’ is an independent word and functions as an attention getter. This is a very common usage, particularly when the speaker thinks the others present are not aware of what is going on and consequently are not paying attention. The second instance of *-quiha* ‘reportative’ is the regular usage of the evidential marker which is employed frequently.

### 4.3.3 Examples of singular and plural familiar commands

Another type of command is the familiar one. It is expressed by adding *-xan/-xanh* ‘imperative’ to the verb root, generally immediately preceding both the plural and the vocative. There is hardly any difference in meaning between the common command and the familiar one. The familiar command might be slightly less forceful than the direct one. Both are frequently used in similar situations with similar addressees.

- (101) a. ꞑJiri-hi jo -xanh-pu!  
eat -INF come-IMP -M.VOC  
'Come to eat!'  
b. ꞑJiri-hi vu -xanh-can-pu!  
eat -INF come.PL-IMP -PL -M.VOC  
'(You all) come to eat!'
- (102) ꞑManinha ravuu hiya hinan-xan, chipi!  
banana two me give- IMP daughter/younger.sister  
'My daughter, give me two bananas!'
- (103) ꞑCanon mapoqui vo -xanh-tan -can-pu, roho ha -xanhni!  
now down.river go.PL-IMP -ahead-PL-M.VOC howler.monkey(s) do/kill-PURP(SS)ITR  
'(You all) go ahead now down-river in order to kill the howler monkey(s).'

#### 4.3.4 Imperatives expressing encouragement

In order to encourage the addressee, the speaker can begin the command with the *ti* 'encouragement' and finish the command as usual with the male or female vocative. The plural is formed as above, using *-can* 'plural'. This command is softer than the first two. As the former ones, it can be used with transitive or intransitive verbs. On occasion *-xan/-xanh* 'imperative' is also employed in these constructions.

- (104) a. ꞑTi jo!  
ENCOUR come  
'(Why don't you) come.'  
b. ꞑTi vu -can!  
ENCOUR come.PL-PL  
'(Why don't you all) come.'
- (105) a. ꞑTi ca-tan!  
ENCOUR go-ahead  
'(Why don't you) go ahead.'  
b. ꞑTi vo-tan-can -pu!  
ENCOUR go-PL -ahead-M.VOC  
'(Why don't you all) go ahead.'
- (106) a. ꞑTi canon co-ho -pu!  
ENCOUR now go-REFL-M.VOC  
'(Why don't you) go now.'  
b. ꞑCanon ti vo -can-pu!  
now ENCOUR go.PL-PL -M.VOC  
'(Why don't you all) go now.'
- (107) ꞑTi nonti -n nanu-xan  
ENCOUR canoe-LOC enter-IMP  
'(Why don't you) enter the canoe.'  
or '(Come on) enter the canoe!'
- (108) ꞑTi hiya yono-xon -xan!  
ENCOUR me work-BENEF-IMP  
'(Why don't you) work for me.'  
or '(Come on) work for me!'

#### 4.3.5 Imperatives using *-comun* 'indeed'/'please'

The speaker can soften a command into a request or even an invitation by using the clitic *-comun* 'indeed'/'please', which generally precedes the verb expressing the command. It can be attached to such word classes as adverbs, verbs, nouns, or pronouns. The clitic appears to be used above all in imperative constructions. On occasion it also expresses slight impatience on the part of the speaker.

- (109) ꞑCanon-comun ca-tan -pu!  
now -indeed go-ahead-M.VOC  
'Please go ahead now!'  
(110) ꞑJiri-comun vu -can-pu!  
eat -indeed come.PL-PL -M.VOC  
'!Please (you all) come to eat!'
- (111) ꞑHiya vacohma vi -xon -comun ca-tan -pu, mai!  
me water get-BENEF-indeed go-ahead-M.VOC ATTN.GETTER  
'Hey, go ahead indeed and get water for me!'

- (112) ¡Coshi-comun ca-tan -u, chipi, hiya vacohma vi -xon -xanhni!  
 quick -indeed go-ahead-F.VOC daughter me water get-BENEF-PURP(SS)ITR  
*'Please go ahead quickly, my daughter, to get water for me!'*
- (113) ¡Min vacu-comun chitu -sharaa-tan, nohin -miz!  
 your child-indeed take.care.of-well -ahead parasite-possibly  
*'Indeed go ahead and take good care of your child, it could (get infected with) parasites!'*
- (114) ¡Mishqui-mishqui-quin -comun hiya jano-riviz mishqui-ti  
 fish -fish -SQ(SS)TR-indeed me here-again fish -NOMINAL  
 vu -xon -tan -pu, chami!  
 bring-BENEF-ahead-M.VOC son  
*'Son, after fishing (for awhile) please return (lit.: 'bring again') the fish hooks to me!'*
- (115) ¡Ti -comun jiz -tan -xan!  
 ENCOUR-indeed go.see-ahead-IMP  
*'Indeed go ahead any time soon to see (what is going on)!'*

#### 4.3.6 Expressing immediate action in imperatives

A command expressing urgency can be given by employing -yo/-yoo 'immediate action'. This morpheme slightly affects the severity of the command in that it demands the action to be performed right away (i.e. the action should be the next one in line).

- (116) ¡Hiin-yo -tan -pu!  
 see -IMM.ACN-ahead-M.VOC  
*'(Go) ahead immediately to see!'*
- (117) ¡Hiya xuqui vi -xon -yoo -u, chipi!  
 me corn get-BENEF-IMM.ACN-F.VOC daughter  
*'My daughter, get (some) corn for me immediately!'*
- (118) ¡Canon-comun vu -yoo -can-pu, mai!  
 now -indeed come.PL -IMM.ACN -PL -M.VOC ATTN.GETTER  
*'Hey, please come immediately (you guys)! (Lit: 'Now indeed come immediately...,hey!')*
- (119) ¡Chipi -n caro pima-non -comun caro  
 younger.sister-ERG fire.wood light-PURP(DS) -indeed fire.wood  
 xatu-yo -pu, chami!  
 cut -IMM.ACN-M.VOC younger.brother  
*'Indeed cut (some) firewood immediately, younger brother, so that younger sister can light the fire!'*
- (120) ¡Moha -mun yamuu-hax -qui -hnu. ¡Hunaa jo -catzi-comun  
 now -TH dark -PAST.PF.PRES.RELEV-ACT -DECL again come-soon-indeed  
 ca-yoo -tan -xan-pu!  
 go-IMM.ACN -ahead-IMP-M.VOC  
*'It has gotten dark now. To indeed come again soon, go ahead immediately.'*

### 4.3.7 Putting emphasis on the importance of a request

If the speaker wants to emphasize the importance of a request, he might choose to use *-murocon* ‘really’. This morpheme is often used in connection with the inference marker *-cari* and together they are part of the evidentiality system expressing mirativity (surprise). It can be attached to a variety of word classes. It is similar to *-comun* ‘indeed’/‘please’, yet a bit more forceful. The two do not appear together.

- (121) ¡Hiya -murocon yohi-yu, jochi!  
 me -really tell -F.VOC older.brother  
 ‘Really tell me (what is going on), older brother!’
- (122) ¡Vu -murocon -xanh-can-pu, mai!  
 come.PL -really -IMP -PL -M.VOC ATTN.GETTER  
 ‘Hey, you all make sure to come soon!’

### 4.3.8 Indirect commands first person singular and plural

Indirect imperatives can refer to first person singular or plural and third person singular or plural. They are expressed through the morpheme *-non* ‘hortative singular’ or *-non -vo* ‘hortative plus plural’. Indirect imperatives can be independent sentences or imbedded in direct commands or declarative sentences.

Indirect imperatives expressing first person singular or plural often carry the morpheme *-hin* ‘for sure’ which follows *-non* ‘hortative’. In first person singular a further morpheme, *-yun* ‘saying to oneself’, at times follows *-non -hin*. At times the pronoun *non* ‘we/us’ is used sentence initially in the first plural indirect imperative. (See example 127.)

- (123) ¡Ca-yoo -tan -non -hin!  
 go -IMM.ACN-ahead-HORT-for.sure  
 ‘Now (I am) going ahead for sure.’
- (124) ¡Hun vacu hiin-xanhni -mun ca-yoo -tan -non -hin -yun!  
 my child see -PURP(SS)ITR-TH go-IMM.ACN-ahead-HORT -for.sure-saying.to.oneself  
 ‘I am telling myself to go ahead immediately to see my child for sure.’
- (125) ¡Hi-cara -hqui hiin-yoo -non -hin!  
 be -INFER-ACT see -IMM.ACN-HORT -for.sure  
 ‘(I am going) immediately to see for sure what actually might have happened.’ (Lit.: ‘What actually might have happened, to see immediately for sure (I am going)’).
- \*(126) —Hiya-n zapato hinan-non, pino vunú -xahin -non- nu,  
 I-ERG shoe(s) give -HORT hummingbird marry-INDEF.FUT-HORT -DECL  
 quin -mun chaxo jato yohi -ni -xo -hnu.  
 NONSQ(SS)TR-TH deer them sit -REM.PAST -3PAST -DECL  
 ‘“Let me give the shoes so the hummingbird will marry,” said the deer.’
- \*(127) ¡Non mucaa -non -murocon, vu -can-pu!  
 we have.fun-HORT/PURP.DS -really come.PL-PL -M.VOC  
 ‘Come, let’s really have fun!’

- \* (128) —¡Hiya-comun hinan-xanh -pu, huna copi -quin hinan-non,  
me-indeed give -IMP -M.VOC mine pay -INF give -HORT/PURP(DS)
- quin -quiha hinan xahu yohi-ni -xo -hqui.  
SEQ(SS)TR-REPORT jaguar.ERG anteater say -REM.PAST -3PAST -DECL  
‘*“Indeed, give it (the tunic) to me, in order to give you mine in payment,” said the jaguar to the anteater a long time ago.’ (or ‘for me to give you mine to pay...’)*
- \* (129) ¡Miya vutza tari hinan-non -murocon min hiya  
you other tunic give -HORT-really you me
- hinan-xanh -quinh -non nashi-yoo -non -hin -pu!  
give -IMP -in.exchange-HORT/PURP(DS) bathe-IMM.ACN-HORT-for.sure-M.VOC  
‘*Really, let me give you another tunic so that you give me (yours) in exchange, but first let us go bathing for sure!*’

As the above examples show, the exact meaning generally depends on the context. The examples marked with \* will be discussed in Section 4.4.

While considering direct imperatives, we noticed that *ti* ‘encouragement’ is an alternative for the common or familiar commands softening the command to an encouragement. We used it in singular and plural constructions. As we will see now, it can also be used in first person indirect imperatives. In this case, however, the speaker addresses either himself plus one addressee, which is considered the singular form, or himself plus several addressees, which is considered the plural form. It should be noted here that Amahuaca in general does not distinguish between first person singular and plural. The speakers always use the singular form whether they mean ‘I’ or ‘we’. As in direct commands, *ti* ‘encouragement’ is used in independent imperative clauses. However unlike in direct commands, in which these commands end in the vocative, in indirect imperatives they terminate in *-non -ca* ‘hortative plus first or second person actuality aspect’ or *-non -vo -ca* ‘hortative plus plural plus first or second person actuality aspect’.

- (130) a. ¡Ti quirica ha-non -ca!  
ENCOUR paper do-HORT -1/2ACT  
‘*Come, let’s go to study!*’
- b. ¡Ti quirica ha-non -vo -ca!  
ENCOUR paper do-HORT -PL -1/2ACT  
‘*Come, let’s all go to study!*’
- (131) a. ¡Ti yono-non -ca!  
ENCOUR work-HORT-1/2ACT  
‘*Come, let’s go to work!*’
- b. ¡Ti yono-non -vo -ca!  
ENCOUR work-HORT-PL -1/2ACT  
‘*Come, let’s all go to work!*’

### 4.3.9 Third person singular and plural indirect imperatives

As mentioned above, the morpheme *-non* ‘hortative’ or *-non -vo* ‘hortative plus plural’, expresses third person indirect imperative. If the indirect imperative is an independent clause, *-nu/-qui* ‘declarative’ terminates the clause. But if the indirect imperative is imbedded in a declarative construction, the declarative morpheme does not appear on the imperative, but at the end of the declarative sentence, i.e. the sentence in which the indirect imperative is imbedded (compare 133 with 137). If the indirect imperative is imbedded in a direct command construction, the DECL morpheme does not appear. Instead, the direct command vocative morpheme terminates the sentence (see 136). When an indirect imperative is imbedded in a direct command and *-comun* ‘indeed’/‘please’ follows *-non* ‘hortative’, *-comun* actually modifies the direct command in which the indirect imperative is imbedded. (See examples 134, 136).

- (132) ¡Chipi -n ha-non -nu!  
younger.sister-ERG do-HORT -DECL  
‘*May younger sister do it!*’

- (133)    ;Jan jo -xahin -non -nu!  
 he come -INDEF.FUT-HORT-DECL  
 ‘May he come sometime.’
- (134)    ;Jo -yaa -non -comun hiya jochi yohi-xon -tan -u, chipi;  
 come -IMM.ACN -HORT-indeed me older.brother tell -BENEF -ahead -F.VOC daughter  
 ‘My daughter, please go ahead and tell your older brother for me to come immediately!’ (Lit.: ‘To come immediately, please go tell your older brother for me, my daughter!’)
- (135)    ;Jaha rahoo haya-ma -non -nu!  
 his/her.mother medicine take -cause -HORT-DECL  
 ‘Let his/her mother cause him/her to take the medicine.’
- (136)    Jan vacu-xano -mun hizin-ya -hqui. ;Rahoo haya-ma -non -comun  
 her child-female -TH pain -with -DECL medicine take -cause -HORT-indeed  
  
       jaha yohi -yu!  
       his/her.mother tell -F.VOC  
 ‘Her daughter is hurting. Please tell her mother to make her (the daughter) take the medicine!’ (Lit.: ‘To cause her to take medicine, please tell her mother!’)
- (137)    Jato vuchi-xon -quiha, jato canon jato -qui -tzin vaha -hi  
 them meet -NONSQ(SS)TR -REPORT them now them-towards-next make.visit-INF  
  
       vo -xahin -non -vo jato yohi-vahin -can-ni -xo -hqui.  
       go.PL -INDEF.FUT-HORT-PL them tell -away.from.speaker-PL-REM.PAST-3PAST-DECL  
 ‘Meeting them, it is said, they (the visitors) having told them (the hosts) that it would be their turn to visit them next time, they (the visitors) left.’

#### 4.3.10 Common prohibitions for second person singular and plural

There are two types of negative imperatives in Amahuaca: common prohibitions and petitions not to do something.

A common prohibition is marked with the negative morpheme *-yama* ‘not’, (lit.: with not) plus the optional *-xan/-xanh* ‘imperative’ plus the vocative.

- (138)    ;Ca-yama -pu!  
 go -not -M.VOC  
 ‘Don’t go!’
- (139)    ;Ha -yama-u, chipi!  
 do -not -F.VOC daughter  
 ‘Don’t do (it), my daughter!’
- (140)    ;Jo-yama-xan!  
 come-not-IMP  
 ‘Don’t come!’
- (141)    ;Nan rama vu- yama -xanh -can-pu!  
 this day come.PL -not -IMP -PL -M.VOC  
 ‘Don’t (you all) come today!’
- (142)    ;Jato jau paran-hai coon-yama-xanh-can-pu!  
 them something betray-PROG trust-not -IMP -PL -M.VOC  
 ‘Don’t trust those who are betraying (others)!’

- (143) Chipo ca-tan -pana -n, hiya: —Non nincaa-sharaa-non -murocon.  
later go-ahead-FRUST -ERG to.me we listen- good -HORT-really  
 ꞑca-yama-yoo -pu! ha-cao -vo.  
 go -not -IMM.ACN-M.VOC do-PAST.PFTV -PL  
*'I wanted to go ahead a little later but they said (lit.:to me they did) to me: "Let us really listen well. Don't go as yet! "'*
- (144) ꞑJo -yama-ti -murocon min-hnu! Nuno-mun ja-yama-hi hun-hcai!  
 come-not -must-really you-DECL here -TH be-not -PRES.PROG I -1/2ACT.DECL  
*'You really must not come. I am not going to be here.'*

The prohibition turns into a strong warning by adding *-covin* 'very' plus *-pan* 'emphasis' to the verb expressing the prohibition.

- (145) Vuzoh -nayaa-tan mucaa -haito jan jato:  
 wake.up -early -SQ(SS) laugh -NONSQ.SO he them  
 —ꞑMucaa-yama-covin -pan -can-pu! ni -xo -hqui.  
 laugh -not -very -EMPH-PL -M.VOC REM.PAST-3PAST-DECL  
*'They woke up early and hearing them laugh he said to them: "You (had) better not laugh!"'*

#### 4.3.11 Changing a prohibition into a request not to do something

In order to soften a prohibition to a request not to do something, the speaker employs *-tzi* 'personal commitment'. The morpheme generally precedes *-xan/-xanh* 'imperative' somewhere in the clause. In this case the negative morpheme impeding the action is not *-yama* but *-na* 'negative' or *-can -na* 'negative plus plural'. The clitic *-tzi* 'personal commitment' can be preceded by *-pana-* 'frustrative' or the evidential morpheme *-cari* 'mirativity'.

- (146) Nan hino-mun zina -hnu. ꞑRaman-tzi -xanh-can-na, miya pi -non!  
 this dog -TH angry-DECL touch -PERS.COMM-IMP -PL -NEG you bite-ASSUM  
*'This dog is vicious. (For heaven's sake) do not touch him, he could bite you!'*
- (147) Jo -tan -mun jan: —ꞑVuro-vuro -tzi ja-xanh-na -pu!,  
 come-away-TH he despair -despair-PERS.COMM be-IMP -NEG-M.VOC  
 ni -xo -hnu.  
 REM.PAST-3PAST -DECL  
*'When he came a long time ago, he said: "(For heaven's sake,) don't despair.'*
- (148) Miya-x -qui nutuh-xanhquin -tzi min caivo  
 you -ACC-2/3ACT save -PURP(SS)TR-PERS.COMM your people  
 jau paran-xanh-na -pu.  
 something betray-IMP -NEG-M.VOC  
*'(For heaven's sake) don't betray your people in order to save yourself!'*

- (149) Miya sharaa-quin                    jau                    yohi-haito                    -tzi  
 you good -NONSQ.(SS)TR something tell -NONSQ.SO-PERS.COMM
- jato nincaa-xanh-na -pu!                    miya paran-non                    -vo.  
 they listen -IMP-NEG-M.VOC you betray-ASSUM-PL  
*‘(For heaven’s sake) don’t listen to those who flatter you (with beautiful words). They most likely are betraying you.’*
- (150) Tapaz-naman    hoxa-hax    hinoh-cari -tzi  
 house-under    sleep-PAST.PF.PRES.RELEV    dog -MIR-PERS.COMM
- vuzo -n    -xanh-can-na,    mato pi -non,    vacu-vau  
 wake.up-MALF-IMP -PL -NEG you bite-ASSUM child-PL.VOC  
*‘Surprisingly the dog fell asleep under the house. For your own safety, children, don’t wake him up! He could bite you.’*
- (151) Moha man ha -shin                    -na                    -hqui-nu,    hun-tzin    vutza  
 now you kill-yesterday-2PAST.PFTV-ACT-DECL I -next another.one
- ha -pana -n    -tzi                    hiya    ha -can    -xanh-can-na -pu  
 kill-FRUST-ERG-PERS.COMM I    kill-MALF-IMP -PL -not-M.VOC
- mai,                    quin                    -mun    jan    jato    yohi-vahin-ni                    -xo    -hqui.  
 ATTN.GETTER NONSQ(SS)TR-TH he them say -away-REM.PAST-3PAST-DECL  
*‘Now you killed (game) yesterday, now it is my turn, don’t you kill any more, you guys, he said and left.’*

In (151) the frustrative preceding *-tzi* ‘personal commitment’, expresses a conflict of motives or possibly an inadequate perception of a person’s own abilities. Several people have had success in their hunting activities and the one who has not been successful, requests that the others refrain from killing so he might have a chance.

## 4.4 Conclusions

The imperative markings and modifiers in Amahuaca can be summarized as follows:

Direct imperatives include: (a) common commands, (b) familiar commands, and (c) commands expressing encouragement. The modifiers either soften the commands, make them urgent or highlight their importance. (See Table 4.1.)

Table 4.1. Imperative markings and modifiers

Type of Command	Modifiers				Imperative Morphemes		
	-murocon	-comun	-yo/-yoo	-quiha	-xan, -xanh	-can	-pu, -u, -uu, -vu, -yu, -Ø
	‘really’	‘indeed’	IMM.ACN	REPORT	IMP	PL	M/F.VOC
Common command	±	±	±	±	±	±	+
Familiar command	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
Encouragement <i>ti</i>	-	±	-	-	+	±	±

Indirect imperatives can be divided into (a) first person singular, (b) first person plural, (c) encouragement *ti*, which can be used in first person singular, meaning the speaker and one addressee, or



in first person plural, meaning the speaker and several addressees, and (d) third person singular/plural. (See Table 4.2.)

Table 4.2. Indirect imperatives

Indirect imperatives			1 <sup>st</sup> person singular	1 <sup>st</sup> person plural	Encouragement <i>ti</i>	3 <sup>rd</sup> person sing./plural
Modifiers	-quiha	REPORT	±		-	-
	-yo/yoo	IMM.ACN	±		-	-
Ind.Imp. Morph.	-non	HORT	+	+	+ plus -ca 'ACT'	+ plus -nu 'DECL'*
	-non-vo	PL	-	+	+	±
	-murocon	'really'	±		-	-
Modif.	-comun	'indeed'	±			
	-hin	'for sure'	±		-	-
	-yun	'tell oneself'	±	-	-	-
Imp. Morph.	-pu/-u/-uu/ -vu/-yu	'M/F.VOC'	-	±	-	-

\* If the indirect imperative is an independent clause, the imperative ends in *-nu/-qui* 'DECL'. If it is imbedded in a declarative construction, the *-nu* 'DECL' moves to the end of the declarative sentence. If the imperative is imbedded in a direct command, the *-nu* 'DECL' is omitted and the respective vocative clitic terminates the command construction.

Prohibitions are directed at second person singular or plural. They reflect two categories: (a) common prohibitions which includes a strong warning not to do something for the sake of the addressee(s), and (b) negative request, i.e. petitions not to do something for the benefit of either the speaker or the addressee(s). (See Table 4.3.)

Table 4.3. Prohibitions

Prohibitions	Prohibitions			Modifiers			Neg.Pet.		Imperative Morphemes			
		-yama	-yo -yoo	-murocon	-covin	-yu -∅	-cari	-tzi	-na	-xan -xanh	-can	-pu -u, -uu, -vu
	ACN	'not'	IMM. EMPH	'indeed' COM	'very'	MIR	PERS.	NEG VOC	IMP	PL		M/F
Common Prohib.	+	±		±	±	-	-	-	-	+	±	±
Neg. Request	-	-	-	-	±	+	+	+	±	±		

General remarks on the data: The above charts reflect the data presented. The data is a result of oral language exposure or has been taken from written texts, both folklore and daily activities. It is, of course, possible that I did not cover all the possibilities that there are for imperative constructions, particularly as far as the modifiers are concerned. Some further investigation is necessary.

To my knowledge there are no questions in Amahuaca that function as imperatives.

The examples marked with \* (126–129) present a special challenge: The morpheme *-non* HORT is homonymous with the IRM morpheme meaning: 'PURP.DS', as well as with the one meaning 'ASSUM'

(see 146). The fact that there is a close relationship between the exhortative and the IRM expressing ‘purpose’ is not surprising. The meaning of 1st person indirect imperatives often expresses “Let me/us ...The purpose often (... ‘in order to’...) remains implicit. Example (126) is a case in point. The morpheme *-non* occurs twice. The first one clearly is HORT. ‘Let me provide ...’ The second one could give the reason: ‘...in order for the hummingbird to get married.’ However, it is followed by *-nu* ‘DECL’. The IRMs are never followed by a declarative morpheme. Thus the example expresses exhortation. In (127) *-non* is followed by *-murocon* ‘indeed’. Again, this morpheme generally does not follow an IRM. Consequently the meaning must be exhortation. In (128) *-non* is followed by SS, rather than DS as the IRM would require. Therefore I am interpreting *-non* to mean ‘HORT’. Finally the second *-non* in (129) appears to represent the IRM (PURP.DS). The reason for this interpretation is that a change in subject follows.

I have not given any examples for first and third person negative imperatives due to the fact that they appear to be expressed in declarative sentences (see 152).

- (152) Ca-yama-mun-hi      hun-hca    -un    -pu.  
 go-not    -TH   -PRES   I-    1/2ACT-DECL-M.VOC  
 ‘I am not going (in the context of a conversation).’

As the charts show, Amahuaca imperatives follow the iconicity principle in that the second person common commands are the least marked ones. The prohibitions, particularly the petitions not to do something, are the most marked ones.

As far as imperatives and person is concerned, imperatives in Amahuaca generally differentiate between singular and plural. The singular form is always the default. The plural in direct commands and prohibitions is *-can* ‘they’ although the speakers are referring to second person plural. There appears to be a mismatch between form and meaning. The plural in indirect imperatives is *-vo* which used in other contexts means plural without specifying the person. Imperatives do not specify first, second, or third person and, as stated before, first person plural in general is treated as singular. Only once is the personal pronoun *non* ‘we’ expressed (127). In all other instances the person addressed is implied. The language generally does not specify inclusive/exclusive as does Yaminahua, another Panoan language (Faust and Loos 2000:39, 40).

Gender is specified only in direct commands through the use of the vocatives, or on occasion in direct address such as: *chipi* ‘daughter/younger sister’, which is found in a right dislocation and expresses emphasis.

With regards to representing independent or dependent clauses, as mentioned before, most direct commands are independent clauses. Indirect and negative imperatives are imbedded in either declarative sentences, direct commands or in a type of irrealis sentence, and thus are subordinate to the host sentence.

Imperative constructions in Amahuaca very rarely use aspectual markers. The only examples I have found are in the indirect category, beginning with *ti* ‘ENCOUR’. They terminate in *-ca* ‘actuality aspect’. This morpheme is generally used in declarative sentences and means ‘this is indeed happening’. Consider the following example: *Vai jarimun cahi hun-hca-nu*. ‘I am actually going to the field.’ Lit.: ‘To the field go I [ACT-DECL]’. However, the meaning of the actuality aspect in Amahuaca is not as emphatic as it appears in the English translation. I do not see any difference in meaning in the imperatives and declarative constructions.

The only examples with formal tense markers are found in indirect imperatives third person. See for instance (133) which has the indefinite future tense. Other time related expressions occurring in the examples are adverbs. Location in space is expressed through the bound morpheme *-tan* ‘away’/ ‘ahead’ which is used in many situations in the language.

Amahuaca employs imperative constructions only in active voice and they are used with transitive as well as intransitive verbs. Their constituency order is V or OV. Declarative sentences display OVS, SV, or SOV.

Both the Evidentiality and Frustrative systems play a part in Imperatives in Amahuaca. While the frustrative *-pana-* (143, 151) and the evidentiality morpheme *-cara* ‘inference’ (125), are loosely connected to imperatives, several evidential morphemes, i.e. *-cari* ‘mirativity’ (150), *-murocon* ‘really’ and

-*quiha* ‘reportative’ (second hand information) enter in more directly. *Quiha* also functions as an attention getter, and as such actually is a command in itself, expressing ‘Listen!’ (example 100).

Imperatives are frequently employed constructions by Amahuaca people. In folklore narratives, such as myths, tall tales and legends, imperatives outnumber other clause or sentence constructions. Commands include a continuum of directness to politeness. The modifiers can be used in subtle ways to express a variety of distinctions, be it in direct, indirect or negative imperatives.

- (153) Moha man ha -shin -na<sup>26</sup> -hqui-nu, hun-tzin vutza  
 now you kill -yesterday -2PAST.PFTV -ACT-DECL I -next another.one
- ha -pana -n -tzi hiya ha -can -xanh -can-na-pu  
 kill-FRUST-ERG-PERS.COMM I kill-MALF-IMM.FUT-PL -not-men’s.talk
- mai, quin -mun jan jato yohi -vahin-ni- xo -hqui.  
 ATTN.GETTER NONSQ(SS)TR-TH he them say -away-REM.PAST-3PAST-DECL  
 ‘Now you killed (game) yesterday, I am next, don’t you kill another one, you guys, he said and left.’ (Hunting narrative)

In (153) we encounter a *conflict of motives* or possibly an *inadequate perception* of a person’s own abilities. Several people have had success in their hunting activities and the one who has not been successful, asks the others to give him a chance. Here the frustrative marker is followed by *-tzi* ‘personal commitment’, which in this context expresses selfishness. Depending on the context it could also express deception, cover-up one’s own inabilities, and the like.

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<sup>26</sup>.*ha* > *-na*; *h* > *n \_n*.

## 5 Uncertainties of Life: Evidentials

In Amahuaca Evidentials are linked to declarative speech acts and are employed in narrative discourse such as folktales and myths, historical accounts, personal experiences, and in conversation. There are three distinctions in the evidential system: direct knowledge, reported information, and conjecture.

Evidential markers are suffixed to a variety of word classes (verbs, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs) in indicative sentence constructions that terminate with the declarative mode marker *-nu/-qui*. As already mentioned, the declarative marker *-nu* generally introduces new information, while *-qui* is used for known information. This, however, is not a strict rule. (Some speakers use the two markers interchangeably). The declarative marker (either *-nu* or *-qui*) is attached to the last constituent of an independent clause or sentence and means something like “this is the way it is”. The constituent can be a verb, noun, pronoun, or adjective.

Evidential markers are not restricted as to tense or aspect. The markers can be employed in positive and negative clauses. They function as clitics, occur in dependent as well as independent clauses and sentences, and appear to operate on clause or sentence level rather than phrase level.

### 5.1 Zero marker for firsthand knowledge

The marker for direct firsthand knowledge is zero ( $\emptyset$ ). Outside of the sentence-final declarative marker there is no explicit evidentiary support as to the truth-value of the information or its source (be it visual, sensory, direct experience, or the like). The declarative suffix *-nu/-qui* that best translates as ‘that is the way it is’ declares the speaker’s commitment to the assertion. It can mean: “I was told” but Amahuaca does not have passive voice, it is an anti-passive language.

- (154) Nihii ca-hax -mun- $\emptyset$  jan vunoo -shin -xo -hnu.  
woods go-PAST.PF-FO he get.lost-yesterday -3PAST.PFTV -DECL  
*‘Having gone hunting (lit.:go to the woods) he got lost yesterday.’*

### 5.2 The reportative *-quiha*

The reportative *-quiha* ‘hearsay’ is a clitic that is either suffixed to the first constituent in a clause or sentence or to the phrase that introduces new information. It is often preceded by the focus marker *-mun*. Since Amahuaca is a clause-chaining language, it is not at all rare to find ten or more dependent clauses preceding the final independent clause. The reportative clitic might be repeated on several clauses, particularly in fiction such as folktales or myths, but to some degree also in non-fictional discourse. The clitic does not affect the speaker’s commitment to the reliability of the information. It merely indicates that the information is obtained through hearsay.

A comparison of examples (154) above with (155) below shows that the usage of the hearsay clitic contrasts with zero marking in constructions with direct firsthand knowledge.

- (155) Nihii ca-hax -mun-**quiha** jan vunoo -shin -xo -hnu.  
woods go-PAST.PF-FO -REPORT he get.lost -yesterday -3REC.PAST.PFTV-DECL  
*‘It is said that he, having gone hunting (lit.: go to the woods), got lost (a few days ago).’*

The following examples show how the reportative is used in discourse. The text speaks of an old visiting custom that has been handed down from generation to generation.

- (156) Vahaa -hi -mun-**quiha** xuni -vo vo -ni -xo -hnu.  
 make.visits-*INF-FO* -*REPORT* old.folk-*PL* go.*PL-REM.PAST-3PAST.PFTV* -*DECL*  
*'It is said that the old folks went to make visits.'*
- (157) a. Vahaa -hi vo -xon -mun-**quiha** jato -vu  
 make.visits-*INF* go.*PL-SS.SQ.TR-FO* -*REPORT* them-with  
 xuni -vaun jato vuchi -ni -xoh -qui.  
 old.folks-*ERG.PL* them meet -*REM.PAST-3PAST-DECL*  
*'It is said that when they (the old folks) made visits, those like them (the old folks of the village) received/welcome them.'*
- b. Jato vuchi -xon -**quiha** jato canon jato -qui -tzin vahaa -hi  
 them receive-*SQ.SS.TR-REPORT* them now/then them-*LOC-next* make.visit-*INF*  
 vo -xahin -non jato yohi -vahin  
 go.*PL-FUT-PROSP* them say -*move.away.SQ.VAL2*  
 vo -nii -vaun jajaa -hi -mun -**quiha**:  
 go-*REM.PAST-ERG.PL* like.that-*SS.NONSQ.ITR-FO-REPORT*  
*'Receiving them, they (the visitors) then told them (the hosts) that it would be their turn to visit them next time; and a long time after they (the visitors) have left, they (the former hosts) are said to say to each other like this.'*
- c. —Canon -co -mun nocun-tza yovaa-vo -qui vahaa -non  
 now -*EMPH.IMP-FO* our -*other* great -*PL-LOC* make.visit -*PURP*  
 vo -xanh -can -pu mai, xon yohi -yohi-hi -**quiha**  
 go.*PL-IMP.PL-PL-M.VOC* hey *SQ.SS.TR* say -*say-NON.SQ.SS.ITR-REPORT*  
 vo -can -ni -xo -hqui.  
 go.*PL-they-REM.PAST-3PAST-DECL*  
*"'Hey, now let's go to make visits to our big brothers,'" saying like this, it is said, they went.'*

A further use of *-quiha* by Amahuaca speakers is to get the attention of someone, i.e. if A wants to talk to B, and B does not pay attention, C exclaims: *"!quiha! !quiha!"*, thus directing B's attention to A.

### 5.3 Conjecture

There are three evidential markers for conjecture. They are best classified according to the degree of certainty/uncertainty the speaker has about the situation: (1) *-ra* encodes questionable knowledge (example 158) which is based on a good guess; (2) *-cara* (example 159) encodes inferential knowledge that is based on indirect evidence (i.e. feeling, suspicion, intuition); and (3) *-mura* (example 160) encodes assumed knowledge which is based on direct evidence (external cues, preceding events). Despite the speculative nature of knowledge through conjecture, the evidential markers are employed in indicative sentence constructions with the declarative marker *-nu/-qui*. They are suffixed to verbs, nouns, pronouns, or adverbs.

Questionable knowledge and questions share the same marker: *-ra* 'interrogative'. The formal difference between the two is that the latter displays interrogative and the former indicative morphology. Nevertheless, it is likely that the use of *-ra* as an evidential marker is a semantic extension of the interrogative marker.

- (158) Nocu doctor-on yora hiin-xon -non hizin-mahiz **-ra** non-hqui.  
 us doctor-ERG body see -BENEF.DS.TR-PURP pain -without-QUEST we -DECL  
*'The doctor examined us (lit.: our bodies to see) whether we might (not) be sick.'*
- (159) Moha -mun **-cara** jan ca-xo -hqui.  
 now -FO -INFER he go-3PAST.PFTV -DECL  
*'By now he possibly left. (Immediate context: The person is not present, and it is late, i.e. the sun has gone down.)'*
- (160) Huhu -mun-i -hqui -nu. Ruvoqui-**mura** hovi hi -cax<sup>5</sup> -qui.  
 rise -FO -PRES-ACT -DECL upriver -ASSUM rain do -PAST.PF -DECL  
*'The river is rising. It has probably rained upriver.'*

The inferred knowledge clitics *-cara* and *-mura* appear to be frozen forms that are composed of two morphemes, the second of which is the question marker *-ra*. While the origin of *-ca* in *-cara* remains a puzzle to me, there is reason to believe that *-mura* is a fusion of *-mun* 'focus' (with the loss of the final nasal) plus *-ra* 'question'. Compare example (161) with (162–164).

- (161) ¿Hizin -ya **-ra** jan?  
 pain -with-QUEST he  
*'Does he hurt?'/ 'Is he sick?' (lit.: Is he with pain?)'*
- (162) Tzaha, hizin -ya **-ra** jan-hnu.  
 not.know pain -with -QUEST.KNOWL he -DECL  
*'I don't know. He could be hurting.'*
- (163) Hizin -ya **-cara** -mun jan -hnu.  
 pain -with-INFER -FO he -DECL  
*'It is likely that he is hurting.'/ 'He seems to have pain.'/ 'to be sick.'*
- (164) Jaan-mun jan muox-nico -hnu. Hizin-ya **-mura** jan -hqui.  
 he -FO he pale -endearment -DECL pain -with-ASSUM he -DECL  
*'He (someone dear to the speaker) is pale. It is very likely that he is hurting.'*

## 5.4 Mirativity

Although none of the evidential markers express **mirativity**, by semantic extension a suffix exists that expresses surprise: **-cari**. Like the evidential markers **-cari** is a clitic and can be attached to different word classes (verbs, nouns, pronouns, and adjectives). It is, however, distinct from the evidential category in that it does not appear in the declarative mode. Instead it contrasts with the declarative mode markers. Compare examples (165) and (166).

- (165) Machi maton -conon-xon -murocon **-cara** hiya nincaa-hax haa **-hcari**.  
 rock hill -LOC -SQ.SS.TR-truly -INFER me hear -PAST.PF. tapir-MIR  
*'To my surprise the tapir possibly has been hearing me from the top of a rock.'*
- (166) Moha **-cara** -mun hiya nincaa-hax haa -hqui -nu.  
 by.now -INFER -FO me hear -PAST.PF tapir-ACT -DECL  
*'By now the tapir possibly has been hearing me.'*

As example (165) shows, mirativity and inference can appear in the same sentence.

## 5.5 Conclusions

I have not found evidential markers in questions or commands, and it does not seem to me that Amahuaca speakers use evidentials as a stylistic device. Furthermore it does not appear that the semantic type of the verb influences the use of evidentials. These questions as well as questions about the origin of the evidentials need further investigation.

Evidentiality is an important feature in Panoan languages. Yet it is different enough to merit separate analysis in the different ones. Where Eugene Loos (1999:246), for instance, reports evidential markers for visible evidence in Capanahua, Amahuaca does not include this feature in its system. Likewise, other Panoan languages report evidential markers for audible and/or olfactory evidence, as well as direct experience, but Amahuaca does not specify these.

There is no question, however, that Evidentiality is an obligatory grammatical category in Panoan languages. In Amahuaca it is linked to declarative speech acts. It is employed in narrative discourse such as folktales and myths, historical accounts, personal experiences, and dialogues. There are three distinctions in the evidential system: direct knowledge, reported information, and conjecture. The system thus falls into the B3 category as outlined by Aikhenvald (2004).

Evidentials appear to be a safeguard for survival particularly for ethnic groups that have a history of living a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle.

## 6 I Want to But I Can't: The Frustrative in Amahuaca

When I first studied the language, I thought there were no conjunctions because I could not find any *and, or, but*, etc. and, indeed, those are absent. However, now I realize that the IRMs and *-pana-* (but, however, although), which mainly expresses some type of frustration, function as conjunctions. Among other idiosyncrasies the IRMs reflect singular/plural, transitivity, case markings, time sequence, and also movement towards or away from the speaker. The frustrative *-pana-* reflects singular/plural subject, case (ergative/nominative); it often receives the theme marker, and at times also IRM affixes indicating that the subjects of two clauses are coreferent, and in rare cases that the subject of a clause is coreferent with the direct object of the clause that follows.

The frustrative marker in Amahuaca falls into the framework of Pragmatics. It is a speech act which cannot be negated. The native speaker employs it to communicate his feelings to his addressee with the hope to not only air his disappointment or disgust, but also to bring about a change in the knowledge or belief (pragmatic information) (Dik, 1980:16) and/or action of the addressee. The marker is affixed to the verb of a dependent clause with the specific function of expressing a certain type of frustration (as defined below). I propose to investigate the meaning of *-pana-* in different contexts. The morpheme expresses an unrealizable action in two or three adjoining clauses that can be preceded or followed by an indefinite number of clauses. Where the first clause states the complaint, the second one states the reason and the third one, which is optional, the result. As mentioned above, *-pana-* most often expresses frustration: the actor's desires or intentions cannot be satisfied due to some preceding action, event or circumstance (167). At times it also expresses a pleasant state of affairs, i.e. an accident is prevented due to some fortunate happening (171, 181). Most of the illustrative sentences are taken from folktales, myths, legends, and narratives of daily activities that I collected over a fifteen-year period.

### 6.1 Definition of the term "frustration"

What does it mean when someone is frustrated due to the fact that an event or an action is impeded? Does the would-be spouse communicate frustration when he says: "I wanted to marry her, but she ran away." The *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 9 (1963:887–888) defines frustration as follows:

...frustration refers to the interruption of an episode of behavior before its completion. However, not every interruption of behavior is frustrating. A man hard at work on a hot afternoon will not usually be frustrated if his employer interrupts him and says: 'I want you to quit now, but I'll pay you for a full day's work...'.  
Some kinds of behavior can be explained only in terms of such a concept as motive (or desire, purpose, want, need, instinct, sentiment or psychological tension). Motive refers to an inferred state of the individual that is presumed to organize and direct behavior in relation to existing conditions until a more-or-less particular goal is reached. When such an episode of behavior is interrupted before an appropriate goal is achieved, frustration results....

**Source of Frustration.** The chief causes of behavior interruption are: (1) motor, intellectual or perceptual inadequacies; (2) physical obstacles or social prohibitions; and (3) conflict of motives.

### 6.2 The frustrative morpheme in Amahuaca

#### 6.2.1 Function and meanings

Where most Indo-European languages use so-called four-letter or swear words, Amahuaca and other languages belonging to the Panoan language family use a morpheme to express frustration. In Amahuaca the frustrative morpheme is *-pana-*. It conjoins two phrases that complement each other. The affected



clause, which always is a subordinate one, ends in a verb that carries the marker. Several modifying markers may precede *-pana-* and it is followed by a case marker or an IRM and at times by several other morphemes such as the focus marker *-mun* (i.e. what the clause or sentence is about), the question marker *-ra*, the reportative *-quiha*, and the like. As mentioned above, the underlying emotion is frustration be it due to a negative or a positive situation or event. Other meanings expressed through *-pana-* are: different types of conflict, contradiction, opposition, limitation, contrast, protest, prohibition, accusation, and the like. The use of the morpheme gives the person involved a chance to blame someone else for his/her inadequacies, or to trick or accuse others.

### 6.2.2 Usage of *-pana-* in different contexts

The most common usage is to express a desire or need that is impeded due to a prior action, event or circumstance as illustrated in the following examples:

- (167) Jii tucu vi -tan cosha-pana -n -mun haa yora -n jii  
 wood piece grab-SS.SQ.IMM.ACT beat- FRUST-ERG-FO tapir body-LOC wood  
 tucupacuu -tai -hqui.  
 break.into.pieces-PAST-DECL  
*'I grabbed a log to beat (the tapir to death) but it broke into pieces on the tapir's body.'* (Hunting narrative)
- (168) Xau vuchi -pana -x -mun hun hovi hi -cain<sup>27</sup>  
 turtle look.for-FRUST-ABS-FO me rain do -DS.NONSQ  
 ca-yama-vahii -ha -hqui -nu.  
 go-NEG -all.day-COMPL.PAST-ACT -DECL  
*'I was going to look for a turtle but it rained and I did not go all day.'* (Hunting narrative)
- (169) Paran -xon miya voztu -pana -xon hun miya ha -yama-cun,  
 deceive-SS.SQ.TR you remove.from.throat-FRUST-SS.SQ.TR I you kill-NEG -SQ(DS)  
 ¿cuzanon hiya copii yocaa-hi -ra min-hcai? quin -mun  
 why me payment ask -PRES-QUEST you-2INTERR SS.NONSQ.TR-FO  
 maxoo vichonha yohi -ni -xo -hnu.  
 fox stork say -REM.PAST -3PAST -DECL  
*'Deceiving me you removed the splinter from my throat and (although I could have) I didn't kill you. Why (then) do you ask me to pay you?'* said the fox to the stork.' (Aesop Fable, "The Stork and the Fox," retold in Amahuaca)
- (170) Tii -pan haa nami vu pana -van hiyu -x -mun,  
 one -indeed tapir meat bring -FRUST -PL.ERG heavy-ABS-FO  
 caracun mishtin -razi vi -hi vo -nox -can -qui -hnu.  
 therefore little -only get-PRES go.PL -HAB-they -ACT-DECL  
*'Indeed one person cannot bring the meat of a tapir, it is (too) heavy. Therefore they (everyone who goes) customarily go to get only a little bit.'* (Hunting narrative)

<sup>27</sup>-hain > -cain; h > c/ \_accented syllable

- (171) Jaa hun racaata -hton hiin-yama-pana -hto -mun hun hain-nin hiya:  
 where I lie.down -REL.PRON see -NEG -FRUST -S/O-FO my wife-ERG me  
 —cazorina-ya aceite-mun chami -n vi -qui -hnu.  
 gasoline -and oil -FO younger.brother-ERG get-3IMM.PAST.PERF -DECL  
 ‘From where I was stretched out, I could not see (what was going on), so my wife said to me:  
 “Younger brother has gotten gasoline and oil (to take you to the hospital in town).’ (Narrative  
 about a trip to a hospital)

We note that in three of the five preceding examples *-pana-* is followed by either an ergative (*-n/-van*) or a nominative (*-x*) case ending. In (169) and (171) IRMs (*-xon*) and (*-hto*) take their place. The marker *-hto* is an elliptical form. The complete IRM is *-haito*, meaning non-sequence and the preceding subject is coreferent with the following object. As in the IRM system, so with the frustrative marker, the IRMs are cataphoric.

Example (167) falls into the category of *physical obstacle* and illustrates a situation where there is a lack that cannot be met under the present circumstances. Depending on the context, it might be a complaint against a person for not providing the necessary tools to accomplish a task. In the present example it is an unfortunate situation. The hunter lost all his arrows and is trying to kill the tapir with a log that breaks on the animal’s back.

Example (168) also involves a *physical obstacle*. A natural force hinders a person from carrying out his/her intentions to do something. In the example the weather hinders a man from going to the river to look for turtles. Depending on the context, the person in question might be looking for an excuse for not going.

Example (169) shows an *intellectual inadequacy*. A deception has been discovered and the would be victim airs his disgust. It is an accusation (“deceiving me you...”) as well as a complaint stating a possible negative outcome for the deceiver (“I didn’t kill you”) and finally it questions the motives of the deceiver.

Example (170) states a hypothetical situation. The *physical obstacle* in the form of a limitation has forced the people to come up with a solution. The solution has become a custom.

Example (171) also expresses a *physical obstacle*. The meaning is straightforward: The person is frustrated because he is stretched out on his back and cannot see what is going on. Another person, however, is filling him in on the activities going on. The frustration arises due to his physical position, yet the outcome is positive: his wife fills him in on what is going on on his behalf. Syntactically the example is quite unique in that it is the only example I have found in more than 100 pages of data that has an IRM affixed to the frustrative marker expressing that the subject of a clause is coreferent with the object of the following clause. Example (169) specifies that two subjects are coreferent. That is found quite frequently. In the IRM system, of course, every one of the twenty-seven IRMs are used often.

The following examples illustrate the use of optional morphemes that can be attached to the frustrative marker:

- (172) ¿Min chihi pima -pana -n -ra caro vu -yama -shin -ax?  
 you fire eat-cause-FRUST-ERG-QUEST fire.wood bring -NEG -yesterday -2INTER  
 ‘You want to make a fire (lit.: cause the fire to eat) but did not bring any fire wood yesterday?’
- (173) Ja-jahaaquin namaa -namaa -hi vuzo -hax nanpu hishmin-hax  
 like.that dream -dream -PRES wake.up -SS.SQ.ITR. fly condor -INDEF.PAST  
 mananqui chaii novi -hi caan-pana -n -mun -quiha  
 high.up far.away fly -SQ(SS)ITR go -FRUST -ERG-FO -REPORT  
 cuz -covin -hax caan-tima -ni -xo -hqui.  
 how-INTENS-INDEF.PAST go -cannot -3P.REM-PAST -DECL  
 ‘It is said that dreaming again and again like that, the fly woke up (and thinking) he had turned  
 into a condor, desired to fly high up and very far away but although he wanted to, he was not able  
 (to do so) and (therefore) didn’t go (anywhere).’ (Folktale, “A Fly Dreamt It had Turned into a  
 Condor.”)

- (174) Moha man ha -shin -na-hqui-nu, hun-tzin vutza  
 now you kill -yesterday -PAST.PFTV-ACT-DECL I -next another.one
- ha -pana -n -tzi hiya ha -can -xanh-can-na -pu  
 kill-FRUST-ERG-PERS.COMM I kill-MALF-IMP -PL -not-M.VOC
- mai, quin -mun jan jato yohi-vahin -ni -xo -hqui.  
 ATTN.GETTER SS.NONSQ(SS)TR -FO he them say -away -REM.PAST-3PAST-DECL  
 ‘Now you killed (game) yesterday, I am next, don’t you kill another one, you guys, he said and left.’  
 (Hunting narrative)
- (175) Miya nuno jonu-u -pana -n -rocon -mun naha nuno  
 you here hide-REFL-FRUST-ERG-truthful-FO many here
- vuii -hcan -qui -hcho.  
 enter-they -DECL -ATTN.GETTER  
 ‘You (could) indeed hide yourself here but to tell you the truth, many are entering here (and you could) be found.’ (Aesop Fable, “The Deer and the Bull,” retold in Amahuaca).

Example (172) refers to a *physical obstacle* in that there is a lack. A goal cannot be carried out because the proper preparations have not been made. It is a rhetorical question which expresses irony and functions as a mild rebuke to show the addressee how silly he/she is in wanting to do something without doing all the necessary steps to carry out the goal. This is considered a mild confrontation in Amahuaca culture. Although the question marker is affixed to the verb phrase of the first clause, it refers to the whole sentence. The example shows that the frustrative can be used in questions.

Example (173) illustrates a *perceptual inadequacy*. The actor thinks of himself as someone much bigger and more powerful than he is. When he faces reality, he experiences his limitations and is greatly disappointed. Here we see the reportative (-*quiha*) added to the verb phrase that carries the frustrative. This indicates that the content of the sentence is second-hand information. The example aligns the evidentiality system with the frustrative. As in the previous example, the affix on the verb phrase of the first clause refers to the whole sentence.

In (174) we encounter a *conflict of motives* or possibly an *inadequate perception* of a person’s own abilities. Several people have had success in their hunting activities and the one who has not been successful, asks the others to give him a chance. Here the frustrative marker is followed by *-tzi* ‘personal commitment’, which in this context expresses selfishness. Depending on the context it could also express deception, cover up one’s own inabilities, and the like.

In example (175) we see that a *physical obstacles* causes someone to hesitate to grant a favor. The one who has been asked to grant a favor realizes that due to circumstances the situation could have a negative outcome. The morpheme *-rocon* ‘truthfully’ shows willingness on the part of the addressee. In a different context, of course, it could also mean that the person being asked to grant a favor does not want to jeopardize his/her position or reputation and is merely looking for an excuse.

In the following discussion I will examine *-pana-* preceded by a variety of optional markers.

- (176) Hunhra rutu-yama-pana -vaun<sup>28</sup> -mun jan jato jan ha-quin  
 my.cousin kill -NEG -FRUST -ERG.PL-FO he them him do-INF
- rutu-ma -shin -can -xo -hnu.  
 kill -cause-yesterday -they -3PAST -DECL  
 ‘They were not going to kill my cousin but he provoked (caused them to do it) them and they killed him yesterday.’

<sup>28</sup>-*van* > -*vaun* after accented syllable.

- (177) Jupu puhi non hiya -tan -xanh-pana-n hiyaa-covin -cun -mun  
 type.of.palm leave(s) we carry-away-IMP -FRUST heavy-INTENS -DS.SQ-FO  
 jovin-hi tzahoo -hax non-hca -nu -pu  
 rest -INF sit.down -PAST.PF we -1ACT-DECL-men's.talk  
 'Let us carry the palm leaves but because they are very heavy we sat down to rest.' (Folktale, "The Monkey Makes Fun of the Jaguar")
- (178) ¿Nocu jupu puhi vi -quinh -pana -n -ra man  
 us type.of.palm.tree leave(s) gather -together.with-FRUST-ERG-QUEST you.PL  
 cuza -xanhquin coca rutu-hai -quin -quiha?  
 why -PURP uncle kill -PROG -SS.NONSQ.TR-REPORT  
 hina -n -vachi -ni -xo -hnu.  
 jaguar -ERG-quarrel-REM.PAST -3PAST-DECL  
 'Uncle was helping us get palm leaves. Why (then) is it being said that there is an attempt to kill him? Thinking like that he quarrelled (with his companions).' (Folktale, "The Monkey Makes Fun of the Jaguar")
- (179) Hiya cari vu -xon -pana -xon -mun hiya hatza  
 me sweet.potatoes bring -BENEF-FRUST-SS.SQ -FO-TH me manioc  
 vu -xon -hax min-hqui-nu.  
 bring-BENEF-PAST.PF you-ACT-DECL  
 'You were going to bring me sweet potatoes but instead you (actually) brought me manioc.'
- (180) Yora -tza -n tapaz -an non ja -han -pana -n -mun ranopax-qui -hnu.  
 People-other-POSS house-LOC we live -MALF-FRUST-ERG-FO shame -ACT-DECL  
 'We would like to live with others in the same house, but (doing so) often causes shame.' (Narrative, "How to Build a House")
- (181) Pacuu-cahan -pana -xon -mun hun jii poyan hachi -cu -hnu.  
 fall -almost -FRUST-SS.SQ.TR-TH I tree branch grab -1PAST-DECL  
 'I almost fell (from the tree) but I grabbed a branch.' (Hunting narrative)

Several other modifiers can precede the frustrative marker, yet they do not bring about any better understanding of the meaning of the morpheme.

Example (176) illustrates a *conflict of motives*. It seems that the actors had a reason for doing what they intended to do, but they changed their minds. Nevertheless the victim provoked them to carry out their original plan after all. The negative shows that there was a change in the original plan but because of intervening circumstances it was carried out.

In example (177) we see a *physical obstacle* provoking the actors to not go ahead with their task right away, but to take a break beforehand. Depending on the context the immediate future tense allows for some doubt. Were they caught inactive and just made up an excuse?

Example (178) represents a *conflict of motives*. Someone is helping to carry a heavy burden, yet the plan is to kill him/her. In everyday life this does not seem to make sense. In a trickster story, of course, that is a different ball game. The morpheme *-quinh* 'be or do something together/to help' preceding *-pana-* merely states that someone is helping or cooperating in a task or event.

Example (179) illustrates a *misunderstanding* or possibly a *conflict of motives*. Someone asked for one thing but received something else. Depending on the context the second clause might be a clarification, a reminder of the original request or a mild confrontation. The benefactive morpheme meaning 'in someone's favor', makes the situation more personal.

Example (180) portrays a *social problem*. Togetherness breeds contempt and contempt leads to shame. The malefactive like the benefactive marker makes the situation more personal. Example (181) presents loss of balance, a *motor inadequacy* which nearly caused an accident that was prevented through a last minute self help. In this case the clause following the frustrative is expressing a positive outcome that the definition above allows for. The marker *-cahan* ‘almost’ underlines the closeness of the accident.

The following example shows that the frustrative marker can also be placed at the end of the sentence. I found only one incident in more than a hundred pages of text.

- (182) Maxoo -mun puxcoo -ha -ma ja -ni -xo -hnu, hain -pana -x  
 opossum-FO grow.up-PERF.PAST-not be-REM.PAST-3PAST -DECL marry-FRUST -NOM  
 ‘A possum had not yet grown up so he could not get married.’ (Folktale, “The Monkey is Making Fun of the Jaguar.”)

Example (182) illustrates a *social prohibition*. A youngster has not reached the appropriate age in order to do something suitable for only an adult. The story is about a possum and a jaguar. The possum has a bride but is too young to get married. He gets put into prison and uses the bride as a bait to trick the jaguar to replace him in his cell, so he can go home, look for the bride and return with her for the jaguar to marry her. The jaguar falls into the trap and the possum never returns. In this sentence we have a right-dislocation which highlights the subordinated clause that carries the frustrative thus intensifying the suspense of the story.

### 6.3 The origin of *-pana-*

Amahuaca has a desiderative *pahi/paihi* ‘to want’ and it is very likely that the frustrative has its origin in it. As (174) shows, the second syllable of the frustrative, *-na-* can mean ‘not’. Consequently *-pana-* could mean ‘want + not’, an impeded or unfulfilled desire, as example (182) illustrates.

### 6.4 Conclusions

As the examples show, syntactically the frustrative marker *-pana-* functions as a conjunction. As far as the meaning is concerned, besides expressing frustration due to unrealizable goals or a pleasant outcome of a situation because of fortunate circumstances, it allows for a sweep of meanings, ranging from misunderstandings to protest and from mild accusations to contradictions. There is a considerable gap between the extremes of contrast it expresses. The morpheme is always suffixed to the verb of a subordinate clause that generally precedes the sentence-final independent clause. For the purpose of highlighting the subordinate clause carrying the frustrative can be post-positioned to appear at the very end of the sentence. If this is the case, it intensifies the suspense of the story. The frustrative morpheme is marked for case, plural, and at times it is followed by an IRM specifying SS or on rare occasions SO. In these instances the case marking appears on the IRM. Frequently *panan/x-* is preceded or followed by other morphemes such as theme, and/or the question morpheme, the reportative, personal commitment, a morpheme meaning truthful, and the like. Morphemes preceding *-pana-* modify the meaning of the whole sentence in different degrees. Some examples are the negative, the immediate future, the marker meaning ‘together’, the benefactive and malefactive, almost, and the like.

The frustrative is used in declarative sentences and in questions. It is frequent in everyday conversation, narratives reporting daily events, and particularly in legends, myths, folktales, and trickster stories.

## 7 Morphemes

Most grammatical morphemes in Amahuaca are bound. Some function as clitics, as for example, *-hnu/-nu*, *-hqui/qui* ‘DECL’.

Many of the morphemes listed and exemplified in this chapter have been discussed only minimally, if at all, in the preceding chapters.

*Focus*: *-mun* (also glossed ‘theme (TH)’)

- (183) Hiya-x -mun hun jo -cu -hnu.  
 I -ABS-FO I come -1REC.PAST -DECL  
*‘It is I who has arrived.’*

*Emphatic*: *-covin*, *-rocon*

- (184) Nan vacu-mun nincaa -sharaa -covin -hnu.  
 this child-FO listens -good -very -DECL  
*‘This child is very obedient.’*

- (185) Jochi -n -mun jan -rocon mishqui-xo -hnu.  
 older.brother-ERG-FO he -indeed fish -3REC.PAST-DECL  
*‘Older brother indeed went fishing.’*

*Direction and Location*: *jari*, *-n*, *-nohax*, *-naman*, *-naqui*, *-mapoqui/-ruvoqui*

- (186) Vai jari-mun cahi huha -hqui -nu.  
 field to -FO go mother -ACT -DECL  
*‘Mother is going to the field.’*

- (187) Vai -n jajaa-hain -mun jan roho ravuu hiin-xo -hnu.  
 field -LOC be -SS.TR.SIM.-FO she howler.monkey to see -REC.PAST-DECL  
*‘While in the field, she sees two howler monkeys.’*

- (188) Vacu-x -mun junu-naqui tzahoo -hax -qui -hnu.  
 child-ABS-FO river-by/in sit -3PRES.-? -DECL  
*‘The child is sitting by the river.’*

- (189) Hun jati -n -nohax-mun hun nonti -n jo -yan -cu -hnu.  
 my house-ERG-from -FO I canoe-ERG arrive-a.month.ago-1PAST -DECL  
*‘A month ago I came in a boat from my house.’*

- (190) Xano -n -mun tapaz -naman xuqui runu -hi -hqui -nu.  
 woman-ERG-FO house-beneath corn grind-PRES-ACT -DECL  
*‘The woman is grinding corn under the house.’*

- (191) Mapoqui/Ruvoqui -mun jochi -n capuu ha -xo -hnu.  
 downriver/upriver -FO older.brother-ERG alligator kill -3REC.PAST -DECL  
*‘Downriver/Upriver older brother killed an alligator.’*

*Limitation: -ruz*

- (192) Hiya-ruz -mun cahi cahi hun-hca -nu.  
 I -only-FO go go I -ACT-DECL  
 'Only I am going.'

*Addition: -rivi-*

- (193) Chipi -rivi -mun ca-pa -hi jan-hqui-nu.  
 younger.sister-also -FO go-want? she-ACT-DECL  
 'Younger sister also wants to go.'

*Enablement: -ti-*

- (194) Jan-mun hiya honan-ti -hnu.  
 he -FO me know -may-DECL  
 'It is he who may know me.'
- (195) Jan-mun hiya honan-ti -ma-ni -xo -hqui.  
 he -FO me know -may-not-DIST -PAST-DECL  
 'It is he who may not have known me in the past.'

*Negation: -yama/-ma, -mahiz, -nto*

- (196) Nihii ca-xon -mun hupa -n yohinna vuchi -yama-xo -hnu.  
 woods go-SS.TR.REC.PAST -FO father-ERG game encounter-not -3REC.PAST-DECL  
 'Having gone hunting, father did not encounter any game.'
- (197) Toha-ma-mun jan -hqui -nu.  
 tall -not-FO he -ACT -DECL  
 'He is not tall.'
- (198) Canon yohinna-mahiz -mun jan tapaza -n hunaa jo -xo -hqui.  
 now game -without -FO he house -ERG again come-3REC.PAST -DECL  
 'Now he returned home again without game.'
- (199) Nan xano -mun pa -nto -hnu.  
 this woman -FO ear-without -DECL  
 'This woman cannot hear (lit.: is without ears).'

*Causatives: -ma*

- (200) Jochi-n -mun hiya hatza tocon ha -ma -shin -xo -hnu.  
 older.brother-FO me manoiic drink make -cause-yesterday -3REC.PAST -DECL  
 'Older brother caused me to make masato yesterday.'

*Desideratives: -pa -hi/-pai, -catzaz*

- (201) Ca-pa -mun-i coca -hqui-nu.  
 go -want -FO -PRES uncle -ACT -DECL  
 'Uncle wants to leave.'

(202) ¿Jiri-pai -hi -ra min-hcai? Hunhun, jiri-pai -mun-i hun-hca -nu  
 eat -want-PRES-QUEST you-1.2PRES yes eat-want-FO -PRES I -ACT-DECL  
 ‘Do you want to eat?’ ‘Yes, I want to eat.’

(203) ¿Hoxa-catzaz -ra min-hcai?  
 sleep -not.want -QUEST you-1.2PRES  
 ‘Don’t you want to sleep?’

*Possibility -miz*

(204) Vacu-x -mun hara -miz -nu.  
 child-ABS-FO cry -possibly -DECL  
 ‘The child is possibly crying.’

*Comparative: -caviz*

(205) Vaa -caviz-mun chihinquiyo-hnu.  
 parrot-like -FO chirrup -DECL  
 ‘The bird chirrups like a parrot.’

*Time: -tzincan, -naqui*

(206) Vai -tzincan-xon -mun hatza vana -taish -qui -hnu.  
 field -next -IRM.TR-FO manioc plant-HABIT-ACT-DECL  
 ‘Having cleared the field, we plant manioc.’

(207) Yamuu-naqui -mun joni jo -shin -xo -hnu.  
 night -during -FO man arrive-yesterday -3.REC.PAST -DECL  
 ‘The man arrived yesterday at midnight.’

-shin ‘yesterday’ can be replaced by -yan ‘about a month ago’, -ni ‘a long time ago’, pahon -ni ‘repeatedly a long time ago’.

*nuturoha: ‘tomorrow’, ‘the next day’*

(208) Nuturoha jo -pana -x -mun jan vunoo -xo -hnu.  
 next.day arrive-FRUST-ITR-FO he get.lost-REC.PAST -DECL  
 ‘He was going to arrive the next day, but he got lost.’

*Habitual: -nox, -taish*

(209) Xano -n -mun jau mishtin vana -nox -can -qui -hnu.  
 women-ERG-FO something little plant-HAB-they-ACT-DECL  
 ‘The women usually plant a few things.’

(210) Chipoti-rocon vai -xanhquin-mun mai honan-ti -yoo-taish-qui -hnu.  
 before -indeed field-in.order -FO ground know -NOMIN-first-HAB-ACT-DECL  
 ‘In order to make a field, one first usually gets to know the land.’

(211) Moha mai honan-ti-xon -mun varixutuu-non mana -taish-qui -hnu.  
 now land know -NOMIN-FO summer -FINALITY wait -HAB -ACT-DECL  
 ‘Once one gets knowledge of the land, when summer arrives, we usually plant.’



*Endearment: -nico*

- (212) ¿Miya -nico -ra min? Hiya -mun hun-hnu.  
 you -ENDEARM -QUEST you I -FO I DECL  
 'Is it you, beloved?' 'It is I.'

*Nominalizer: -ti*

- (213) Nan-mun min jiri -ti -hnu. Jiri-hu.  
 this -FO your food-NOMIN-DECL eat -?  
 'This is your food. Eat!'
- (214) Tzahoo -mun-i man-hqui-nu. Hunhun -pana-x -mun,  
 sit.down-FO -IMP you -ACT-DECL yes -FRUST-ERG-FO  
 tzhoo -ti -ma -hnu.  
 seat -NOMIN -not -DECL  
 'Sit down!' Yes, but there is no chair.'

*Male/female vocative*

- (215) Moha -mun cahi cahi hun-hnu -pu/-u.  
 now -FO go go I -DECL-M./F.VOC  
 'Now I am going to go.'
- (216) Huna jocatzi -comun ca-tan -pu/-u.  
 again come -indeed.FUT go-along -M./F.VOC  
 'Indeed to come again, go along now.'

## 8 Final Words

As we have seen, the Amahuaca language is very intricate with idiosyncrasies that, for instance, Indo-European languages do not possess. It is far from being a primitive language as the early explorers assumed in their ignorance. It is logical, has a complex grammatical system and can express anything although in a different way. Abstract nouns generally become verb phrases, unknown concepts of the industrial world need to be explained, and like the Eskimos have many vocabulary items for snow, so the Amahuaca people may lack a cover term for monkey, instead, they give us the words for the many different monkeys they find in their environment.

### 8.1 Language and culture

The Amahuaca of the Amazon Rainforest used to live a semi-nomadic lifestyle and continue to do so to a certain degree. Also for years they have lived in fear of enemies; neighboring hostile groups as well as different Amahuaca clans have lived in a warlike state for centuries. The slightest difference of the degree of certainty - uncertainty might be a question of life and death. My husband and I had the chance to observe the people in situations where drug-traffickers' planes or terrorists were potential threats to the people. Outwardly they would not show any emotion. They would not raise their voices nor use gestures but sit quietly, observe, and verbalize their doubts and uncertainties often in a monologue, using evidential markers constantly.

When a person who has been absent for many years returns home, he will avoid visiting the parents or close relatives for about three or four days. He will just visit distant relatives, stay with them, and slowly make his way back home. This again avoids showing emotions. To show emotions is considered shameful. Once he arrives he might sit for several hours without talking to the person closest to him. He merely talks to himself, again using a lot of evidentials in his monologue, until he thinks the time is ripe to make conversation in a low emotionless fashion.

The Amahuaca people are shame-oriented and it seems to me that the frustrative helps them to not lose face; by covering up their own shortcomings, instead using it, they can easily blame others, natural forces, circumstances, and the like. It also helps them to express disagreement or carefully accuse someone without having a face to face confrontation.

### 8.2 Language and worldview

Most indigenous people have an animistic worldview that is reflected in the language. Being animists, the Amahuaca people do not have the concept of inheritance. When a person dies, the house he/she lived in is burned and all the possessions are destroyed. The reason for doing this is that the soul of the deceased must not linger around, hiding behind the possessions, but must be transformed into an ancestor spirit and become impartial towards the deceased. Due to the fact that animists are very shame-oriented, they often have several terms for shame (which does not seem to be an abstract term for the Amahuaca people), but no term for guilt except for an explanation of the situation.

Furthermore, their concept of the soul includes the mirror image, the shadow of a person, a breath of air; the wind also affects their concept of dreams. When a person sees him/herself in a dream, they believe the *yoshi* 'soul' is socializing with other souls. Consequently one must not awaken a person suddenly. That could result in the fact that the soul does not have time to return to the body and the person could die. Generally, the unseen world is more real to them than what they see.

Unfortunately, due to contact and intermarriage with other groups especially with mestizos and other dominant groups such as Shipibos and Quechuas, most parents do not teach their children their mother tongue any longer.

As mentioned before, the language lacks most of the abstract nouns that are very common in the Indo-European language family, e.g. love, faith, gratefulness. These terms are expressed in verb phrases. This does not seem to have changed significantly over the years. However, concepts such as *quirica* 'paper', *quirica yovanmaquin*, literally, 'to make paper talk', to read, have been introduced. Also now they have a word for money: *coriiqui*. Both *quirica* and *coriiqui* are loan words from Quechua. The school system also has introduced numbers. As mentioned earlier, Peruvian law has caused certain changes in the indigenous cultures, such as the prohibition of cannibalism and endocannibalism, and the way they used to elect their leaders. Since indigenous people serve in the military, now they need birth certificates, etc. With these changes, new Spanish terminology has been introduced, e.g. *cementerio* 'cemetery', *ataúd*, 'casket', *certificado de nacimiento* 'birth certificate', *Teniente Gobernador* 'Lieutenant Governor'. While the people hardly wore any clothing in the past, now with the danger of getting malaria, which reportedly was introduced by the rubber barpos, they need to dress themselves, using Spanish terminology. Another new concept is medicine. They used to believe that the ancestor spirits send illnesses when someone breaks the cultural norms and these illnesses generally could only be cured when the offender left the community. Now they have *promotores de salud*, 'health promoters' who dispense medicines. Many people have battery-operated radios and get daily news. All this influences the language as well as the culture and values of the people.

Due to these reasons and others discussed earlier, it is sad to anticipate that in another fifty years there might not be any Amahuaca speakers left, unless there is indeed still an uncontacted group on the Purus River in Peru or in the State of Acre in Brazil. If not, the Amahuacas will soon resemble the Taushiros in the State of Loreto; in 1972 at the time of contact, there were seven speakers left and despite all efforts to put the language into a written form and teach one or two of the people to read and write, collect their folklore, make them aware of their own history, etc., today there is only one speaker alive. It must be sad to only have oneself with whom to speak in one's native language!

# Appendix

## How I Killed a Tapir

José Andrades Ríos

1. Haa hun hanii por José Andrades Ríos. A tapir story told by José Andrades Ríos.
2. Hovi hiishincun vavavo picatzan nocahax harahyaanicoshincun canon, nihii catanxanhquin shinanshinax caxonmun hun haa hataihnu. One day after a heavy rain, my family's children were crying of hunger. I decided to go hunting the following day. On that day I killed a tapir.
3. Canonmun hun cayaataihqui, nuturohapanan. Jaricovin haa hicacun shinanvahn caxon hun ja paxcorazin jan hicacun hun hiinvohamun haa hicaamataihqui. Paxcotza ruzontan hun hiinhamun rato haa tahu racaayamataihqui. Canon, machi cahi caquin yohivahinmun hun machi hinaacahin cataihqui. Shino haxanhquin vunaxanhni caquin yohivahin, canon vahiqui caincahin caquinmun hun jau nincaavotaihqui. Humun ja vahiztipan hicaton hun caquin nincaavohaamun jau vimi tzacaahi pupuzuhtaihqui, corivin vimi. Nixon hun jaun haquirahquiqui hiinha yamacunmun hun corivin ruohcoohaito hiinhi nitaihqui. I left very early at dawn. I thought of a place where the tapir often left his footprints. I walked up and down a small ravine looking for footprints, but I didn't see any, so I was convinced that no tapir had walked through there. I crossed over to another small ravine, but I didn't see any footprints either. (It is said that when one mentions that he is going to hunt for a tapir, one cannot see his footprints). Therefore, I decided to go to a higher place and hunt for monkeys. After finding the footpath, I walked very carefully listening for any strange sounds. I walked on the same path I always walk.
4. Hocutzincan caxon hun hiinha jau yamacun canon, vuzocuquiranquin jotuvuranquin hun hiinha jonuu jau paihacaviz vuchitan catan ruvootan hun hiinhamun haa paihacaviz jataihqui. Coonrocon haa cahaatainmaz jonuumuroconcara haan jan tahu jii puhí caraatavanhnhacari. Suddenly I heard something. It was the sound of jungle fruit (*corivi huayos*) falling from a tree. I stopped and tried to see what animal was eating them. I walked around the tree but I didn't see anything, but as I returned to the footpath I noticed some faint footprints that looked like the footprints of a tapir that had walked over the fallen leaves.
5. Canon hocu tunanma hiinhi caquin jan votoocahincun vuchitanmun hun tanavotan jan machi tunanma xanuncun vuchitaihqui. Xanunvahn jan machi tunanma votoocahincunmun hun hiinvohi cataihqui. Tanavohi hun cahain jan paxco ruzoha pishta pocuvahinhainmun hun tanavotaihqui. As I followed those footprints, I saw the place where the tapir had spent the night and had then gone down a small ravine. After walking a short distance I saw that he had crossed to the other side of the small ravine and gone up to a higher place. There he had entered the underbrush where I saw a big fallen tree.
6. Canonmun paxco pocutan machi mapuuvahintan jii poxoomuran jiquicahintaihnu. Jano jan jataizcun nixon hiinhiinquinmun hun jan xanun vuchitaihqui, nanpu corohcato. Jintziztiyamun jan xanunnun jataihqui. Catan hun hiinxanhquin ramanhamun yoho pishtataihqui jan xanun. Canon hun jan rani racaati shinanquin vunahamun yamataihnu. Hichacovinninmun hiya vuchihax hizaa pirishpirishtaihqui. Hiya camanh-nirahquiqui shinanhaxmun hun tzahootaihqui, jii caman, jananma jan xanunvanhcun. Machi matoncononxon-munroconcara hiya nincaahax haahcari. Pirishpirishcaton hiya vuchihax hiihi junuu pishtahainmun hun canon, chiraxatiya camizitan nazirohootaihqui, torozaztii hatan tanavotancatzi. Right away I thought that he might be hiding there under the big branches. I looked around and saw a place where there were many flies and ants. There he had been lying down, so I touched the ground to see if it was still warm. It wasn't, but I continued seeking for him. All of a sudden many small birds that had seen me started making noise. When they quieted down, I sat down and thought that the birds were warning the tapir about my presence and that this might cause him to flee. So, right then and there I decided to take off all my clothes and keep on only my shorts to continue seeking for him.

7. Canon jan hunaa paxcoqui votootan muztun pocuvahinhain hun janomura jan racatahqui shinantaihqui. Machi mapuutanqui tushtiitan hiinquinmun hun huquiri tzizohax niha vuchitaihu. Ramaama hiya nincaahax vunihax niha vuchitan canon, haxanhquin hun tohati zananvahinhain paraxrizcahinhaitomun hun ruzoo nutanquin hataihqui. Hun hiinnoncovin jimi potoricahinhainmun hun canon: Mohacarapan hun canuhanu, cahin catan hun hiinhainmun jan jimin jii vuma voovahinhain hun nitaihqui, rutumura hunhai shinantan. Camunroconhi cahi haahcari.
- When I continued on my search, I noticed that the tapir had crossed to the other side of the small ravine. I followed him and thought that he might be lying down somewhere nearby. As I raised my head I saw that he was standing ready to leave. Perhaps he already had seen me; so I got my shotgun to aim and shot to kill him. He ran and I followed after him. I noticed he was bleeding. For a moment I thought he had fled, but as I ran after him, I noticed that he had touched the trunk of a tree and had left a big bloody mark. That convinced me that he had a deep wound, but he continued to flee.
8. Canon tanavoquin hun hiinvoha jan jimi shooshoohniztii jan cahainmun hun honora jan pacuuhax racatahqui shinanhain cataihqui. Camunrocon haa jahahcari nayamahe. Canon jan chahi pishta catan jimi junuucahinhainmun hun shinantaihqui, hiromaquin hun toohcamura cahanri. Chivanquicatzimun hun cataihqui tanavohi.
- I kept following him and saw that he was bleeding a lot. I was hoping that he might tumble down and would be lying down; but the tapir had continued fleeing. After running a great distance I saw that he had stopped bleeding and I thought that perhaps his wound was not as bad as I had imagined; but I continued to run any way, thinking that eventually I would catch up with him.
9. Canon jan chahi cahainmun hun varitopo hiintaihqui. Jau varirahqui hun hiinhainmun moha vari mayuxcuuhax jataihqui **a la una**. Canon yantanhaito vuchitanmun hun coshi chivanhi caquin shinanhaintaihqui, tunanxanhquin. Ja chivanyamahax jaritiya hoxaxon rutuxanhquin shinanhainmun hun cataihqui.
- After running for a long time, I looked at my watch and saw that it was one o'clock. Seeing it was getting late I thought I had to continue running until catching up with him and finally kill him. But if I could not succeed today, I decided to stay and spend the night there to continue the hunting the next day.
10. Canonmun chahi pishta catan xanuntaihqui. Jahonnohax taramuhuuyaahi jan jimitiya pohicahinhainmun hun chivanvotaihqui. Canonmun hunaa xanuntaihqui, quimishaquin. Jan xanunvanhnamun hun shinantaihqui, janora racaahahqui. Jamun camunquin haan xanunvocun.
- After having walked a good distance, I saw that the tapir had lain down to wallow there, leaving his bloody excrement; so I continued to follow him, and again I saw that he had done the same thing three more times. I thought that he might be lying around somewhere, but no, he had gone ahead after resting.
11. Canon hun vari hiinha yantanhain hun shinantaihqui, chivanhi cahira hunhcai. Ja jahaaquin shinanhain tanavotannun hun canon, paxco ruzohahton votootaihqui. Paxcon votootanmun hun hiintaihqui cuztiyan jan cahaarahquiqui. Hun hiinhainmun nuno pishtacovin joroz rupitaihqui. Canonmun hun jahonxon hunaa shinantaihqui chivanmuni cahi hunhcai. Paxco mapoquiztii jan cahainmun hun ranoxon hiinvotaihqui, muchaanon jan ja paxcoztipan cahain. Ja paxco capoohahton jan racaati shinanquin cacotan hiinquinmun, hun huquiri tzizohax racata vuchitaihqui.
- When I looked at the sun I saw it was getting late and I wondered if I could catch up with him. Wondering so, I went down at the headwaters of a small ravine. I tried to figure out how long had it been since the tapir had gone down the same place. Upon reaching the creek I concluded it was not too long, because the water where he had crossed to the other side was still muddy. At that moment I thought that yes, I was going to overtake him. The tapir was going down stream and I was very careful in watching his footprints that in some places were still wet. Figuring out that he could be lying down around a bend of the ravine, I squatted and saw that he was lying down just ahead of me.

12. Canon hun raquixon hatirahqui hiinha hatimacun, hocu paiitan haxanhquinqui paiiquinmun, hun janomuroconcara jahax paca xanahcari jamaaquin movishhaxhainmun haa vuniicahin cataihqui paxcoztipan. Jan vuniicahinhainmun hun jahon nuhuucahaintaihqui. Canon jahon nuhuucahinmun hun chironvahaintaihqui. Hun hiinha jan paxco capooahahton cahainmun hun hiyaxvi paxco macayavahin tinrizhain hiya horamari pishta vuchitan mancuxun hinaacahinhaitoqui haquinmun hun canutaihqui. Hun canuha catan jan nihain vara nanutanmun hun canon, rutuquiquin hiromaquin hataihqui. Hun hacain pacuquiqui jaquin hiya paranvahinmun machi mapuuvahaintaihqui.
13. Canon jan cahainmun hun shinanhi nitaihqui honoqui pacuuihi cahain camunrocon haa jahainri. Canonmun hun tanavoquin hiinvohi cataihqui, jimi mishtin jan tozoocahi cahain. Hun hiinvohainmun paxco tohaqui votootaihqui. Jan paxcon votoohain chipotirocon chivanvotanxanhquinmun hun rato paxcorahquviz ruvoqui hiinyotaihqui. Hiinquinmun hun ramaama hun catanti vuchitaihqui haa paxcoztipan cahain. - Canonmun hun cartuchomahiz cataihqui, chichicaztii tohinvahin cuzaxon rutuhi cahira hunhcai shinanvahin. Canon hun niriquiniriquihniztii cataihqui ja paxcoztipan haa cahain. Paxco muztunxon hun hiinvohamun yamataihqui, coshi haa cahain. Hiyarivimun hun coshi niriquiniriquihcahi cataihqui, chivanquicatzii coshimurocon cahi haahcari. Hunaa paxco capooahahton caintan hun muztuntan hiinhamun yamataihqui. Canonmun hun jahonnohax coshicovin cataihqui. Canonmun hun paxco capooahahton nitan nincaataihqui, paxco capooahahton jan cati shinanquin. Nitan hun nincaahainmun paxco capooahahton cahi poopoohcataihqui. Paxco capooahahton cahato nincaavahinmun hun macayataihqui. Macayatan hun hiinhamun haa paxco capooahahton yamarizcahaintaihqui. Cahato vuchivahinmun hun paxco capooahahtonxon raqui cahirahquiqui hiintaihqui. Hun muztuntan hiinhamun cataihqui paxcoztipan. Hun hiinvohamun jan paxco capooaha chaitan cataihqui. Jan cahainmun hun hiyaxviz ruzoo tinriztaihqui. Paxco macayavahin hun nitan muztuntan hiinhamun jotaihqui, ja jan ruvooniztii. Paxco muztun chaitanmun jotaihqui.

Very carefully and without making any noise, I tried to get closer to jump on him and kill him; but as I moved, I stepped on a dry leaf. Instantly the tapir got up and began to run down stream with me at his heels. The closer I got to him the faster he ran. Then I saw that he was going to go around a bend and I cut across directly to be ahead of him. When he saw me doing that, he turned sideways and started to climb the ravine. When I saw what was happening I tried to shoot him again, but I failed. The tapir stood for a moment while I tried to recharge my shotgun, then he continued climbing till he reached the top and then disappeared.

When I couldn't see him I thought that perhaps he had already fallen, but in reality he was gone; so I continued to follow him. I noticed that he was not bleeding and had gone down to another larger ravine. Before going on, the first thing I did was to identify the ravine, and as the tapir continued to go down stream with me at his heels, I did recognize that ravine where I had been a couple of months before. I left everything I didn't need and I continued the chase carrying only my knife and my gun, which I thought, would be enough to kill him. I started to run faster, observing everything and thinking that he might be hiding somewhere along the way. But in spite of the fact that I was running faster, it seemed that the tapir was running faster than I. After going around a bend, I could not see him, so I began to run faster. At another bend I stopped to listen. I heard that he was going through the water or crossing the creek again, so I tried to run straight and come out ahead of him. As I did that, the tapir disappeared again on the bend of the ravine. I continued to run straight and ended ahead of him. I looked back and saw that he was walking with his head down on a long stretch of the ravine.

14. Paxco cuxaamun hun nitaihnun, rani hun hacarahquiqui hiincatzi. Tohati vuromahiz tohinax nixonmun hun hiintaihqui. Canonmun hun tohati main ratantaihqui chivantan chichicanan chachitanxanhquin. Hun hiinha jan mancuutanmancuutanhcahainmun hun chichicanan chachihi caquin shinanvahintaihqui. Hiyaxrivi ja paxco capooahahton votoocahin paraxrizcahinquinmun hun horamari pishta haa ratuhamun haa cataihqui, paxcoztipan. Canonmun hun jahon nuhuucahaintaihqui, chichica hun mucunnun tohinvahin. Jahon nuhuucahain hun ruzoo tinhrizhain hiya vinovahin cahato chachipanan hatimacunmun hun haavutan niriquniriqihcataihqui haa tazinix. Canon nova pishtan pacuutan hinaacahinhaitoqui chachiquinmun hun jahonxon haa yoran chichica tucutaihqui. Jaavimun pacuuhaito chichica tucu vivanhinmun hun haan nuhuucahaintaihqui. Canon jahonxon jii tucu vixon haa coshavohimun hun cataihqui, maxax hiromatiya vixon mataxvohi. Canonmun haa paxco nova pishtan tinhriztaihqui. Jan tinhrizhainmun hun hiyaxrivi ruzoo pacuutaihqui. Ruzoo pacuuhaito hiya vuchitan jaquiriviz vuzocuaanhaito vuchitanmun hun hiyaxviz ruzoo pacuutaihqui. Canonmun hunaa jaquiriviz vuzocuahintaihqui. Canonmun hun janoviha jii tucutan vitaihqui. Vitan coshapananmun haa yoran jii tucuupacuutaihqui. Hunaa haxanhquin hun vunahainmun jii tucu yamataihqui, ja hun chichica tucu pishta tohinhahton. Hunaaqui paca xana vitan rucoshquinmun hun jahon moshaquin quiyotaihqui. Canon honorazi hiincuquin hun hiinhamun jii xana yamataihqui.
15. Canonmun hun shinantaihqui cuzaxon haa rutuhira hunhcai. Jii hiya vunamavahin canon, machi hinaacahinhaitoqui chichica tucu pishtan chachihimun hun puhootaihqui, mucun nataaqui. Canonmun jaquiriviz novaqui tinriztaihqui moha hun puhoohain. Hiinhaxpan hun mucun nataa jimihyamahain vurovurohquin hun jii tucu vunaha yamacun ruvoquiqui hiinquinmun hun ramaamacara naan conxan yonooquin jupuhzan xatuni paxco huhuquin vuniimun hun vuchitaihqui. Diosinra hiya hinantaishqui. Canon vuchivahin catan hun vacuhamun hiyutaihqui, haa tzahoocun. Ja coshiovivunhran jotan rutupananmun cuzaxon jii hachixon rututimataihqui, hun mucun nataaqui puhooha. Javicovin tunuxon jupuhzan xatu hachixon rutupanan hun puhooha jimisharahi jacunmun hatimataihqui. Jupuhzan xatutzincan pishtonxon rutupaiyaquin hun rucoshha tinrizhaito coshacahinmun hun chichica tucu pishtan tuchaxtaihqui. Jaavimun ninnox tuztiha vitan hun nuxaha haa racaacunmun hun hurivi racaataihqui. Haan hiya jatzanamuumaha janampaitiyahax.

I stood still at the border of the ravine to see where I had injured him. I laid hold of my gun, but then I realized that I did not have any shot shells. I left there my shotgun and went ahead on my chase carrying only my hunting knife. I saw that he was limping and I thought that I could knife him. So, I went down rapidly on a small curve of the creek; but as I did that, the tapir got scared and started to run down river again. I followed him very closely holding the knife in my hand and hoping to knife him; but as he went right on and passed me I tried to knife him, but I couldn't, so I ran alongside him and made him almost fall into a small hole of water, but he passed the other side and climbed to the edge of the creek. At that very moment I tried to knife him again, but the knife broke in his body. I picked up what was left of the knife and continue to chase him. Then I picked up a stick of wood and started to beat him, throwing at him small rocks I found along the way. The tapir fell into a water hole of the creek and then I tried to run ahead of him. When he saw me ahead of him, he turned around, but I ran ahead of him. He again turned around. Then I picked up another heavy stick and began to hit him, but it broke. I looked for another, but I couldn't find any.

At that moment I looked up river and saw a heavy piece of hard wood that the lumber workers had left. Maybe God gave me that heavy piece of wood. I tried to pick it up, but it was too heavy. Meanwhile, the tapir had sat down. Again I tried to pick up the heavy stick of wood, but the palm of my hand was hurting too much because I had a deep cut in it and it was bleeding. Nevertheless, I managed to lift it up and put it under one arm and with great effort I carried it and was able to hit very hard the snout of the tapir and that made him fall down. Immediately I threw myself on his body and pushed on him what was left of my knife. Right away I picked up a piece of halter that was lying there and tied his feet. I also had to lie down because I was exhausted.

16. Canon javicovin joxanhquin hun rani varirahqui hiinha a las cuatrotaihqui. Yantanhaito vuchivuran joquin haa potavuran joshinxon hun jato yohicunmun haa vitancantaihnu. Yamuumun hun nocootaihnu, a las siete caramun hun nocootaihqui haa haxon potavuran. Ja jahaaxon haa haxon potavuranshinxon hun jato yohicunmun voxon haa vitancantaihnu.
17. Ja jahaaxonmun hun haa hataihqui.

After a while I looked at my watch, it was four o'clock. Realizing it was too late to do anything else, I left the tapir there and returned home. When I arrived, it was about seven o'clock. I told everybody what had happened; so, early next morning all of them went and found the way to the tapir.

That is the way I ran after a tapir until I killed him, and then how I let my people know so they could go and get the meat.



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