A grammar of Kashibo-Kakataibo

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To the Kashibo-Kakataibo people.
Ënëx ka mitsun kirika'ikën.
Min bana nuibaxun kana ënë kirika'an.

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Statement of authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

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Summary

The present thesis is the first comprehensive reference grammar of Kashibo-Kakataibo, a Pano language spoken by approximately 3000 ~ 3500 people in the Peruvian departments of Huánuco and Ucayali, and it includes 22 chapters. An introduction to the Kashibo-Kakataibo language is offered in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 presents an introduction to the Kashibo-Kakataibo people. Chapters 3 to 4 deal with the phonological description of the language and Chapter 5 presents a general introduction to its morphological profile. Chapter 6 presents the closed word classes of Kashibo-Kakataibo. Chapter 7 lists the criteria for distinguishing between open word classes and, then, Chapters 8 to 14 present a characterisation of the four open word classes identified in this dissertation: nouns (Chapters 8-9), adjectives (Chapter 10), verbs (Chapters 11-13) and adverbs (Chapter 14). Chapter 15 presents the paradigm of second position enclitics. Chapter 16 presents adverbial enclitics. Chapter 17 lists a set of criteria for distinguishing between independent and dependent clauses. Chapter 18 presents the switch-reference system of the language. Chapter 19 presents evaluative clauses and speech report-clauses. Chapter 20 presents grammatical nominalisations, which are used for the functions of relativisation and complementation. Chapter 21 discusses further topics on transitivity and grammatical relations. Finally, Chapter 22 discusses discourse structure.

<u>Acknowledgments</u>

During the last three years and nine months, I have spent most of my days and my nights trying to understand two languages (Kashibo-Kakataibo and English) as much as possible and trying to become a descriptive linguist. I have had to fight against my own limitations and deal with some difficult situations, but I have also gotten the help and support of many wonderful people. Without them, this thesis would not have been possible and I would like to say thanks to them here.

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List of abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning
>	'interclausal switch-reference tracking (dependent > main)'. For example, 'O>S' indicates that the O argument of the dependent clause is the S argument of the matrix clause. See §18.1 for a detailed explanation of the glossing conventions for switch-reference markers.
1p	'first person'
1pl	'first person plural'
1sg	'first person singular'
2p	'second person'
2 pl	'second person plural'
2 sg	'second person singular'
3p	'third person'
3pl	'third person plural'
3sg	'third person singular'
A	'transitive subject'
ABS	'absolutive'
AdjP	'adjective phrase'
AdvP	'adverb phrase'
ADV.PROC	'advanced process'
APPO	'apposition'
ASP	'aspect'
ASSO	'associative'
AUG	'augmentative'
AUX	'auxiliary'
BEN	'benefactive'
C	'consonant'
CAUS	'causative'
CERT	'certitudinal'
COL	'collective'
COM(A)	'comitative oriented to A'
COM(O)	'comitative oriented to O'

COM(S)	'comitative oriented to S'
COMP	'comparative'
COMPL.NEG	'complaining negator'
CON	'conversational register'
COND	'conditional'
CONT	'contrastive'
CONTI	'continuous aspect'
COORD	'coordination'
COUN	'counterfactual'
CV	'converb'
DEF	'definite'
DES	'desiderative'
DIM	'diminutive'
DIR	'directional'
DIST	'distributive'
DO	'different objects'
DS/A	'different subjects'
DS/A/O	'different subjects and objects'
DUB	'dubitative'
DUR	'durative'
ELAB	'elaborative'
ENCL	'enclitic'
ERG	'ergative'
EXH	'exhortative'
EXT	'extended'
FACT	'factitive'
FOC	'focus'
FRUST	'frustrative'
FUT	'future'
GEN	'genitive'
GENE	'generic'
HAB	'habitual'
HAR	'harmonic'
IMP	'imperative'

IMPF	'imperfective'
IMPR	'imprecise reference'
IMPR.DIC	'imprecise direction'
IMPR.LOC	'imprecise locative'
IND	'indicative'
INDF	'indefinite'
INS	'instrument'
INT	'interrogative'
INTF	'intensifier'
INTR	'intransitive'
IRRE	'irrealis'
ITER	'iterative'
LOC	'locative'
MAL	'malefactive'
MID	'middle'
MIR	'mirative'
NAR	'narrative register'
NEG	'negative'
NOM	'nominaliser'
NOMLS	'nominalisation'
non.prox	'non-proximal to the addressee'
NON.REST	'non restrictivo'
NP	'noun phrase'
NUM	'numeral'
O	'transitive object'
OBL	'oblique'
PA	'participant agreement'
PAST	'past'
PAT	'patient'
PE	'previous dependent event'
PERF	'perfective'
PLU	'plural'
POE	'posterior dependent event'
POS	'possessive'

POST	'postposition'
PP	'postpositional phrase'
PROG	'progressive'
PROP	'proprietive'
prox	'proximal to the addressee'
PURP	'purposive'
QP	'quantificational phrase'
REAS	'reason'
REC	'reciprocal'
REC-O	'recipient(-like) argument of ditransitive constructions'
REFL	'reflexive'
REM.PAST	'remote past'
REP	'reportative'
S	'intransitive subject'
SE	'simultaneous dependent event'
SRC	'switch-reference clause'
STAT	'stative'
SUPER	'superlative'
TEMP	'temporal locative'
THEM-O	'theme(-like) argument of ditransitive constructions'
TRAN	'transitive'
V	'vowel'
VOC	'vocative'

Chapter 1   The Kashibo-Kakataibo language

1.1   Introduction

This dissertation is a reference grammar of the Kashibo-Kakataibo language, as it is spoken along the Lower Aguaytía River. Kashibo-Kakataibo is a Pano language spoken by approximately 3000 - 3500 people in the Peruvian departments of Huánuco and Ucayali (but this number is not official; see §2.5). Following Fleck (2007a, forthcoming), Kashibo-Kakataibo constitutes by itself one of the three sub-groupings of one of the two branches of the family (see §1.2). As we will see in §1.4, it is possible to identify five different Kashibo-Kakataibo dialects (one of which is very likely to be extinct, but was documented by Tessman 1930).

In this chapter, I offer an introduction to the Kashibo-Kakataibo language and to this dissertation. In §1.2, I offer a brief discussion about the Pano language family and in §1.3, I discuss the position of Kashibo-Kakataibo within the family in more detail. Section §1.4 presents Kashibo-Kakataibo dialectology and offers some examples of the main phonological and lexical differences among the Kashibo-Kakataibo dialects. Section §1.5 summarises previous studies on the Kashibo-Kakataibo language. Finally, §1.6 offers an introduction to this dissertation, offering relevant information about the most important aspects of how it has been designed and developed: §1.6.1 describes the fieldwork conducted as part of this project; §1.6.2 explain the principles followed in the presentation of the examples; §1.6.3 briefly summarises the theoretical framework followed; and, finally, §1.6.4 describes the overall structure of this grammar.

1.2 The Pano language family

The proposal of grouping some languages into a linguistic family called **Pano** was formally presented for the first time in 1888. Raoul de la Grasserie showed, during the VII International Congress of Americanists in Berlin, that the language spoken by an ethnic group called Pano was related to the languages spoken by six neighbouring populations (Cf. de la Grasserie 1890).[1] His conclusion was that all these languages belong to the same language family, and he was the first to use the name **Pano** in reference to this linguistic entity (but note that this term was also the name of a particular language; see footnote 1). Only a few years after De la Grasserie's pioneering work, Brinton (1891) gave a list of 18 Pano languages, including those mentioned by De la Grasserie. Brinton's work was a precursor to the more exhaustive lists that appeared during the Twentieth Century: for instance, Rivet's (1924) 39 Pano languages, and Schmidt's (1926) 19 Pano languages. Both Rivet's and Schmidt's work also proposed internal classifications for the family. Schmidt was the first scholar to use geographical criteria in his classification, subdividing the Pano family into a Northern group, a Central group and a Southern group. Rivet's and Schmidt's classifications were the sources for later classifications by scholars such as Jijón y Caamaño (1942), Loutkotka (1942) and McQuown (1955), who tried to offer an account of the

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[1] This idea existed since the XVII Century among some Jesuits, like Iriarte, who considered that the Pano language was the "mother" of a number of languages known at that time as <Chipeo>, <Cheteo>, <Caparagua>, <Mayoruna>, etc. (throughout this thesis, I use the symbols "< >" when I present a name as it appears in the historical documents). De la Grasserie was the first to present this statement to an academic audience. In addition, other missionary classification systems use the term "Pano language" to refer to a superordinate category that includes Shipibo, Shetebo, Amahuaca, Mayoruna, etc. as "dialects" (see Fleck forthcoming). The name *pano* means 'giant armadillo (*priodontes maximus*)'.

linguistic diversity of larger regions of South America. The first classification of the Pano family based on the more rigorous comparative method appeared only in the 1960s: Shell (1965, 1975) and, after Shell's study, D'Ans (1973), Loos (1999) and Fleck (2007a, forthcoming).

For a number of scholars, the Pano family is understood to be a sub-family within a macrophilum called Pano-Tacana. The Pano-Tacana relationship has been defended by different scholars since the last years of the Nineteenth Century (see Valenzuela 2003: 58). Key (1968) shows some cognates (or presumed cognates) that are shared across both linguistic families; and Girard (1971) presents 116 lexical items reconstructed for Proto-Pano-Tacana, which suggest the existence of regular phonetic correspondences. However, while a Pano-Tacana relationship seems to be defendable for the lexicon, it cannot necessarily be proven for the grammar. In fact, some of the presumed cognates may even turn out to be loans when studied more carefully (Fabre 1994).

At present, the Pano linguistic family includes around 28 to 30 languages, which are spoken in Peru (in the Departments of Loreto, Huánuco, Ucayali and Madre de Dios), Brazil (in the States of Acre, Amazonia and Rondônia) and Bolivia (in the Departments of Beni and Pando). The largest linguistic diversity within the family and the largest number of speakers are found in Peru. According to Erikson *et al* (1994: 4-5), the total Pano population reaches 38,400 people: 30,000 in Peru, 7,700 in Brazil and 700 in Bolivia; although it is possible that the real number of speakers is higher. The following map, from Erikson (1992), shows the current location of the different Pano languages:

Map 1   Current distribution of Pano languages (from Erikson 1992)

Distribuição dos povos de língua Pano

AM	Amahuaca
AR	Arara
AT	Atsahuaca
CB	Cashibo
CH	Chacobo
CO	Conibo
CP	Capanahua
KB	Korubo
KN	Kaxináwa
KP	Kulina Pano
KR	Karipuna
KT	Katukina
KX	Kaxararí
MB	Marubo
MG	Mangeroma
MN	Marinahua
MS	Mastanahua
MT	Matis
MY	Mayá
MZ	Matsés
NK	Nukuini
NW	Nawa
PC	Pacaguara
PO	Poyanawa
RE	Remo
SH	Shipibo
SR	Sharanahua
YA	Yamiaca
YM	Yamináwa
YW	Yawanáwa

Pano languages share not just a considerable number of words but also some major grammatical features. Valenzuela (2003b: 882) mentions some of them: (a) AOV / SV basic constituent order; (b) dominantly agglutinative morphology with some polysynthetic tendency in the verb; (c) exclusive use of suffixes (with the exception of body part prefixes) and postpositions; (d) absence of cognate cross-referential pronominal marking on the verb or auxiliary; (e) absence of adnominal agreement; (f) ergative alignments with different kinds of splits; and (g) fairly complex switch-reference systems.

As previously mentioned, the first rigorous Pano classification was proposed by Shell (1965, 1975). Shell bases her grouping on a comparison of extensive lexical material for 7 Pano languages (Amawaka, Kapanawa, Kashibo,

Kashinawa, Chakobo, Marinawa and Shipibo-Konibo),[2] and offers an account of the processes by which these languages have separated from each other. Therefore, her work is not a complete classification of the family, but a convincing description of how the languages in her sample might have evolved from Proto-Pano.

D'Ans (1973) offers a lexico-statistic analysis of 10 Pano languages (Kashibo-Kakataibo, Pano, Shipibo, Capanahua, Amahuaca, Isconahua, Cashinahua, Yaminahua, Sharanahua and Chacobo) and proposes an internal classification of the Pano family. His classification distinguishes five branches: Pano form Ucayali, PreAndean Pano, Pano of the Headwaters, Pano from Beni (Bolivia) and Northern Pano.

Loos (1999) proposes the existence of 30 Pano languages, with 22 of them grouped into three tentative subgroups (subgroup Yaminawa, subgroup Chakobo and subgroup Kapanawa) and 8 languages considered non-grouped languages. According to Loos (1999), his classification is based on phonological, morphological and lexical data.

The most recent Pano classification proposal has been offered by Fleck (2007a, forthcoming). His classification is probably the most detailed proposal available, but also the most divergent in relation to the preceding ones (Shell 1965, 1975; D'Ans 1973; and Loos 1999). Its level of detail can be seen not only in the information offered (based on a careful study of most available sources);

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[2] Shell also includes information about other languages, such as: Atsawaka, Kulino, Iskonawa, Karipuna, Mayoruna, Marobo, Nokaman, Pakawara, Poyanawa, Tushinawa, Wariapano, Yamiaca and Yaminawa.

but also in the number of layers of relationship that his classification presents (including information about different dialects of the same language). Its divergent nature can be seen, for instance, in the proposal that there are only two main subgroups in the Pano family: the Mayoruna brach and the Mainline branch. Fleck's (2007a, forthcoming) classification, which includes 18 extant and 14 extinct documented languages, is presented in the following table:

Table 1   Pano classification proposed by Fleck (2007a, forthcoming)[3]

I. Mayoruna branch (4 extant and 4 documented extinct languages)
   A. Mayo group
      i. Matses subgroup
         a. **Matses** (3 dialects):
             Peruvian Matses; Brazilian Matses
             †*Paud Usunkid*
         b. **Korubo** (2 dialects)
             Korubo
             *Chankueshbo
         c. ***Kulina of the Curuçá River** (3 dialects):
             *Kapishtana; *Mawi
             *Chema
         d. †**Demushbo**
      ii. Matis subgroup (most similar to Mainline branch)
         a. **Matis** (most divergent from other extant Mayoruna languages)
         b. †**Mayoruna of the Jandiatuba River**
         c. †**Mayoruna of the Amazon River** (2 dialects):
             †*Settled Mayoruna of the Amazon River*
             †*Wild Mayoruna of the Amazon River*
   B. †**Mayoruna of Tabatinga** (phonologically most divergent Mayoruna unit)
II. Mainline branch (about 14 extant and about 10 documented extinct languages)
   A. **Kasharari** (most divergent Mainline language)

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[3] Languages in **bold**; dialects in *italics*; † = extinct; * = obsolescent. Dialects with minor differences are listed on the same line.

B. **Kashibo** (4 dialects; similar to Nawa group due to contact with Shipibo)

      Kashibo (Tessmann's "Kaschinõ");

      Rubo

      Kakataibo

      Nokaman (formerly thought to be extinct)

C. Nawa group (subgroups ordered from most to least divergent)

    i. Bolivian subgroup

        a. **Chakobo/Pakawara** (2 dialects of 1 language)

        b. †**Karipuna** (may be a dialect of Chakobo/Pakawara)

    ii. Madre de Dios subgroup

        a. †**Atsawaka/†Yamiaka** (2 dialects of 1 language)

        b. †**Arazaire**

    iii. †**Remo of the Blanco River**

    iv. †**Kashinawa of the Tarauacá River**

    v. Marubo subgroup

        a. **Marubo (of the Javari Basin)**

        b. **Katukina**

           Katukina of Olinda; Katukina of Sete Estrelas

           †*Kanamari*

        c. †**Kulina of São Paulo de Olivença**

"Central Pano Assemblage" (subgroups vi-viii): evidently areal influence among neighbors has blurred genetic relations among these languages.

    vi. Poyanawa subgroup

        a. *****Poyanawa**

        b. *****Iskonawa** (very close to Poyanawa, but also resembles Shipibo-Konibo-Kapanawa and Amawaka)

        c. *****Nukini**

        d. *****Nawa** (of the Môa River)

        e. †**Remo of the Jaquirana River**

    vii. Chama subgroup

        a. **Shipibo-Konibo-Kapanawa** (3 dialects of 1 language)

           Shipibo; Konibo (currently fused)

           **Kapanawa of the Tapiche River*

        b. *****Pano**

           †*Pano*

           **Shetebo; *Piskino*

        c. †**Sensi**

    viii. Headwaters subgroup

        a. **Kashinawa of the Ibuaçu River**

           Brazilian Kashinawa

           Peruvian Kashinawa

       †*Kapanawa of the Juruá River*
       †*Paranawa*
  b. **Yaminawa** (large dialect complex)
       Brazilian Yaminawa
       Peruvian Yaminawa
       Chaninawa
       Chitonawa
       Mastanawa
       Parkenawa
       Shanenawa
       Sharanawa; *Marinawa
       Shawanawa (= Arara)
       Yawanawa
       *Yaminawa-arara (not same as *Shawanawa/*Arara)
       †*Nehanawa*
  c. **Amawaka**
       Peruvian Amawaka (intermediate between this subgroup
         and Chama subgroup, perhaps as a result of areal
         contact)
       †*Nishinawa* (= Brazilian Amawaka)
       †*Yumanawa* (also very similar to Kashinawa of the Ibuaçu)
  d. †**Remo of the Môa River** (resembles Amawaka)
  e. †**Tuchiunawa** (resembles Yaminawa dialects)

The Pano classifications briefly described in this section represent the most important ones since the 1960's (see Valenzuela 2003b: Chapter 1, for some suggestive ideas on how to group Pano languages, based on some of these previous classifications). There are others, but most of them were done by scholars interested in the overall classification of South American languages, and not specifically in the Pano family (see, for instance, Greenberg 1987, Fabre 1994, and Campbell 1997). In the following section, I discuss the position of Kashibo-Kakataibo within the Pano family, paying attention to how Shell (1965, 1975), D'Ans (1973), Loos (1999) and Fleck (2007a, forthcoming) treat this language in their respective classifications.

1.3   The Kashibo-Kakataibo language within the Pano family

Shell (1965, 1975), D'Ans (1973), Loos (1999) and Fleck (2007a, forthcoming) coincide in treating Kashibo-Kakataibo as the only language in its branch. Shell (1965, 1975) states that Kashibo-Kakataibo is the phonologically most divergent language in her database. She bases her statement on a number of facts. For instance, Kashibo-Kakataibo has six vowels and this makes it different from the rest of Pano languages in her sample (which have four vowels), but similar to the Mayoruna languages and Kaxarari (which were not included between the seven languages thoroughly compared by Shell). Additionally, Kashibo-Kakataibo has retained *$/k^w/$ and also some sibilant codas that have been dropped in other Pano languages. In addition, the presence of /ɲ/, a very unusual Pano segment, is a distinctive feature of two of the Kashibo-Kakataibo dialects (see §1.4). Furthermore, most of these dialects exhibit a tripartite case marking for pronouns, which Valenzuela (2003b: Chapter 20) considers old and probably a feature of the Proto-language. The tripartite alignment is only found in a few other Pano languages such as Amawaka and Iskonawa. Finally, most Kashibo-Kakataibo dialects exhibit the plural formative (*-*tsu*) in its second person pronoun *mitsu* which is also found in some languages of the Mayoruna branch and might be considered old as well, according to the reconstruction proposed in Zariquiey (2006).

In accordance with Shell (1965, 1975), D'Ans (1973) includes Kashibo and Kakataibo as the only two languages of his Pre-Andean subgroup, and Loos (1999) states that Kashibo-Kakataibo is an ungrouped language. Fleck (2007a, forthcoming) recognises a Kashibo subgroup in his mainline branch. This Kashibo subgroup is exclusively made up of the different Kashibo-Kakataibo

dialects (including Tessmann's Nokaman; see §1.4 for a discussion of Kashibo-Kakataibo dialectology).

Therefore, there is general agreement that Kashibo-Kakataibo represents an independent subgroup within the Pano family, and this fact makes this language highly important for any attempt to reconstruct any area of the Proto-Pano grammar. This idea finds support in features like the ones mentioned by Shell (1965, 1975), Valenzuela (2003b: Chapter 20) or Zariquiey (2006), and summarised above, which make Kashibo-Kakataibo different from most other languages in the Mainline branch.

Kashibo-Kakataibo exhibits significant similarities with Shipibo-Konibo, even though, as we have seen, they belong to two different sub-branches. Kashibo-Kakataibo has been in intensive contact with Shipibo-Konibo and it might be the case that some of the attested similarities between Shipibo-Konibo and Kashibo-Kakataibo are not due to inheritance but rather to the high degree of contact between them. As explained by Winstrand-Robinson (1998: 115-116):

> The most recent and influential established contact between Shipibo [Shipibo-Konibo, RZB] and Cashibo [Kashibo-Kakataibo, RZB] is 1935 to 1940 during acculturation of the Cashibo at Shipibo villages on the Lower Aguaytía and Ucayali Rivers. They were required to wear clothing and follow cultural patterns laid down by the acculturated Shipibo. Which Shipibo cultural elements were borrowed during this time and which came from contact in earlier centuries is difficult to ascertain (Winstrand 1998:115-116).

These contacts between Kashibo-Kakataibo and Shipibo-Konibo populations have led to the emergence of bilingual speakers of Kashibo-Kakataibo and Shipibo-Konibo, which according to Winstrand-Robinson

(1998:166) are mostly speakers of the former language who have learned the latter, in a situation that "reveals the ascendancy" of Shipibo-Konibo over Kashibo-Kakataibo. However, the consequences of the contact between Shipibo-Konibo and Kashibo-Kakataibo still require a detailed study. Linguistically, this linguistic dominance can be seen in the fact that Kashibo-Kakataibo has borrowed several Shipibo-Konibo words. Winstrand (1998: 116) gives the following examples: *yami* (*ñami*) 'metal', *kënti* 'pot', *'uchiti* 'dog', *maru-* 'to buy/sell', but the list is larger and common words like *xëa-* 'to drink', *shinkun* 'banana species' and *'ishtun* 'quickly' are also examples of this borrowing. In addition, the bound morphemes *-shuku* 'diminutive' and *-yama* 'negative' (both of reduced productivity) seem to also be loans from Shipibo-Konibo.

Grammatically, however, Kashibo-Kakataibo and Shipibo-Konibo are clearly two different languages, which have been classified differently within the Pano family, despite the fact that there is a considerable number of Shipibo-Konibo loan words in Kashibo-Kakataibo, and despite the fact that some missionaries during the last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century sometimes talked about the language of the <Conibo>, <Shetebo>, <Shipibo> and <Cashibo> as constituting one single linguistic entity (see, for example, Marques 1931 [1800]).

1.4   Kashibo-Kakataibo dialectology

One salient aspect of the Kashibo-Kakataibo language is its complex dialectal situation, which, as we will see, includes five different dialects, one of which is very likely to be extinct, but was documented by Tessmann (1930) (see Zariquiey in press (a)). Such dialectological complexity is even more interesting if we take

into consideration the relatively small number of Kashibo-Kakataibo speakers and the geographic proximity among them. As commented on in §2.5, the Kashibo-Kakataibo language has only about 3,000 or 3,500 speakers, who live along the Aguaytía River, the Shamboyacu River, the San Alejandro River, and the Sungaroyacu River (a map is given in §2.5).

The current dialectological complexity of the Kashibo-Kakataibo language is related to the historical facts discussed in §2.4. In the missionaries' minds, the Kashibo-Kakataibo were fierce and savage cannibals; and, therefore, the missionaries assumed that is was impossible to establish mission stations to live with them. Thus, the Kashibo-Kakataibo never lived with the missionaries and avoided the cultural homogenisation that such a close proximity would have implied. One of the best examples of the cultural homogenisation triggered by the missionaries can be found not far from the place where the Kashibo-Kakataibo used to live: at the Ucayali missions of the Franciscans. There, the Franciscans made three different groups live together: the Shipibo, the Shetebo and the Konibo. Those three groups were culturally and linguistically different from each other (particularly, the Shetebo); but their co-existence made them more alike both in terms of their material culture and their language, and it produced the Shipibo-Konibo, which are nowadays a single ethnic group (Frank 1994: 144-145). Such a process did not happen with the different Kashibo-Kakataibo clans, who lived outside the influence of the missionaries and were forced to live together only at the beginning of the 1920s, when a Kashibo-Kakataibo man called Bolívar Odicio put in practice his "campaign to conquer and unify all the [Kashibo-Kakataibo] clans" (Winstrand-Robinson 1998: 117; see also §2.4).

The dialectological diversity of the Kashibo-Kakataibo language was first documented by Tessmann (1930: 128), who listed three sub-groups subdivided into 18 clans (see Table 6). We cannot know exactly how significant the linguistic differences between these clans were, but we can glean some information from the 34 lexical entries that Tessman gives for each sub-group, which reveal high degree of similarity.

Studies that followed Tessmann's seminal book have documented a similar dialectal situation. Winstrand (1969a: 146-147; 1998: 113-114) also proposes three main dialects (see also Table 7 in §2.4): one from the **San Alejandro River**, one from the **Lower Aguaytía River** and one from the **Upper Aguaytía** and the **Sungaroyacu Rivers**. Winstrand (1969a: 147) then mentions the existence of another small group that used to live close to the **Pachitea River** and that may have been linguistically different. As argued in §2.4, this group corresponds to what Tessmann called the <Nokamán>. My own preliminary research suggests that this group was linguistically closer to the dialect of the San Alejandro River (as shown in Figure 1). The subgroup made up by these two dialects is clearly the most divergent within the entire language, and it is possible to argue that there are two main Kashibo-Kakataibo subgroups (as it is also done in Cortez-Mondragón 1998). All this information is summarised in the following tree diagram (appendixes 3 and 4 offer two comparative lists –a Swadesh list of 200 terms and the list developed by Tessman 1930– with information for the four extant dialects of the language):

Figure 1   Kashibo-Kakataibo's dialects

Kashibo-Kakataibo language

Aguaytía/Sungaroyacu   San Alejandro/Pachitea

Lower Aguaytía   Upper Aguaytía/Sungaroyacu   San Alejandro   Pachitea[4]

Upper Aguaytía   Sungaroyacu
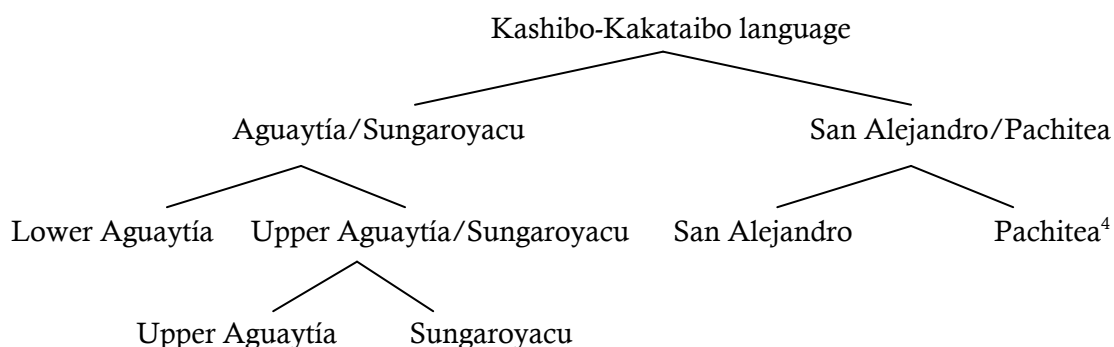
It is important to note that, even though the dialects from the Upper Aguaytía and the Sungaroyacu Rivers are very similar, it is nevertheless possible to find some differences between them. These differences suggest that the two dialects should be distinguished at the lowest level of the diagram, as proposed in Figure 1. Such differences are found, for instance, in the following lexical correspondences, where the forms from the Upper Aguaytía and the Sungaroyacu Rivers' dialects appear in bold:[5]

(1)   Two words that show different forms in four Kashibo-Kakataibo dialects

Lower Aguatía	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu	San Alejandro	Meaning
/ úɲe/	**/ʊí/**	**/eβe/**	/úwe/	'rain'
/ɲʊʃín/	**/juʃin/**	**/junʃin/**	/ɲʊín/	'demon'

The dialect classification proposed here is based on different types of evidence, ranging from phonological correspondences to morphosyntactic features, and including lexical differences. As demonstrated in Zariquiey (2011), all these different types of evidence point to the dialect of San Alejandro/Pachitea

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[4] Tessmann's (1930) <Nokamán> word list is the only available source for the dialect of the Pachitea River.

[5] In the examples presented throughout this section I only include forms from the four extant dialects of the language; Tessmann's Nokaman is not included, since the data on this language was collected by Tesmmann before 1930 and presents inconsistencies that require a special treatment that is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

as the most divergent within the language. The following table summarises the most systematic phonological correspondences between the different Kashibo-Kakataibo dialects.

Table 2   Phonological correspondences among Kashibo-Kakataibo dialects

Phonological correspondence	Lower Aguaytía	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu	San Alejandro
/ɲ/ = /j/	/ɲ/ (/súɲʊ/ 'wind')	/j/ (/sújʊ/ 'wind')	/j/ (/sújʊ/ 'wind')	/ɲ/ (/zúɲʊ/ 'wind')
/s/ = /z/	/s/ (/ʔisá/ 'bird')	/s/ (/ʔisá/ 'bird')	/s/ (/ʔisá/ 'bird')	/z/ (/ʔizá/ 'bird')
/ʂ/ = /ʐ/	/ʂ/ (/ʂánʊ/ 'woman')	/ʂ/ (/ʂánʊ/ 'woman')	/ʂ/ (/ʂánʊ/ 'woman')	/ʐ/ (/ʐánʊ/ 'woman')
/ʃi/ = /i/	/ʃi/ (/ʃikán/ 'chest')	/ʃi/ (/ʃikán/ 'chest')	/ʃi/ (/ʃikán/ 'chest')	/i/ (/igá/ 'chest')
/iʃ/ = /in/	/iʃ/ (/kʷɨ́ʂʊiʃka/ 'river dolphin')	/iʃ/ (/kʷɨ́ʂʊiʃka/ 'river dolphin')	/iʃ/ (/kʷɨ́ʂʊiʃka/ 'river dolphin')	/in/ (/kúzʊinga/ 'river dolphin')
/ʃi/ = /in/	/ʃi/ (/βáʃi/ 'mountain')	/ʃi/ (/wáʃi/ ~ /βáʃi/ 'mountain')	/ʃi/ (/wáʃi/ 'mountain')	/in/ (/wain/ 'mountain')
/ʃ/ = /j/	/ʃ/ (/aʃá/ 'frog')	/ʃ/ (/aʃá/ 'frog')	/ʃ/ (/aʃá/ 'frog')	/j/ (/ajá/ 'frog')
/ʃ/ = /ɲ/	/ʃ/ (/ʂórapana/ 'giant otter')	/ʃ/ (/ʂórapana/ 'giant otter')	/ʃ/ (/ʂórapana/ 'giant otter')	/ɲ/ (/ɲórapana/ 'giant otter')
/βi/ = /wi/	/βi/ (/paβí/ 'ear')	/βi/ (/paβí/ 'ear')	/βi/ (/paβí/ 'ear')	/wi/ (/pawí/ 'ear')
/βu/ = /u/	/βu/ (/βʊ/ 'hair')	/βu/ (/βʊ/ 'hair')	/βu/ (/βʊ/ 'hair')	/u/ (/u/ 'hair')
/##βa/ = /##wa/	/##βa/ (/βási/ 'grass')	/##βa/ ~ /##wa/ (/βási/ ~ /wasi/ 'grass')	/##wa/ (/wási/ 'grass')	/##wa/ (/wázi/ 'grass')
/#βa/ = /#wa/	/#βa/ (/niβá/ 'soft')	/#βa/ (/niβá/ 'soft')	/#βa/ (/niβá/ 'soft')	/#wa/ (/niwá/ 'soft')
/βo/ = /wo/	/βo/ (/βo/ 'macaw')	/βo/ (/βo/ 'macaw')	/βo/ (/βo/ 'macaw')	/wo/ (/wo/ 'macaw')
/k/ = /g/ (word-internally)	/k/ (/púkʊ/ 'belly)	/k/ (/púkʊ/ 'belly')	/k/ (/púkʊ/ 'belly')	/g/ (/púgʊ/ 'belly')
/kʷ/ = /gʷ/ (word-internally)	/kʷ/ (/tákʷa/ 'liver')	/kʷ/ (/tákʷa/ 'liver')	/kʷ/ (/tákʷa/ 'liver')	/gʷ/ (/tágʷa/ 'liver')
/kʷe/ = /ke/	/kʷe/ (/kʷénkʊrʊ/ 'fog')	/ke/ (/kénkʊrʊ/ 'fog')	/ke/ (/kénkʊrʊ/ 'fog')	/kʷe/ (/kʷéngʊrʊ/ 'fog')
/is#(#)/ = /ɨ(z)#(#)/	/is#(#)/ (/ʔíspa/ 'star')	/is#(#)/ (/ʔíspa/ 'star')	/is#(#)/ (/ʔíspa/ 'star')	/ɨ(z)#(#)/ (/ʔɨ́(z)pa/ 'star')
/t͡s/ = /s/	/t͡s/ (/t͡sát͡sa/ 'fish species')	/t͡s/ (/t͡sát͡sa/ 'fish species')	/t͡s/ (/t͡sát͡sa/ 'fish species')	/s/ (/sása/ 'fish species')

Even though the dialects from the Lower Aguaytía and the San Alejandro Rivers share some features (especially, the presence of /ɲ/ and /kʷe/, which are /j/ and /ke/, respectively, in the dialects of the Upper Aguaytía and Sungaroyacu Rivers), in the vast majority of cases, the dialect from the San Alejandro River diverges from all the other dialects. This is also true for some salient morphosyntactic features. One of them is the case marking alignment. The dialects from the Upper and Lower Aguaytía and the Sungaroyacu Rivers have a case marking system that combines a tripartite alignment for pronouns with an ergative alignment for nouns (see §6.2 and §9.3.1 for a description of this case marking system; and §22.5.2 for some cases of nouns following the tripartite alignment). By contrast, the case marking system found in the dialect of the San Alejandro River combines an accusative alignment on pronouns with an ergative alignment on nouns (for a comparison of the two systems; see Valle 2009 and Zariquiey in press (a)).[6] A second important distinction has to do with the second position enclitics (see Chapter 15). In the case of the dialects of the Upper and Lower Aguaytía and the Sungaroyacu Rivers, the enclitic *kaina* means 'interrogative, second person' in the narrative register; but this same form is used for both interrogative and indicative sentences with a second person subject in San Alejandro (the other dialects use the form *kamina* for 'indicative, second person'). This conflation means that interrogative and indicative utterances with a second person are only distinguished by means of intonation in San Alejandro. In addition, the forms for the second person plural and third person plural pronouns

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[6] The case marking system of San Alejandro is also very interesting for a second reason: preliminary data suggests that it shows a high degree of optionality that requires more careful study and may be related to pragmatic factors as the ones described in §22.5.

are different: while San Alejandro uses *mikama* and *ukama/akama* (that include the plural morpheme =*kama*); the other dialects use *mikama* and *akama*, or else *mitsu* and *atu* (which have been argued to be the older forms; see Zariquiey 2006).[7] The latter forms are not attested in San Alejandro. Thus, the San Alejandro dialect is the most divergent not only phonologically but also morphosyntactically. This is also true regarding lexical differences. As shown in the following examples, lexical differences also tend to show the divergent nature of the San Alejandro dialect (see appendixes 3 and 4 for two comparative lists of the four dialects):

(2)   Lexical differences among four Kashibo-Kakataibo dialects

Lower Aguatía	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu	San Alejandro	Meaning
/ʔitsís/	/ʔitsís/	/ʔitsís/	/**zána**/	'hot'
/úʂín/	/únʂín/	/únʂín/	/**roza**/	'red'
/maʂká/	/maʂká/	/maʂká/	/**mapuzo**/	'human head'
/ʂáɨ/	/ʂáɨ/	/ʂáɨ/	/**típa**/	'turtle species'
/ʂaɨon/	/ʂaɨon/	/ʂaɨon/	/**kauri**/	'turtle species (fluvial)'
/sapín/	/sapín/	/sapín/	/**waxú**/	'spider web'

1.5   Previous studies of the Kashibo-Kakataibo language

There is a long tradition of linguistic work on Kashibo-Kakataibo, mostly conducted by Olive Shell and Lila Winstrand-Robinson, two SIL missionaries, who lived with the Kashibo-Kakataibo for several years and produced linguistic

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[7] Note that the origin of the plural marker =*kama* is difficult to determine. On the one hand, it might be a Quechua loan, since Central Peruvian varieties of Quechua use the marker -*kama* 'limitative' as a pluraliser for adjectives and other modifiers (Adelaar, pc.) and, thus, this quechua marker might have been borrowed by Kashibo-Kakataibo in association with this plural-like function. On the other hand, however, the formal similarity between the plural marker on nominal expressions, =*kama*, and the plural marker on verbs, -*kan* (the latter being widely attested in Pano) might be a sign of the Pano origin of the former.

studies of a high quality on various aspects of the language. In the case of Winstrand, these studies were combined with anthropological and cultural notes and papers. However, the present dissertation is the first comprehensive reference grammar of Kashibo-Kakataibo.

The following table includes a list of the most important linguistic works on Kashibo-Kakataibo, paying particular attention to those that were based on primary data. I have also included some references, which, even though they do not offer linguistic analyses, include linguistic data that may be of interest for scholars working on Kashibo-Kakataibo.[8]

Table 3   Previous studies on Kashibo-Kakataibo

Publication[9]	Description
Tessmann (1930)	In addition to the 272 terms (as counted by Fleck, forthcoming) found in his ethnographic sketch of the Kashibo-Kakataibo, he includes a 220-word list. The lexical list of <Nokamán> is also relevant since this language is a dialect of Kashibo-Kakataibo.
Shell (1950)	A phonemic inventory of Kashibo-Kakataibo that includes comments on prosody.
Shell (1957)	A study of transitive and intransitive verbs, following the tagmemic framework. Useful examples are found and interesting topics are discussed.
Shell (1973/1975)	A study of what she calls *cashibo modals*, and which I call *second position enclitics* (see Chapter 15). This paper has primarily a theoretical aim: to show that Kashibo-Kakataibo gives supports to Ross' performative analysis; however, from a descriptive point of view, the paper is also interesting. The 1975 paper is an English version of the 1973 one.
Shell (1959, 1987)	A 2100-entry vocabulary (as counted by Fleck, forthcoming).
Winstrand (1968a)	Her Master thesis: a study of Kashibo-Kakataibo relative clauses in the transformational framework.

[8] The list is not exhaustive. For instance, Winstrand has done more linguistic research than included in the table. Unfortunately, most of her work has not been published and I have not been able to access it. In addition, SIL published a number of materials for primary school education.

[9] The complete references are given in the bibliography included at the end of this dissertation.

Winstrand (1969aa)	Her PhD thesis. A study of Kashibo-Kakataibo traditional narratives. It includes a 25 page grammatical sketch.
Winstrand (1969ab)	This paper includes one narrative about the Kashibo-Kakataibo's endo-cannibalism practice.
Winstrand-Robinson (1971)	A study of Kashibo-Kakataibo verbs and causative forms.
Winstrand-Robinson (1973a)	This paper includes a linguistic description of the words that designate the Kashibo-Kakataibo's T-shaped stone axes
Winstrand-Robinson (1976)	A study of Kashibo-Kakataibo traditional songs
Winstrand-Robinson (1978)	Some Kashibo-Kakataibo phonological topics presented in a generative model.
Winstrand-Robinson (1984)	Includes approximately 350 names of animals and 190 names of plants.
Winstrand-Robinson (1997)	A presentation in the series Lincom Languages of the World/Materials, which compiles different Kashibo-Kakataibo texts publications.
Winstrand-Robinson (1998)	A cultural study of the Kashibo-Kakataibo people, with some notes on the language.
Frank (1993)	13 non-interlinearised texts in Kashibo-Kakataibo with a corresponding Spanish translation. They come from the Sungaroyacu River.
Shell, editor (1977)	23 non-interlinearised texts in Kashibo-Kakataibo, classified into five types. The texts were told by Gregorio Estrella. Spanish translations are provided.
Ministerio de Educación del Perú	A selection of non-interlinearised narratives, mostly about Bolívar Odicio. Spanish translations are provided.
Cortez-Mondragón (1980)	Her Bachelor Thesis: a phonology of Kashibo-Kakataibo (I did not have access to this publication).
Cortez-Mondragón (1987)	Includes one non-interlinearised text in Kashibo-Kakataibo about the Kamano people. A Spanish translation is also offered.
Valle (2009)	His Bachelor Thesis. A comparison of the case marking systems of the dialects from the Lower Aguaytía and the San Alejandro Rivers.
Zariquiey, coordinator (2010)	A story book that includes 16 non-interlinearised Kashibo-Kakataibo narratives of different genres. Spanish translations are provided.
Zariquiey (in press (a))	A dialectological classification of Kashibo-Kakatiabo, based on phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical evidence. Includes examples for every discussed feature and two comparative lexical lists as appendixes.
Zariquiey (in press (b))	A description of grammatical relations in Kashibo-Kakataibo.
Zariquiey and Fleck (in press)	A detailed study of prefixation in Kashibo-Kakataibo.

1.6   This dissertation

This dissertation is a reference grammar of the Kashibo-Kakataibo language, as it is spoken along the Lower Aguaytía River. The information to be presented throughout the following pages has been gathered exclusively in this geographic area and, therefore, is only representative of this specific dialect. Preliminary data suggests that this dialect is very similar to the dialects spoken along the Upper Aguaytía and the Sungaroyacu Rivers,[10] but an in-depth dialectal study still remains to be done. By contrast, the San Alejandro dialect is clearly different from the other ones, and I believe that a more careful comparative study would reveal even more differences.

1.6.1   Fieldwork

I firmly believe that fieldwork has an enormous importance for grammar writing, and I consider it to be one of the main pillars of my own linguistic work. This thesis is based on extensive periods of fieldwork, during which I have spent approximately eleven months in the field (most of this time in the Kashibo-Kakataibo village of Yamino) as well as approximately seven months in different cities (particularly, in Pucallpa and Lima) in the company of one or two Kashibo-Kakataibo speakers. The approximate periods of fieldwork are summarised in the following table (the first two were conducted before I started my doctoral fellowship at La Trobe University):

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[10] In addition to the data used in this dissertation, I have recorded, transcribed and partially analysed approximately one hour of speech from the Sungaroyacu River and approximately half an hour for each of the dialects of the Upper Aguaytía and San Alejandro.

Table 4   Fieldwork periods

Number	Period	Distribution of time
1	December 2006	approximately two weeks in the field
2	January – March 2007	approximately one month in the field and one month in Pucallpa
3	May – June 2007	two weeks in Lima
4	November 2007 – August 2008	approximately six months in the field; two months in Pucallpa; and one month in Lima
5	November 2009 – May 2010	approximately three months in the field; one month in Pucallpa; and one month in Lima
6	January – February 2011	approximately one week in Iquitos; one week in Pucallpa; two weeks in the field; and two weeks in Lima

My time in the village of Yamino has been one of the most important and beautiful experiences of my live. I have lived with Emilio Estrella, a man of 72 years, and his wonderful family. They have treated me like a son and brother, allowing me to build a room in their house and teaching me many things that have changed my live radically, not only in a professional way. I am simply a different person after meeting the Kashibo-Kakataibo and, particularly, the Estrella family. In many ways, I feel their house to be my house; and this family to be my family.

In Yamino, I have participated in different activities, including working in the family garden,[11] building a house, cutting the grass of the soccer field, being a judge in a beauty contest, dancing *cumbia* under the most impressive and starry sky, and attending religious services. I have had the opportunity to teach at the local primary school and to travel to Pucallpa and Lima with delegations of Kashibo-Kakataibo representatives in order to complete different types of

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[11] Throughout this dissertation, I use the English term **garden** to refer to the Kashibo-Kakataibo agricultural fields. They are not prototypical gardens but I am not aware of a better translation for them. In regional Spanish, this type of agricultural field is called **chacra**.

paperworks at public institutions, and to participate at handicraft markets and other cultural activities. I have had many intense and personal experiences with them, both positive and negative. Some people have honestly cried on my shoulder, and others have tried to cheat on me. I have become godfather to two girls, and I have made very good friends; but I have also found other people who did not like me and accused me of becoming rich by selling their language to the US Americans. I have had to learn how to deal with all this, and this learning has allowed me to grow as a human being. The Kashibo-Kakataibo have taught me very many things, among which their language is just one.

The author with Emilio Estrella at his kitchen.

It has not been an easy task to create a setting that allowed them to teach me their language. On the contrary, we had to work very hard together in order to create spaces that made everyone feel comfortable and pleased. My guiding principle was that everyone had something important to teach me and was potentially excellent in minimally one particular linguistic task (see also Fleck 2008). Thus, one very important part of my fieldwork was precisely to discover

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the aptitudes of all the people interested in working with me. After a few weeks, we learned that some of them were very good at telling histories, at singing, at helping me with the transcription and the translation of the recordings, at teaching me how to produce certain sounds, at creating sentences that illustrate particular topics, at remembering words that nobody else was aware of, at providing linguistic insights into certain constructions; at making phonological distinctions clear to my Spanish ear, and so on. We also learned that fieldwork sessions were not supposed to last more than three hours (including a twenty minute break in the middle, as well as a supply of candies, biscuits and soft drinks), and that these sessions constituted real work and required fair payment. In addition, since they were teaching me some aspects of their language, I started to refer to our sessions as **classes** and to them as my **teachers**. This decision was unconscious; but after a while I realised that they felt proud of being called **teachers**, and that they started to be even more careful than before about what they were teaching me. They were truly good teachers. Thus, in this thesis, I have decided to use the word **teacher** rather than **informant** to refer to the people who worked with me during all this time. In my opinion, the things that my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers have taught me are just as valuable as the things I have learned at the university, and I personally have the impression that the label *informant* does not reflect this fact clearly enough. On their request, the names of all my teachers are presented in the following table (which includes information about their age, sex and origin):

Table 5   My Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers

Name	Sex	Age	Originally from
Nicolás Aguilar	M	78	Yamino
Raúl Angulo	M	38	Yamino
Roberto Angulo	M	81	Mariscal Cáceres
Alfredo Estrella	M	65	Yamino
Carlota Vásquez	F	70	Yamino
Emilio Estrella	M	74	Yamino
Emilio Estrella Vásquez	M	28	Yamino
Flora Estrella	F	35	Yamino
Irma Vásquez	F	56	Yamino
Julio Estrella	M	77	Yamino
Magaly Estrella	F	33	Yamino
Salomón Estrella	M	65	Yamino
Leida Monsano	F	26	Puerto Nuevo
Wilder Monsano	M	37	Puerto Nuevo
José Mosolino	M	50	Puerto Azul
Ricardo Pereira	M	65	Santa Marta
Marcelo Odicio	M	27	Yamino
Ricardo Odicio	M	52	Yamino
Wiilton Odicio	M	31	Yamino

Salomón Estrella with recording equipment.

The author with Emilio Estrella working at his house.

One continuing debate about linguistic fieldwork focuses on the role of different techniques for the creation of linguistic data of scientific validity. One major discussion point centres on the question of how transcribed natural speech (usually called **texts**) and elicited data should be integrated when writing a grammar. In my case, I have given a predominant role to texts, and whenever possible, I have used text examples to illustrate a phenomenon. However, I consider it problematic to rely only on texts. There is not only the Zipfian problem that some morphemes or constructions occur only rarely in natural speech; but also the fact that texts usually introduce complexities and even performance mistakes that can make our understanding of certain patterns more difficult. Therefore, I have elicited thousands of sentences and additional data, which have helped me in understanding many of the issues included in this grammar. In some cases, I have happened to discover through elicitation some morphemes that did not appear in my texts at all (and this suggests that there are a few others yet to be discovered). In other cases, elicitation has given me the chance to understand the morphosyntactic behaviour and meaning of many forms better, as it allowed me to put known forms into new contexts, or to construct minimal pairs that helped me to discover important semantic differences.

Between December 2006 and February 2011, I have recorded approximately 30 hours of monologue texts. These texts belong to a number of different genres: traditional tales and myths, jokes, narratives about historical facts, life stories, narratives about cultural knowledge (such as how to use certain plants or to make arrows), narratives about what the story-teller did the same day or days before, or will do in the future; narratives about dreams, traditional text

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styles used to counsel young people; narratives about movies, and radio and TV shows, and so on. In addition, I have recorded five hours of conversations on a diverse range of topics and two hours of traditional songs of different types (see §2.8). So far, I have transcribed, translated and analysed approximately 25 hours of recordings that include monologue texts, conversations and songs, with the help of my teachers. Approximately 10 hours and 30 minutes of this data have been parsed in the Toolbox program, and this constitutes the primary source of examples in this grammar (see Appendix 4 for the list of the recordings that were put into Toolbox). The workflow was as follows: the texts were time-aligned and typed into Transcriber, and then imported into Toolbox, where each sentence includes an orthographic representation, a morphemic parse, glossing, information about parts of speech and a free translation. Approximately 70% of the data has been fully parsed and glossed; while the remaining 30% has only been analysed partially. In addition, each sentence includes a link to the time axis of the corresponding audio file. This setup proved time-intensive (it took me more approximately three months of dedicated work on Toolbox), but it has facilitated considerably the process of searching for appropriate examples and of understanding the different patterns described in this thesis. In addition, after a careful revision and actualization, the approximately 10 hours and 30 minutes that were put into Toolbox may constitute a solid basis for the creation of a larger Kashibo-Kakataibo database that I hope to make available in the future.

In almost all cases, the recordings were made, transcribed and translated with the help of my teachers and I spent most of our time together working with texts and clarifying questions that came up in them. At the beginning, I used to conduct recording sessions with one person at a time, but after a while I realised

that some forms only appeared when there was another speaker of the language present, and I therefore decided to always work with small groups or pairs of speakers. I made approximately 75% of my recordings during my first field trip as a PhD candidate, when I was not yet able to speak the language and, thus, the story teller was basically talking to the recording machine in those cases where no other speaker was present. I found this to be artificial, and the presence of another speaker became a basic methodological principle as soon as I became aware of this issue. I then always asked the story-teller to tell the story to somebody else. In my second field trip as a PhD candidate, I started to speak and interview my teachers in Kashibo-Kakataibo. The success of this became clear when they started to use forms that they did not use at the beginning with me (for some discussion of this topic, see §22.6).

Elicitation sessions were integrated with the transcription and translation of texts. In principle, I have avoided the use of translation tasks as a way to obtain specific Kashibo-Kakataibo constructions, and I usually proposed new Kashibo-Kakataibo sentences based on the ones found in texts, in order to better understand the meaning and the form of each attested morpheme. In most cases, the new sentences and the one found in the text constituted minimal pairs. Each new sentence was produced by me and presented to my teachers in order to determine its grammaticality and its meaning. My teachers corrected my sentences when they considered it necessary and, in addition, they very often provided new and very useful similar sentences of their own. I have attempted to be as careful as possible with the Spanish translations that my teachers provided to me. In the particular case of my fieldwork situation, one problem that required special attention was that the Kashibo-Kakataibo people speak a different dialect

of Spanish, and that many words or constructions do not mean the same for them and for me. All this was written up in my notebooks with clear notes about their judgments as well as all their corrections, and I have sometimes had long conversations with my teachers about how to translate certain Kashibo-Kakataibo sentences into Spanish. The English translations were based in both the Spanish translations and the Kashibo-Kakataibo originals. I have asked native speakers of English about how to translate into this language some certain Kashibo-Kakataibo examples and have checked as carefully as possible (and not without problems these) translations (see Hellwig 2010).

The segmentation into morphemes and the attribution of glosses to them was made by me, usually at night. The elicitation of paradigms proved very important for this task. All transcriptions, translations and analyses used in this thesis were revised by me and two of my teachers. I reserved this task for my times in Pucallpa, where I was able to work with the Kashibo-Kakataibo Bible Translator Ricardo Odicio and his son Wilton Odicio, who is a recently graduated teacher. They also went with me to Lima twice in order to work on this and teach me various aspects of their language. During these revisions, we elicited many more sentences and had long conversations about the analysis of certain constructions. Even though they were not familiar with the linguistic terminology, our conversations were always deep and helped me to improve my analyses in multiple and very important ways. In addition, Ricardo and Wilton helped me with the controlled recording made specifically for acoustic analyses, and with the double checking of the examples included in this thesis (see also the following section).

Thus, I have used both elicitation and texts in the preparation of this grammar and, even though texts are preferred as sources for the examples, I would not have been able to understand and analyse the patterns that I found in texts without resorting to elicitation (and I would have not known about the ones that did not appear in my database of natural speech). During my last field trip, I have also used stimuli as a way to obtain controlled linguistic data (particularly the videos developed by Evans et al 2004 for the study of reciprocal events). I have to say that the use of such tools revealed to be highly useful, but unfortunately I only used them in my last trip and they thus do not constitute a major research technique in this dissertation.

1.6.2 Examples and database

This dissertation includes over one thousand examples, which illustrate different linguistic features, ranging from the distribution of a particular phoneme to the discourse use of a specific morpheme or construction. When choosing an example, I have followed the principle explained in the previous section: whenever possible, I have used text examples and I have included elicited examples only when necessary. Each text example in this dissertation has a unique code, derived from the organisation of my text database. Each code includes the following specifications:

i.   Location of the file

The number of the cassette tape on which it was recorded (e.g. C02, where "C" stands for "Cassette"), the side of the tape (e.g. B), and the running number of the text on that specific side (e.g. 05).

ii. <u>Information about the person(s) who were recorded</u>

The initials of the speaker are introduced between hyphens (e.g. -NA-). In the
case of conversations, I include the initials of all the speakers separated by a dot:
(e.g. -ME.FE-).

iii. <u>Year of the recording</u>

The year of the recording is always included (e.g. 2007).

iv. <u>Running number of the sentence in the text</u>

This number is preceded by a dot (e.g. .012).

If we combine all the information above, we obtain codes like "C02B05-
NA-2007.012", which refers to an example that appears in sentence number 12 of
the fifth recording of side B of the second tape. The recording was made in 2007,
and the person who told the narrative was Nicolás Aguilar (NA). During my first
fieldtrip as a PhD candidate, I was advised to use a tape recording machine (a
SONY TCM-5000EV) and, between 2007 and 2008, I filled 18 tapes of 90
minutes each with narratives, conversations and a few traditional songs (i.e.,
approximately 27 hours of recordings, from which approximately 22 include
Kashibo-Kakataibo speech). The quality of the recordings is in general good, and
they were digitised into WAV files by a professional sound editor in Lima. The
WAV files were segmented by me into sessions that included one text each, and
each received a code following the principles specified in (i)-(iii). This code was
used in the corresponding Transcriber and Toolbox files.

During my second trip as a PhD candidate in 2009-2010, the University
provided me with a digital recording machine (a ZOOM H2). I have recorded
approximately 15 more hours of texts, conversations and songs using this digital

recorder. In the case of these texts, I have followed a different codification that includes the number of the archived folder followed by a hyphen (e.g. F06-, where "F" stands for "folder"), the number of the file in that folder (e.g. 03), the initials of the speaker(s) recorded (e.g -EE-), the year of the recording (e.g. 2010) and the number of the sentence (013). Thus, digital recordings appear with codes such as F06-03-EE-2010.013. Note that the recordings collected between 2009 and 2010 have not been parsed in Toolbox yet and, therefore, were rarely used in this dissertation. In addition, during this second fieldwork as a PhD candidate, I have recorded around 12 hours of elicited sentences and words. Those recordings have been numbered and preliminarily archived within one folder, but still need to be properly organised. I have therefore not yet provided these examples with a code.

In 2008-2009 and in 2010-2011, I have also made carefully controlled recordings for acoustic analysis (particularly, for the description of the vocalic sounds, see §3.4; the glottal stop, see §3.5; and the prosodic system of the language, see Chapter 4). Those recordings have received a number followed by the abbreviation STE (from 'stereo') and have been archived within the same folder. Thus, they appear with codes such as "STE-120". A number of those recordings have been annotated by means of the *text grid* function available in PRAAT.

The audio files including monologue texts and conversations have been segmented into units that I analyse as **sentences**: grammatical units defined by the presence of a second position enclitic marking register (see §15.1). Sentences can include more than one clause (see Chapters 18-19 for a description of different types of dependent clauses in Kashibo-Kakataibo), and, therefore, they can

sometimes be very complex. Whenever such a complexity makes the illustration of a particular issue difficult, I have included only the relevant fragment of the sentence in the example. If the cut portion was in the middle of the fragment used as the example, I have always marked this by means of "[...]". If the fragment offered is a continuous fragment of speech without any edition, I did not consider the form "[...]" necessary. Added words or phrases have also been included in square brackets (e.g., ['ikën] 'is') if necessary, and Spanish loans are always in italics (e.g., *pero* 'but').

Examples include four lines: (1) an orthographic line that presents the actual form (i.e., after all morphophonemic processes have been applied); (2) a morpheme breakdown of line 1; and (3) a morpheme gloss. Lines (1), (2) and (3) are vertically aligned with each other. In addition, all the examples (with the exception of the unacceptable ones) include a free translation (4). This is shown in the following example:

(3) C00A02-AE-2006.015
uisai   karanuna   'iti   'ain
uisai   karanuna   'i-ti   'ain
how(INTR)   NAR.INT.1pl be-NOM   be.1/2p
'How will we be?'

Whenever I could not give a text example for one particular grammatical topic or where I consider it more helpful to offer elicited examples, I have done so. As already mentioned, elicited examples do not include a code. Elicited examples have been treated like text examples, and the same four lines (orthography, morpheme breakdown, glossing and free translation) have been included. One example of how elicited example look follows:

(4) mina   nipakëtin   ka   'ibu'
     mi-na   nipakët-i-n   ka   'ibut
     2sg-lest   fall.down-IMPF-1/2 NAR   descend.IMP
     'Come down, lest you will fall!'

During my fieldwork between November 2009 and May 2010, I have double checked all the examples included in a previous draft of this dissertation. Thus, every single example (both text and elicited examples) has been revised and evaluated. Examples considered problematic during this process of double checking have been removed, even if they originated in naturalistic speech. This process has been completed during my last field trip (2011). Therefore, the reader will be presented only with examples that have been double checked and considered grammatical and correctly translated by at least two respected speakers of the language who are known for their well-developed metalinguistic awareness. This, of course, does not mean that all Kashibo-Kakataibo speakers will have the same judgments or that the methodology followed here is free of problems. Being aware of the problems associated with linguistic exemplification, my only intention has been to be as careful as possible with the use of examples, as a way of showing respect to the potential readers of this piece of work.

Where necessary, examples that were considered unacceptable or pragmatically-marked by my teachers in elicitation sessions have been included in this grammar in order to better explain a particular claim. When this happens, explicit indications are given: <*> is used for examples that were not accepted by my teachers in elicitation sessions (but also for reconstructed forms) and <?> is used for constructions that were accepted by my teachers, but were considered pragmatically-marked or infelicitous, but possible. "Starred" examples are further distinguished by either not glossing them and/or by placing the free translation in

parentheses without initial capitalization or a final period. I usually not gloss unacceptable examples when minimal pairs including acceptable and unacceptable versions of the "same" utterance are given. Free translations in parentheses are offered whenever it is considered necessary for the argumentation to present a hypothetical or approximate meaning of the unacceptable example. Following a recommendation by Spike Gildea (pc.), I will generally use the descriptive term "unacceptable" for those examples that were rejected by my teachers in elicitation sessions, reserving the analytical term "ungrammatical" to those cases in which the unacceptability of the construction can clearly be linked to the violation of a grammatical principle that is assumed in this dissertation as part of what a the speakers' knowledge. Therefore, the use of the term "ungrammatical" is always accompanied with an explicit mention of the "reason" why I considered analytically appropriate to attribute this label to an unacceptable example.

1.6.3   Theoretical framework

This dissertation is a descriptive grammar. In that sense, its aim is to present as comprehensively as possible the features and mechanisms that operate in the language under study at different levels, ranging from phonology to discourse. It is not the aim of this thesis to build on any particular theoretical framework. However, this thesis does reflect my fundamental understanding of language. There is no such a thing as theoretically-neutral grammatical description (see, for instance, Dryer 2006 and Rice 2006). During the last four years, I have read, thought about, and used the ideas and theoretical proposals developed by different linguists. References to those proposals are offered throughout this

dissertation. All of them belong to what is usually known as the **functional-typological approach to language** or, as called by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), the cognitive-discursive approach to language, defined as a theoretical approach to language, in which:

> human language's role as a means of communication, its role in broader cognitive processes such as reasoning and conceptualization, and its relation with other cognitive systems such as perception and knowledge are all relevant and indeed crucial to the study of language. Language is viewed as an abstract system, one which is nonetheless firmly grounded in human communication and cognition (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 11).

Therefore, I personally believe in a very close relationship between grammatical structure, cognition and language use, and this represents the main theoretical principle that guides the ideas and analyses presented in this dissertation. This means, among other things, that I understand grammatical categories to be structured around prototypes and hierarchies, and that I use those theoretical ideas as descriptive/analytical tools. In addition, I firmly believe in grammaticalisation as a powerful explanatory tool and, thus, although this is a synchronic description of Kashibo-Kakataibo, the reader will also find diachronic interpretations if they help us in understanding or explaining specific patterns. In accordance with this, this dissertation understands grammatical categories as non-discrete and languages as dynamic systems in constant evolution and change.

Throughout this grammar, I have also attempted to follow as much as possible the theoretical tradition of grammar writing, which has recently been called basic linguistic theory (Dixon 1997, 2010) and has enormously benefited from typological research, among other linguistic disciplines (Dryer 2006). I have

attempted to make this dissertation a grammar and for it to look like a grammar.
In this spirit, this thesis has enormously benefited from the literature on
gramaticography (see, for instance, Lehmann and Maslova 2004; Mosel 2006)
and, in general, from many of the papers included in Payne and Weber ([2006]
2007), and Ameka, Dench and Evans (2006).The discussions and
recommendations offered in the referred papers have influenced the design of this
thesis and the methodology used in the associated research. In addition, the
questionnaire developed by Comrie and Smith (1997) for the *Lingua Descriptive
Studies* series and the set of unpublished materials prepared by Aikhenvald and
Dixon as part of the project *The categories of human languages* have been a useful
guide in determining which grammatical aspects I needed to pay attention to
during my periods of fieldwork.

Therefore, in my own analyses, I have used many of the descriptive tools
offered by the typologically-oriented approach to grammar writing. I have always
attempted to relate Kashibo-Kakataibo's categories to the categories found in
other languages and whenever possible I have widely used typological terms to
characterise what I have found in Kashibo-Kakataibo. However, I have always
accompanied these terms with explicit characterisations and illustrations of how
the traditional grammatical categories manifest in the language under study. I
have only introduced "new" terms when strictly necessary and always with
detailed explanations of how I am using the introduced terminology.

1.6.4   The structure of this thesis

This thesis is a grammatical description of the Kashibo-Kakataibo language as
spoken along the Lower Aguaytía. This grammatical description is in principle a

semasiological grammar (i.e. it goes from form to function; see Lehmann and Maslova 2004, and Mosel 2006). Nevertheless, abundant cross-references have been offered throughout the different chapters in order to help those readers looking for a more onomasiological approach (i.e., from function to form; see again see Lehmann and Maslova 2004, and Mosel 2006). Thus, for instance, if two different constructions are used for frustrative meanings, the reader will find in each section treating each construction, cross-references to the section in which the other one is discussed. I hope to make available an index of subjects based on functional domains for this thesis in the near future. The aim of such an index is to make this thesis more user-friendly for those scholars interested in typological research (following the recommendations given by Cristofaro 2006 and Mosel 2006, for instance).

This thesis includes 22 chapters. An introduction to the Kashibo-Kakataibo language has been offered in this chapter. Chapter 2 presents an introduction to the Kashibo-Kakataibo people. Chapters 3-4 deal with the phonological description of the language. The first chapter presents a segmental phonological description and offers an acoustic documentation of vocalic sounds and glottalisation. The next chapter is a description of the prosodic system of the language based on an acoustic analysis.

Chapter 5 presents a general introduction to morphology and lists all the morphological processes attested in Kashibo-Kakataibo. The discussion of the different bound elements operating at the end of words provides a set of criteria for distinguishing between suffixes and enclitics, which is particularly important for the understanding of the following chapters. Prefixation is also discussed in detail in this chapter. Chapter 6 presents the closed word classes of Kashibo-

Kakataibo and discusses the class of postpositions in detail, which are of particular interest from the perspective of grammaticalisation theory. Chapter 7 lists the criteria for distinguishing between open word classes and, then, Chapters 8-14 present a characterisation of the four open word classes identified in this dissertation: nouns (Chapters 8-9), adjectives (Chapter 10), verbs (Chapters 11-13) and adverbs (Chapter 14).

Chapter 15 presents the class of second position enclitics, which is highly important for the definition of independent clauses in Kashibo-Kakataibo. Chapter 16 presents the class of adverbial enclitics, a set of non-positional enclitics that can appear in any position in the clause and on any open word class. Chapter 17 lists a set of criteria for distinguishing between independent and dependent clauses in Kashibo-Kakataibo. Chapter 18 presents the switch-reference system of the language. Chapter 19 presents evaluative clauses and speech report-clauses. Chapter 20 presents grammatical nominalisations, which are used for the functions of relativisation and complementation. Chapter 21 discusses further topics on transitivity and grammatical relations. Finally, Chapter 22 discusses discourse structure, presenting the constituent order and the strategies for topicalisation, highlighting and focusing that the language exhibits. In addition, comments on a device for indicating discursive coherence and on the tail- head linkage structure found in Kashibo-Kakataibo are presented in this final chapter.

This thesis includes four appendixes. Appendix 1 offers a selection of three fully interlinearised and translated narratives. Appendixes 3 and 4 feature a Swadesh list of 200 terms and the 237 terms-list developed used by Tessmann (1930) in his classic volume, with information for the four extant dialects of

Kashibo-Kakataibo (see §1.4). Appendix 4 presents the list of the recorded texts that have been parsed in the Toolbox program for the purpose of this thesis. As explained in §1.6.1 and §1.6.2, these texts were collected between 2007 and 2008 and they are the ones more systematically used in the examples presented in this thesis. Recordings made during more recent periods of fielword were used in this thesis only marginally.

Chapter 2   The Kashibo-Kakataibo people

2.1   Introduction

This chapter offers a brief introduction to the Kashibo-Kakataibo people, describing their current situation and offering a brief account of their fascinating history. As we will see, the ancestors of the Kashibo-Kakataibo are to be found in the small bands that used to inhabit a plains area to the west of the Franciscan Missionary stations at the Ucayali River, where the missionaries lived with other Pano groups (the Shipibo, the Shetebo and the Konibo) since 1765-1766. The Spanish missionaries called that plains area "Pampa del Sacramento" (Plains of the Sacrament).[12] Even though the Kashibo-Kakataibo did not live with the missionaries, their official documentation contains plenty of mentions and references to the Kashibo-Kakataibo. Such references constitute a very important source for the study of the history of this population, but also reveal the terrible image that the missionaries had about the Kashibo-Kakataibo, accusing them of being savage and cannibals.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. In §2.2, I list and discuss the different names that have been used to refer to the Kashibo-Kakataibo throughout their history; in §2.3, I discuss about the cannibalism myth that the missionaries propagated about the Kashibo-Kakataibo; in §2.4, I offer a brief account of the

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[12] The "Pampa del Sacramento" was "discovered" on the 21th of June of 1726 by Don Juan Nunez Lobo and his expedition. This plains area (or valley) was called "Pampa del Sacramento" in commemoration of *Corpus Christi* (Lehnertz 1974: 182-183) and quickly became very important to the Franciscans' missionary interests, since it was a centre of ethnic diversity.

historical development of this population; in §2.5, I offer a brief characterisation of the current situation of this ethnic group; in §2.6, I describe their material culture and ways of subsistence; in §2.7, I present the kinship system; and, finally, in §2.8, I comment on their social life and beliefs, and on how those are being transmitted in this days.

2.2 On the name(s) of the Kashibo-Kakataibo

It is well-know that Pano groups generally did not have auto-denominations, and usually received exonyms from other groups. The most famous exonym that the Kashibo-Kakataibo were given was *Kashibo* (a Pano term comprised of *kashi* 'bat' and *-bu* 'plural', used by the Shipibo, the Konibo and the Shetebo and then adopted by the Franciscan missionaries; see §2.3).

This name, usually spelt as <Cashibo>, <Casibo>, <Casivo> or <Cashivo>, among others, appeared for the first time in the official documents during the second half of the XVIII century. However, according to Frank (1994: 141), the missionaries knew about this population much earlier and used the name <Carapacho> to refer to them. The etymology of the word <Carapacho> is clearly Quechua. It comprises the word *qara*, a pan-Quechua lexeme that means, in this case, 'naked' and the form *pat͡sa*, from the Quechua varieties of Junín and Huánuco, which means 'belly' (Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino, pc.). That is, <Carapacho> means 'a person who does not cover his belly'. The final *o* in the form <Carapacho> comes probably from the Spanish masculine gender marker, since it is likely that the original final *a* in the form *qara pat͡sa* was re-analysed in Spanish as a feminine gender marker and, thus, the masculine marker *-o* (and also *-e* in some documents) was used to replace it.

According to Frank (1994: 141), the missionaries used first the name <Carapacho> (which appeared for the first time in an official document around 1733-1734) to refer to the same indigenous people that they started to call <Cashibo> in 1765. Thus, for Frank, <Carapacho> and <Cashibo> were used to refer to the same group. Frank considers that there were two parallel ethnic terminological systems coexisting during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one used by the Quechua populations from Huánuco and another used by Pano groups such as the Shetebo, the Konibo and the Shipibo. The Franciscan Missionaries were in contact with both and learned both names at different moments. According to Frank, the name <Carapacho> did not necessarily refer to the ancestors of the Kashibo-Kakataibo, but, nevertheless, the Franciscans would have recruited this word to name them before entering in contact with the Shetebo, the Konibo and the Shipibo. From them, the Franciscans would have learned the name <Cashibo>, which acquired a very negative connotation (see §2.3). In between the change from <Carapacho> to <Cashibo>, there was a period of overlap where both names were used in the Franciscans' documentation (Frank 1994: 142). The name <Carapacho> disappeared from the historical documents after the name <Cashibo> became well-established and the latter is the only one that has survived until now.[13]

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[13] Frank's argument is overall convincing. However, there are also a few historical documents that treat the <Carapacho> and the <Cashibo> as two different ethnic groups. For instance, Lehnertz (1974: 170 and 171) quotes a Colonial document, the *Relación de Govierno* by Francisco Gil de Toboada y Lemus (1796), where the <Cashibo> and the <Carapacho> are described as two different (albeit fairly similar) groups. Notice, however, that both populations were argued to be from the Pachitea River and were considered cannibals.

It is usually claimed that the Kashibo-Kakataibo do not like the name "Kashibo" (Winstrand 1998: ix; Frank 1994: 139), because it refers to their alleged savagery and taste for human flesh (see §2.3). In the anthropological literature, it is easy to find explicit comments about the negative value of this name and about the efforts of the Kashibo-Kakataibo to officially change it (a detailed account of this is given by Ritter 1986).

As Frank (1994: 139) and Winstrand-Robinson (1998: xi) have documented, the name *Uni* has been proposed as an ethnic denomination to replace *Kashibo*. The word *Uni* means 'people', and it was claimed by these authors to be the denomination that the Kashibo-Kakataibo themselves prefer. However, I have never heard about this preference among the Kashibo-Kakataibo I have met (and the same is said by Ritter 1986). This name seems to be only preferred by some people from the Sungaroyacu River; but even there it is not a well-established denomination, as I have been told by different people from the area.

The name *Kakataibo* (also spelt <Cacataibo>) has also been proposed as a replacement for *Kashibo*, with more success than *Uni*. The name *Kakataibo ~ Cacataibo* is used by different organisations working with the Kashibo-Kakataibo. For example, the non-governmental Organisation IBC (Institute for the Common Well-being) systematically uses this denomination in their documentation. Different anthropologists and linguists in Peru do the same, and this practice has been also adopted by the Kashibo-Kakataibo: for instance, the name of their political organisation includes the name *Kakataibo* (spelt *Cacataibo*) and not *Kashibo*. The problem is that, historically, the name *Kakataibo* (see §2.4 and, particularly, Table 7) was used to refer only to one specific Kashibo-Kakataibo

subgroup, the one that lives along the San Alejandro River (Tessmann 1930; Winstrand 1969a; and Winstrand-Robinson 1998; among others). Thus, using the name *Kakataibo* alone disregards the historical differences among the Kashibo-Kakataibo from different regions. This is particularly dangerous in the context of the present dissertation, which is a grammatical description of the dialect spoken along the Lower Aguaytía River and not of the one spoken along the San Alejandro River (see §1.4).

Therefore, in this dissertation I use the label *Kashibo-Kakataibo*. The denomination *Kashibo-Kakataibo* has been previously used in other documents and books. It was adopted by SIL-Peru since the 1950's and is the name given to the language in *Ethnologue* (but SIL spells it differently, using <c> instead of <k>: <Cashibo-Cacataibo>; in this dissertation, I use *k* rather than *c*, since this has become an established practice in modern Pano linguistics).

One question remains: what does *Kakataibo* mean? Winstrand (1998: xiv) considers that this word means 'wandering people', but her analysis has some problems. To obtain the meaning 'to wander', she must have been thinking of the verb 'to go', which is *kʷan-* in Kashibo-Kakataibo but *ka-* in Shipibo-Konibo, thus bearing a phonetic similarity to the first syllable of the name. But this etymology sounds dubious. In fact, we know that the Shibipo-Konibo called the Kashibo-Kakataibo simply *Kashibo* and, as far as I know, the term *Kakataibo* does not appear in the documents of the missionaries who lived with the Shipibo-Konibo. Therefore, trying to find a Shipibo etymology does not seem to be correct in this case. As already explained, the name *Kakataibo* was originally the denomination of one particular Kashibo-Kakataibo subgroup and was started to be used in order to refer to the whole ethnic group, perhaps due to the bad connotation of the

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name *Kashibo*. Therefore, *Kakataibo* is very likely to be a Kashibo-Kakataibo term, used by some clans to refer to another(s), rather than an exonym used by other Pano groups as a synonym of *Kashibo*.

The ending *-bo* in *Kakataibo* is clearly associated with the marker *-bu*, which in Kashibo-Kakataibo gets a 'collective' interpretation (see §16.2.10). In turn, the form *-ai* in *kakatai* very likely corresponds to the nominaliser *-ai* (see §20.2.2.5). Therefore, the form that still needs an interpretation is *kakat-* and not *kaka*. The form *kakat-* is very likely to be a verb, but I have not been able to find a possible interpretation for it. We are probably dealing with a reduplicated form and, therefore, the verbal form in question might be something like *kat-*: *kat-kat* > *kakat*. The Kashibo-Kakataibo say that *kakatai* means 'the best men in the world'. This meaning is also given by Shell (1986: 28) in her vocabulary. There, the word *kakatai* is opposed to *kaatai* 'the biggest and best bird that exists' (very likely to be based on the non-reduplicated version of the same verb, *kat-ai*, with an alleged vowel lengthening that still requires an explanation). However, I am not aware of any Kashibo-Kakataibo verb with the form *kat-* and a semantic content that will lead to the interpretation just offered. Therefore, this possible verbal root is still enigmatic to me.

2.3   The Kashibo-Kakataibo and the cannibalism myth

The Kashibo-Kakataibo have frequently been described as one of the most savage, aggressive and dangerous ethnic groups of South America, with reports dating back to the eighteenth century. Amongst this "mythology" about the Kashibo-Kakataibo, the most famous story concerns their taste for human flesh. Their "uncontrollable" cannibalism became "proof" of their "savagery", and it

has been repeated in different monographs and reports since the establishment of the Franciscan Missions in the area. See, for example, the following passage, taken from Grubb (1927: 84):

> The Kashibo occupy the affluents of the left bank of the Ucayali from the Pisqui to the Pachitea. They are the most **savage** of the Pano tribes of the Ucayali, and are **cannibals** [emphasis added].

Grubb includes only three lines about the Kashibo-Kakataibo in his book; but they feature the words *savage* and *cannibals*. The question at hand is: where does this terrible vision of the Kashibo-Kakataibo come from? I summarise, in this section, the answer given by Frank (1994).

The Franciscan missionaries re-established their missions along the Ucayali for the last time in 1765-66 (after they recovered from an indigenous rebellion that forced them to leave the area). Once re-established in the area, they invited the Shetebo and Shipibo (two populations living in the north-eastern region of the Pampa del Sacramento) to live with them and the Konibo, who were traditional enemies of the two other populations. The presence of the missionaries changed the social relations between those ethnic groups: all of them were interested in the western commodities (axes, metal tools, clothes and the like) that the missionaries used to distribute among the indigenous people living with them, as a way to keep them on their missions. In order to have access to these goods, the Shipibo, the Shetebo and the Konibo had to live together in peace, to become Christians and to follow the Franciscan rules. One consequence of this was that the Shetebo and the Shipibo were culturally and linguistically

absorbed into the Konibo, producing the Shipibo-Konibo ethnic group of present days.

However, this peaceful cohabitation did not extend to the other inhabitants of the Pampa del Sacramento (including the ancestors of the Kashibo-Kakataibo). Instead, the Shipibo-Konibo-Shetebo continued fighting with them as they had traditionally done – now with the additional motivation that they did not want to share the missionaries' goods. Apparently, they did not want the missionaries to contact the other populations, and told them about the savage <Cashibo> ('bat people') who lived in the Pampa del Sacramento and were dangerous due to their uncontrollable taste for human flesh.

As a number of Pano groups, the ancestors of the Kashibo-Kakataibo had a ritualised funerary endocannibalism practice, but this practice is different from the purported uncontrollable desire for human flesh that the documents attribute to them. Dole (1962) offers a description of endocannibalism among Amawaka Indians (a Pano group), and also states that this type of cannibalism has been an extremely widespread practice among South American Indians and, particularly, among Pano groups. According to Dole, cannibalism can be of different types, "according to whether the subject eaten belongs to the in-group or the out-group" (Dole 1962: 567), and she says that the most common type of cannibalism among Pano populations was endo-cannibalism (practiced by the Remos, Yaminahuas, Amahuacas and Conibos). Wistrand (1969b) includes a text, told by Heriberto Pacarua, a Kashibo-Kakataibo man, who explains the tradition of ritual funerary endocannibalism, practiced by his ancestors. According to him, the Kashibo-Kakataibo had a ritual of cremation of important people. This process was the first step in a ceremony where the people prepared a beverage with the powder

obtained by crushing the charred bones of the dead person (after burning their flesh). The aim of this ritualised endocannibalism was to transfer the qualities of the dead person to the living people.

One of the main arguments used by Frank (1994: 149) to state that the negative vision of the <Cashibo> originated with the Shipibo-Shetebo-Konibo is that missionaries from 1792 onwards, even though they had no contact with the <Cashibo>, uncritically repeated that they were cannibals and savages. Frank (1994) and Lehnertz (1974) offer numerous quotations from official documents written by different missionaries where the word "cannibal" inevitably appears together with the word <Cashibo>. Lehnertz (1974: 169-170) explains that:

> The Europeans of the period knew little else about [the Kashibo-Kakataibo], and most of what the Franciscans along the Ucayali learned was supplied by Conibo and Shipibo informants. Consistently they were classified as barbarians and cruel, overtly, even aggressively, hostile to surrounding tribes, incapable of reduction and anthropophagous.

It is true that there were failed attempts by the missionaries to contact the <Cashibo>, and it is also true that the <Cashibo> attacked non-missionary expeditions and carried out attacks on the missionary stations where the Fransciscans lived together with the Setebo, Shipibo and Konibo. But it is also true that the Franciscans allowed the Shipibo and Konibo to attack, capture and kill the <Cashibo> (Frank 1994). It is difficult to stipulate who started this war, which in any case probably predates the arrival of the Spanish missionaries. However, it is likely that the missionary presence exacerbated the situation: one of the main reasons for the attacks by the <Cashibo> was a desire for the metalic

tools and clothes that the missionaries gave to the Shetebo-Shipibo-Konibo, but never to the <Cashibo>, since they were considered too savage.

The negative perception of the <Cashibo> ensured that they remained isolated from the missionaries, and this has had significant consequences for their historical development as an ethnic group. The Kashibo-Kakataibo entered the twentieth century as a loosely integrated group of bands, and it was only in 1920 that a Kashibo-Kakataibo man, called Bolívar Odicio, started the process of unifying these different bands to create a larger cultural and political unit (see §2.4).

2.4   A brief ethno-history of the Kashibo-Kakataibo

Overall, very little is known about the prehistory of Amazonia, but thanks to pioneering archaeological research by Lathrap (1962, 1968 and 1970), the Ucayali River basin is one of the archeologically best known areas within the Amazon basin. Nevertheless, there are still many questions about how, when and by whom the area was occupied, and many of Lathrap's interpretations have been contested by different scholars (see Carneiro and Wurzel forthcoming).

However, some of Lathrap's findings are, as far as I understand, generally accepted. One of these is that the Ucayali Basin has been inhabited by different ethnic groups throughout the time, and that there is evidence for the existence of different ceramic patterns. Lathrap (1970: 86-87) states that the earlier ceramic vestiges, found in Tutishcainyo (one kilometre from Yarinacocha Lake in

Ucayali) could be contemporary to Kotosh, a culture from Huánuco.[14] That is, according to Lathrap, the Tutishcainyo ceramic vestiges are from 2000-1600 B.C. However, according to Lathrap (1970) and Myers (1970), only the much more recent ceramic vestiges found in Pacacocha (300 A.C.), another archaeological site close to Pucallpa, can be related to Pano speakers. Therefore, their interpretation is that the Pano presence in the Ucayali Basin is more recent and represents a later stage in the chronology of the occupation of the Central Ucayali River.

If we accept Lathrap's interpretation, the next question that arises is: where did the Pano people come from? One answer is that they have come from Southern Amazonia, from the area where the Tacana languages, allegedly related to Pano languages (see §1.2), are found.[15] The Southern origin of the Pano people was first proposed by Lathrap (1968), based on archaeological evidence such as the similarity between the ceramic patterns of the Pano groups and the pre-Guaraní ceramic style and linguistic evidence associated with the existence of Pano-Tacana cognates. This proposal is accepted by different scholars (see Tournon 2002: 34 and Loos 1973: 279),[16] but we do not have enough information about what happened after this movement or about how the Pano populations

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[14] In accordance with this, Winstrand (1973) shows some similarities between one of the axe types found in Kotosh and the axes found in Kashibo-Kakataibo settlements.

[15] If Tacana and Pano languages are demonstrated to be genetically related, as proposed by Key (1968) and Girard (1971), this may represent very convincing evidence in favour of the Southern origin of Pano people.

[16] D'Ans (1973) uses the glottochronological method to demonstrate that Lathrap was wrong. D'Ans (1973:367) criticizes Lathrap's proposal, stating that the glottochronological result "make evident" that the Pano presence along the Ucayali River is earlier that Lathrap thinks. However, the glottochronological method is criticized heavily in linguistics and D'Ans' conclusions should be taken very carefully.

settled in the places where they are now. We do not know, for example, if the arrival of Pano people to central Amazonia and particularly to the Ucayali Basin was one big migrational movement or if they moved at different times inhabiting different spaces. And we do not know about the specific emigrational movements followed by the Kashibo-Kakataibo's ancestors (Tournon 2002: 36).

What we know about the prehistory of the Kashibo-Kakataibo is that they have come from the dozens of small Pano bands that inhabited the Pampa del Sacramento, most of which are now extinct, and were encountered by the Franciscan missionaries. The Franciscans never created missionary stations among these populations and dedicated all their attention to the Shipibo, the Konibo and the Shetebo, with whom they lived in the missionary stations of the Ucayali River (see §2.4 for details). However, the missionaries needed to name the groups that lived in the Pampa de Sacramento. In that context, the name <Cashibo> was used as a cover term to refer to all these Indian bands (see §2.2). According to Frank (1994), the creation of bounded ethnic groups, which could be "named", only happened after the eighteenth century, influenced by the missionaries and other agents of western culture (Frank 1994: 142-146).

However, differently from what Frank believes, the clans referred to by the name <Cashibo> might not have been very different from each other in terms of either their culture or their language. In fact, those bands may have been more similar to each other than they were to outside groups. It is likely to be true that those bands had a very local definition of their identity, but it is also true that they have probably come from the same ancestors. That is, even though they did not have a single name and the name <Cashibo> was imposed from outside, we do not have any evidence to believe that this name was used to refer to a highly

heterogeneous set of ethnic bands or that these bands were more different from each other than from the Shipibo, the Konibo or the Shetebo. On the contrary, linguistic evidence seems to argue against this assumption (see, for instance, §1.4, where the case of the <Nokaman> language is briefly commented on).

Nowadays, the Kashibo-Kakataibo still keep this local idea of identity at least to some extent and identify themselves as belonging to different subgroups. However, they will immediately recognise the Kashibo-Kakataibo from other areas as belonging to the same ethnic unit. They use the Kashibo-Kakataibo word *kaibo* 'distant relative' or the Spanish term *paisano* 'fellow countryman' to refer to them, but these words will never be used to refer to the Shipibo-Konibo, for instance. Tessmann (1930: 128) divides the people who he called <Kaschibo> into three sub-groups, sub-divided into eighteen different clans, as follows (the version offered here comes from an unpublished translation by David Fleck, based on the Spanish version of Tessmann's book, published in 1999):

Table 6   Tessmann's classification of the <Kaschibo> people

Kaschinõ Group
1. kašinõ	from kaši = bat, therefore, bat people
2. rūinõ	from rui = taro [cultivated tuber], therefore, taro people
3. warínõ	from warí = sun, therefore, sun people
4. tšažonõ	from tšažo = deer [type?], therefore deer people
5. naibo	from nai = sloth, bo = group, people, therefore, sloth people/group
6. naítabohuni	from naítabo = scarlet macaw and huni = men, therefore, macaw people

Runo Group
7. rōunõ	from rōu = howler monkey, therefore howler monkey people
8. winanõ	from wina = wasp, therefore wasp people
9. aínõ	from aí = woman, therefore woman people
10. šokenõ	from šoke = small toucan, aracari [type of small toucan], therefore aracari people
11. inonõ	from ino = jaguar, therefore jaguar people
12. širinõ	from širi = trogon [type of bird], therefore trogon(?) people
13. tonánõ	from toná = black, therefore black people (due to the dark skin of the members of this clan)
14. hunínõ	from huni = human being, therefore the humans
15. kamaigohuni	from kamaigo = type of iguana, therefore iguana people

| 16. tsalgūnõ | from tsalgū = rail [type of shore bird] (acouchi [type of small rodern, probably an error]), therefore rail people |
| 17. buniño | from buni = a type of tree [swamp palm (*aguaje*)?] |

Kakataibo Group:

| 18. Kakataibo | could not be explained, must be something like "good people" |

The level of ethnic integration among those three subgroups is difficult to determine, but Tessmann compared 34 words across the three subgroups, and the linguistic similarities are more than considerable. It would be very difficult to argue that those subgroups spoke different languages rather than different dialects. In addition, Tessmann offers information about a small Pano group from the Pachitea River that he calls <Nokamán>.[17] Since the <Nokamán> were from the Pachitea River, they were part of what the missionaries called the <Cashibo>. Based on the linguistic data that Tessmann (1930: 184-185) presents, it is possible to say that this ethnic group clearly constituted another Kashibo-Kakataibo sub-group. The <Nokamán> and the three subgroups of <Kaschibo> recognised by Tessmann spoke dialects of the same language (see §1.4, where Kashibo-Kakataibo dialectology is briefly described); and this language was different from the language of the Shipibo and the Konibo (which were probably very similar to each other) as well as from the language of the Shetebo (which was probably very similar to the extinct language known as Pano or Wariapano).

Winstrand (1969a: 146-147) identifies the following different Kashibo-Kakataibo subgroups: <Cacataibo> ('Kakatai people'; equivalent to Tessmann's <Kakataibo> and located along the San Alejandro River), <Canabae Uni> ('macaw people'; equivalent to Tessmann's <Kaschinõ> and located along the

[17] Note that the name given by Tessmann is very likely to be wrong. The more probable form is *kamano,* with the etymology *kaman* 'wild dog' and *no* 'foreigner'.

Lower Aguaytía River); <Rubu> ('howler monkey people'; equivalent to Tessmann's <Runo> and located along the Lower Aguaytía River); and <Isonubo> ('spider monkey people', at least linguistically equivalent to Tessmann's <Runo> and located along the Sungaroyacu River). Winstrand (1969a: 147) also mentioned another small group, located along the Pachitea River, called the <Kamano>. This probably extinct group corresponds to Tessmann's <Nokamán> (and some anthropologists and non-governmental organisations consider these people to be still alive, living in voluntary isolation). All this is summarised in the following table (notice that the ethnic classification offered by Winstrand corresponds exactly to the dialectological classification proposed in §1.4):

Table 7   Kashibo-Kakataibo subgroups in Tessmann (1930) and Winstrand (1969a)

Tessmann (1930)	Winstrand (1969a)	Location
Kakataibo	Cacataibo	San Alejandro River
Kaschinõ	Canabae uni	Lower Aguaytía River
Runo	Rubo	Upper Aguaytía River
	Isunubo	Sungaroyacu River
Nokamán	Kamano	Close to the Pachitea River

Thus, while the name <Cashibo> was imposed by the missionaries on a set of small bands, the available linguistic evidence suggests that those bands were not very different from each other or that a completely new ethnic group was created, as Frank (1994) seems to believe. It is probably true that these bands did not necessarily see each other as belonging to the same in-group, but it is very likely that they had a certain level of integration or that they even cooperated with each other in some of the attacks on the Franciscan missions. Notice also that the name <Cashibo> was told to the missionaries by the Shipibo-Konibo-Shetebo

(see §2.4), but it is unclear how they used the word <Cashibo> before the missionaries came. This point is very important since, presumably, the Franciscans did not use the term differently, but rather used it to refer to the same group of people that the Shetebo-Konibo-Shipibo referred to with the term.

One hundred years after Peru became independent from Spain, during the years between 1920 and 1940, a Kashibo-Kakataibo man captured and raised by the Shipibo and called Bolívar Odicio successfully attempted to dominate and unify the different Kashibo-Kakataibo bands, forcing them to live together with each other and with the Shibipo in villages that he established (see Gray 1953). It is interesting to note that Bolívar Odicio had a clear idea of which bands he wanted to unify and of where to find them.

Bolívar Odicio was originally from the Lower Aguaytía River, where he is still considered a cultural hero (Gray 1953), and "made raids on the Upper Aguaytía, San Alejandro, and Sungaruyacu areas, and succeeded in taking many Cashibos captive in order to acculturate them to mestizo culture among the Shipibo" (Winstrand 1969a: 12). Among the Kashibo-Kakataibo from along these rivers, Bolívar Odicio is considered an evil murderer, who inflicted suffering and pain on their ancestors (Frank 1994). According to the elderly Kashibo-Kakataibo of the Lower Aguaytía who met him, Bolívar Odicio captured and moved hundreds of people with the help of Ochapa Estrella and Tëtëkamu Aguilar. What they did had a significant influence on how the Kashibo-Kakataibo live and see themselves nowadays.

Under Bolívar Odicio's leadership, the Kashibo-Kakataibo worked on the cleaning and the construction of the last section of the highway from Lima to Pucallpa: particularly on the section from the city of Aguaytía to the city of

Pucallpa; and, according to some elderly Kashibo-Kakataibo, they also cleaned the stretch from the city of Aguaytía to the city of Tingo Maria. During those years of hard work, the Kashibo-Kakataibo "were outwardly acculturated and subdued, but suffered decimation through epidemic of measles, whooping cough, and tuberculosis as well as extreme cultural shock" (Winstrand 1969: 13). As a reward for their work on the road, the Kashibo-Kakataibo were deeded a reservation territory by the Peruvian Government in 1940.[18] The reservation consisted of a few hundred hectares on the west bank of the Lower Aguaytía. The Peruvian Government was expecting the Kashibo-Kakataibo from different rivers to gather there and live together, but this did not happen. Only the people who were originally from there stayed in the reservation, while all Bolívar's captives wandered back to their original settlements, after Bolívar's death (Winstrand 1969: 13).

Bolívar Odicio also forced the Kashibo-Kakataibo to work for other *patrones*.[19] These *patrones* (which include, among others, a Peruvian engineer called Benturín and a Japanese business man called Yamato Tawa; Frank 1994) made them work without rest, letting them die and caused a break in the transmission of their cultural values (Wistrand 1968b). Towards the beginning of 1940, the Kashibo-Kakataibo were alienated from their traditional culture, suffering from a dependency on western manufactured products and, in many cases, not remembering how to manufacture their traditional goods. And in this

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[18] There is a wonderful picture of Bolivar Odicio, one of his wives and the president of Peru of those years, Manuel Prado, in the Presidential Palace in Lima; see Ministerio de Educacion del Perú: 1973.

[19] A *patrón* is an entrepreneur, usually in the rubber or timber industry, who engages a large number of employees, typically by giving them credit advances to control them through debt.

state of mind, they were contacted by the SIL Missionaries in the 1950s. These SIL Missionaries created the first public schools attended by Kashibo-Kakataibo students.

During the decades of 1980 and 1990, their territory was infringed upon by the terrorist movements *Partido Comunista Peruano-Sendero Luminoso* (PCP-SL) and *Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru* (MRTA), and also by drug traffickers, who still represent a danger in the area. During these years, the Kashibo-Kakataibo had to migrate from one place to another, escaping from the violence; and these migrations made them more vulnerable. Nowadays, they seem to be recovering from these terrible past experiences: the ethnic and political idea of a unified Kashibo-Kakataibo group has become stronger and the Kashibo-Kakataibo together have created a political organisation called FENACOCA (National Federation of Cacataibo Communities), which has been very active over the last years.

2.5   The Kashibo-Kakataibo today

Nowadays, the Kashibo-Kakataibo inhabit the Amazonian Highlands or *Selva Alta*, around the borders between the Peruvian departments of Huánuco and Ucayali. Tingo Maria and Aguaytía are two of the biggest towns in the area, and their population is mainly composed of migrants or sons and daughters of migrants, who arrived from different places in the Andes, looking for a better life. These Andean Migrants arrived also in more rural areas, where they have to share fields and resources with the earlier settlers: indigenous populations like the Kashibo-Kakataibo. The Kashibo-Kakataibo live in seven communities, along the

rivers Aguaytía, San Alejandro, Shamboyacu and Sungaroyacu (see Map 2). The list of these communities is presented in the following table:

Table 8   List of Kashibo-Kakataibo communities

Community	Administrative division
Mariscal Caceres	Ucayali, Padre Abad, Padre Abad
Puerto Azul	Ucayali, Padre Abad, Padre Abad
Puerto Nuevo	Ucayali, Padre Abad, Padre Abad
Santa Martha	Huanuco, Puerto Inca, Puerto Inca
Sinchi Roca (I and II)	Ucayali, Padre Abad, Padre Abad
Unipacuyacu	Huanuco, Puerto Inca, Puerto Inca
Yamino	Ucayali, Padre Abad, Padre Abad

Map 2   Current location of Kashibo-Kakataibo communities
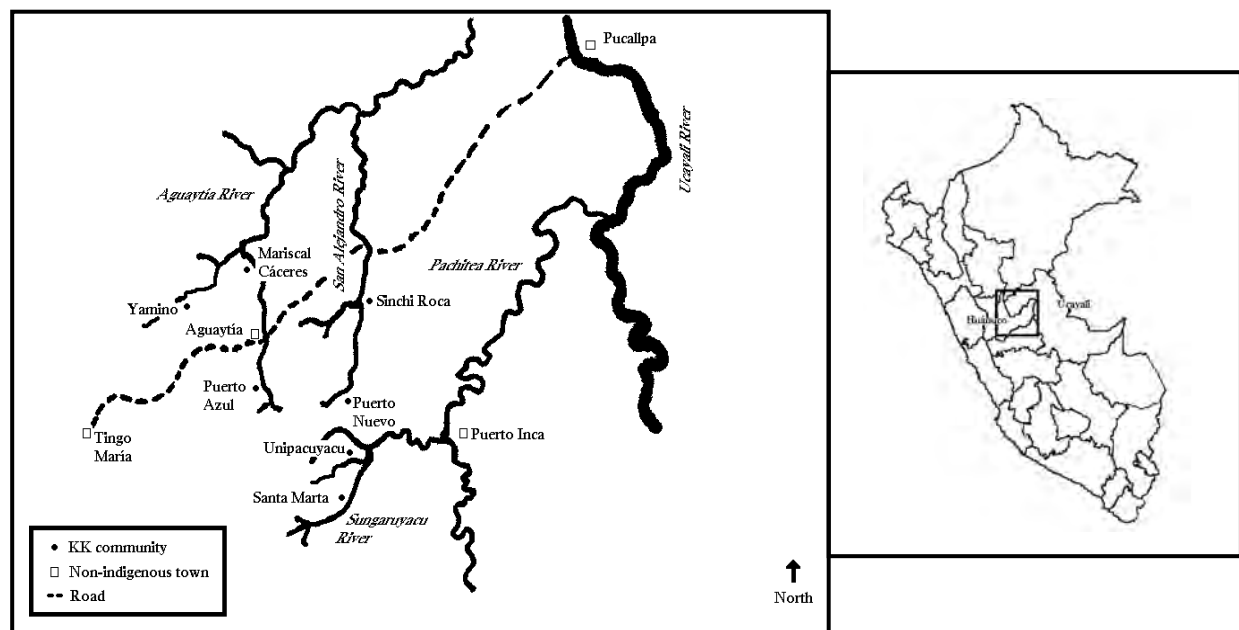
According to Frank (1994: 151), it is not possible to know how many Kashibo-Kakataibo were there during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the earliest demographic information about them comes from Von Hassel (1905). Von Hassel indicates that there were around 3,000 or 3,500 Kashibo-Kakataibo during the last years of the nineteenth century; Gray (1953: 146)

estimates them to be 5,000 at the beginning of the twentieth century; and Ritter

considers that during the first years of the 1970s, they numbered only 1,300

people with an increase rate of 4% per year (quoted in Frank 1994: 152). This

reduction of the Kashibo-Kakataibo between 1930 and 1940 relates to the time

when they were recruited to work on the last part of the highway that connects

Lima with Central Amazonia (see §2.4). In accordance with this, it has been

claimed that, in 1960, there were less than one thousand Kashibo-Kakataibo

people (Winstrand 1968: 614). According to the most recent Census of

Indigenous Communities of the Peruvian Amazon (INEI: 2007), currently the

Kashibo-Kakataibo number about 1879. However, the Kashibo-Kakataibo's

political organization (FENACOCA) considered that their number was around

3,000 or 3,500 in 2007 (Fernando Estrella, pc.). This number is the one that I

preliminarily assume to be correct.

A view of the Kashibo-Kakataibo village of Yamino.

2.6   Material culture and subsistence

The ancestors of the Kashibo-Kakataibo do not seem to have had an elaborate

material culture. Different Colonial documents highlight the fact that they did not

have canoes, sophisticated pottery and complex baskets; but Winstrand (1973) has documented different types of beautifully manufactured stone axes.

One of the most elaborated artefacts of the Kashibo-Kakataibo ancestors were their arrows and spears, which are claimed to be among the most beautiful and sophisticated in the Amazon (the first edition of Tessman's 1930 book even presents these arrows on the coversheet). Kashibo-Kakataibo arrows are of different types and serve different functions (including hunting, fishing and fighting). However, they are not used for those functions any longer, and nowadays their manufacture is for exclusively commercial reasons (the Kashibo-Kakataibo sell those arrows to tourists, collectionists or other interested people). In principle, only a few elders still know how to make arrows and spears, but I have witnessed a number of young people trying to learn this technique.

The prehistoric ancestors of the Kashibo-Kakataibo were hunters, fishermen and gatherers, and those economic activities are still important for the Kashibo-Kakataibo nowadays. Shotguns are used for hunting, and most people fish with castings and gil nets. Gathering activities happen only rarely and only for specific reasons, such as collecting canes to prepare arrows, or collecting medicinal plants when someone is sick. According to Winstrand (1998: 138-139), agricultural practices were only added relatively recently to their way of live. However, nowadays, agriculture has become perhaps the most important source of subsistence among the Kashibo-Kakataibo. The products planted by them include plantain, manioc, corn, rice, peanuts, pineapple, coconut, papaya, among many others. Recently, the Peruvian Government has introduced a stimulus plan for the Kashibo-Kakataibo who are interested in planting cacao, as an incentive to prevent illegal coca plantations. Dozens of Kashibo-Kakataibo families from

different villages have been trained in the management of cacao plantations, and this crop may become a source of income over the years.

In recent years, the Kashibo-Kakataibo have also started to put considerable effort in making their traditional handicrafts more profitable. They have realised that handicrafts may obtain good prices in certain markets and I have witnessed how much the people (mostly women) have worked in order to establish their handicraft in those markets. I have gone to Lima with them to a couple of handicraft markets, where they have had big success. This may become an important source of income in the future, as it is for other indigenous populations.

The Kashibo-Kakataibo are nowadays rooted deeply in the non-indigenous culture, and have changed their life radically. At least three Kashibo-Kakataibo villages (Yamino, Mariscal Cáceres and Puerto Azul) have built communal houses in the city of Aguaytía, and those houses are usually full of Kashibo-Kakataibo who may spend long periods in this city. There, they work in different types of jobs, earn some money and look after their sons and daughters, many of whom are studying at local high schools.

In principle, it seems that the Kashibo-Kakataibo have adapted relatively well to the urban style of life, and some of them are successful. Probably the best example is Fernando Estrella, who in 2010 took up a very important position in the Municipal Government of Aguaytía and even became the acting mayor of the Province of Padre Abad for a short period. However, not all the Kashibo-Kakataibo prosper and improve their quality of life in the cities. There are not enough jobs available there, and the fact that everything has a monetary value produces anxiety and stress. This makes the cities crucially different from the

traditional villages, where there is always something to eat and to drink. However, for reasons that still require careful sociological research, most Kashibo-Kakataibo prefer to stay in Aguaytía as much as they can, even under the most difficult conditions.

The Kashibo-Kakataibo today live within a market economy and they use money not only outside but also within their communities. Kashibo-Kakataibo obtain money from the sale of agricultural products and handicrafts. In addition, a number of people work for the oil, gas and timber companies operating in the area. These companies are supposed to negotiate contracts with the local communities in order to be allowed to exploit the resources available in their territories. These contracts usually include individual payments to each member of the community and, therefore, represent another important source of income. Sadly, in my experience, the relationships between the companies and the communities always have disadvantages for the latter, and lead to a quick degradation of the environment. The general idea among the Kashibo-Kakataibo is that, only a few years after the beginning of those contracts, there are already fewer fish in the rivers and fewer animals in the jungle due to the damage caused by these companies' operations. However, they also appreciate the payments that those companies provide. It seems that the current destruction of natural resources is one of the main reasons why the Kashibo-Kakataibo want to build houses in the nearby cities and, if possible, live there. The consequences of all those processes to their identity and their language are, in my opinion, unpredictable at present. Interestingly, in the middle of these difficult times, the Kashibo-Kakataibo are still proud of their traditions and culture, and most children are still learning the language from their parents.

Emilio Estrella preparing a bow.

Irma Estrella with her handicrafts.

Magaly Estrella preparing necklaces.

2.7   Kinship system

As explained by Winstrand (1969a: 17-24), all the Kashibo-Kakataibo "consider themselves *uni* 'man, people' and all other people in the world as *no* 'enemies, strangers, foreigners'". The category of *uni* is subdivided into two different sub-categories: *kaibu* 'kashibo-kakataibo people from other clan' and *'aintsi* 'members of one's own clan.' The *'aintsi* are always understood as relatives. In addition, the words *chaiti* and *rara* are used for 'ancestors' in myths and narratives about the past.

According to Winstrand (1998: 128), traditionally, matrilocal residence was required for a married couple and the ideal Kashibo-Kakataibo marriage was "a symmetrical cross-cousin exchange." But in current times, cross-cousin exchanges are not necessarily frequent and the marriages between Kashibo-Kakataibo and Shipibo or non-indigenous people are more common than before. In addition, no strict rule is associated with the place of residence of the married couple, who will make their decision based on what is more convenient from an economic point of view (they will live where they consider that the man will have more work and will be able to obtain a larger income). Despite these changes, traditional Kashibo-Kakataibo kinship terminology is still actively used.

Table 9 and Table 10 give the basic kinship terms (as listed in Winstrand 1969a: 20). Note that different criteria appear to operate in how different kinship relations are established. Thus, while a distinction based on the sex of *ego* is made for terms in Table 10, the sex of ego is not relevant for terms included in Table 9. Particularly interesting are the terms for 'sibling', which establish a distinction between relatives of the same and different sex: the term *xukën* is used for both female and male *egos* to refer to siblings of the same sex. In turn, *chira bakë* and

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rarë bakë are used to refer to siblings of different sex, by male and female egos, respectively.

Table 9   Kinship terms used by female and male *ego* alike

Kashibo-Kakataibo term	gloss
chichi	'grandmother'
papa	'father'
kuku	'uncle'
tita	'mother'
xukën	'same sex sibling'
baba	'grandchild'

Table 10   Kinship terms that distinguish between female and male *egos*

Kashibo-Kakataibo term		gloss
male ego	female ego	
xuta	-	'grandfather'
-	bënta	'grandfather'
nachi	-	'aunt'
-	ñe xuta	'aunt'
chira bake	-	'different sex sibling / parallel cousin'
-	rarë bake	'different sex sibling'
chai	-	'male cross cousin'
-	tsabë	'female cross cousin'
aini	-	'female cross cousin'
xanu	-	'wife, woman'
-	bënë	'male cross cousin; husband'
bëchikë	-	'offspring'
-	tuá	'offspring'
piaka	-	'nephew, niece' 'son-in-law, daughter-in-law'
-	papa xuta	'nephew, son-in-law'
-	ñe xuta	'niece, daughter-in-law'

In some cases, additional age distinctions are made in some kinship terms:

Table 11   Age distinctions in kinship terms (Winstrand 1969a: 22)

Kashibo-Kakataibo term		gloss
male	female	
unchi	-	'younger brother'
buchi	buchi	'older brother'
'ënchi	'ënchi	'younger sister'
-	chuchu	'older sister'
pui	pui	'older opposite sex sibling'
chaipa	-	'younger cross cousin'
-	bënta xuta	'younger cross cousin'

A final point to be mentioned is that, for some kinship terms, it is possible to make a distinction between forms that carry the ending *-okë* and forms that do not. According to my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers, the forms with the additional morphology refer to "authentic" or "close" relatives.[20] For instance, while *kukuo[a]kë* can be used to refer to the brother of *ego*'s mother, it cannot be used to refer to her male cousins, which are simple *kuku*. In a similar way, *xutaokë* can be used to refer to the father of *ego*'s mother or father, and his brothers; but it cannot be used to refer to *ego*'s grandfather's cousins (see §8.2.2 for more on the particular morphosyntactic properties of kinship terms).

2.8   Social life, beliefs and cultural transmission

In §2.1, due to its systematic presence in the colonial documentation and to the consecuences of this presence to the history of the Kashibo-Kakataibo, I treat separately a funerary endo-cannibalistic ritual among their ancestors. This ritual consisted of cremating dead relatives and eating the ashes of their charred and pulverised bones, in order to gain access to the deceased's knowledge and qualities. This endo-cannibalism practice reflects the value that Kashibo-

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[20] The kinship terms with *-okë* are also used to refer to dead relatives or mythical ancestors.

Kakataibo attribute to knowledge. As I will briefly explain here, following Frank (1994), knowledge for the Kashibo-Kakataibo is something that must be carefully preserved.

According to Frank (1994: 174-176), the Kashibo-Kakataibo consider that there are no two people with the same amount of knowledge and strength. Because of that, there are only few people who have the predisposition to become chiefs. Such a kind of person is called *uni kushi* (lit. 'strong person') and the Kashibo-Kakataibo readily admit that there are people who are strong and people who are not, people who know and people who do not know. In Frank's terms, **to be strong** in the Kashibo-Kakataibo understanding of social life is not just to have a strong body. **To be strong** means to be able to initiate processes that generate changes.

A strong person is one who knows how to persuade people to work together; one who can make a decision and obtain good results from it. This idea about the existence of strong people is, according to Frank (1994: 174-179), the first axiom that rules the Kashibo-Kakataibo's social life. For most Kashibo-Kakataibo, even for those who consider him a cruel killer, Bolívar Odicio was a strong man in that sense.

The other axioms are the equality among all beings considered "human" (who must be treated in the same way within daily life); and the existence of a hierarchy of humanity, which postulates the existence of some certain beings whose nature should be understood as being between humans and animals. I have witnessed how the Kashibo-Kakataibo I lived with consider it their responsibility to make other groups "more human". In their understanding of the world, strong people are supposed to civilise (*raëoti*) people who are more savage,

and many elderly Kashibo-Kakataibo attribute to themselves the power to do that.

This is, for example, what the Kashibo-Kakataibo people think about the **Kamano** people (see §2.4), who are considered by them their "naked" relatives, who live in the jungle, without knowing anything and almost like animals. It is common in political meetings for elderly Kashibo-Kakataibo to request money from the government, the companies operating in the area or other organisations, in order to make an expedition and "civilise their naked relatives". Only once they become civilised, the Kamano will be equal and will be treated as true human beings.

Despite all the changes to their material culture, the Kashibo-Kakataibo still keep most of their ideas about social life. These used to be transmitted to younger generations by means of the traditional practice of counselling and story-telling called *'ësëti* (Frank 1994). *'Ësëti* has been explained to me as one of the most important and valuable practices among the Kashibo-Kakataibo. Traditionally, it used to take place late at night, when the parents woke up their children and spoke to them for hours about how they are supposed to behave in order to live in peace with their relatives.

This practice has radically changed in recent times. The elderly Kashibo-Kakataibo are aware of those changes and complain about the lack of interest that young parents and their children have in their own traditions. Nowadays, the structure and the frequency of *'ësëti* are different: it happens less often and it does not necessarily occur at nights. Nevertheless, in my experience, those traditions are still transmitted. In fact, I myself have been woken in the middle of the night a

few times, because the father or the mother of the family I was living with was practicing *'ësëti* in a traditional way.

In addition to story-telling and counselling, the Kashibo-Kakataibo had a very complex and beautiful tradition of singing. Kashibo-Kakataibo songs use figurative language and are highly poetic (Winstrand 1976), and, according to my teachers, traditionally had different social functions. Different styles of singing were used by men and women to tell others about their trips and the things that they saw in other places; to remember the relatives that have travelled or died; to counsel their children; and to tell their own life stories. Dedicated songs for ceremonies associated with the rearing and killing of animals and with wars were also traditionally sung.

As with *'ësëti*, traditional singing is no longer practiced in a systematic way and it does not longer accomplish the social functions that it used to. Only a very few old people still remember how to sing and I have mostly had the opportunity to listen to traditional songs if it was on my request, i.e. I asked somebody to teach me about the traditional songs. However, I have once listened to an old man singing spontaneously when a member of his family left the village. Unfortunately, I am not aware of a single young person who knows how to sing in a traditional way and the only Kashibo-Kakataibo songs that young people know are the ones introduced by the missionaries.

There has been a long-standing presence of official education within the Kashibo-Kakataibo communities, and each community has a primary school. The first schools were introduced in the 1950s by SIL missionaries, and nowadays the schools in the different Kashibo-Kakataibo communities are part of the public Peruvian education system. Most children now attend and usually

finish primary school, but not many complete secondary school. There are only two communities that have secondary schools, and, for most families, sending their children to secondary school represents an economic burden that they cannot afford.

Community schools are supposed to be bilingual according to Peruvian legislation, but, in most cases, teachers are non-Kashibo-Kakataibo, do not speak the language and, therefore, do not use it in the classroom. The situation is difficult since there are only one or two teachers per school and since the classes are heterogeneous: children of the Andean migrants also attend those schools, and students of different ages are in the same classroom. In my experience, teachers have not received any training about how to deal with such a complex teaching situation.

In general, the education that the Kashibo-Kakataibo children receive is not only monolingual in Spanish and culturally inappropriate; but also low in quality. Despite all those problems, the Kashibo-Kakataibo attribute a very high value to education and honestly believe that their children should finish school and, if possible, go on to tertiary education. I have had met a few young Kashibo-Kakataibo who are currently studying at different institutes and universities in Pucallpa. Despite the material difficulties that they have to go through, they are very proud of themselves (and this is also true regarding their families).

Generally, we can say that the ubiquitousness of the school system and the market economy in their lives has had consequences for the social values of the Kashibo-Kakataibo, who have clearly undergone a westernisation process (see Wistrand 1998: 126). However, this has not necessarily led to a complete loss of the traditional practices. On the contrary, the way in which foreign values co-exist

with traditional values in the current Kashibo-Kakataibo cultural life would

represent a fascinating topic of anthropological research.

A Kashibo-Kakataibo boy holding a traditional spear.

Chapter 3   Segmental Phonology

3.1   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a detailed description of the segmental phonology of the Kashibo-Kakataibo language, as spoken along the Lower Aguaytía River (the prosodic system of the language is discussed in Chapter 4 and some salient morphophonemic processes are listed in §5.7). In §3.2, I list and comment on the phonemic inventory. In §3.3, I present consonants; and, in §3.4, I offer a description of vowels. Glottalisation, which is of particular interest from a Pano perspective, is analysed in detail in §3.5. Finally, a short note on the phonological treatment of Spanish loans is given in §3.6. References to some Pano comparative issues are offered throughout this chapter.

3.2   Phoneme inventory and some general comments

The dialect of Kashibo-Kakataibo described in this dissertation has 15 consonant sounds that have phonological status: five voiceless stops (/p/, /t/, /k/ and /kʷ/ and /ʔ/ – I will discuss the peculiar character of /ʔ/ in §3.5); three nasals (/m/, /n/and /ɲ/); a flap (/ɾ/); two affricates (/t͡ʃ/ and /t͡s/); three fricatives (/s/, /ʂ/ and /ʃ/) and an approximant (/β̞/). Table 12 lists these consonants:

Table 12   Consonants of Kashibo-Kakataibo (Lower Aguaytía dialect)

Active articulator	Labio-	Apico-	Lamino-	Sub-apical	Dorso-		Glottal
Passive articulator	Labial	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal (retroflex)	Velar		
					Non-labialised	Labialised	
Stop	p	t			k	k^w	ʔ
Nasal	m	n	ɲ				
Flap		ɾ					
Affricate		t͡s	t͡ʃ				
Fricative		s	ʃ	ʂ			
Approximant	β̞						

The language exhibits six vocalic phonemes: two front vowels: /i/ and /e/; two central vowels: /ɨ/ and /a/; and two back vowels: /ṵ/ and /o̞/. The last two sounds are only slightly rounded, but are saliently different from the unrounded sounds /ɯ/ and /ɤ/, respectively. Table 13 presents the characterisation of Kashibo-Kakataibo vowels.

Table 13   Vowels of Kashibo-Kakataibo (Lower Aguaytía dialect)

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	ṵ
Mid	e		o̞
Low		a	

In this dissertation, I will use the orthographic conventions presented in Table 14, except where it is necessary to provide phonetic representations.[21]

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[21] The table includes orthographic representations for /j/ and /w/, which are not postulated as phonemes of the Kashibo-Kakataibo dialect described in this dissertation. These two sounds, however, will be important for comparative reasons.

When appearing in the body of the text, Kashibo-Kakataibo orthographic forms are presented in italics.

Table 14   Orthographic conventions used in this grammar

Phonetic representation	Orthographic convention
/p/	\<p\>
/t/	\<t\>
/k/	\<k\>
/kʷ/	\<kw\>
/ʔ/	\<'\>
/m/	\<m\>
/n/	\<n\>
/ɲ/	\<ñ\>
/ɾ/	\<r\>
/t͡s/	\<ts\>
/t͡ʃ/	\<ch\>
/β̞/	\<b\>
/s/	\<s\>
/ʃ/	\<sh\>
/ʂ/	\<x\>
/i/	\<i\>
/e/	\<e\>
/ɨ/	\<ë\>
/a/	\<a\>
/u/	\<u\>
/o/	\<o\>
/j/	\<y\>
/w/	\<w\>

In the examples with two or more syllables included in this chapter, the diacritic \<´\> is used to indicate the position of the high tone (the duration stress

falls on the first syllable in all the examples to be presented here; see the discussion of Kashibo-Kakataibo's prosodic system in Chapter 4). In monosyllabic words, the diacritic <´> is used to indicate that there is a phonetic rising pitch (for example *ó* 'tapir' surfaces as [ʔŏ:(ʔ)]; see §4.3.5.2).

3.3   Consonants

Below, I describe the phonetic quality and the distribution of the consonants presented in Table 12. It must be mentioned here that the consonants show certain restrictions in terms of their distribution and that, even though the syllable structure of the language is (C)V(C) (see §4.2), the coda position can only be occupied by a reduced list of consonants: *n*, *s*, *sh*, *x* (and, in very specific cases, the glottal stop; see §3.5). In addition, all the bilabial consonants, *p*, *b* and *m*, get labialised when followed by *ë* and become [pʷ], [ßʷ] and [mʷ], respectively.

3.3.1   Stops

In addition to the glottal stop, which due to its special properties, will be discussed separately in §3.5, there are four stops in Kashibo-Kakataibo. It is relatively easy to find minimal pairs or minimal sets of roots that show us their distinctive value. For example:

(5)   *k* vs. *p*
    káni-   'to grow'
    páni   'elm species: *Astrocaryum murumuru*'

    rĕka-   'to rub a piece of thread with tar to tie the tip of an arrow'
    rĕpa   'honey'

(6)   *p* vs. *t*
    púru-   'to fill'
    túru   'tree species: *hura crepitans*'

kápa   'squirrel'

káta   'cape' (< Central Quechua)

(7)   *t* vs. *k*

tána-   'to imitate, to follow an animal's footsteps'

kána   'blue and gold macaw'

táru   'lame (person or animal)'

káru   'firewood'

(8)   *t* vs. *kw*

tĕ́në-   'to resist pain'

kwĕ́në   'traditional painting'

(9)   *k* vs. *kw*

táka-   'to shake'

tákwa   'liver'

(10)   *k* vs. *t* vs. *p*

púku   'stomach'

pútu   'dust, powder, grainy substance'

púpu   'owl species'

(11)   *t* vs. *p* vs. *k* vs. *kw*

ta   'mother (reduced form)'

pa   'father (reduced form)'

ka-   'to say'

kwá-   'to hear'

(12)   *t* vs. *k* vs. *kw*

báta   'sweet'

báka   'river'

bákwa   'reproductive organs of a male plant (stamen)'

3.3.1.1   The bilabial stop *p*

This phoneme occurs only in word-initial and syllable-initial positions.

(13)   *##p*

páka   'bamboo'

pĕ́chi   'wing feather, wing'

pía   'arrow'

(14)   V#_p_
        mápara   'big rock'
        pĕ́pi   'traditional storehouse'
        púpu   'owl species'

(15)   C#_p_
        'ánpa   'horse fly'
        'íspa   'star'
        chanpísh   'clam'

3.3.1.2   The alveolar stop _t_

This phoneme is essentially restricted to word-initial and syllable-initial positions, but, as we will see in §4.3.1.3, there are some roots that can be analysed as having a root-final _t_ that is kept only when it surfaces as the onset of a following syllable, created by the presence of a few bound morphemes. Some examples of the more prototypical distribution of this sound follow:

(16)   ##_t_
        táka-   'to shake'
        tĕ́kë   'piece'
        túmi   'parakeet species'

(17)   V#_t_
        'áta   'egret, heron'
        bĕ́ti-   'to surpass, to walk ahead'
        chítë   'left overs (of food)'

(18)   C#_t_
        kashtá   'colour of plants or hair when they get dry or damaged'
        buntísh   'bird species'
        këxtú   'thick'

3.3.1.3 The velar stop *k*

This phoneme only occurs in word-initial and syllable-initial positions (but some nominal roots seem to have an underlying final *k*; see again §4.3.1.3). Examples of its distribution are given in (19)-(21):

(19)   ##*k*
     kána   'green macaw'
     kĕmë   'lie'
     kúki   'firefly, torch'

(20)   V#*k*
     báka   'river'
     chĕka-   'to squash, mash'
     kĕki-   'to shout'

(21)   C#*k*
     ëska-   'to dry'
     maxká   'head'
     íshki   'shrub species'

3.3.1.4 The labialised velar stop *kw*

There is a labialised voiceless velar stop (/kʷ/) in Kashibo-Kakataibo. As is clear from its distribution, *kw* is different from the labialised allophone of bilabial sounds when followed by *ë* (see §3.4.3 for more in relation to the process of labialisation of bilabial sounds) and needs to be analysed as a phoneme. This analysis fits in very well with some major facts about Kashibo-Kakataibo phonology. In this language, all vowels project their own syllable nucleus (see §4.2 for a brief description of Kashibo-Kakataibo's syllabic structure) and, therefore, a VV-sequence is syllabified as V#V rather than as VV# (as is clear from the application of the prosodic rules described in §4.3, see a brief discussion below). What we find in the case of *kw*V-sequences is that the *w* attested in this

context does not create its own syllable. Thus, we have *kw*V#, rather than *kw*#V. This strongly suggests that *w* in this context cannot be analysed as a vowel. In turn, *w* cannot be analysed as a consonant either, since, as also commented on in §4.2, CCV# syllables are not phonologically possible in the language. Therefore, since the *w* cannot be analysed either as a vowel or as a consonant, *kw* needs to be analysed as a single phonological segment. In accordance with this, the prosodic rules to be presented in §4.3 treat the *kw*V sequences as one syllable and, therefore, is this syllable is the most prominent of the word, the stress and the high tone will surface on *V*, rather and on *w*. Thus, for instance, if we compare the prosodic behaviour of a *ku*V-word and a *kw*V-word, we will see that both the stress and the high tone will fall on *u* in the first case, and on *V* in the second example (see a more detailed discussion of this issue in §4.3 and compare the words *kú.a.ti* 'to eat fruit' and *kwáti* 'to hear'). Based on all this, one can argue that *kw*V-words are different from *ku*V-words and that this *w* is not an independent segment and that the most suitable analysis for the [kwV]-sequences that we hear in Kashibo-Kakataibo speech is /kʷa/, rather than /kwa/ or /kua/.

As appears to have happened in other Pano languages (see Shell 1965, 1975: 53, who considers */kʷ/ as a phoneme of what she calls Reconstructed Panoan), the segment *kw* is currently undergoing neutralisation with *k* in some Kashibo-Kakataibo dialects (particularly, with regard to *kwe* sequences, which correspond to *ke* in the dialects from Sungaroyacu and the Upper Aguaytía Rivers). This sound is stable in the dialects of the Lower Aguaytía and San Alejandro Rivers (but in the latter it may become voiced in V_V-positions; see §1.4). This sound appears only in word-initial and syllable initial positions, but it

is rare in /C#_/ contexts. It is important to note that *kw* does not appear followed by round back vowels.

(22) ##*kw*
      kwái-   'to play, to laugh'
      kwe   'wide (said for a river); Aguaytía river'
      kwëbí   'mouth'

(23) V#*kw*
      nákwa   'gnat'
      bákwa   'reproductive organs of a male plant (stamen)'
      bĕkwë   'to paint with different colours the traditional guns'

(24) C#*kw*
      maskwán   'roof'

3.3.2   Nasals

There are three nasal segments in Kashibo-Kakataibo. All of them can appear word-initially and syllable-initially but, in syllable-final position, as I propose here, it is only possible to find *n*. This syllable-final *n* assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant, and can be pronounced as [n], [m], [ŋ] or [ɲ]. I base this analysis on the fact that [m], [ŋ] or [ɲ] exclusively appear as codas when followed by a consonant that has the same place of articulation (thus, for instance, we do not find any of these sounds in word-final position, which is a common position for *n*). In addition, in slow speech, speakers always produce *n* (and not any other nasal) in syllable-final positions. The following minimal pairs and minimal sets show the contrast between the three nasal phonemes:

(25) *n* vs. *m*
      mánë   'metal'
      nánë   'tree species: *genipa americana*'

më-	'to follow a restricted diet'
në-	'to draw near; to get furious'

(26) *n* vs. *ñ*

no	'foreigner; enemy'
ño	'peccary'
panún	'frog species'
pañún	'handkerchief' (< Spanish *paño* (?))[22]

(27) *m* vs. *ñ*

maís	'army ant'
ñaís	'armadillo'
me	'earth; field'
ñe	'woman's mother in law'

(28) *n* vs. *m* vs. *ñ*

máë	'abandoned garden'
náë	'garden'
ñaë	'tree species'

3.3.2.1 The alveolar nasal *n*

In addition to occurring in word-initial and syllable-initial positions, this phoneme appears syllable-finally and word-finally (but undergoes deletion in certain morphological contexts; see §5.7.1.2.2). The following instances show the different contexts where *n* occurs (*n* does not appear after a closed syllable, that is, *C#n):

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[22] A number of Spanish loans ending in a vowel carry a final nasal in Kashibo-Kakataibo (see §3.6).

(29)   <u>##*n*</u>
     námi   'meat'
     nísi   'rope, liana'
     núbu   'aquatic snail'

(30)   <u>V#*n*</u>
     kúni   'electric knifefish'
     kúnu   'fungus that grows on rotten logs'
     ánë   'name'

(31)   <u>*n*#</u>
     nónke   'tree species'   [noŋke]
     ñantán   'afternoon'
     chanpísh   'clam'   [t͡ʃampiʃ]

(32)   <u>*n*##</u>
     nëmín   'deep'
     churán   'fungus'
     panún   'frog species'

3.3.2.2   The bilabial nasal *m*

This phoneme only appears word-initially and syllable-initially. As a contrastive segment, *m* does not appear in syllable-final or word-final positions (but *n* may show an allomorph *m* in that position if followed by a bilabial consonant). The following examples show the distribution of *m* (*m* is the only nasal sound that appears in /C_/-positions in my database):

(33) <u>##*m*</u>
mabán   'trap for birds'
me   'earth; field'
múnu   'slowly'

(34) <u>V#*m*</u>
íma   'ant'
ñumán   'thread'
samún   'house fly'

(35) <u>C*m*</u>
masmán   'swallow'
ñúsma   'dummy'
tsismán   'fish species: *huasaco* (wolf fish)'

3.3.2.3   The palatal nasal *ñ*

There is an alternation between *ñ* ([ɲ]) and *y* ([j]) in Kashibo-Kakataibo dialects:
the dialects of the Lower Aguaytía (i.e. the one described in this dissertation) and
San Alejandro Rivers have *ñ* where the dialects of Huánuco and the Upper
Aguaytía River show *y*. The sound *y* is the one attested in most Pano languages
and, unlike *ñ*, *y* has been reconstructed as an old phoneme by both Shell (1965,
1975) and Loos (1999). For Shell (1965, 1975), *ñ* is an innovated phoneme that
has developed from *y. Some examples of this sound follow:

(36) <u>##*ñ*</u>
ñantán   'afternoon'
ñe   'woman's paternal aunt or mother in law'
ño   'peccary'

(37) <u>V#*ñ*</u>
búña   'bee'
kúña   'straight'
kuñún   'saliva'

3.3.3 The flap *r*

The flap *r* (/ɾ/) in Kashibo-Kakataibo has no allophonic variation. It can only appear in word-initial and syllable-initial positions. In the following examples, we can see the distribution of this segment:

(38) <u>##*r*</u>
      ráni   'down, small feathers'
      rísi   'thread'
      ro   'medicinal plant'

(39) <u>V#*r*</u>
      úra   'far'
      barán   'squash'
      bĕru   'eye'

3.3.4 Affricates

There are two affricate phonemes in Kashibo-Kakataibo: *ts* (/t͡s/) and *ch* (/t͡ʃ/). Based on the syllabic structure attested in the language (which do not accept either CCV-syllables or CCC-clusters; see §4.2), these two sounds need to be analysed as single segments, and not as sequences of stops and fricatives. If we follow the latter analysis, example like *tsëpa* 'shrub species' and *'untsis* would be interpreted as featuring a **##CC** and **VCCCV**-sequences, respectively, and we would immediately need to state that such sequences are idiosyncratic properties of some certain phonemes: only the stop /t/ and the fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/ can appear in the positions previously mentioned. We would not have a convincing explanation of why other stops (/p/, for instance) or the remaining fricative (/ʂ/) cannot appear as part of those complex cluster and our analysis would remain *ad hoc*. The postulation of the affricates /t͡s/ and /t͡ʃ/ is a much more economical solution, which will allow us to propose a simpler syllabic structure for the

language. Therefore, I consider that the inclusion of /t͡s/ and /t͡ʃ/ in the phonemic inventory of Kashibo-Kakataibo represents the most suitable analysis of the [ts] and [tʃ] that we very often hear in this language. These two affricate sounds are distinguished by minimal pairs like those in (40):

(40) _ts_ vs. _ch_
    chḛ́pa   'fly species'
    tsḛ́pa   'shrub species'

    bátsi   'egg'
    báchi   'mosquito net'

3.3.4.1 The alveolar affricate _ts_

The phoneme _ts_ (/t͡s/) can only appear in syllable-initial position, where it can appear following a closed syllable. Sometimes _ts_ surfaces as _ch_ before _i_ (_ainchi_ ~ _aintsi_), but this process is far from being regular (see §5.7.1.6.1 for a case of this alternation in one body part prefix). The sound _ts_ correlates with _s_ in the dialect of the San Alejandro River (see §1.4). In slow speech, speakers syllabify _ts_ as _t.s_ in V_V-positions (Vt͡sV > Vt.sV).

(41) _##ts_
    tsábë   'woman's sister-in-law or cross cousin'
    tsi   'fire'
    tsḛ́pa   'shrub species'

(42) _V#ts_
    'átsa   'manioc'
    bátsi   'egg'
    ëtsḛ́n   'nit'

(43) _C#ts_
    aíntsi   'relative'
    kantsín 'banana species'
    'untsís   '(finger/toe) nail'

3.3.4.2 The palatal affricate *ch*

The phoneme *ch* ($/\widehat{t\int}/$) can only appear in syllable-initial position. It can follow a syllable ending in a consonant or a vowel. Examples of its distribution are:

(44) <u>##*ch*</u>
    cha   'big'
    chíchi   'grandmother'
    chúka-   'to wash'

(45) <u>V#*ch*</u>
    'áchá-   'to jump over something'
    báchi   'mosquito net'
    báchu   'soft'

(46) <u>C#*ch*</u>
    'úncha   'tree species'
    pĕncha- 'to extend one's arms'
    únchi   'younger sister'

3.3.5 Fricatives

There are three fricative phonemes in Kashibo-Kakataibo: *s*, *sh* ($/\int/$) and *x* ($/\textsubscript{s}/$). They are able to appear in syllable-final and word-final positions, as well as in initial positions. If at a morphological boundary two fricatives appear in a sequence, assimilation of the second fricative to the first one is attested (see §5.7.1.3.2).

It is relatively easy to find minimal pairs or minimal sets of words that illustrate the contrast among the three phonemes (among them, *sh* is the most restricted throughout the Kashibo-Kakataibo lexicon; see §3.3.5.3).

(47) <u>*s* vs. *x*</u>
    sánu   'delicious'
    xánu   'woman'

súku   'small louse'
xúku   'tree species'

(48) *s* vs. *sh*
      sápi   'dubitative'
      shápi   'freshhunter shrimp'

      súñu   'wind'
      shúñu   'white chested swallow'

(49) *x vs sh*
      xúka-   'to peel'
      shúka-   'to spill water through a cane or a hose'

(50) *x* vs. *sh* vs. *s*
      sháki-   'to be noisy'
      xáki-   'to grate'
      sáki-   'to stop feeling pain slowly'

3.3.5.1   The alveolar fricative *s*

There are no salient phonological restrictions applying to this sound and, as we can see in the examples below, it can appear in syllable-final position, including word-final position. This sound corresponds to /z/ in the dialect of the San Alejandro River (see §1.4).

(51) ##*s*
      sápi   'maybe'
      sía   'fly species'
      súku   'small louse'

(52) V#*s*
      bási   'grass'
      nísi   'rope'
      ñúsuti   'big bag'

(53) n#*s*
      ánsu-   'to clean a pot with one's finger'
      nónsi   'banana'
      punsén   'sloth'

(54) *s#*

 'íspa   'star'

 'ísku   'bird species: *oropendola*'

 ë́ska-   'to dry'

(55) *s##*

 'itsís   'hot'

 'untsís   '(finger/toe) nail'

 'upús   'chigger'

3.3.5.2   The retroflex fricative *x*

The phoneme *x* (/ʂ/) is incompatible with (preceding or following) high front vowels, and is realised as a palato-alveolar fricative *sh* ([ʃ]) in this environment (due to the rarity of *e* we do not have any example of a *xe* sequence and we cannot know for sure if this incompatibility includes this mid front vowel). Thus, for example, the verbal marker *-x* 'third person' surfaces as *sh* when followed by the marker *-ín* 'non proximal to the addressee' (*pi-a-x-ín* > [piaʃín] 'eat-PERF-3p-non.prox'). However, the segment *sh* appears in other contexts and, thus, needs to be synchronically analysed as an independent phoneme as well (and not only as an allophone of *x*). The sound *x* corresponds to /z̗/ in the dialect of San Alejandro. Examples of the distribution of *x* are presented below:

(56) *##x*

 xába-   'to yawn when tired'

 xo   'bone'

 xu   'young; not ripe'

(57) *V#x*

 bë́xa   'eye lid'

 báxu   'fish species'

 ké́xë   'piece of a broken pot'

(58) <u>n#*x*</u>
 'únxë 'ornament'
 bunxán 'lung'
 kunxán 'plant species: *cedro*'

(59) <u>*x*#</u>
 këxtú 'thick'
 cháxka- 'to chop'
 chaxkë́ 'long'

(60) <u>*x*##</u>
 'umpáx 'water'
 bakúx- 'foam'

3.3.5.3 The palatal fricative *sh*

Although it is possible to find instances of *sh* (/ʃ/) next to a vowel other than *i* (see examples below), a very large number of *sh* tokens in Kashibo-Kakataibo appear in contact with this vowel and it is clear that this fact is related to the lack of *xi* or *ix* sequences due to the rule mentioned in §3.3.5.2. There are no cases of *sh* appearing after a consonant.

(61) <u>##*sh*</u>
 sháku   'tree species'
 shikán   'chest'
 shúka-   'to spill water through a cane or a hose'

(62) <u>V#*sh*</u>
 'ashá   'frog species'
 ñáshi   'smoked meat'
 ñúshu   'curvature'

(63) <u>*sh*#</u>
 náshpa   'concave'
 tashpán   'with palms (like duck feet)'

(64) <u>*sh*##</u>
 ishísh   'fish species'
 nëísh   'tasty'

The scarce examples of *sh* in contact with a vowel other than *i* are of particular interest because they can offer important information about Proto-Pano phonology (considering that both Shell 1965, 1975 and Loos 1994 include *sh* in their Pano phonological reconstructions). In some cases, those forms can be argued to be loans from Shipibo-Konibo (as in the case of =*shaman* 'intensifier' and -*shuku* 'diminutive'). However, borrowing from Shipibo-Konibo cannot be an explanation for every such case (Cf., for instance, words like *sháku* 'tree species', *shápi* 'shrimp' and *shórapana* 'river seal', which are not found in Loriot et al's 1992 Shipibo-Konibo dictionary). Interestingly, this sound shows a high degree of variation within the Kashibo-Kakataibo language: the dialect of San Alejandro has zero in those cases where we find *sh* before *i* in other dialects and, curiously, *ish* sequences in these dialects sometimes correspond to *in* sequences in San Alejandro. In addition, this dialect shows *y* (and even *ñ*) where the other dialects present *sh* in contact with the remaining vowels.

3.3.6   The approximant *b*

The phoneme *b* is a voiced bilabial approximant /β̞/ and not a bilabial fricative /β/. This is clear from its spectrograms, where we find that it lacks friction and presents a vowel-like formant structure with "very little diminution of amplitude" (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 325). The sound *b* is, in its distribution, more similar to stops (particularly, to *p*) than to fricatives (see Table 15).

(65)   ##*b*
    ba   'egg, larva, insect nest'
    bími   'fruit'
    bo   'parrot'

(66) V#*b*
    abá-   'to run'
    'ábu   'gray egret'
    'íbu   'owner'

(67) C#*b*
    bëxbá   'thin'
    kwaxbín   'tree species'

In the dialect of Sungaroyacu we find ##*wa* where in the Lower Aguaytía dialect we find ##*ba* (see §1.4). In the case of the dialect of the San Alejandro River, we find *w* in all the contexts where the dialect of the Lower Aguaytía River shows *b*. Given this synchonic dialectal alternation, it seems possible that *b* originated in **w*. In fact, one interesting historical question is what happened to the approximant *w,* which was postulated as a proto-sound by both Shell (1965, 1975) and Loos (1999), in those Kashibo-Kakataibo dialects that completely lack it or present severe restrictions in its distribution. A survey has revealed (at least) the following reflexes of **w* in the Kashibo-Kakataibo dialect of the Lower Aguaytía River:

(68) Shell's reconstructed forms */awa/ > /o/
    *awa(ra) > o [ǒ:]   'tapir'
    *yawa > ño   'white-lipped peccary'
    *nawa > no   'foreigner, enemy'
    *bawa > bo   'parrot'

(69) Shell's reconstructed forms */VwV/ (except /awa/) > /VV/
    *báwin > baín   'fish species'
    *híwi > i [i:]   'tree'

(70) Shell's Reconstructed Pano forms */##wi/ > /##i/ ~ ##[i:]
    *wia > ia ~ [i:a]   'bad smell'
    *wina > ina ~ [i:na]   'to paddle'
    *winu > inu ~ [i:nu]   'mallet'
    *winti > inti~ [i:nti]   'to cry'

(71) Shell's Reconstructed Pano forms */##wa/ > /##ba/
  *waka > baka   'fish, river'
  *wamë > bamë   'fish species'
  *wachu > bachu   'soft'
  *wasa > basa   'squirred monkey'

These historical changes are regular and they have operated in almost all the cases (although it is possible to find some counterexamples, like *chawa > chua 'mud', which would have been expected to be cho). However, the processes listed here do not cover all the contexts where *b* is synchronically attested, and the issue requires more study.

3.3.7   Distribution of consonants

Table 15 offers a summary of the distribution of all the Kashibo-Kakataibo consonants (this table is based on my lexical database and summarises the information presented in the preceding section):

Table 15   Summary of the distribution of consonants[23]

Phoneme	##_	V#_	C#_	_#	_##	_a	_ë	_e	_i	_o	_u
/p/	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
/t/	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
/k/	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
/kʷ/	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
/m/	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
/n/	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
/ɲ/	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
/ɾ/	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
/t͡s/	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
/t͡ʃ/	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
/β̞/	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

---

[23] Y = yes; N = no.

/s/	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
/ʃ/	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
/ʂ/	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y

One of the notable facts about the table above is that consonants and vowels which share place of articulation features tend to be incompatible. This is the case with the labialised velar stop and the back rounded vowels, as well as the palatal nasal and the high front vowel. This kind of pattern is not uncommon among the world's languages (Brett Baker, pc.). The table also suggests that the retroflex fricative is incompatible not only with the high front vowel, but also the mid front vowel, but, as mentioned in §3.3.5.2, this may be an artefact of the rarity of *e*).

3.4   Vowels

Kashibo-Kakataibo has six vocalic phonemes: /i/, /e/, /ɨ/, /a/, /u̥/ and /o̥/. All Kashibo-Kakataibo vowels have a nasal allophone when appearing in /_n#/ or /_n##/-positions. Therefore, there are no phonological nasal vowels in Kashibo-Kakataibo, but there is a rule of nasalisation, similar to the one described by Valenzuela (2003b: 102) for Shipibo-Konibo. This rule predicts that a vowel (or a sequence of vowels) directly preceding a nasal coda will develop a nasalisation feature; and it can be formulated in the following way: /(V)Vn/ > [(ṽ)ṽn] ~ [(ṽ)ṽ]. The degree of nasalisation may vary from case to case: in general, vowels of prosodically prominent syllables are perceptually more nasal than the ones found in non-prominent syllables.

Kashibo-Kakataibo vowels also surface long when they appear in monosyllabic words (see §4.3.5.1), but there are no phonological long vowels in the language. It is important to note that *e* and *o* are longer than the other vowels

(and among the two, the latter tends to be a bit longer). However, even in these cases, the lengthening is not distinctive. Vowels in Kashibo-Kakataibo surface creaky, either when appearing in the final syllable of an indicative utterance (see §4.4.1.1) or due to glottal coalescence (see §3.5.3), but there are not phonological creaky vowels in the language.

As a manner of illustration of how Kashibo-Kakataibo vowels distribute over the acoustic space, the following figure presents F2 vs. F1 scatterplots for one male Kashibo-Kakataibo speaker (WO). The recordings used for the scatterplots feature this speaker repeating three times some of the examples below in this section, including 19 tokens of each vowel (with the exception of *a*, for which 26 tokens are included in the figure and *i*, for which 35 tokens are featured). The tokens include both prosodically prominent and non-prominent vowels from monosyllabic and disyllabic words. Nasalised vowels deliberately do not appear in the sample.[24]

Figure 2   Vowel scatterplots of one speaker

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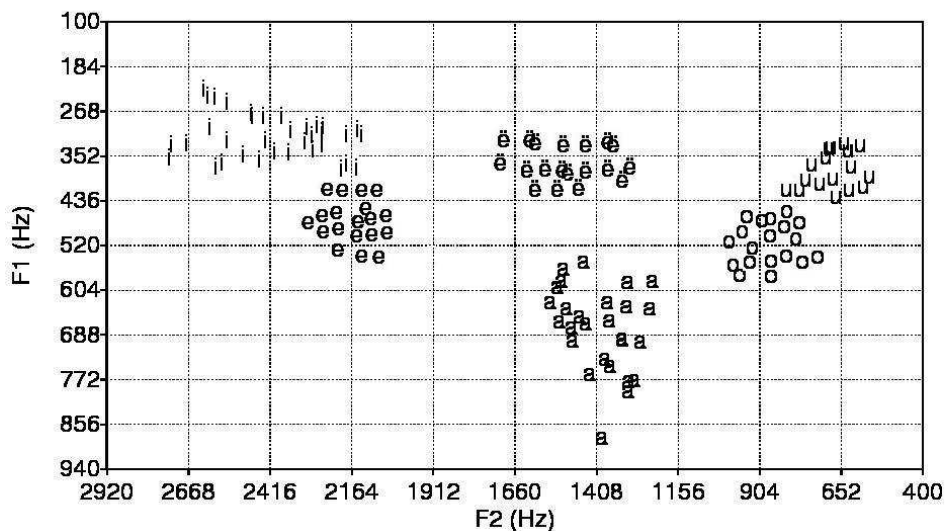
[24] Formants were measured and plotted by means of a PRAAT script developed by Alberto Elias-Ulloa, who kindly shared with me the wonderful tool that he developed.

As we can see, for this speaker, the six vowels are distinct from each other, although some tokens of *i* and *u* are relatively similar to *e* and *o* respectively. This is usually the case when *i* and *u* appear in non-prominent second syllables of a disyllabic word (but a detailed study of the phonetic correlates of prosodic prominency is still to be done). Another fact that the figure reveals is that, among the six Kashibo-Kakataibo vowels, *a* and *i* show the major degree of internal phonetic variation. The following minimal pairs or minimal sets show the contrastiveness of all the vowels presented in Figure 2:

(72)   *i* vs. *ë*
        pi-   'to eat'
        pë-   'to take off (shoes, clothes)'

(73)   *i* vs. *e*
        'i-   'to be'
        'e-   'to swallow'

(74)   *i* vs. *u*
        kúni   'fish species: 'electric knifefish'
        kúnu   'fungus'

        pínu   'hummingbird'
        púnu   'vein, tendon'

(75)   *i* vs. *a*
        písi   'rotten'
        písa   'bird species: variety of toucan'

        púri   'proper name (female)'
        púra   'grass species'

(76)   *e* vs. *a*
        me   'ground, earth'
        ma   'already'

        kwe   'big (said of a river); Aguaytía River'
        kwat-   'to hear'

(77) _ë̈ vs. a_
     pëka-   'to pierce'
     páka   'bamboo'

     tëmú   'below'
     támu   'cheek'

(78) _ë̈ vs. o_
     në-   'to draw near, to get furious'
     no   'foreigner; enemy'

(79) _a vs. u_
     ka   'narrative register, indicative mood, third person'
     ku   'pus'

(80) _a vs. o_
     kumán   'tree species: _cumala_'
     kumón   'cock-tailed tyrant'

(81) _u vs. o_
     nu   'we'
     no   'foreigner; enemy'

(82) _i vs. a vs. u_
     kári   'sweet potato'
     kára   'narrative register, interrogative mood, third person'
     káru   'firewood'

(83) _i vs. a vs. o_
     ni   'jungle'
     na   'nest'
     no   'foreigner; enemy'

     pi-   'to eat'
     pa   'father (short form)'
     po   'shellfish'

(84) _e vs. u vs. o_
     ñe   'woman's paternal aunt or mother-in-law'
     ñu   'thing'
     ño   'white-lipped peccary'

(85) *ë* vs. *a* vs. *u*

    'úkë   'the other side'

    'úka   'crow'

    'úku   'cough'

    béi   'black coloured sloth'

    bái   'path'

    búi   'tree species: *cavanillesia umbellata*'

(86) *i* vs. *a* vs. *o* vs. *u*

    bi   'mosquito'

    ba   'egg; larva; insect nest'

    bo   'parrot species'

    bu   'hair'

(87) *e* vs. *ë* vs. *i* vs. *o*

    me   'earth; field'

    më   'provisions; place where animals go to eat'

    mi   'you'

    mo   'tree trunk'

The fact that there are Pano languages with six vowels and others with four represents an interesting issue for phonological reconstruction within the family. As far as I know, the only Pano languages that have a six-vowel system are Kashibo-Kakataibo, Kaxarari (see Cuoto 2005: 6 and 12) and the Mayoruna languages (see Fleck 2003: 88-93 for Matses, and Ferreira 2005: 37-40 for Matis). In her Pano reconstruction, Shell (1965, 1975) proposes that *e* and *o* are innovations and not part of the phonology of what she calls Reconstructed Pano. Implicitly, Loos (1999) states the same.

Certainly, in Kashibo-Kakataibo, it is possible to explain many instances of *e* and *o* as innovations, but this is not always the case; and this appears to be even more difficult in the Mayoruna languages (Fleck, pc). I will briefly explain here some of the issues associated with the mid vowels *e* and *o* in Kashibo-Kakataibo in order to show that their origin still requires further research.

Let us start with *o*. There are a number of correspondences between *aw(a)* in Shell's (1965, 1975) reconstructed Pano forms and *o* in Kashibo-Kakataibo, which suggest that this vowel is an innovation. See the following examples:

(88) Shell's reconstructed forms *awa > o*
      *yawa > ño   'white-lipped peccary'
      *nawa > no   'foreigner, enemy'
      *bawa > bo   'parrot'

However, there are some cases that remain without explanation because there are no cognates in other Pano languages (at least not in the available vocabularies and dictionaries) and, therefore, it is not possible to postulate a *aw(a)* source for them. Some Kashibo-Kakataibo words with *o* that do not have any apparent cognates with *aw(a)* in other Pano languages are:

(89) ió   'new'
      shorapana   'fox'
      nonsi   'banana'

A similar situation is found in relation to *e*. There are some correspondences between *e* in Kashibo-Kakataibo and *ay(a)* in Shell's reconstructed Pano forms, but, due to the scarcity of *e* in Kashibo-Kakataibo, it is difficult to state this relation for certain. In Shell's (1986) dictionary there are just about nine words with *e*, and in my corpus there is only one additional word with that sound. Thus, I have only ten examples of *e* in Kashibo-Kakataibo and a correlation *e* (Kashibo-Kakataibo) = *ay(a)* (Shell's reconstructed Pano) can only be argued for two of them, presented below:

(90)   Shell's reconstructed forms *aya > e
       *maya > me   'earth, field'
       *yaya > ñe   'paternal aunt'

There seem to be a few cases of dialectal variation in Kashibo-Kakataibo between *ai* and *e*: *seti ~ saiti* 'to start raining just a little' (the latter form is attributed to the San Alejandro dialect by Shell 1986). In addition, *ai* sequences produced at morphological boundaries may surface as *e* (*chunena < chuna-ina* 'spider monkey-generic'). Examples of words with *e* in Kashibo-Kakataibo that, as far as I know, cannot be related to *aya* are the following:

(91)   'e-   'to swallow'
       kwénkuru   'mug'
       kwe   'big (said of a river), Aguaytía River'

As we can see, there is some evidence supporting the proposal that the rules *ay(a) > e* and *aw(a) > o* explain the origin of a number of instances of mid vowels in Kashibo-Kakataibo. These diachronic processes may explain why *o* and *e* tend to be longer than other vowels in the language. However, the examples in (89) and (91) show that we also have cases for which we do not have cognates in other languages, and we cannot be sure about the origins of the mid vowels in these cases. Based in those examples, it is possible to state that the generally accepted proposal that Proto-Pano lacked mid vowels still needs more research.

3.4.1   The vowel *i*

This sound is a high front unrounded vowel. Its distribution is shown in the following examples:

(92)   ##*i*
       ishísh   'fish species'
       ísha   'bad smell'

100

(93)   C*i*
       píshu-   'to get bothered; to get hungry'
       náshi   'smoked meat'

(94)   *i*C
       xëbín   'palm species: *scheekea tessmannii*'
       'itsís   'hot'

(95)   V*i*
       nëísh   'tasty'
       'áisa   'beautiful, good'

(96)   *i*V
       sía   'fly species'
       pía   'arrow'

(97)   *i*##
       shápi   'shrimp'
       bási   'grass'

There is dialectal variation between this sound and *ë* in the San Alejandro dialect when appearing before syllable-final *s* (/_s#(#)/). Thus, we have *ë(z)* in San Alejandro and *is* in the remaining dialects; see §1.4).

3.4.2   The vowel *e*

The vowel *e* is a mid front unrounded vowel and has a defective distribution. As previously said, there are only a few words in my database that include this sound (less than a dozen), most of these monosyllabic. Some examples of this form follow:

(98) C*e*##
    me   'earth; field'
    ñe   'woman's paternal aunt or mother in law'

3.4.3   The vowel *ë*

This phoneme is a high central unrounded vowel (/ɨ/), which is very frequent in Amazonian languages (Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999: 8). As previously mentioned, this sound changes the quality of preceding bilabial consonants: the phonemes *p*, *b* and *m* are labialised when they appear before *ë* (see also Shell 1950: 198). Examples of its distribution are given in (99)-(104):

(99) ##*ë*
    ë́pë   'palm species: *yarina*'
    ë́xku   'piece of charcoal from an old fire'

(100) C*ë*
    shë́rë   'down part of the river'
    xë́na   'worm'

(101) *ë*C
    naxë́n   'bee species'
    xëmë́n 'monkey species: *chosna*'

(102) V*ë*
    saë́kë   'mouth of a river'
    xáë   'turtle species: *motelo*'

(103) *ë*V
    pë́i   'leave'

(104) *ë*##
    'únxë   'ornament'
    së́bë   'fly species'

3.4.4 The vowel *a*

This phoneme is a low central open unrounded vowel. Examples of its distribution are:

(105) <u>##*a*</u>
 ápashiru 'chameleon'
 ana   'tongue'

(106) <u>C*a*</u>
 éma   'village'
 ína   'tail'

(107) <u>*a*C</u>
 sënán-   'to heat'
 tashpán   'with palms (like duck feet)'

(108) <u>V*a*</u>
 xúa   'itchiness'
 sía   'fly species'

(109) <u>*a*V</u>
 xáë   'turtle species: *motelo*'
 ñais   'armadillo'

(110) <u>*a*##</u>
 'ashá   'frog species'
 cháxka-   'to chop'

3.4.5 The vowel *u*

This phoneme is a high back (slightly) rounded vowel: /ụ/. Examples of its distribution are:

(111) <u>##*u*</u>
 úa   'flower'
 úka   'crow'

(112) <u>C*u*</u>
    ñúshu   'curvature'
    súñu   'wind'

(113) <u>*u*C</u>
    shurún- 'to have pimples'
    bunxán 'lung'

(114) <u>*u*V</u>
    xúa   'itchiness'
    túa   'frog species'

(115) <u>V*u*</u>
    rëún   'snot'
    bëun   'tear(s)'

(116) <u>*u*##</u>
    sháku   'tree species'
    këxtú   'thick'

3.4.6   The vowel *o*

This sound is a mid back (slightly) rounded vowel: /ọ/. Like *e*, this phoneme appears rarely in the data, although there are more instances of *o* than of *e* (at least a couple of dozens). Examples of the distribution of *o* are:

(117) <u>C*o*</u>
    xo   'bone'
    bo   'parrot'

(118) <u>*o*C</u>
    xón   'macaw'
    nónsi   'banana species'

(119) <u>*o*##</u>
    xo   'bone'
    bo   'parrot'

3.4.7   Distribution of vowels

Table 16 summarises the distributional possibilities of vowels, according to the lexemes included in my database:

Table 16   Summary of the distributional possibilities of vowels[25]

phoneme	/##_/	/C_/	/_C/	/V_/	/_V/	/_##/
/i/	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
/e/	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
/ĕ/	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
/a/	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
/u/	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
/o/	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

3.5   Glottalisation in Kashibo-Kakataibo[26]

3.5.1   Basic characterisation

Shell (1950) considers [ʔ] to be a phoneme of Kashibo-Kakataibo and writes it as <'> in the last version of her dictionary (Shell 1986) and the same analysis has been proposed in this dissertation (see Table 12). However, Kashibo-Kakataibo does not have a glottal fricative /h/ and this is an important fact, since a survey of the available information shows that Pano languages with /ʔ/ and not /h/, as it is the case with Kashibo-Kakataibo, are highly unusual. See the following table for a summary of the major claims about glottal phonemes in twenty Pano languages:

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[25] Y = yes; N = no.

[26] The recordings used for the acoustic description of glottalisation come from two adult male speakers (RO and WO, 52 and 31 years old, respectively). Instrumental analyses were made using PRAAT.

Table 17   Summary of claims about glottal sounds in Pano languages

There are no glottal phonemes	There are two glottal phonemes	There is just /ʔ/	There is just /h/
Matis (Spanghero 2000; Ferreira 2005:30) *Sharanawa* (Scott 2004: 10) *Marinawa* (Pike and Scott 1962)	*Amawaca* (Osborn 1948) *Chacobo* (Prost 1967) *Pacawara* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet 1913; Rivet 1910) *Jaminawa (Yaminawa-Arara)* (Souza 2004: 25 and 30) *Mastanawa* (Loos 1976b) *Kasharari* (Couto 2005) *Capanahua* (Ulloa 2009)	*Camannawa* (in Loos 1999) *Kashibo-Kakataibo* (Shell 1950) *(Matses)* (Fleck 2003)	*Yaminawa* (Faust and Loos 2002: 17-18) *Cashinahua* (Montag 1981) *Karipuna* (Gomes, Cândido and Amarante Ribeiro n/y) *Yawanawa* Paula (2004: 44) *Shipibo-Konibo* (Valenzuela 2003b; Elias 2006) *Wariapano* (Parker 1992) *Shanenawa* (Cândido 2004: 34)

In addition to Kashibo-Kakataibo, the table above includes only two other Pano languages claimed to have /ʔ/ but not /h/. According to the table, this type of phonological system is just as unusual as the one lacking glottal phonemes altogether. It is important to mention that the situation in the two other languages with /ʔ/ but not /h/ is unclear. Fleck does not include /ʔ/ as part of the phonemic inventory of Matses, but says that, in some cases, "the glottal stop can be crucially contrastive" (2003: 76). In turn, Camannawa is mentioned by Loos (1999) as a language of this type, but I have not had access to the data that support this claim and, therefore, I cannot confirm here that Camannawa is truly a language that has /ʔ/ but not /h/. In the case of Kashibo-Kakataibo, the glottal stop is clearly a phonemic element, but exhibits a reduced distribution and, as a

contrastive element, it only appears at the beginning of words. This is shown in Table 18:

Table 18   Some/##ʔV/ vs. /##V/ minimal pairs in Kashibo-Kakataibo

Kashibo-Kakataibo words	Gloss
ʼi	'stingray'
i	'tree'
ʼía	'louse'
ía	'fish smell'
ʼínu	'tiger'
ínu	'mallet'
ʼínti	'moment when the sun starts to shine'
ínti	'to cry'
ʼánu	'aguti'
ánu	'there'

Cross-linguistically, the phonetic realisation of glottal sounds is complex and highly variable, and has been the topic of several studies that have attempted to offer a more systematic approach to this variability (see, for example, Batliner, Burger, Juane and Kießling 1993; Dilley et al 1996; Redi and Shattuck-Hufnagel 2001). In the case of isolated words in Kashibo-Kakataibo, the situation seems to be similar to what has been described for Dutch by Jongenburger and Van Heuven (1991: 101): "[t]wo kinds of vowel onset can be distinguished in Dutch, an abrupt and a more gradual one. The abrupt onset, also called 'fast attack' or 'glottal stop', is auditorily quite different from the vowel onset with 'gradual attack' or 'smooth onset'." As in Dutch, Kashibo-Kakataibo words with a word-initial glottal stop start with a fast attack, manifested as a sudden initiation of the vowel that rapidly increases in intensity. In turn, words without a glottal stop exhibit a smooth onset, shown by the relatively slow increment of the intensity of the vowel and in the regularity of the glottal period throughout. This is

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exemplified in Figure 3 and Figure 4, where I present the spectrograms of the
pronunciation of one isolated token of *i* 'tree'and *'i* 'stingray', respectively. The
figures include a spectrogram and a sound wave plus a zoomed image of the
onset:

Figure 3   The word *i* 'tree' produced in isolation
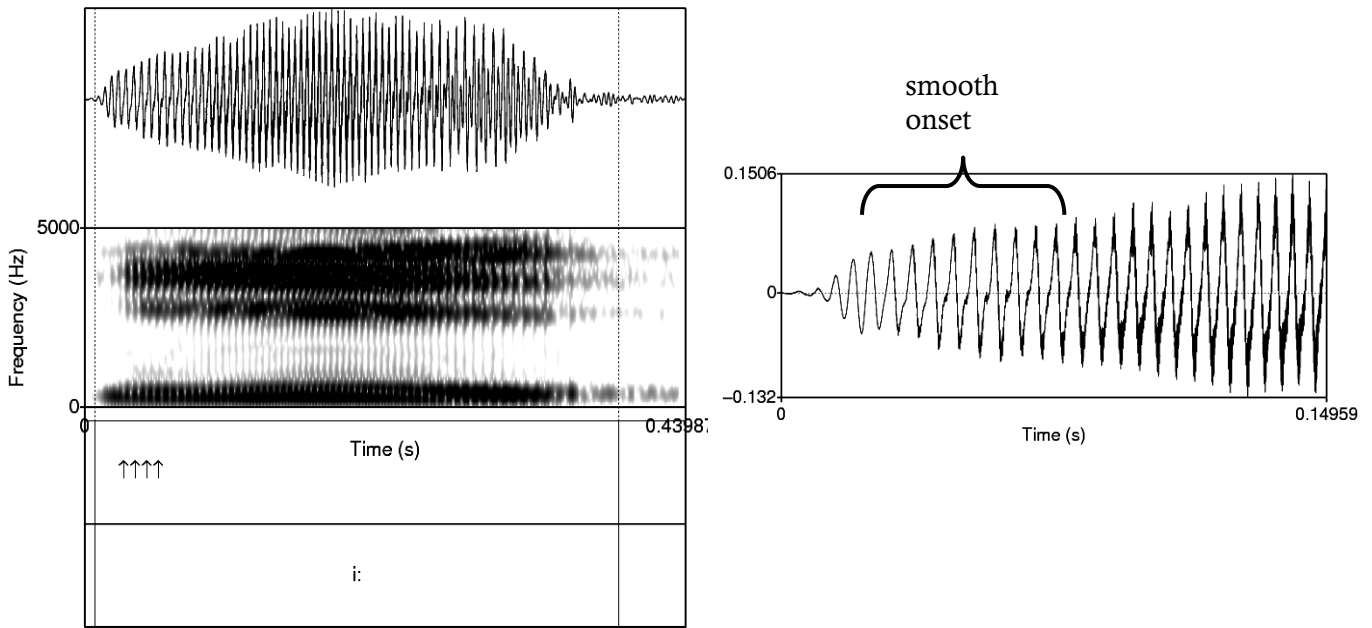
Figure 4   The word *'i* 'stingray' produced in isolation

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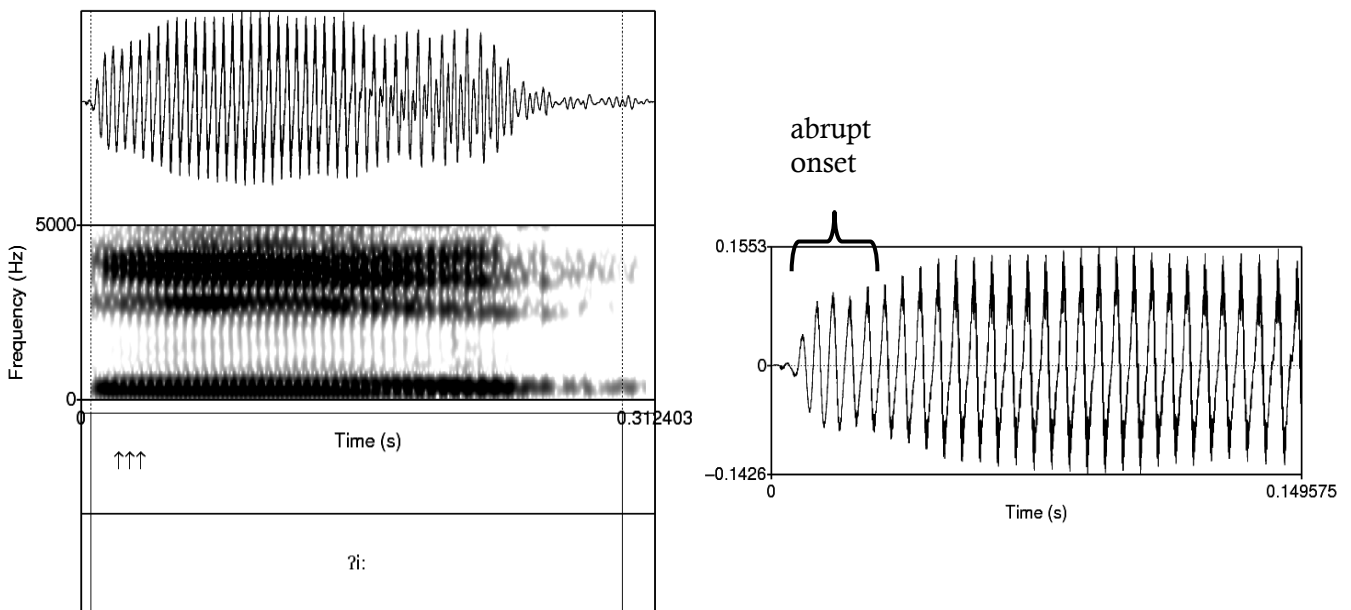
The spectrograms and sound waves in Figure 3 and Figure 4 offer an acoustic representation of the distinction between /##V/ and /##ʔV/ in Kashibo-Kakataibo. In the sound waves that show the onset of the two words we clearly see the difference between the smooth onset of *i* 'tree' and the fast attack of *'i* 'stingray' (both figures include about the first 0.149 s of the token presented). This difference in the onset seems the main acoustic difference between the words presented here and perceptual tests conducted in the field (where I reproduced the recordings of the minimal pairs in Table 18 to five speakers and asked for the meaning of each form) demonstrated that it is perceptually significant: the speakers always identified correctly which word was being reproduced.

However, the information presented so far only describes what we find in isolated words. It may be interesting to see what happens with the contrast between /##ʔV/ and /##V/ in other contexts.

3.5.2 The glottal stop in other contexts

3.5.2.1 Reduplication

Verb roots can be reduplicated in order to express durative and iterative meanings (see §13.9). If reduplication applies to a verb root that begins with a vowel (and not with a glottal stop) the sound wave does not show any closure at the reduplication boundary. We can see this in the form *aba-abati* 'to run several times' (the figure to the right presents the sequence *aa*, pronounced as one single long vowel).

Figure 5 *aba-aba-ti* **'to run several times'**
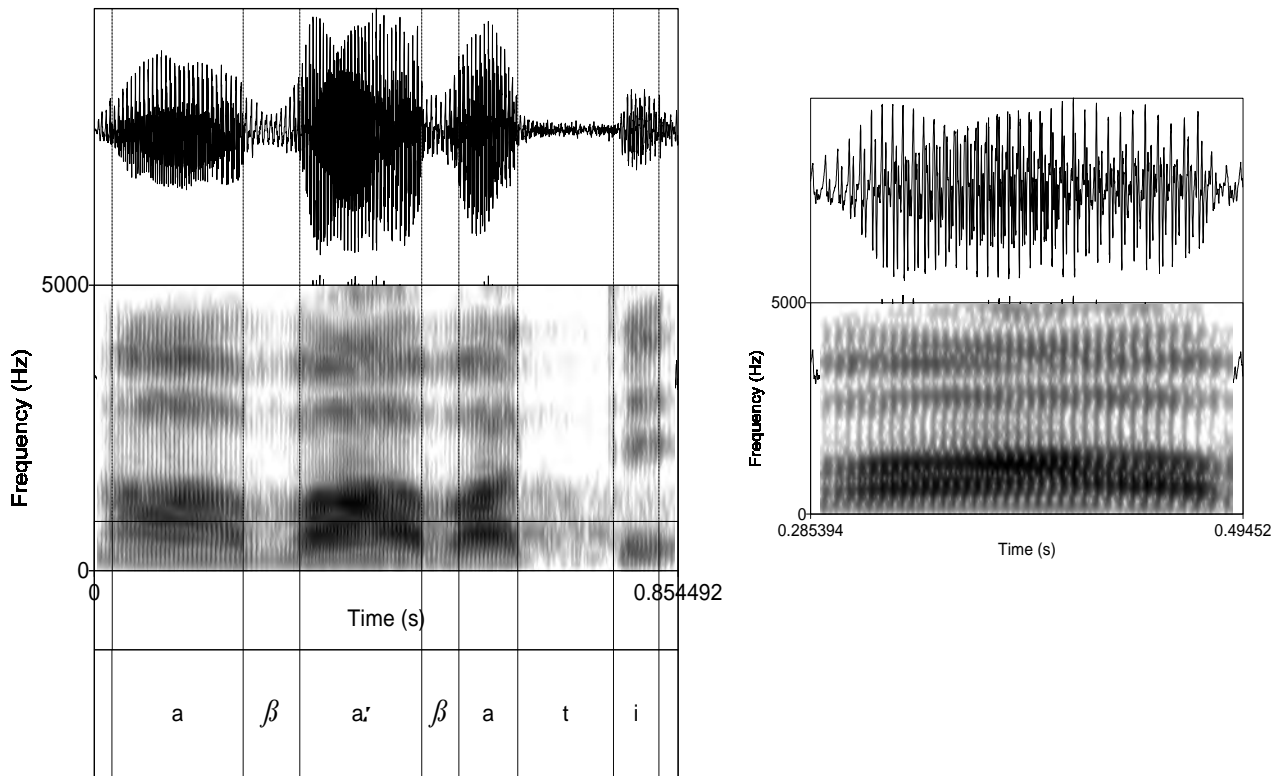
Interestingly, this is not what we find when the reduplicated root begins with a glottal stop: in this case, the root, when reduplicated, keeps the initial glottal stop both at the beginning of the entire reduplicated form and between the two reduplicated roots. This can be seen in the following figures (the figure to the left presents the form *'a-'ati* 'to do several times' and the figure to the right zooms in on the fragment *'a'a*). We can see a complete closure at the reduplication boundary. In addition, the two vowels show traces of glottalisation and begin with the fast attack exemplified in Figure 4 (note that the *i* of the final syllable also surfaces heavily glottalised, because of a prosodic principle; see §3.5.4iv).

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Figure 6 *'a-'ati* **'to do several times'**
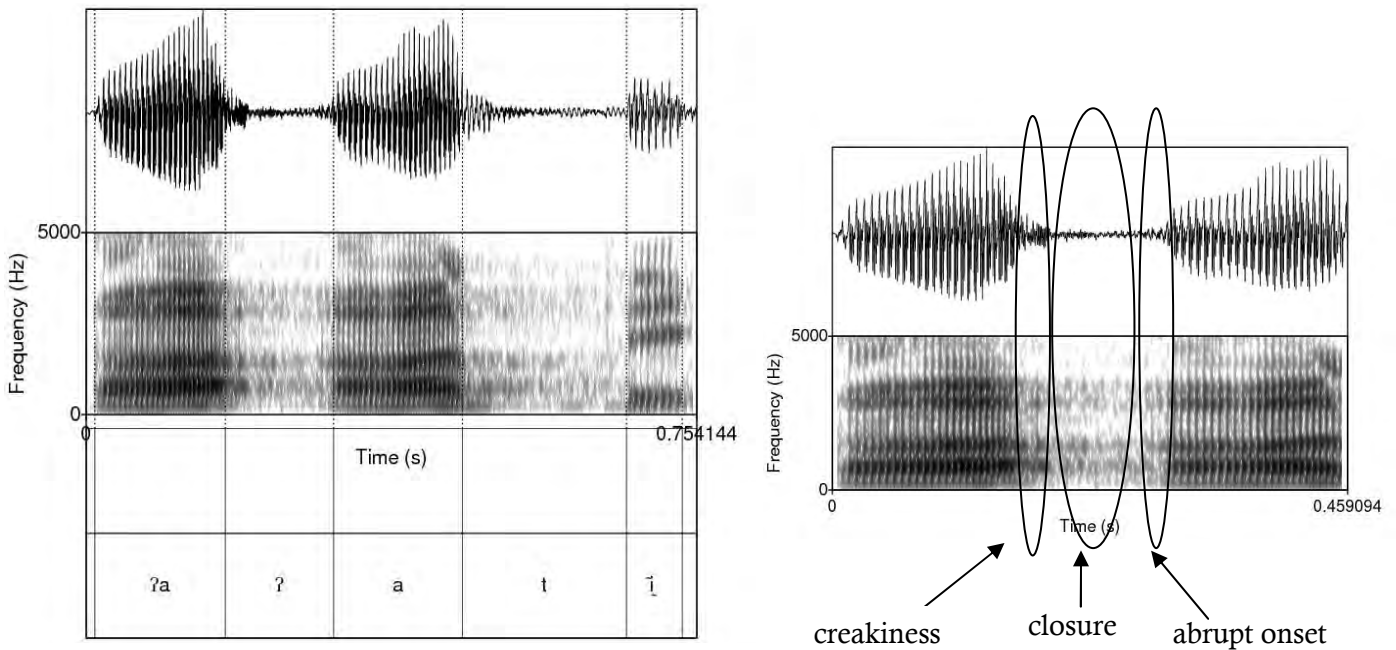
Based on the figures just presented, we can conclude that the words carrying an initial glottal stop keep it when they are reduplicated. In the case of /##V/-words, as we can clearly see, the two vowels produce one single long vowel.

3.5.2.2 Utterance-internal position following a vowel

When we test their behaviour in utterance-internal position following a vowel (in slow speech), the glottal stop is again stable. The following figures present the behaviour of the words *i* 'tree' (Figure 7) and *'i* 'stingray' (Figure 8) in an utterance-internal position following a vowel (the figure to the right presents the boundary between *ënë* 'this' and the word in question):

Figure 7 *ënë i ka cha 'ikën* 'this tree is big'
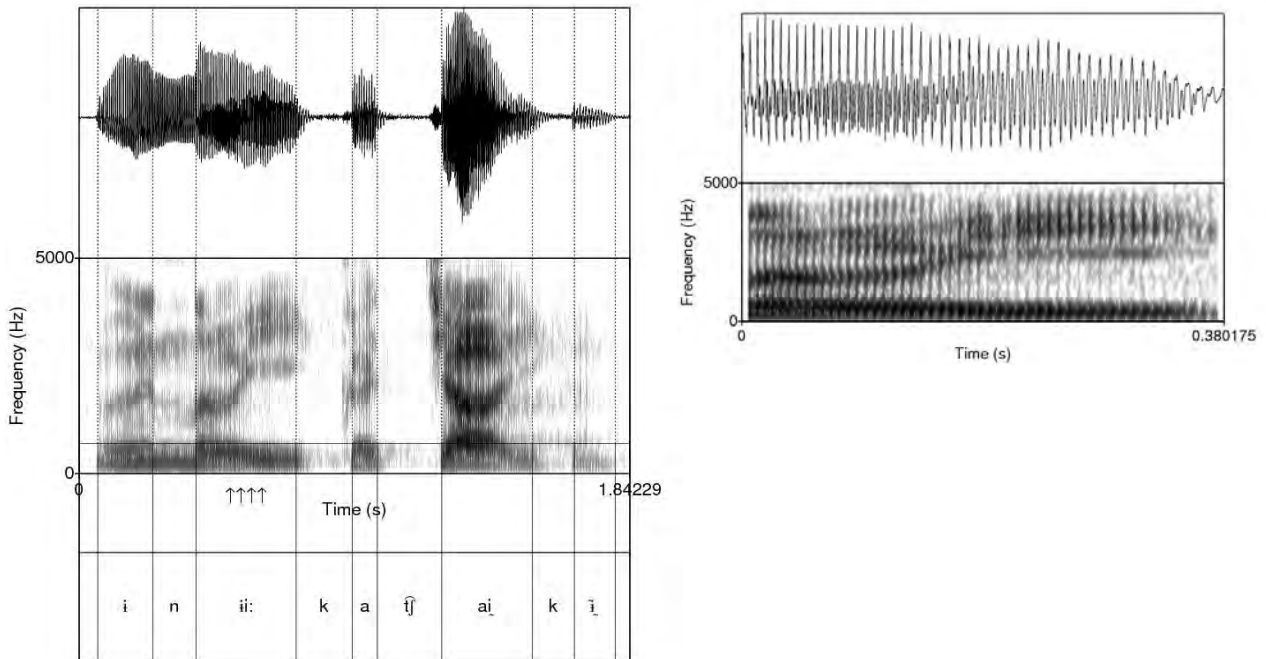
Figure 8 *ënë 'i ka cha 'ikën* 'this stingray is big'
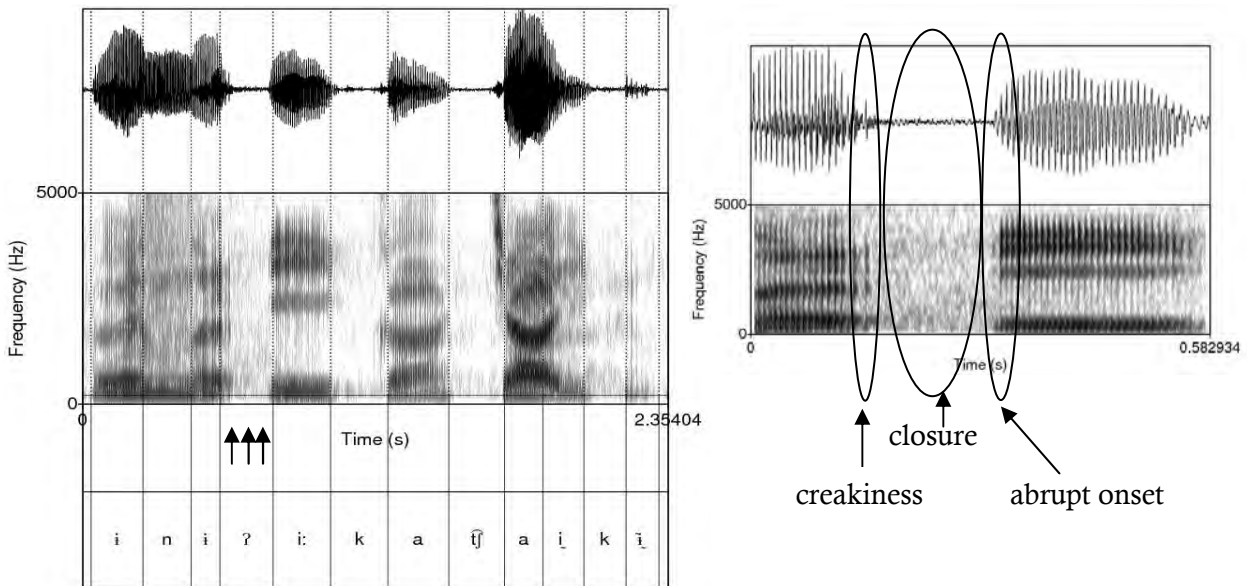
In the case of *'i* we can clearly see that, in addition to the closure and the abrupt onset, we also find creakiness in the last vowel of the demonstrative *ënë* 'this' (Figure 8; see also the discussion in §3.5.3).

3.5.2.3 Utterance-internal position following a consonant

In an utterance-internal position following a consonant (in slow speech), we find critical differences between /##ʔV/ and /##V/segments. Below, we find tokens of the words *i* 'tree' (Figure 9) and *'i* 'stingray' (Figure 10), after *ain* '3p.GEN'.

Figure 9   ain i ka chaxkə́ 'ikën 'its tree is tall'
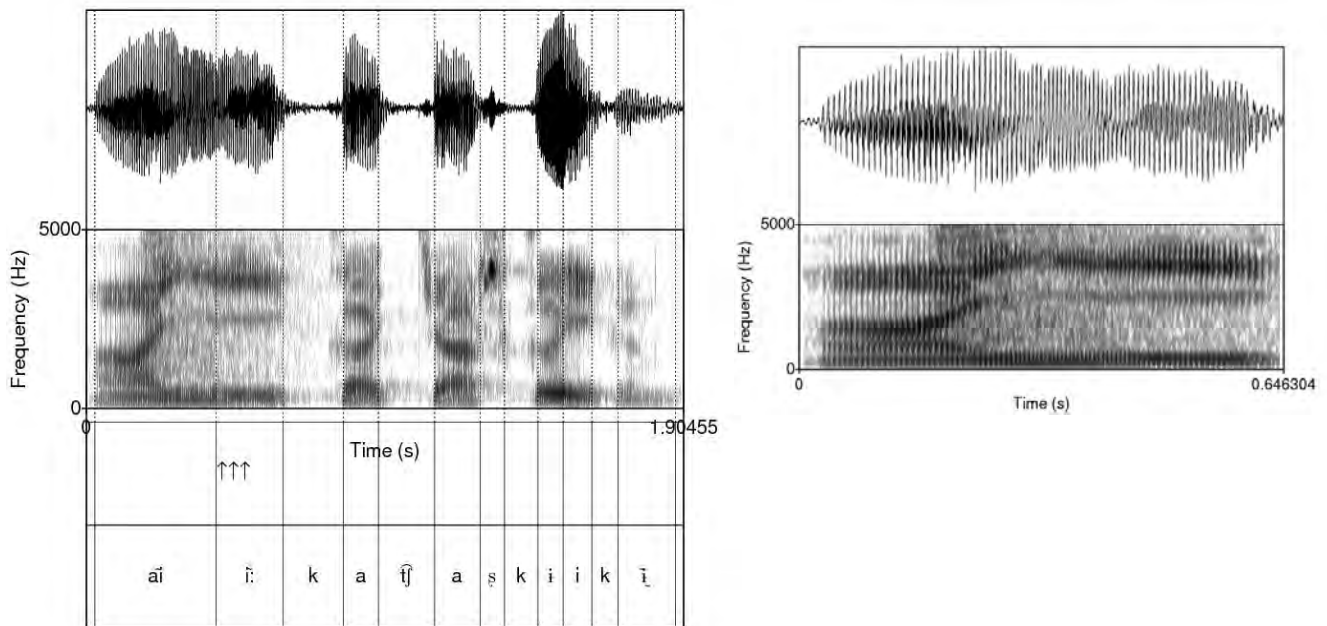
Figure 10 *ain 'i ka cha 'ikën* 'its stingray is big'
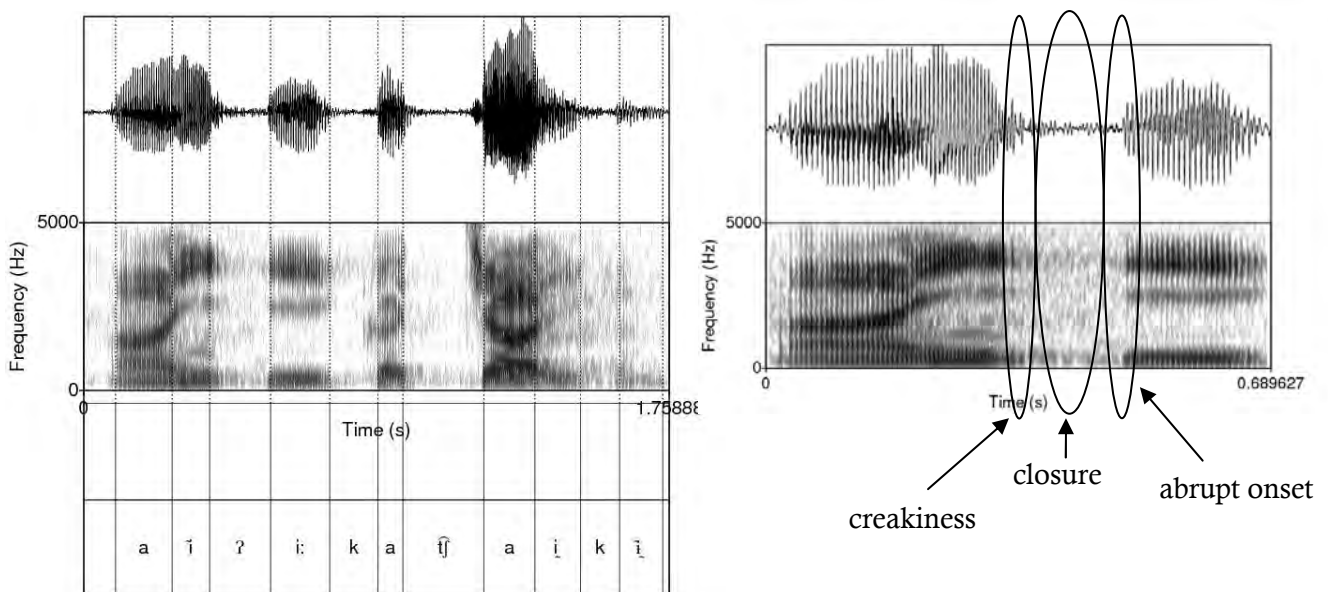
As we can see, the glottal stop of *'i* 'stingray' (Figure 10) is maintained as a complete closure of the air flow and as an abrupt onset. In Figure 9, though, we do not find any closure of the air flow between *ain* '3p.GEN' and *i* 'tree'. Another fact must be highlighted: in the examples presented in Figure 9 and Figure 10, the vowel of *'i* 'stingray' does not surface nasalised, while the vowel of *i* 'tree' does (i.e., we get [ãĩ ĩ] 'its tree' but [ãĩ ʔi] 'its stingray'). Since only the vowels before a nasal coda become nasalised (see §3.3.2.1), the fact that the vowel of *i* 'tree' also surfaces nasalised indicates that the process of metathesis of *n* (see §5.7.1.4) has operated. Thus, we have: /ain i/ > aiin > [ãĩĩ(n)]. This is not the case with /ain 'i/, where the glottal stop seems to block the process of metathesis of *n* and, therefore, we get [ãĩ(n)ʔi]. This suggests that, as we have seen regarding other contexts, the glottal stop is kept in utterance-internal positions, when following a consonant.

3.5.3   Glottal coalescence and final comments

In the examples presented above, the glottal stop surfaces as a closure and as an abrupt onset in utterance-internal positions. However, glottal stops may also surface as a laryngeal feature of the surrounding vowels in a process of coalescence that produces creaky vowels. This is more likely to happen when, due to its discursive function, the glottalisation is found as part of a non-prominent intonational phrase (as in the verb *'ikën* 'is' in Figure 7 and Figure 8). In the examples previously presented, *'i* 'stingray' and *i* 'tree' appear as part of the first constituent of their sentences (a position that is reserved for topics; see §22.2). The discourse status seems to determine how the glottal stop surfaces: as a phoneme in prominent positions, and as a laryngeal feature of vowels quality in

non-prominent positions. In the following example the noun *'atapa* 'hen' and the verb *'ikën* 'is' each have a glottal stop, and we find creakiness in both words. In this case, we have an interrogative utterance and therefore *'atapa* 'hen' does not appear as the first constituent of the clause: this position is being occupied by the interrogative word *uisa* 'how (intransitive)'. Whether or not the relative position of this word explains the realisation of its initial glottalisation still needs to be confirmed. Note that, in addition to creakiness, the glottalisation manifests itself as a drastic fall in F_0 and, therefore, is perceptually very salient (Redi and Stefanie Shattuck-Hufnagel 2001 include a low F_0 as one of the most prototypical correlates of glottal sounds):

Figure 11 uisai (kara 'atapa 'ikën)? 'how is a hen?'
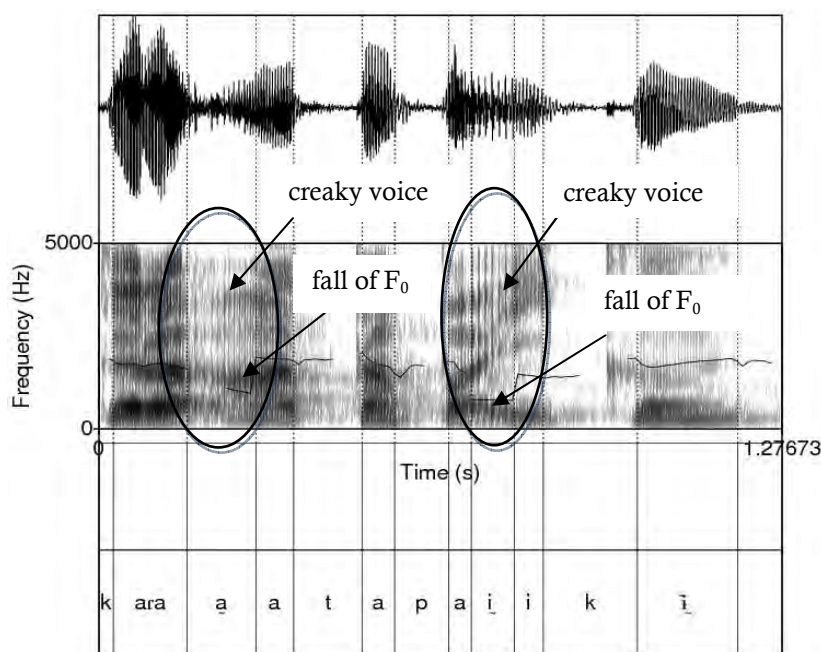
What Figure 11 shows is commonly found in spectrograms of Kashibo-Kakataibo speech and demonstrates that glottal stops do not necessarily surface in the same way in different contexts, but that they **always leave a trace**. The glottal stop is certainly a phonemic element in Kashibo-Kakataibo and is perceptually

distinctive even in contexts like the one in Figure 11. However, the glottal stop does not manifest the same behaviour as other consonants in the language. Not only is it restricted to word-initial position, but it also may coalesce with surrounding vowels in utterance-internal positions (note that *n* also coalesces with preceding vowels, but exclusively when it appears as a coda). A similar case of glottal coalescence has been described for Capanahua by Elias-Ulloa (2009), but in Capanahua, the glottal fricative is also a phonological element.

Interestingly, many Kashibo-Kakataibo /##V/-words show /##hV/-cognates in sister languages like Shipibo-Konibo, Capanahua, Amahuaca or Cashinahua. This fact suggests that Kashibo-Kakataibo might have completely lost the */h/ phoneme; but this topic (and particularly the origin of the distinctive glottal stop presented here, which corresponds to zero in those languages) requires more research and is beyond the present dissertation. See the table below for a comparison of some Kashibo-Kakataibo /##V/ and /##ʔV/-words with cognates in other Pano languages: [27]

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[27] The examples presented in the following table were taken from the following sources: Kashibo-Kakataibo (Shell 1987); Shipibo-Konibo (Loriot *et al* 1993); Capanahua (Loos & Loos 1998); Amahuaca (Hyde *et al* 1980); and Cashinahua (Montag 1981). Just a brief note on orthography: Loriot *et al* (1993) uses <j> to write /h/ in Shipibo-Konibo; Loos & Loos (1998) and Hyde *et al* (1980) use <j> to write /h/ and <h> to represent /ʔ/ in Capanahua and Amahuaca, respectively; and Montag (1981) uses <j> to represent /h/ in Cashinawa. As we already know, Shell (1987) represents the glottal stop /ʔ/ with <'>. In order to simplify the comparison of the examples included in the table, I use <'> for /ʔ/ and <h> for /h/ in all the languages. In addition, I use the orthographic conventions presented in this thesis for the representation of the vowels.

Table 19 Kashibo-Kakataibo /##ʔV/ and /##V/-words in other Pano languages

Kashibo-Kakataibo	Shipibo-konibo	Capanahua	Amahuaca	Cashinahua	Gloss
ʻamën	amen	ʻamën	--	amen	ʻcapybara'
ʻanu	anu	ʻanu	ʻanú	anu	ʻpaca'
ʻë	ë	ʻë	ʻë	ë	ʻ1sg pronoun'
ʻia	ia	ʻia	ʻiya	ia	ʻlouse'
ʻibu	ibu	ʻiʻbo	ʻibu	ibu	ʻowner'
a	ha	ha	há	ha	ʻ3sg pronoun'
ana	hana	hana	hana	hana	ʻtongue'
anë	hanë	hanë	hanë	--	ʻname'
ëma	hëma	hëma	hëma	jemaintin	ʻtown'

3.5.4   Other cases of glottalisation

There are five contexts where we find glottal elements in a position other than word-initially:

i.   <u>Glottal stops in interjections</u>

There is an interjection, meaning 'it pains!' that has the form [ʔaʔa], where we find a glottal stop in an unexpected position. This interjection appears to be a reduplicated form, and, therefore, this may explain why we find a glottal stop in an internal position. However, it is also true that interjections often do not follow normal phonological rules, and this may also explain the special nature of this example.

ii.   <u>Glottal stops as the realisation of underlying word-final consonants</u>

Some words can be analysed as having a final underlying consonant that only appears in particular morphological contexts (see §4.3.1.3). This is the case, for instance, of the nouns *mapú* 'mud' and *kapẽ́* 'caiman'. Interestingly, sometimes, those words are pronounced as [mapúʔ] and [kapɨ́ʔ] in isolation. These word-final glottal stops can be analysed as allophones of those final consonants.

iii.   <u>Glottal stops as part of the imperative contour</u>

Prosodically, imperatives end in a high pitch (see §4.4.1.3). In addition, the imperative forms of monosyllabic or disyllabic verb roots that end in a vowel adquire a final glottal stop.

iv. <u>Creaky vowels at the end of indicative utterances</u>

There is a prosodic rule according to which indicative utterances end in a low pitch and in a very weak vowel in terms of voicing and intensity. This utterance-final vowel also surfaces with creaky voice (see §4.4.1.1).

v. <u>Shortened auxiliaries</u>

There is one final source for glottal stops: the third person form of the intransitive auxiliary *'i-*, *'ikën*, can be shortened in certain interrogative and indicative contexts: basically when the referent is physically present in the context of communication; or was previously introduced and is the topic of the conversation. The shortened form of the auxiliary surfaces as [ʔíʔ], with a glottal closure at the end of the vowel.

3.6   Phonology of Spanish loans

Most Spanish loans appear in Kashibo-Kakataibo speech without significant changes in their phonological form, since the speakers are familiar with the phonological system of Spanish and do not need to phonologically readapt the Spanish forms in order to make them easier to reproduce. However, there are a few cases where phonological readaptation has applied to Spanish words introduced into the Kashibo-Kakataibo language. These cases can be interpreted as being older than the other ones and as being more integrated into the Kashibo-Kakataibo language and lexicon. In the following table, I include some examples of phonologically readapted Spanish loans:

Table 20 Phonologically readapted Spanish loans

Spanish form	English gloss	Kashibo-Kakataibo form	phonological process
<cruz>	'cross'	[kurus]	$\#\#CCV_i > \#\#CV_iCV_i$
<si no> [sinó]	'but'	[sinṍn]	$CV\#\# > CVn\#\#$
<paño>	'handkerchief'	[paɲṹn]	$CV\#\# > CVn\#\#$ /o/ > /u/
<(re)cuper->	'to take revenge'	[kupi-ti]	$\sigma_1\sigma_2\acute{\sigma}_3 > \sigma_2\sigma_3$ /e/ > /i/
<(al)godon>	'coton'	[kutṹn]	$\sigma_1\sigma_2\acute{\sigma}_3 > \sigma_2\sigma_3$ /o/ > /u/ /g/ > /k/
< más que>	'more than'	[mas ki]	/e/ > /i/
<mercado>	'market'	[mirikatu]	/e/ > /i/ /o/ > /u/ $CVC\# > CV\#CV\#$
<Lima>	'Lima'	[rima]	/l/ > /r/
<espejo>	'mirror'	[ispiku]	/e/ > /i/ /x/ > /k/
<plato>	'plate'	[rátu]	$CCV\# > CV\#$ /l/ > /r/

Chapter 4 Prosody

4.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a general characterisation of Kashibo-Kakataibo's prosodic system. Section §4.2 introduces the syllabic structure of the language. Section §4.3, which is the main section of the chapter, offers a study of Kashibo-Kakataibo's word prosody and argues that stress and tone are to be distinguished in this language. Finally, section §4.4 offers some comments on utterance-level prosody and briefly characterises different intonation contours associated with different types of speech acts. It also offers some notes on the distribution of pauses in tail-head linkage structures.

Kashibo-Kakataibo's prosody is fascinating and complex and, therefore, a detailed account of all its properties requires an amount of work that is beyond the scope of this dissertation. I will offer a preliminary description of this prosodic system, highlighting its more remarkable typological features, particularly at the level of the word. During the presentation of the data, I offer some pitch tracks and spectrograms that have been obtained using PRAAT. The examples used in such instrumental analyses have been specifically recorded for this chapter in carefully controlled environments and in stereo with a sampling frequency of 44000 Hz. Two adult male speakers helped me with these recordings: one is 52 and the other, 31 years old. The data measured and analysed for this chapter include more than 482 tokens (including productions of around 120 words with different syllabic structures, and whole sentences with different mood and

modality values). Whenever possible, I have used words with the same vowel in all their syllables; but in the case of long words with five or more syllables, it has been impossible for me to follow this principle.

4.2   Syllable structure

Lass (1984: 248-250) remarks on the importance of distinguishing between a phonetic syllable and a phonological syllable. While the former is a 'performance' unit, with an entirely phonetic reality, the latter is defined as a structural unit that constitutes the "domain for stating rules of accent, tone, quantity, and the like" (Lass 1984: 250). The phonological syllable in Kashibo-Kakataibo according to Lass' definition has a (C)V(C) structure; but there are other possible phonetic syllable structures that are the result of different morphophonemic processes. For instance, metathesis of *n* (see §5.7.1.4) and root reduction due to prefixation (see §5.7.1.6.2) may produce phonetic (C)VCC syllables (as in the examples *kwan-ax* 'to go-S/A>S' > *kwanx* or *ran-xatë-* 'knee-to cut superficially' > *ranxtë-*); but those types of syllables are quite unusual even at the phonetic level. In addition, prosodically non-prominent vowels surface as glides (*bai* 'path' > *ba[j]* or *pi-akë-x-a* '(s)he ate a long time ago' > *pi[a̰]këxa*; see §3.4.7 and §5.7.1.1). However, as we will see throughout the next section, vowels in Kashibo-Kakataibo need to be analysed as projecting their own syllable nucleus at the phonological level in order to offer a satisfying description of the prosodic system of the language. For instance, if we analyse the sequence [ia̰] in *piakëxa* '(s)he ate a long time ago' as a diphthong or a vowel plus glide sequence (i.e. *(pia̰.kë)xa*) and not as two syllables (i.e. *(pi.a)(kë.xa)*), we would not be able to predict the position of the primary stress and the tone in this word: since we are dealing with a predicative form,

both the stress and the high tone fall on the nucleus of the rightmost trochaic foot (i.e. on *kë*) and this behaviour can only be predicted based on the syllabic structure *(pi.a)(kë.xa)* (see, particularly, §4.3.3, below).

According to this (C)V(C) pattern, we can identify four different phonological syllable types in Kashibo-Kakataibo: V, CV, VC and CVC. All these syllables can appear in any position and only *n*, *s*, *sh* and *x* (and in some very specific contexts also the glottal stop; see, for instance, §4.3.1.3) can appear as syllabic codas. Some examples follow:

(120) <u>V</u>
    a.na   'tongue'
    ba.**i**   'path'
    a   '3sg pronoun'

(121) <u>CV</u>
    kwë.**në** 'traditionally painted'
    bi   'mosquito'
    bë.**rí**   'today; now'

(122) <u>VC</u>
    ba.**ín**   'fish species: *doncella*'
    ma.**ís**   'ant species: *chitaraco*'
    in.xu   'penis'

(123) <u>CVC</u>
    chon   'fish species'
    bi.**nun**   'palm species: *aguaje*'
    kash.tá 'colour of plants or hair when they get dry or damaged'

As we will see in the next section, closed syllables are **heavy syllables** and the tone assignment rule is sensitive to syllable weight. Heavy syllables are **prominent** and may attract the high tone of a word if they appear **in an even position** to the right of the syllable carrying the primary stress (see also Elías-

Ulloa 2006, for a discussion of syllable weight in Shipibo-Konibo and for the claim that closed syllables are "underlyingly" light in odd positions).

4.3   Word-level prosody

Two phonetic features will be studied, measured and analysed throughout this section: vowel length and pitch. The distribution of vowel length in Kashibo-Kakataibo is clearly metrical and reminds us of prototypical stress systems. Vowels are not inherently short or long and their lengthening is determined according to a metrical rule. The metrical system is trochaic, that is, feet are left-headed. These trochaic feet are created from left to right (i.e. from the beginning to the end of words). Generally, metrical feet in Kashibo-Kakataibo have to be disyllabic and degenerate feet are only admitted under very specific circumstances (see §4.3.6). In addition, the position of the primary stress (manifested as vowel lengthening) follows a different principle for predicates and non-predicates.[28] Predicates carry the primary stress on the head of the rightmost (i.e. last) foot. Non-predicates carry the primary stress on the head of the leftmost (i.e. first) foot.

In turn, the variations in pitch found in Kashibo-Kakataibo words can be related to a prosodic feature of high tone. A high tone is positioned on the first prominent syllable counting from right to left, in both predicates and non-predicates. Since tone (but not the vowel lengthening associated with stress) is sensitive to syllable weight, a **prominent syllable** for high tone-assignment can be

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[28] Note that the rule does not distinguish between word classes such as nouns or verbs. In Kashibo-Kakataibo, most words can be used as predicates and, when this happens, they receive verbal morphology and are prosodically treated as predicates. On the other hand, nominalised verbs are non-predicates for the prosodic rule described here (see Chapter 7 for more on word class distinctions).

the one carrying the primary stress or a closed syllable to the right of it (but only if this syllable appears in an even position; see §4.3.3). Restrictions on the position of the high tone apply in trisyllabic and longer words: their last syllable cannot carry the high pitch (see §4.3.3).

There is no phonological low tone in Kashibo-Kakataibo and syllables with a high tone are opposed to syllables unmarked for tone. Phonetic falling and rising tones are found under certain conditions (see §4.3.5) and, in a few cases, tone seems to be lexically assigned (see, particularly, §4.3.9). Both a metrically and a lexically assigned tone can appear on the same phonological word. In addition, in some contexts, a phonological word may completely lack a high tone (see §4.3.7).

The data gathered at this stage strongly suggests that the tone and the stress bearing unit is the **syllable**. As is usually the case in stress systems (see Hayes 1995: 24-31; and Hyman 2006: 231-234 and 2009), stress in Kashibo-Kakataibo is **obligatory** (at least one primary stress per phonological word) and **culminative** (only one primary stress per phonological word). Therefore, stress seems to be a crucial feature for the definition of the phonological word in the language (see a brief discussion of this issue in §4.3.10). We will see that some grammatical words may be argued to include more than one phonological word, in a type of mismatch that is not uncommon in the world's languages (see Dixon and Aikhenvald 2003; and §4.3.4 and §4.3.8). In contrast, high tone will be shown to be neither obligatory (see §4.3.7) nor culminative (see §4.3.9) in Kashibo-Kakataibo.

Thus, even though most words have at least one high tone, in my current analysis, I do not consider high tones to be definitional for phonological word in

the language. The following table summarises the properties of both tone and stress in Kashibo-Kakataibo. All these properties will be commented on and illustrated throughout this section:

Table 21   Properties of tone and stress in Kashibo-Kakataibo

Kashibo-Kakataibo's word-prosody	
tone	**stress**
phonetic correlate: high pitch	phonetic correlate: vowel lengthening
sensitive to syllabic weight	non-sensitive to syllabic weight
lexically and metrically assigned	metrically assigned
a high tone on the rightmost prominent syllable (i.e. the syllable carrying the primary stress or a heavy syllable in an even position to the right of it) in both nominal and verbal forms	a primary stress on the first metrical head counting from the right to left in predicates, and from left to right in non-predicates
high tone-bearing unit: syllable	stress-bearing unit: syllable
non-obligatory	obligatory
non-culminative	culminative

The data in this section will be presented in the following order: §4.3.1 presents the prosodic behaviour of different types of disyllabic words; §4.3.2 discusses trisyllabic words; §4.3.3 describes tetrasyllabic words; and §4.3.4 is on pentasyllabic and longer words. Monosyllabic words are presented in §4.3.5, since their understanding requires some background information about the prosodic system of the language. In each section, information about both stress and tone is offered together in order to show how these two prosodic features interact. Following this discussion, there is information on some cases of monosyllabic degenerate feet (§4.3.6), and on the prosody of complex phrases (§4.3.7) and adverbial enclitics (§4.3.8). Comments on a few suffixes that are lexically marked for high pitch are offered in §4.3.9. Finally, a summary is offered in §4.3.10.

In the following sections, stress and tone will be separately indicated. Following the IPA tradition, I will use the diacritics <ˈ> and <ˌ> to mark primary and secondary stress and <´> to indicate high tone (when necessary, I use <˘> for phonetic rising pitches and<ˆ> for phonetic falling pitches). A marker for low tone is not necessary, since the system does not include a low toneme.

4.3.1 Stress and tone on disyllabic words

4.3.1.1 Disyllabic words with a final open syllable

In terms of stress, disyllabic words create only one trochaic metrical foot. Therefore, stress will fall on the leftmost syllable of the word, which will be clearly longer than the following one. In addition, if the second syllable is open, this first one also attracts the high tone, since it is the only prominent syllable in the word. Therefore, disyllabic words with an open second syllable will exhibit the prosodic structure formulated and exemplified in (124):

(124) (ˈớ.σ)
    baka   [ˈβ̝á.ka]   'river'
    imi   [ˈí.mi]   'blood'

Figure 12 presents the spectrogram and the pitch track of one framed token of *imi* 'blood'. We can see there that the first vowel is significantly longer than the second one and that this longer vowel also attracts the high pitch. Exactly the same behaviour will be found for words with a closed first syllable and an open second one.

Figure 12 Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of *imi* 'blood'
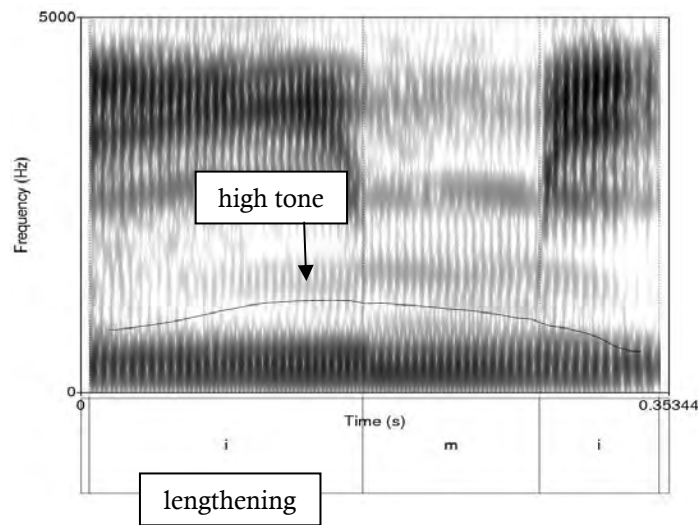
4.3.1.2 Disyllabic words with a final closed syllable

Differently from the examples in the previous section, high pitch and lengthening do not appear on the same syllable in the case of disyllabic words ending in a consonant. Thus, the examples to be discussed here demonstrate that pitch and lengthening are not two phonetic correlates of stress in Kashibo-Kakataibo, but two different features which follow different principles.

In terms of stress (i.e. vowel lengthening), disyllabic words with a closed second syllable behave in the same way as disyllabic words ending in an open syllable. That is, we find the same trochaic foot with the syllable to the left carrying the stress. The difference, however, is that this stressed syllable does not attract the high pitch of the word, which instead appears on the second one. This phenomenon confirms that tone (but not stress) is sensitive to syllable weight in Kashibo-Kakataibo. We have two prominent syllables: the one to the left, which carries the primary stress (i.e. a lengthened vowel); and the one to the right, which has a consonant in coda position and, therefore, is heavy. The high tone is positioned on the right-most prominent syllable (which appears in an even

position; see the discussion of cases in which the closed syllable to the right of the stressed one appears in an odd position in §4.3.3). Thus, disyllabic words with a second closed syllable follow the prosodic pattern ('σ.ό). In (125), we find phonetic transcriptions of the disyllabic words *maxax* 'stone' and *bukun* 'frog species'. Figure 13 exemplifies how a framed token of the second word looks on a spectrogram:

(125) Disyllabic words ending in a closed syllable: **('σ.ó)**

| maxax | ['maʂáʂ] | 'stone' |
| bukun | ['ßukṹn] | 'frog species' |

Figure 13 Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of *bukun* 'frog species'
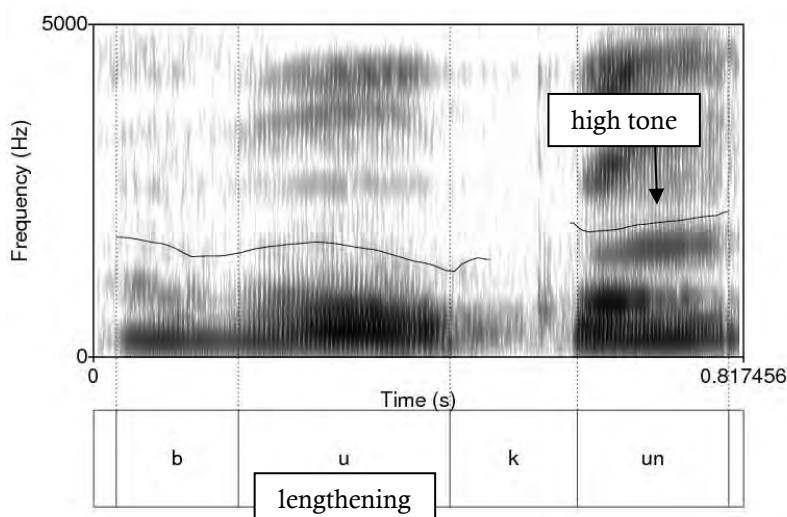
4.3.1.3 Counterexamples?

Following the principles presented so far, it is possible to predict for the majority of disyllabic words where both the stress and the high tone will fall. However, there is a group of words that seem to be exceptional. In those words, the high tone falls on an apparently open second syllable. Shell's (1986) vocabulary contains many such examples and she indicates this unpredictable behaviour by

including a <´> symbol over the vowel that unexpectedly carries the high tone (that she analyses as stress). Two of those examples are presented in (126).

(126) <u>Examples of disyllabic words with two open syllables and a high pitch on the second</u>: **(ˈσ.σ́)**

| kapë́ | [ˈka.pí] | 'caiman' |
| upí | [ˈu.pí] | 'beautiful' |

These examples could be analysed as carrying an exceptional (lexical) high tone on the second syllable, overriding the rule according to which the tone is positioned on the first prominent syllable counting from the end of the word (which in disyllabic words with two open syllables would be the stressed syllable). There is, however, one fact that suggests a different explanation: a great number of examples like the ones in (126) show alternating forms: one with the unexpected position of the high tone and the other with an additional root-final extra consonant. This additional consonant only surfaces in the environment of some suffixes and one enclitic that allow it to become the onset of their (first) syllable (like the ergative suffix in (127)). This changes the whole prosodic structure of the word: since the root-final consonant syllabifies as the onset of the syllable created by the enclitic, the second syllable of the root becomes open and the first syllable attracts both the primary stress and the high pitch in each case (see §4.3.2):

(127) <u>Disyllabic words in (126) with the ergative marker</u>: **(ˈσ́.σ)σ**

| kápë**k**=an | [ˈká.pi.**k**an] | 'caiman-ergative' |
| úpi**t**=an | [ˈú.pi.**t**an] | 'beautiful-ergative' |

Figure 14 presents what an isolated token of *kapëkan* 'caiman-ergative' looks like in a spectrogram:

**Figure 14 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *kapëkan*
'caiman-ergative'**
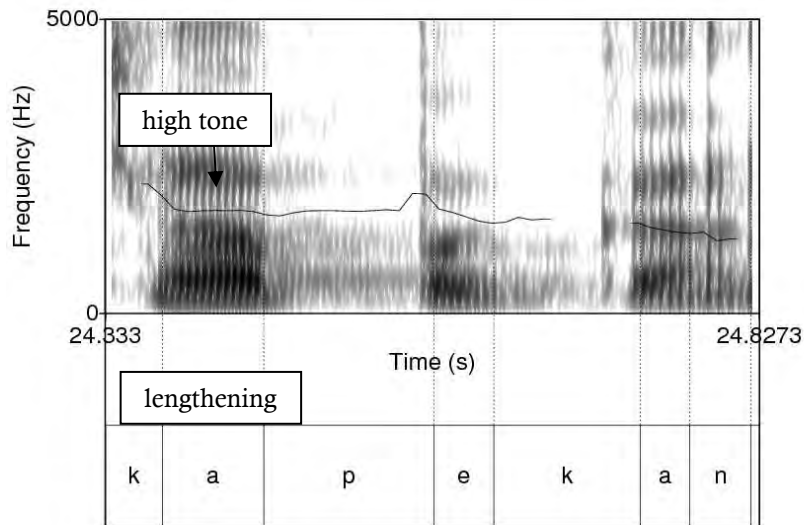
Any attempt at offering an explanation of examples like the ones presented
in this section must also offer an interpretation of these root-final consonants,
since both phenomena (the unusual position of the high pitch in (126) and the
additional consonants in (127)) are clearly related. Equivalent additional
consonants include *k*, *t* and even *ts*, and one cannot predict which one will
surface. Their unpredictable character suggests that these consonants belong to
the root and cannot be explained as resulting from any kind of phonetic rule.
Thus, roots like the ones in these examples can be claimed to contain a final
consonant. Their final consonants, however, are highly unstable since stops and
affricates cannot be syllabic codas (see §4.2). These consonants only appear
overtly when they can syllabify as the onset of a following syllable. This only
happens when the roots are modified by one of the following bound morphemes:

Table 22   Bound morphemes which preserve root-final stops (and affricate)

suffix or enclitic	meaning
=(a)n	'ergative, instrumental, temporal locative and genitive'
-i	'imperfective'
-ia	'S/A/O>O, simultaneous event'
-i	'S/A>S, simultaneous event'
-a	'stative'

The analysis proposed here explains the unpredictable quality of the consonants (they are unpredictable because they are part of the lexical form of some certain roots) and the position of high tone (which is not exceptional since the second syllable of the word is underlyingly closed). Words like *upí* or *kapë́* may be represented as *upit* or *kapëk*. The high tone is attracted by the second closed syllable (see the examples in (126)), but the last consonant is dropped due to the syllabic structure of the language. When those final consonants can syllabify with a following vowel, the second syllable of those words is not closed any longer and, then, the high pitch falls on the first syllable, which also carries the stress and, thus, is the most prominent syllable in the word (see the examples in (127)).

As an additional piece of evidence for the analysis proposed here, it is important to mention that, when produced in isolation, words like the ones in (126) may exhibit a final closure which is perceptually very similar to a glottal stop and which may be interpreted as a phonetic counterpart of the consonants being discussed here. In fact, a more accurate analysis for the way in which those words surface in many cases may be to postulate a phonological change from /k, t/ to [ʔ], rather than a complete deletion of the root-final consonants. However, the glottal closure is also unstable and these words are frequently pronounced

without a final closure. In the following figure, we can see this glottal stop at the end of the word *kapḗ[ʔ]* 'caiman'. The glottal stop is revealed in the sound wave as a closure, and in the spectrogram, as the association of the vowel with creaky voice towards its latter portion:

Figure 15 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *kapḗ* 'caiman'
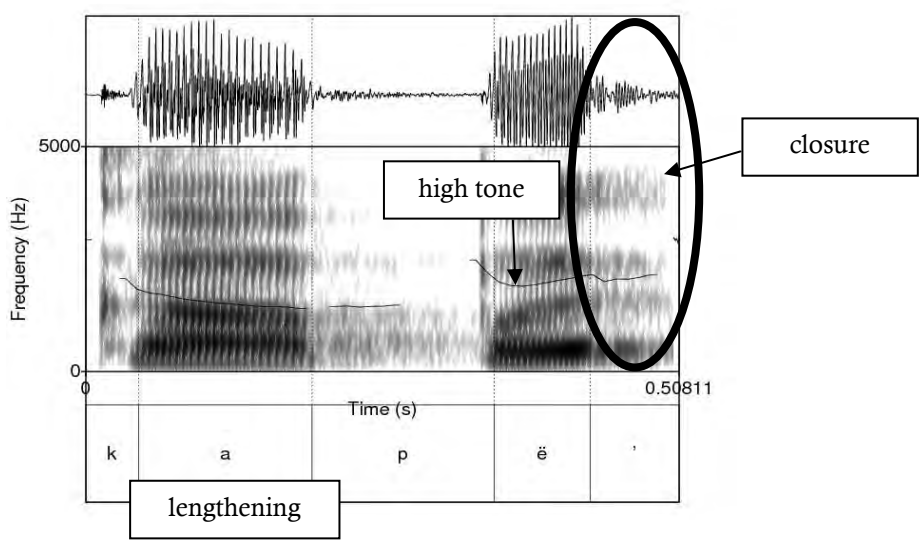
4.3.2   Stress and tone on trisyllabic words

Although most trisyllabic words in Kashibo-Kakataibo are morphologically complex, there are some trisyllabic monomorphemic words in the language. A number of them are loans from other languages like Spanish, Quechua and Arawakan languages (Cf. the words *ispiku* 'mirror' < Spanish; *kuriki* 'money' < Quechua; and *'uchiti* 'dog' < Arawakan). Some other trisyllabic words could be analysed as diachronically composed of more than one morpheme, but synchronically monomorphemic. This is the case with words like *cha.i.ti* 'ancestors' which appears to be related to *cha.i* 'cross uncle/father in law (of a man)'. This is also the case of singular trisyllabic words ending in *bu*, which can

diachronically be analysed as an enclitic with some sort of collective meaning, like in the case of the male proper name *Xëtëbu*.

Trisyllabic words help us to understand that in principle Kashibo-Kakataibo does not admit degenerate feet, i.e. feet smaller than two syllables (but see §4.3.6 for some special cases). The third syllable of trisyllabic words does not carry a secondary stress and, therefore, it surfaces with a short vowel. This fact suggests that only one metrical foot is formed in such words. In accordance with what we would expect, the first syllable of trisyllabic words is the head of the only well-formed trochaic foot and carries the only stress of the word. Thus, regarding stress, we always find ('σ.σ)σ in trisyllabic words. In the case of polymorphemic trisyllabic words the high pitch is positioned according to the rule previously presented. If the word exhibits a second open syllable, it has the high pitch on its first stressed syllable (that is, ('ő.σ)σ). If the word exhibits a second closed syllable, it carries the high pitch on this syllable (i.e. ('σ.ő)σ). This is also true for a number of monomorphemic trisyllabic words and I will not comment on these examples here, since they follow exactly the same principles as described above.

However, the position of the high tone in a number of monomorphemic trisyllabic words cannot be predicted by the principles presented so far, since it falls on a second open syllable. Let us have a look at those cases, exemplified in (128):

(128) <u>Trisyllabic words with the prosodic pattern **('σ.ő)σ**</u>
    'uchíti   ('u.chí).ti   'dog'
    kuríki   ('ku.rí).ki   'money'

Figure 16 presents the spectrogram and the pitch track of one token of the word *'uchiti* 'dog' produced in isolation and we can see there that, while the first

syllable is the longest syllable of the word, the second one carries the highest pitch.

Figure 16 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of '*uchiti* 'dog'
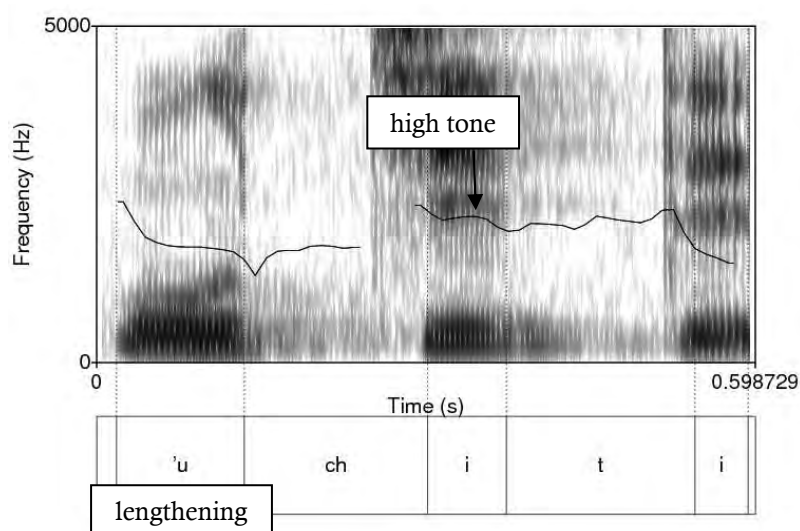
In order to explain such cases on the basis of the prosodic rules described so far, we would need to demonstrate that the second syllable is closed. However, this seems not to be possible (differently from what we saw in the case of the disyllabic words presented in §4.3.1.3). Thus, the only explanation that I can preliminarily give for these examples is that they have a **lexically assigned second position high tone**.

There are some further issues that require more study. For instance, a few trisyllabic words can exhibit freely alternating prosodic patterns. This is the case, for example, with the words '*chí.chi.ka* ~ '*chi.chí.ka* 'knife' and '*xḗ.të.bu* ~ '*xë.tḗ.bu* 'male proper name', which are attested both as following the prosodic rules proposed here (i.e., with the stress and the high tone on the first syllable), and as following the exceptional pattern just described (i.e., with the stress on the first syllable and the high tone on the second one).

4.3.3   Stress and tone on tetrasyllabic words

Monomorphemic tetrasyllabic words are highly unusual in Kashibo-Kakataibo and most words with this number of syllables are morphologically complex. There is, however, a small group of tetrasyllabic nouns that cannot be segmented and, therefore, can be synchronically analysed as monomorphemic forms.

One interesting fact about tetrasyllabic words is that they show us how the metrical system produces iterative trochaic feet, and how this system chooses the syllable on which the primary stress will be placed. Tetrasyllabic words produce two metrical feet each of which has its leftmost syllable as its metrical head. However, only one metrical head receives the primary stress (and, therefore, its vowel is the longest in the word). The head of the remaining foot receives a secondary stress, which will make its vowel longer than the vowel in non-prominent syllables. This mechanism follows a strictly metrical principle that establishes a distinction between predicates and non-predicates. In non-predicates, the primary stress falls on the leftmost metrical head; and in predicates, the rightmost metrical head carries the primary stress. This can be seen in the following examples:

(129) Tetrasyllabic non-predicates: (ˈó.σ)(ˌσ.σ)
     baka=kama   (ˈbá.ka)(ˌka.ma)   'river=PLU'
     paka=kama   (ˈpá.ka)(ˌka.ma)   'bamboo spear=PLU'

(130) Tetrasyllabic predicates: (ˌσ.σ)(ˈó.σ)
     pi-akë-x-a   (ˌpi.a)(ˈkḗ.xa) 'eat-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox'
     abat-i-a   (ˌa.ba)(ˈtí.a)   'run-IMPF-non.prox'

In (129) and (130), we have words with four syllables. Thus, in both cases we obtain two trochaic feet, but the primary stress is positioned on different syllables. In turn, the position of the high tone is straightforward: since we do not

find closed syllables, we expect it to fall on the same syllable as the primary stress in each case (i.e. on the first syllable in the case of the non-predicates and on the third one in the case of the predicates). The following figure presents the spectrograms and the pitch tracks of isolated tokens of *pakakama* and *piakëxa*, respectively:

Figure 17 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *pakakama* 'bamboo spear=PLU'
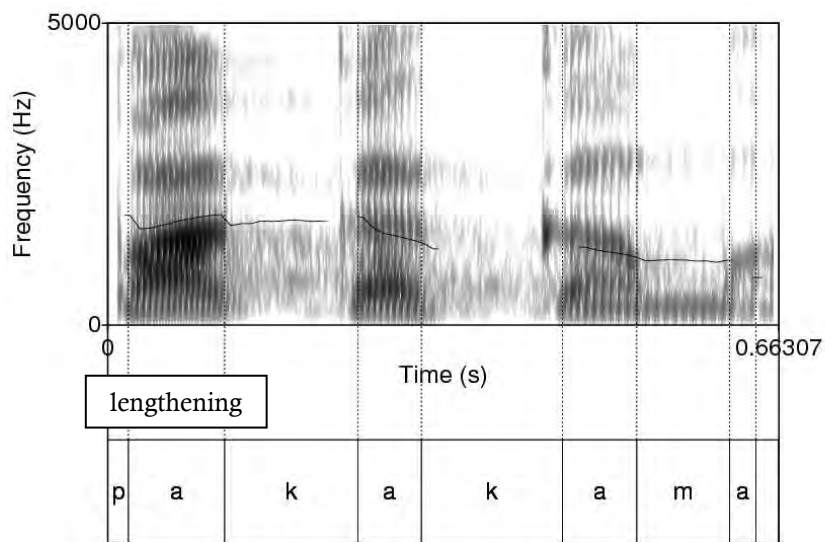
Figure 18 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *piakëxa* '(s)he ate a long time ago'
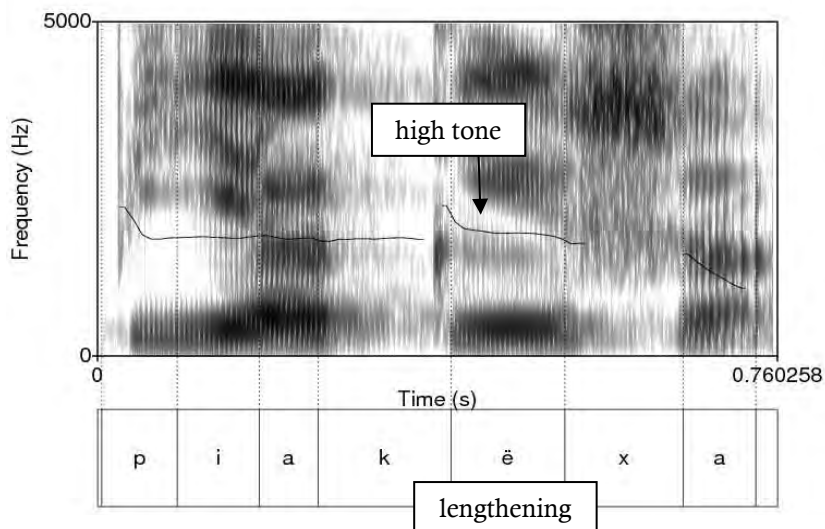
Another interesting fact that can be tested by means of studying tetrasyllabic words has to do with the interaction between syllable weight, prominency and position. We have seen that, **in even positions**, closed syllables are **heavy** and are, therefore, **prominent** for high tone assignment. Thus, as shown in §4.3.1.2, if we find a closed syllable in an even position to the right of the stressed syllable of a word, it is this closed syllable, and not the stressed one, which attracts the high tone. However, this is not the case if the closed syllable to the right appears in an odd position. This is a fascinating fact about Kashibo-Kakataibo prosody. These preliminary findings seem to fit in with what has been described for Shipibo-Konibo in Elías-Ulloa (2006: chapter 5). According to Elías-Ulloa (2006: 124-125): in Shipibo-Konibo, "the weight of closed syllables changes according to the position in which they occur within the prosodic structure". Similarly to what seems to be happening in Kashibo-Kakataibo, in Shipibo-Konibo, closed syllables in even positions are not heavy and **weight is contextual** (see also Hayes 1994). That something similar is found in Kashibo-Kakataibo can be appreciated in the following examples. There we find the words: *pi-mi-pun-kë* 'eat-CAUS-PAST(hours)-NOM; the one who made somebody else eat early this day' and *bë-tunan-bë* 'eye-black-COM(INTR); with the (one) with black eyes'. Both forms are non-predicative and, therefore, will have their primary stress on the head of their leftmost trochaic foot (i.e., their first syllable). Thus, in terms of stress, we find: *('pi.mi)(ˌpun.kë)* and *('bë.tu)(ˌnan.bë)*. However, as indicated below, the high tone is not attracted by the third closed syllable, but by the first stressed one:

(131) <u>Tetrasyllabic words with a third closed syllable: ('ó.σ)(ˌσ.σ)</u>

| pi-mi-pun-kë | ('pí.mi)(ˌpun.kë) | 'eat-CAUS-PAST(hours)-NOM' |
| bë-tunan-bë | ('bë́.tu)(ˌnan.bë) | 'run-IMPF-non.prox' |

The fact that the high tone does not fall on the closed syllable to the right of the stressed one indicates that the prosodic system does not consider it prominent. The only explanation for this behaviour that I can give at this stage has to do with the position of the closed syllable. In the examples in (131), the closed syllable appears in an odd position. If this syllable were the second syllable of the word, it would have attracted the high tone (see §4.3.1.2) and this is also true for those cases in which the implicated syllable appears as the (non-last) fourth syllable. Thus, for instance, if we add the suffix *-kin* 'associative' to the first example in (131) in order to derive the form *pi-mi-kin-pun-kë* 'eat-CAUS-ASSOC-PAST(hours)-NOM', we would find the prosodic structure *(ˈpi.mi)(ˌkin.pún)kë* with the rightmost closed syllable attracting the high tone (but see §4.3.4 for more on the complexity of words with five or more syllables). Therefore, examples like the ones in (131) suggest that, as it has claimed for Shipibo-Konibo, the weight of closed syllables in Kashibo-Kakataibo seems to be contextual, but this preliminary analysis is still to be confirmed by means of other types of arguments.

As mentioned in the introduction, there is a restriction on the position of the high tone: words with three or more syllables cannot carry the high tone on their last syllable, even if it is closed.[29] This is particularly salient in words with four syllables, since their last syllable is in an even position and, if heavy, we would expect it to be considered as the rightmost prominent syllable by the high tone rule. However, this does not happen, as shown in the following figure that presents the word *kënuti=nën* 'sharpener=INS'. Both the high tone and the stress

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[29] The only exceptions are a very few final morphemes which carry a lexical high tone (see §4.3.9).

fall on the first (leftmost) syllable of the word (but there is a slight rising of the pitch on the final nasal):

Figure 19 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *kënuti-nën* 'sharpener-INS'
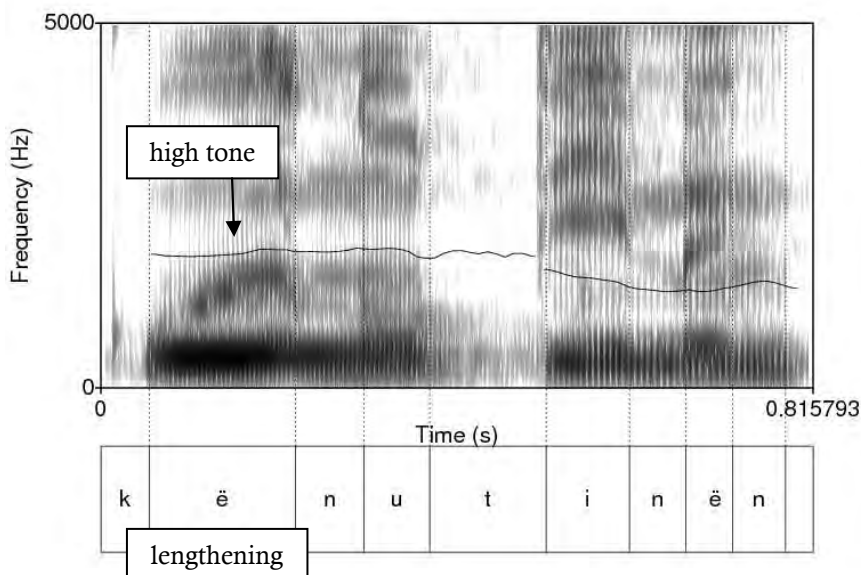
A few words present tone patterns that remain unexplained and, as in the case of some trisyllabic words, have to be considered lexical. This is the case, for example, with the word *'antánama* 'scorpion', which carries the primary stress on its left-most syllable, but the high pitch on its second open syllable to the left.

4.3.4   Stress and tone on longer words

Words with five or more syllables show a very complex prosodic behaviour that I do not completely understand yet. In this section, I offer brief comments on pentasyllabic, hexasyllabic and heptasyllabic words. Predicates with eight or more syllables are grammatically possible but infrequent in discourse and the few tokens in my database proved challenging for my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers, who felt unsure about their prosodic structure. Due to this, the recordings of

words with eight to ten syllables do not reveal any transparent or systematic pattern and, therefore, I cannot offer a description of their behaviour at this stage.

In addition to their unsystematic nature, a methodological problem in the study and measurement of pitch and lengthening in these words has to be mentioned. In long words with six or more syllables, the lengthening distinctions associated with stress become less straightforward, since each vowel is shorter on average. In addition, since not all syllables are marked for tone in Kashibo-Kakataibo, the position of a syllable in relation to another one carrying a high tone may have phonetic consequences. Basically, the tone target is the syllable where the pitch raises until reaching its highest level; but, in order to reach that level, the pitch starts to change in the previous syllable. In turn, after reaching its highest level, the high pitch starts to fall, but leaving a relatively high level of pitch on the beginning of the following vowel (see also Michael 2010 for similar facts in the Zaparoan language Iquito).

The most salient fact about words with five to seven syllables is that they are divided into smaller prosodic units. Evidence from the position of the high tone and the stress on those words strongly suggests that the two leftmost (i.e. the first two) syllables of the word constitute their own prosodic unit. This unit is followed by a second one, formed by the remaining syllables of the word. There is always a primary stress on the head of the only foot of the prosodic unit to the left. This happens in both predicates and non-predicates. Therefore, this first prosodic unit is unlikely to include another metrical foot, and we therefore do not find differences in the position of the stress in predicates and non-predicates (as we have seen in §4.3.3).

In some cases, the head of one of the feet of the prosodic unit to the right also carries a lengthened vowel that might be interpreted as a primary stress. Since stress is a definitional property of phonological words in Kashibo-Kakataibo, finding two primary stresses on the same word is problematic and this issue requires more study. One possible explanation is that, at least in some cases, the two prosodic units found in long grammatical words are treated as two separate phonological words. This analysis is indirectly supported by the behaviour of adverbial enclitics, which have their own stress but are grammatically bound (see Chapter 16). One additional difficulty is that long words may be pronounced interchangeably with one or with two primary stresses.

Since the high pitch is always assigned from right to left, it is always found on the prosodic unit to the right, where it is positioned according to the principles previously described in this chapter. However, if the prosodic unit to the left has a closed second syllable, a high tone is also found there. Nevertheless, the high pitch on the prosodic unit to the right is systematically heard as the most prominent one in the word.[30] The prosodic patterns of pentasyllabic, hexasyllabic and heptasyllabic words are summarised in the table below, where the symbol <//> is used to indicate the boundaries between the two prosodic units proposed here (no references to high tone positioning are offered; but see the discussion below). Notice that my database does not include any examples of non-predicates with six or seven syllables and their behaviour still needs to be determined.

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[30] I tested this by asking five of my teachers to add a <´> symbol to the syllable which they considered to carry the high pitch.

Table 23   The prosodic behaviour of long words

Number of syllables	Prosodic structure
five syllables	('σ.σ) // (ˌσ.σ)σ ('σ.σ) // ('σ.σ)σ
six syllables	('σ.σ) // (ˌσ.σ)(ˌσ.σ) ('σ.σ) // (ˌσ.σ)('σ.σ)
seven syllables	('σ.σ) // (ˌσ.σ)(ˌσ.σ)σ ('σ.σ) // (ˌσ.σ)('σ.σ)

4.3.4.1   Pentasyllabic words

Three examples of pentasyllabic words are offered here. In the first one, which presents the predicate *chikish-akë-x-a* '(s)he became lazy a long time ago', we find that there is a long vowel in each prosodic unit; but only one high pitch, on the rightmost prominent syllable (see Figure 20).

(132) ('σ.σ) // ('σ́.σ)σ
     chikish-akë-x-a
     lazy-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
     '(s)he became lazy a long time ago'
     ('chi.ki) // ('shá.kë).xa

Figure 20   Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *chikishakëxa* '(s)he became lazy a long time ago'

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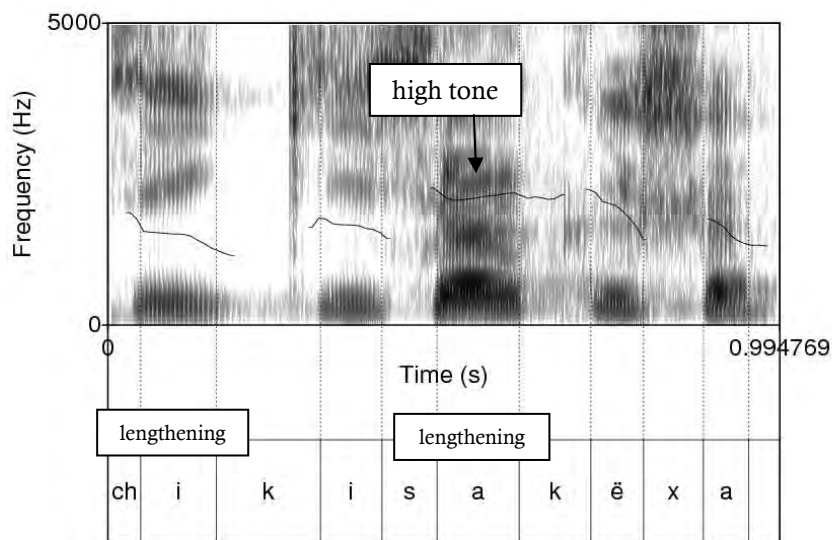
The following is an example of a non-predicative form with five syllables: *'atapa=bëtan* 'with the hen'. We find exactly the same behaviour as in *chikish-akë-x-a* '(s)he became lazy a long time ago': two lengthened vowels, one in each prosodic unit, but only one high tone in the whole word, on the head of the only foot of the prosodic unit to right.

(133) (ˈσ.σ) // (ˈσ́.σ)σ
    'atapa=bëtan
    'hen=COM(A)'
    'with the hen'
    (ˈˈa.ta) // (ˈpá.bë).tan

Figure 21 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *'atapabëtan* 'with the hen'
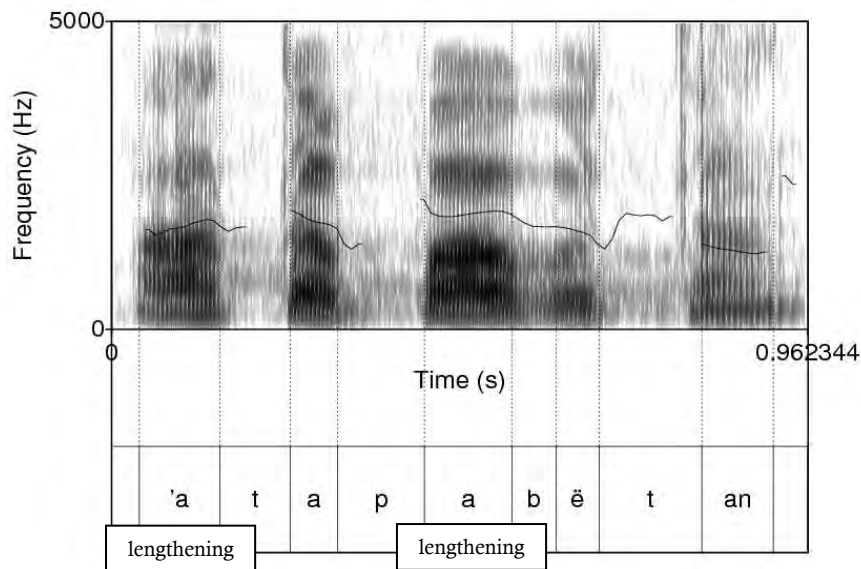
The following pentasyllabic word includes two closed syllables in even positions. In this case, each prosodic unit carries a high pitch on its second closed syllable. This can be seen in the following figure, where an isolated token of the word *'apát-tekën-ti* 'to plant again' is presented. There is only one primary stress on the whole word and it falls on the leftmost syllable.

(134) (ˈσ.ó) // (ˌσ.ó)σ
    ʼapat-tekën-ti
     plant-again-NOM
    'to plant again'
    (ˈˈa.pát) // (ˌtë.kë́n).ti

Figure 22 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *apát-tekë́n-ti* 'to plant-again-NOM'
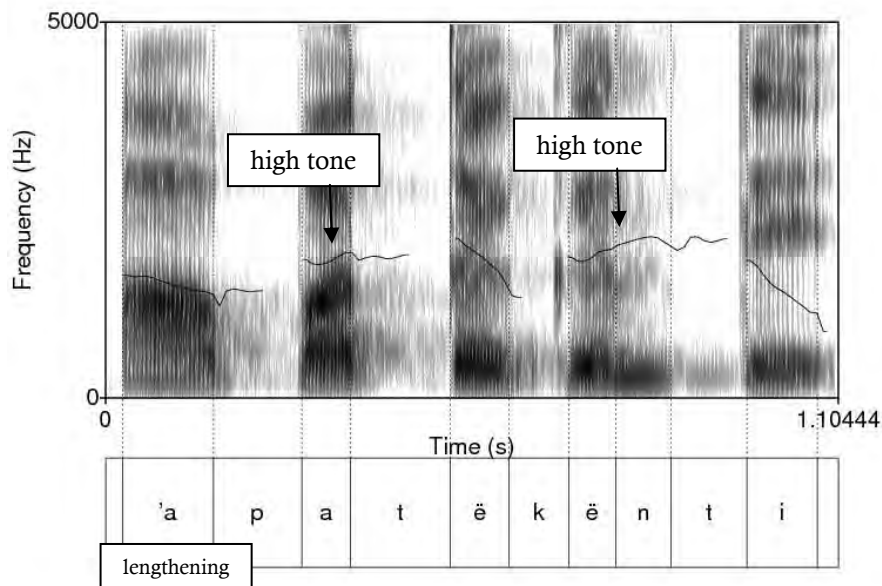
4.3.4.2   Hexasyllabic words

Hexasyllabic words are exemplified in this subsection. In the first example, we find the predicate '(s)he wanted to know (something) a long time ago'. There is only one primary stress and one high pitch on the whole word. The former falls on the head of the leftmost foot (i.e. on the prosodic unit to the left) and the latter, on the head of the rightmost foot (i.e. on the prosodic unit to the right). Notice that the high pitch is attracted by the rightmost syllable carrying a secondary stress (since there is no primary stress on the second prosodic unit).

(135) (ˈσ.σ) // (ˌσ.σ)(ˌσ́.σ)
    'unan-kas-akë-x-a
    know-DES-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
    '(s)he wanted to know (something) a long time ago'
    (ˈʔu.nan) // (ˌka.sa)(ˌkë́.xa)

Figure 23 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *'unan-kas-akë-x-a*
'(s)he wanted to know (something) a long time ago'
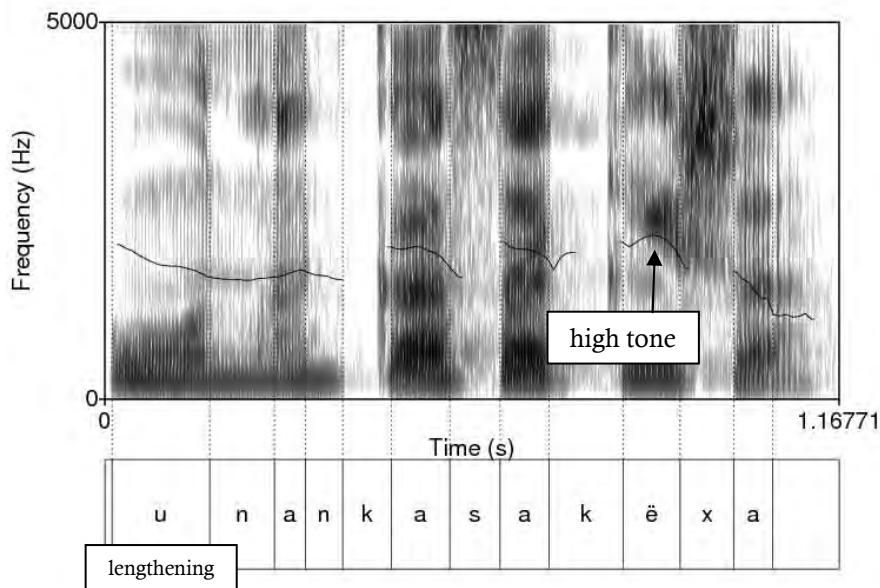
In the following example, we find the predicate *'bana-mi-kas-i-a* '(s)he wants to make (somebody else) talk'. In this case, each prosodic unit shows a long vowel that may be interpreted as an independent primary stress. Since we are dealing with a predicate, the head of the rightmost foot carries the primary stress of the second prosodic unit. As expected, this syllable also carries the high tone.

(136) (ˈσ.σ) // (ˌσ.σ)(ˈσ́.σ)
    bana-mi-kas-i-a
    speak-CAUS-DES-IMPF-non.prox
    '(s)he wants to make (somebody else) talk'
    (ˈba.na) // (ˌmi.ka)(ˈsí.a)

Figure 24 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *'bana-mi-kas-i-a* '(s)he wants to make (somebody else) talk'
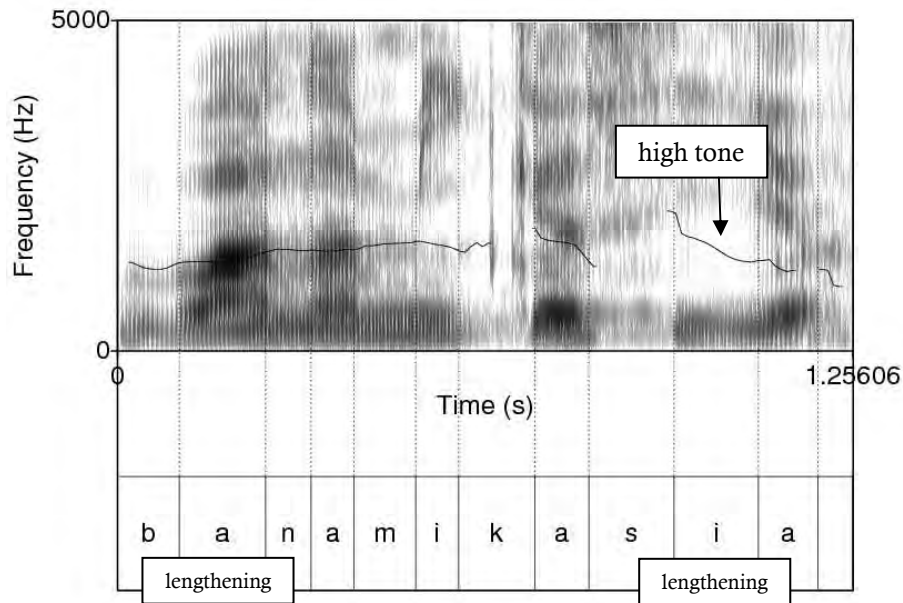
4.3.4.3 Heptasyllabic words

One example of a heptasyllabic word is presented in this section: *bana-mi-kas-akë-x-a* '(s)he wants to make (somebody else) talk'. In this example, there is only one primary stress that falls on the leftmost syllable of the word. There is also one high pitch, which is found on the head of the rightmost foot. One example of a heptasyllabic word with an equally lengthened vowel in each prosodic unit can be seen in (146).

(137) (ˈσ.σ) // (ˌσ.σ)(ˌσ́.σ)σ
      bana-mi-kas-akë-x-a
      speak-CAUS-DES-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
      '(s)he wants to make (somebody else) talk'
      (ˈba.na) // (ˌmi.ka)(ˌsá.kë)xa

Figure 25 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *ꞌbana-mi-kas-akëx-x-a* ꞌ(s)he wanted to make (somebody else) talk a long time agoꞌ
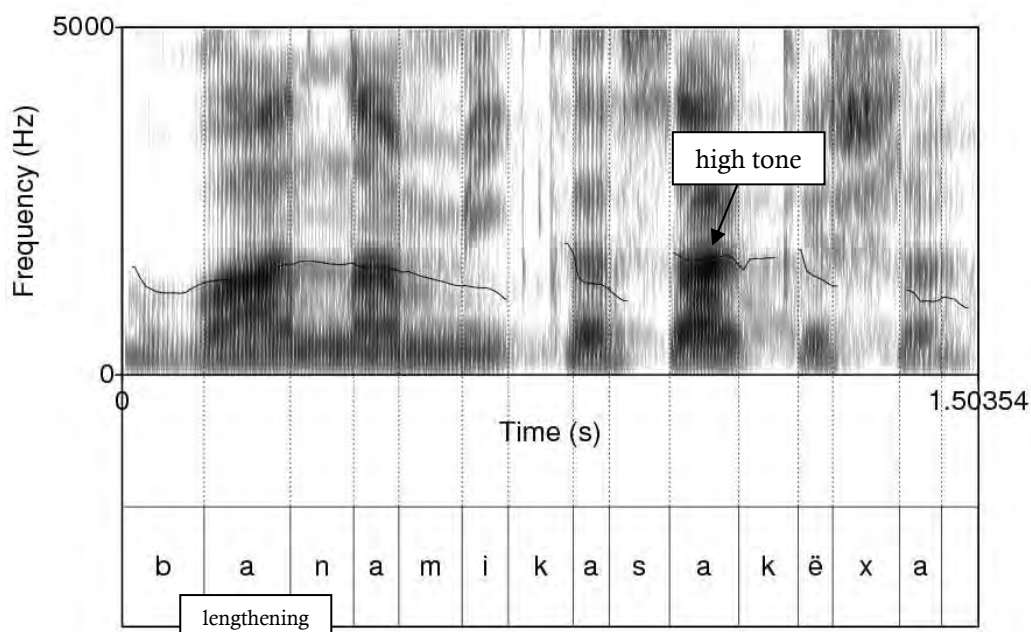
4.3.5 The prosody of monosyllabic words

4.3.5.1 The minimal phonological word requirement

So far, I have described the prosodic properties of words with two, three, four, five, six and seven syllables, but nothing has been said about monosyllabic words. The reason for this is that monosyllabic words require the previous background in order to be appropriately understood.

The main issue in relation to monosyllabic words is that there is a minimal phonological word requirement in Kashibo-Kakataibo, according to which monosyllabic words undergo vowel lengthening in order to be used in discourse. The length of long vowels in Kashibo-Kakataibo is about 0.20 or 0.25 s. This lengthening is phonetically similar to the one found in Shipibo-Konibo (Elias-Ulloa, pc.) and is (at least partially) kept when those words appear in combination with suffixes that add one or more syllables to the word: for instance, the vowel of the word *bi* ꞌmosquitoꞌ lasts in my data between 0.21 and

0.23 s. in isolation and between 0.17 and 0.19 s. when it is followed by the enclitic =*bëtan* 'COM(A)'. Even though there is some reduction in the duration of the vowel in the two contexts, 0.17-0.19 s. is still relatively long when compared with the length of other stressed vowels, which usually last between 0.14 and 0.17 s. However, the evidence that I will present in the following paragraphs suggests that the lengthening of monosyllabic words is treated differently by the prosodic system in different contexts. Basically, whenever a monosyllabic word surfaces by itself or with a bound morpheme that does not add a syllable to the word, its lengthening is counted as two syllables. Conversely, when a monosyllabic word is combined with a bound morpheme that adds a syllable to it, its long vowel is simply counted as one syllable.

This can be seen when we compare the different tone contours found on monosyllabic words in different contexts. In isolation, the words presented in (138) surface with a long vowel and a falling tone (and not with a high level tone). Thus, we have:

(138) bi   'mosquito'   [ꞵîː]
      ba   'egg, larva'   [ꞵâː]
      bu   'hair'   [ꞵûː]

This falling tone can easily be predicted by the metrical system proposed in this chapter if we assume that this system analyses the vowel length as representing two syllables. Since the second syllable is open, the high pitch falls on the first one, which in this case is the first part of the long vowel. Thus, we have the following prosodic patterns for the words presented in (138):

(139) bi 'mosquito' > [ɓiː] (ˈbí.i)
   ba 'egg, larva' > [ɓâː] (ˈbá.a)
   bu 'hair'   > [ɓûː] (ˈbú.u)

  By contrast, we have the same lengthening as found in (138), but a phonetic rising pitch, when these words are modified, for instance, by the enclitic =*n* 'ergative, instrumental, genitive, temporal locative'. This again can be easily explained by the analysis proposed here. The marker =*n* does not add a syllable to the words, which, therefore, remain monosyllabic. Thus, the metrical system counts the long vowel as two syllables and, since the second one is closed due to the presence of the suffix, it attracts the high pitch (see §4.3.5.2 for a similar argument regarding words like [ʔǒː] 'tapir', [nǒː] 'monkey species' and [tǒː] 'arrow cane'). This is presented in the following examples:

(140) bi=n 'mosquito-erg'   > [ɓǐːn] (ˈbi.ín)
   ba=n 'egg, larva-erg' > [ɓǎːn] (ˈba.án)
   bu=n 'hair-inst'   > [ɓǔːn] (ˈbu.ún)

  These phonetic falling and rising tones disappear when we combine these monosyllabic words with a bound morpheme that adds a syllable to them. In this case, the vowel of the monosyllabic word is still phonologically longer than usual (see above), but it exhibits a high level tone. This indicates that, in this case, the long vowel is being treated as a single syllable that forms a metrical foot with the (first) syllable of the bound morpheme attached to the monosyllabic word. This is presented in the following examples:

(141) bi=nu 'mosquito=LOC' [ɓíːnu] (ˈbí.nu)
   ba=nu 'egg, larva=LOC' [ɓáːnu] (ˈbá.nu)
   bu=nu 'hair=LOC'   [ɓúːnu] (ˈbá.nu)
   ku=nu 'pus=LOC'   [kúːnu] (ˈkú.nu)

Based on the facts just presented, it is possible to argue that Kashibo-Kakataibo's minimal phonological word requirement is based on **two syllables** and not on two moras (as is the case with other Pano languages, such as Shipibo-Konibo; see Valenzuela 2003b: 106). In Kashibo-Kakataibo, if we have a monosyllabic word, it will surface with a long vowel and this long vowel will be counted as two syllables for stress and tone assignment purposes. If it has a coda, the high tone falls on the second portion of the vowel and this produces a phonetic rising pitch. If the monosyllabic word does not have a coda, the high tone falls on the first portion of the vowel and this produces a phonetic falling pitch. Finally, if the monosyllabic word is combined with a bound form that adds one syllable to it, we already have two syllables and the minimal phonological word requirement has been satisfied; thus, the still long vowel is counted as one syllable.

4.3.5.2 More on the rising and falling pitches

One of the most interesting features of Kashibo-Kakataibo's word-prosody is the development of rising and falling pitches (as in the examples presented in the previous section). The rising pitches are perceptually very salient and are mostly found in monosyllabic words or on closed syllables containing an *o* or *e* vowel in words with two or more syllables. They can even create minimal pairs with segmentally identical words, but which carry a falling pitch. The fact that falling and rising pitches can be distinctive in Kashibo-Kakataibo produces an interesting effect and, in a way, makes the language perceptually "more tonal". Rising pitches in Kashibo-Kakataibo have been identified by other scholars working on the language (see, for instance, Shell 1986: 11). I will show that the distinction

between rising and falling pitches is a phonetic effect associated with the way in which monosyllabic words are treated by the metrical system of the language and with the presence of codas in some monosyllabic words. Let us see the examples in (142), Figure 26 and Figure 27:

(142) nó   [nǒ:]   'monkey species: *guapo*'   tó   [tǒ:]   'tree species: pona'
      no   [nô:]   'foreigner, enemy'   to   [tô:]   'palm species: cana brava'

Figure 26   Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *nó* 'monkey species'
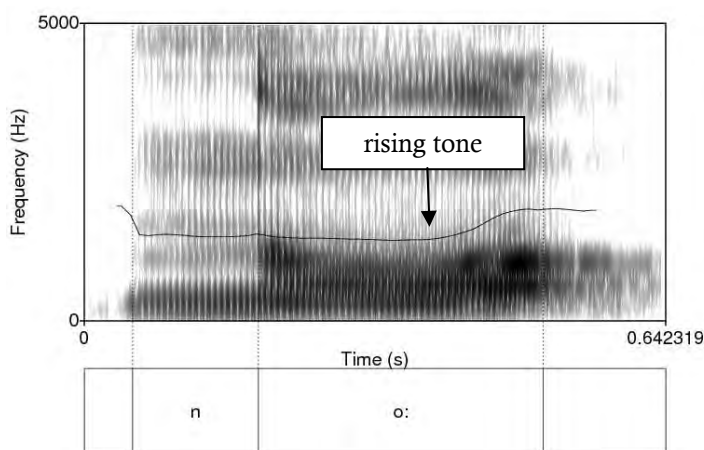
Figure 27   Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *no* 'foreigner'
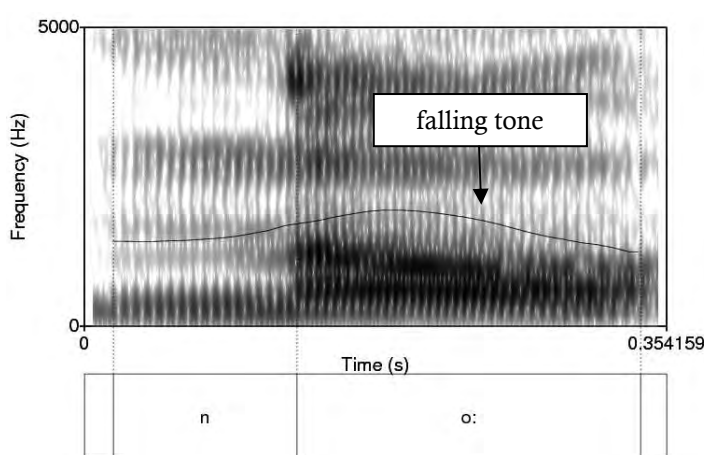
As we can see, the pitch tracks associated with these two examples are different. But this does not necessarily mean that we have a lexical difference in

pitch, similar to what we would expect to find in prototypical tone languages (see Hyman 2006). As we have seen in the previous section, the vowel of monosyllabic words surfaces long and its length is counted as two syllables. If the syllable does not have a coda, the high tone will fall on the first portion of the vowel and will fall during the last portion of it. The result will be a falling tone, very similar to the one that we saw in Figure 27. Thus, as in the examples of the previous section, we have:

(143) no ('nó.o) [nô:] 'foreigner, enemy'
      to ('tó.o) [tô:] 'palm species: *caña brava*'

      The examples with rising pitches are more complicated, since they seem to have the same phonological form, but a completely different prosodic pattern that at first glance does not seem to be predictable. However, I consider that the monosyllabic forms carrying a rising pitch can be seen as having a final consonant, as was the case with the disyllabic forms presented in §4.3.1.3. Thus, monosyllabic forms like *nó* and *tó* can be analysed as follows:

(144) noC ('no.óC) [nǒ:] 'monkey species: *guapo*'
      toC ('to.óC) [tǒ:] 'tree species: *pona*'

      There is evidence for the proposed consonants and, therefore, they are not completely artificial. As it was the case with the disyllabic words in §4.3.1.3, a final glottal stop can be heard in some realisations of these words (see the creakiness at the end of Figure 26). In addition, when the words in (144) take the ergative marker *=n,* they exhibit a root-final stop and the suffix surfaces with the allomorph *-an.* When the suffix is added to those monosyllabic words, the rising pitch disappears and this is a piece of evidence for arguing that they are not lexical, but a result of the metrical rules presented in this chapter. See Figure 28,

where we can see that the long *o* vowel is treated as one syllable and, consequently, shows a high level tone:

Figure 28   Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of *'ok-an* 'tapir=ERG'
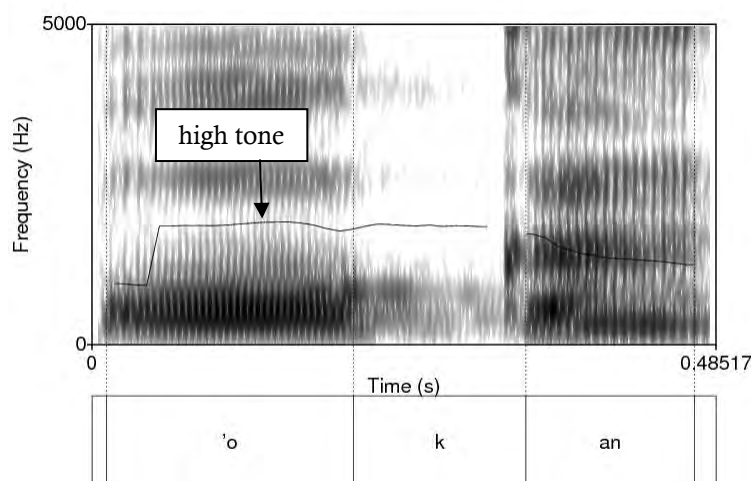
The data presented here strongly suggest that the cases under discussion are equivalent to the disyllabic words presented in §4.3.1.3 and that rising pitches are the phonetic consequence of final consonants. There are no phonological rising or falling tones in Kashibo-Kakataibo.

4.3.6   CVC verbal suffixes that create their own foot

A number of CVC verbal suffixes show a particular behaviour when they appear in an odd position within the word: they surface with a long vowel and create their own metrical feet. As far as I know, this only happens on predicates with quite a large number of syllables and never on words with four or less syllables. A similar situation has been described for the first time by Lariaut (1948) in relation to Shipibo-Konibo. Lariaut used the term **alternate mora timing** to refer to this mechanism.

In my database, this process is found with the suffixes *-kin* 'associative', *-xun* 'benefactive', *-anan* 'malefactive' (which also drops it initial vowel), *-pa(t)* 'downwards, transitive' and *-bu(t)* 'downwards, intransitive', which surface respectively as *-kiin*, *-xuun*, *-naan*, *-paa(t)* 'downwards, transitive' and *-buu(t)*, in such contexts. However, it may be the case that this process applies over a larger number of morphemes with the same syllabic structure. One example including the suffix *-kin* 'associative' follows:

(145) banakinkasakëxa
bana-kin-kas-akë-x-a
speak-ASSOC-DES-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
'(s)he wanted to talk with somebody else a long time ago'
(ˈba.na) // (ˌkiːn)(ˌka.sa).(ˌkɛ̌.xa) *(ˈba.na) // (ˌkin.ka)(ˌsá.kë)xa

Figure 29 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *'bana-kin-kas-akë-x-a* '(s)he wanted to talk with somebody else a long time ago'
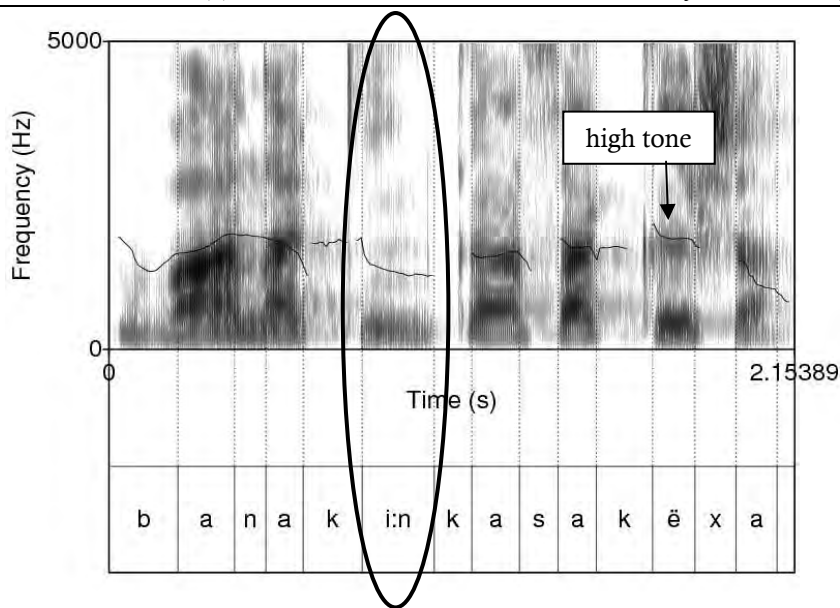
Thus, as we can see, the position of the high tone could not be predicted if we do not analyse the suffix *-kin* 'associative' as creating its own foot. It is interesting to note that the lengthening occurs when the suffix appears in an odd position. An integrated approach to this phenomenon and to the contextual

nature of weight in association with closed syllables (which are heavy only in even positions) is still required and might be of interest not only for Pano scholars, but also for researchers interested in prosodic systems from a typological point of view.

4.3.7 A short note on the prosody of complex phrases

Complex phrases show a particular prosodic behaviour. Basically, each word in the phrase keeps its lengthening stress, but differences are found in the distribution of high tones. In this section, I briefly discuss the tonal behaviour of Noun Phrases (NPs) with two and three words. A similar situation will be found in other types of phrases (for instance, postpositional or adverbial phrases) with more than one constituent.

4.3.7.1 NPs with two words

In NPs with two words, the behaviour of the high tone is dependent on the number of syllables of the word at the right edge of the NP (i.e. the second word). If this word has two syllables, it prosodically attaches to the element to the left in terms of tone: that is, the word to the right does not appear with an independent high tone, although each word still carries its own stress. Let us see one example: *uni ënë* 'this man', which includes two words, the noun *uni* 'man' and the demonstrative *ënë* 'this'. In the following figure, we can see that there are two primary stresses in the NP, one per word: *(ˈu.ni) (ˈë.në)*. The position of those two primary stresses is predictable. However, the interesting fact is that only the first

word on the phrase carries a high tone. Thus, *(ë̈.në)* does not carry a high pitch and the tone pattern found in the NP is *(ʼú.ni) (ë̈.në).*[31]

Figure 30   Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *uni ënë* 'this man'
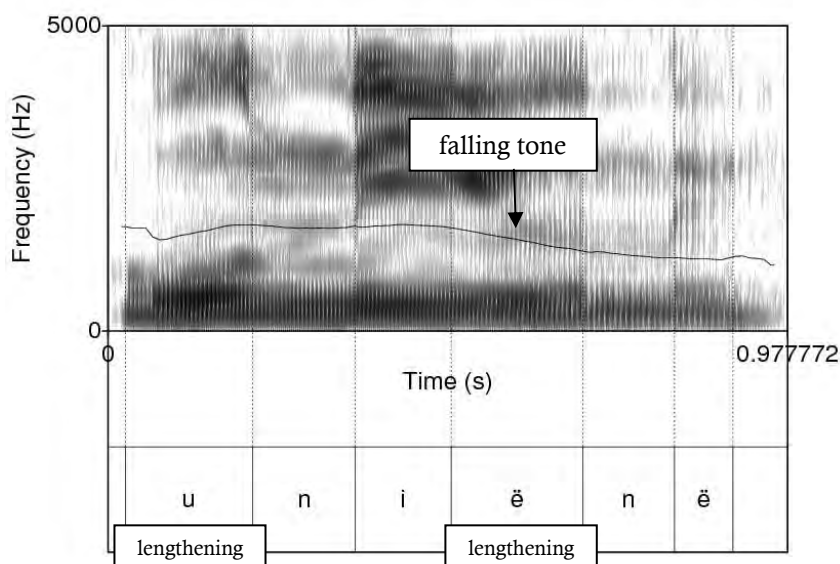
In the following example, we find the NP *chuna xaká* 'spider monkey's hide'. The word *xaká* produced in isolation carries a high pitch on the second syllable, because it has an underlying root-final consonant (*xakat*) like the examples discussed in §4.3.1.3. In the NP illustrated in the following figure, we have two stressed syllables, one per noun; but only one high tone is found: *(ʼchú.na) (ʼxa.ka).* Again, the noun to the right does not carry its own high tone.

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[31] A similar behaviour is found in verbal forms from the *ki*/*ka* class (see §11.6). These verbs appear in transitivity pairs, where the forms with *ki* are intransitive (*taxki-* 'to hit oneself') and the forms with *ka* are transitive (*taxka-* 'to hit somebody'). The formatives *ki* and *ka* came from the independent verbs *ki-* 'to say, intransitive' and *ka-* 'to say, transitive', which were combined with different onomatopoeic words, creating verb pairs distinguished by transitivity. Interestingly, as in the cases discussed here, the formatives *ki* and *ka* carry a lengthening stress but not a high tone.

Figure 31   Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *chuna xaká* **'spider monkey's hide'**
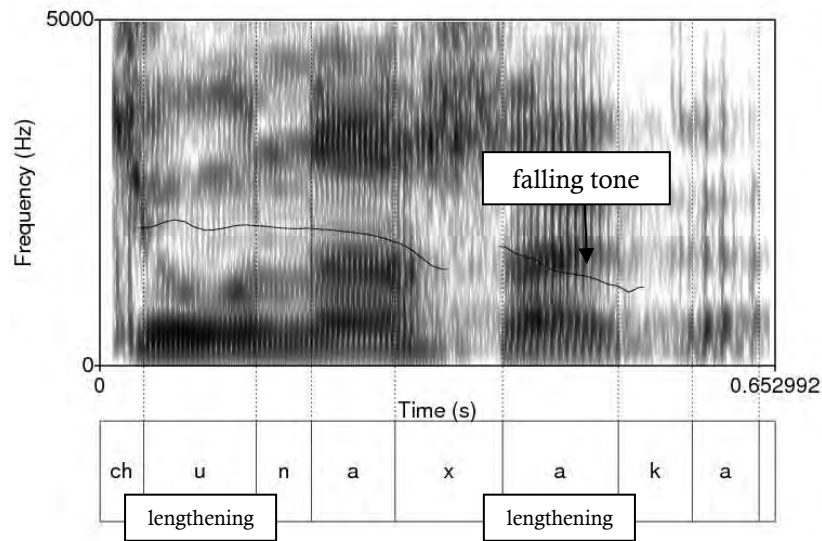
The examples presented so far in this section show that, in some contexts, disyllabic phonological words with their own lengthening stress may surface without a high tone. Since the lengthened vowel of monosyllabic words is counted as two syllables, monosyllabic words behave exactly like disyllabic ones. A different situation is found if the word to the right of the NP has three or more syllables: in this context, each word will carry its own stress and its own high pitch. This is shown in the following example, where we find one token of the NP *'inu banbuxu* 'jaguar's elbow', which includes the nouns *'inu* 'jaguar' and *banbuxu* 'elbow', and each shows a lengthening stress and a high pitch. Thus, we have *('í.nu) ('bán.bu)xu*.

Figure 32   Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *'inu banbuxu* 'jaguar's elbow'
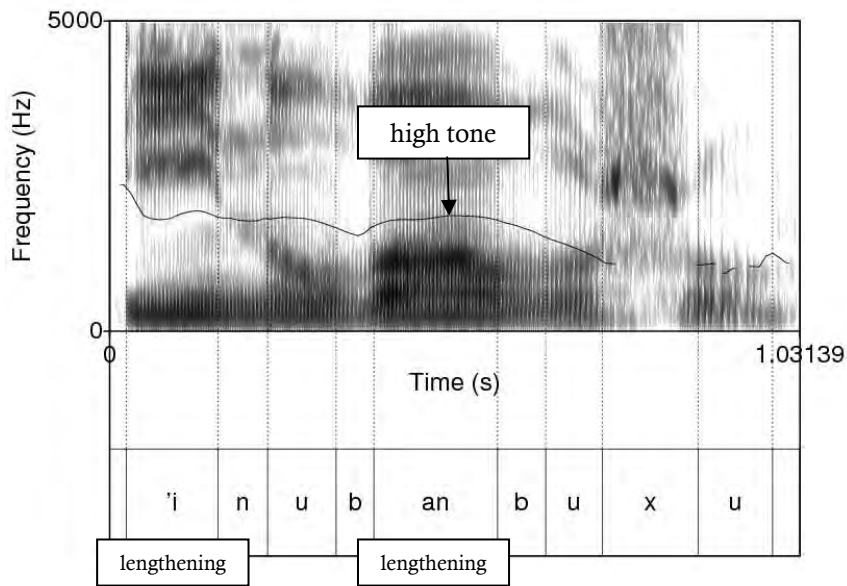
The number of syllables of the first word in the NP does not seem to affect the prosodic behaviour being described. This can be seen in the following example, where the spectrogram and pitch track for the NP *'uchiti nami* 'dog's meat' are offered. We can see there that *nami* 'meat' does not carry its own high pitch and we find the prosodic pattern *('u.chi)ti ('na.mi)*.

Figure 33   Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *'uchiti nami* 'dog's meat'
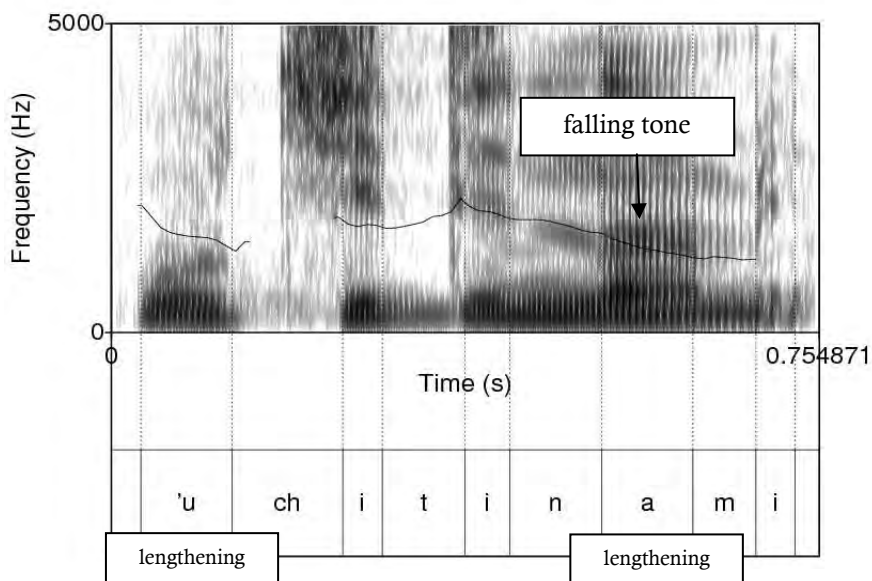
4.3.7.2   NPs with three words

In the case of NPs with three words (NPs with more words are highly unusual and their prosodic behaviour requires more study), what we find is that the first two behave exactly like the two words of the NPs discussed in the previous section. The third word, by contrast, continues to carry its own high pitch. This is shown in the following example, where we find the NP *uni chaxkë̃ upí* 'beautiful tall man', which includes the words *uni* 'man', *chaxkë̃* 'tall' and *upí* 'beautiful'. We can clearly see that the pitch falls in the word *chaxkë̃* and that it rises again in the second syllable of *upí*, which like the words discussed §4.3.1.3, carries its high pitch on its second syllable. Thus we have: *(ˈú.ni) (ˈchax.kë̃) (ˈˈu.pí).*

Figure 34   Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *uni chaxkë̃ upí* 'beautiful tall man'
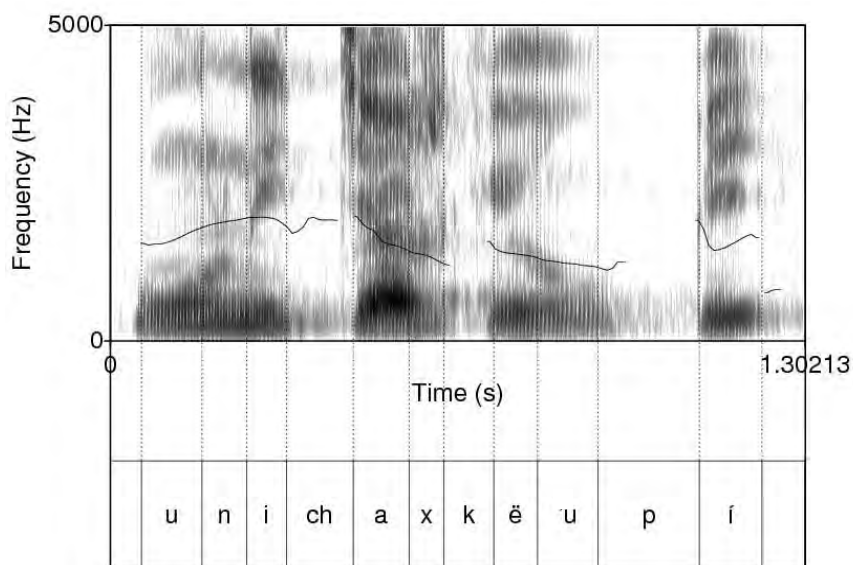
4.3.8   Adverbial enclitics

Adverbial enclitics (see Chapter 16) are non-positional elements that can appear attached to any constituent of a clause and in any position within it. They express meanings like 'only', 'also', 'first', 'at least' and so on. Adverbial enclitics are grammatically bound in the sense than they cannot be used by themselves as

words. However, prosodically at least some of them carry their own stress. Thus, in those cases we have two stressed syllables (one on the enclitic and one in the word they attach to). This can be seen in the following example, *'itsa=tani* 'at least many', where the adverbial enclitic *=tani* 'at least' is illustrated. Note that the first syllables of the word and of the enclitic carry a primary stress. Only one high tone, on the first syllable of *'itsa*, is found. This seems to be related to the phenomenon that we have seen in the preceding section: the enclitic *=tani* 'at least' is a disyllabic form and, like disyllabic nouns to the right edge of NPs that contain two elements, it does not receive an independent high tone.

Adverbial enclitics like *=tani* 'at least' may be argued to create their own phonological words, despite their grammatically bound nature. However, a more detailed study of the prosody of these enclitics (and particularly of their behaviour in finite verbs; see §16.1) is still required.

Figure 35 Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of '*itsatani* 'at least many'
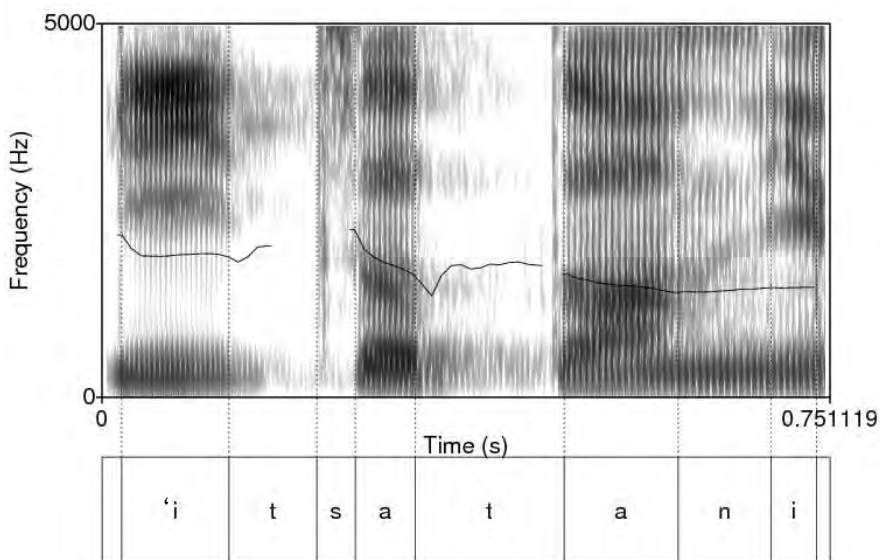
4.3.9 Final monosyllabic suffixes lexically marked for pitch

There are a few cases of monosyllabic position suffixes that appear to be lexically marked for high tone. The most salient observation is that, since they are final suffixes that can be added to stems with two or more syllables, and since high tones do not appear on the final syllable of trisyllabic or longer words, their high tone cannot be explained by the prosodic rules proposed so far and thus needs to be analysed as lexical. Regardless of the metrical structure of the word and the position of the primary stress, **these suffixes will always appear with a high tone**. The presence of this lexical tone on a word does not seem to override the appearance of a metrically assigned tone. Therefore, it is possible to argue (at least tentatively) that a metrical and a lexical tone can co-exist on the same word. This is shown in the following example, where the suffix -*ín* 'proximal to the addressee' is illustrated. It is true that the high tone on this suffix is the highest of the word *bana-mi-kas-akë-x-ín* 'as you know, (s)he wanted to make somebody else speak a long time ago', but it is also true that there is a significant rise of the pitch on the syllable *sa*, which is expected to attract the metrical high tone of the word. This tone rising was straightforward to my teachers, some of whom, in the basic test described in footnote 30, reported that there were two high tones in this word: one on *sa* and another on -*ín*.

(146) banamikasakëshín
     bana-mi-kas-akë-x-ín
     speak-CAUS-DES-REM.PAST-3p-prox
     'As you know, (s)he wanted to make somebody else speak a long time ago'
     (ˈba.na) // (ˌmi.ka)(ˈsá.kë)x[ʃ]ín

Figure 36 **Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *bana-mi-kas-akë-x-ín* 'as you know, (s)he wanted to make somebody else speak a long time ago'**
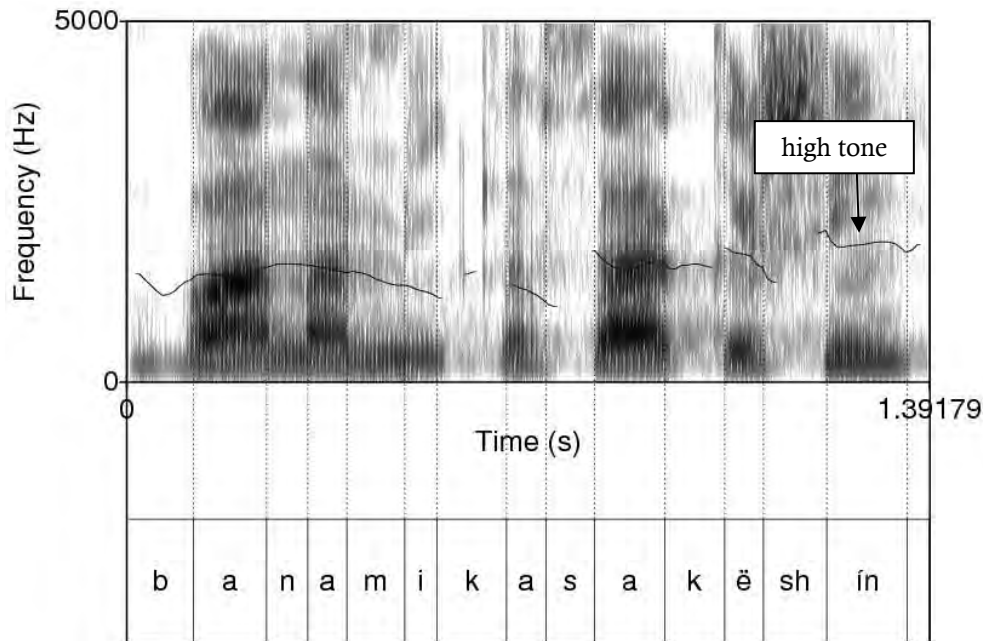
The existence of suffixes like *-ín* 'proximal to the addressee' produces interesting effects, since we can find minimal pairs that appear to be distinguished only by pitch, as it is usually the case in tone languages (this fact has also been highlighted by Shell 1950: 200).

The following examples illustrate one of those tonal-minimal pairs. We can see that the two words have the same surfacing phonetic form and are differentiated only by the final pitch (*buankásín* and *buankásin*): in the first case, an additional final high pitch is associated with the lexical tone of the suffix *-ín*, and in the second, there is a final falling tone, which is predictable in terms of the prosodic system described in this chapter (since the last syllable of words with three or more syllables cannot carry a high tone, even if it is closed):

(147) buankasín
　　　buan-kas-i-ín
　　　take-DES-IMPF-prox
　　　'(s)he wants to take (it) (and you can perceive or know it)'
　　　(ˌbu.an)(ˈká.sí(ː)n)

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(148) buankasin

buan-kas-i-n

take-DES-IMPF-1/2p

'I/you want to take it'

(ˌbu.an)(ˈká.sin)

Figure 37 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *buankasín* '(s)he wants to take (it) (and you can perceive or know it)'
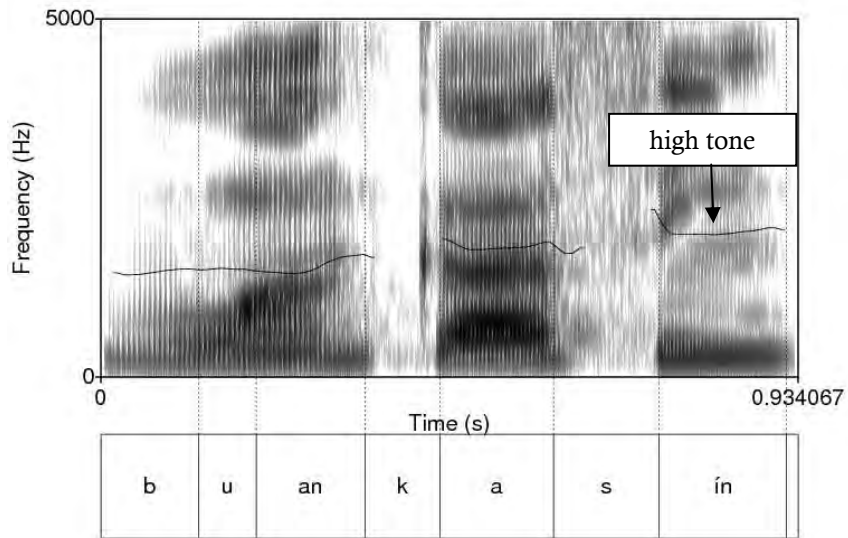
Figure 38 Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *buankasin* 'I/you want to take (it)'
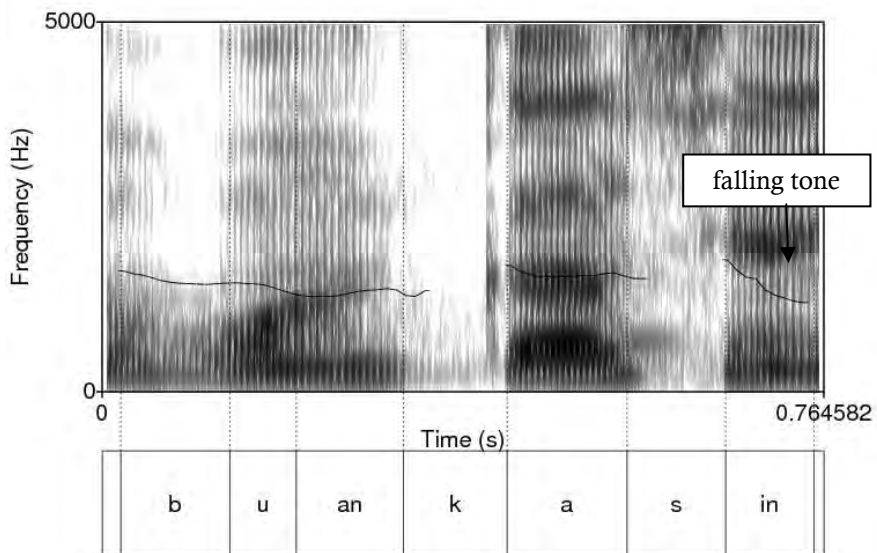
It is important to say that the high tone of *-ín* does not arise through an intonational or utterance-level prosodic principle. Figure 39 presents the same suffix in a clause-internal position and the same high tone is found.

Figure 39 Spectrogram and pitch track of the fragment *buankasín ain xubunu* '(s)he wants to take (it) to her/his house (and you can perceive or know it)'
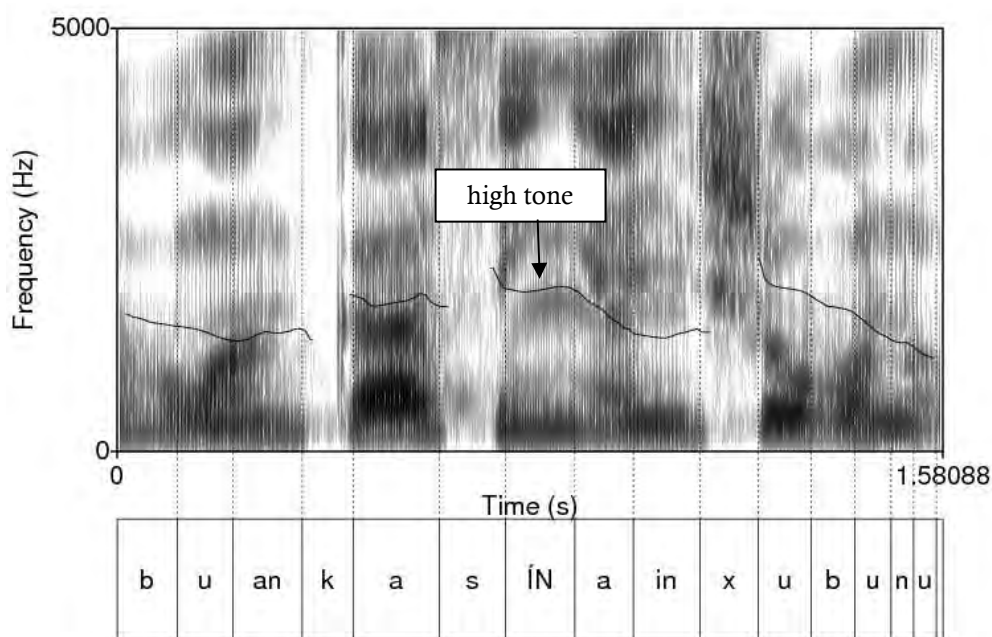
Other final suffixes which carry a final high tone are the complaining negators *-mán* and *-mín* (see §13.8.1.3), which behave prosodically in a very similar way to *-ín* 'proximal' (in fact, *-mán* and *-mín* might be historically related to *-ín*). In addition, the verbal derivational form *-katsá* 'who likes or has the tendency to' also carries a final high tone.

Another form with a similar behaviour is the diminutive *-rá*, which always carries a high pitch regardless of the number of syllables of the stem it is attached to. However, in this particular case, we also find the form *ratsu,* which is also a diminutive and behaves as a prosodically independent word. The bound form *-rá* may have developed from the independent form *ratsu* and this may explain its

particular behaviour. One example of *rá* follows; there we find the word *'uchiti-rá* 'dog-diminutive' (recall that *'uchíti* 'dog' has an unexpected high tone on the second syllable; see §4.3.2).

(149) 'uchitirá
     'uchiti-rá
     dog-DIM
     'small dog'
     (''u.chí)(ˌti.rá)

Figure 40 **Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *'uchiti-ra* 'dog-diminutive'**
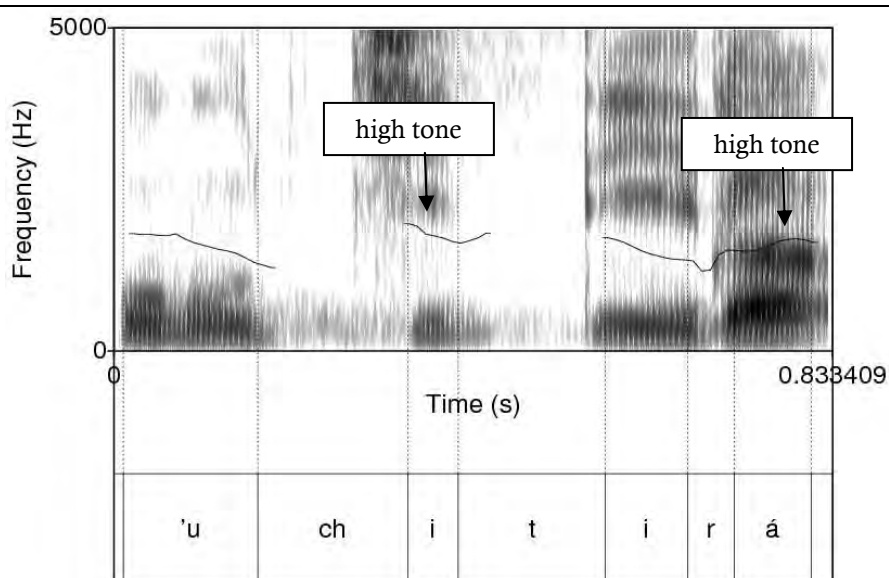
Thus, even though *-ín* 'proximal' seems to be the clearest case of a final suffix marked lexically for tone (and it is also the one documented by Shell 1950), this phenomenon is also found in other bound forms.

4.3.10   Summary

In this section on word-prosody, I have argued that Kashibo-Kakataibo has a prosodic system that combines stress and tone. Stress operates according to a metrical rule that produces trochaic feet from left to right and involves a set of principles that position the primary stress in a word with two or more well-

formed feet. Those principles, as shown in this chapter, are different for predicates and non-predicates: for the former, the system counts from right to left and places the primary stress on the rightmost metrically prominent syllable; while for the latter, the system counts from left to right and always places the stress on the leftmost prominent syllable.

High tone, on the other hand, is positioned on the rightmost prominent syllable of a word in both predicates and non-predicates (but the last syllable of a word longer than two syllables cannot carry a high tone unless this tone is a lexical property of the syllable, as with the suffixes presented in §4.3.9). A prominent syllable for tone may be a metrically prominent syllable carrying the stress (which will surface with a long vowel) or a closed syllable in an even position. In addition, in some cases that include some trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic words and a short list of suffixes, the high tone needs to be analysed as lexically assigned.

Words with five or more syllable are divided into smaller prosodic units. The data presented in this chapter, which does not include words longer than seven syllables, support the idea that the first two syllables of the word (i.e. its leftmost foot) creates an independent prosodic unit and receives a primary stress. In turn, the remaining syllables create a second prosodic unit, which carries the high tone of the word. Sometimes, a primary stress seems to be assigned to each prosodic unit. If confirmed, this fact may indicate that each prosodic unit is a phonological word.

Monosyllabic words undergo vowel lengthening and surface with extra-long vowels. If they are not combined with a suffix that adds another syllable to them, their lengthened vowel is counted as two syllables by the prosodic system.

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Based on this evidence, it is possible to offer the following definition of phonological word in Kashibo-Kakataibo:

(150) <u>Phonological word in Kashibo-Kakataibo</u>
A phonological word in Kashibo-Kakataibo is a prosodic unit that has (at least) **two syllables** (i.e. one foot) and **one stress**.

High tone has been argued to be neither culminative nor obligatory. Therefore, it is not a definitional feature for phonological words. The definition of the phonological word offered here produces two situations where two phonological words occur within a single grammatical one: those cases where each prosodic unit of words with five or more syllables receives a primary stress (see §4.3.4) and those cases where we find a stressed adverbial enclitic (see §4.3.8).

It has been shown that it is highly common to find Kashibo-Kakataibo words where the high tone and the lengthening stress do not coincide on the same syllable. These cases are strong evidence for the main argument developed in this section: that tone and stress need to be distinguished in Kashibo-Kakataibo. A summary of these mismatches is presented in the following list:

(151) <u>Mismatches between the position of the high tone and of the primary stress in Kashibo-Kakataibo</u>
(i)   Disyllabic words with a final consonant (either overt or underlying) have the primary stress on the first syllable and the high tone on the second one.
(ii)   Some monomorphemic trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic words may be analysed as having a lexical high tone on the second syllable, but the stress will fall on the first one.
(iii) Long words are divided into smaller prosodic units and, in many cases, a primary stress is only assigned to the first, and not to the second one, which receives the high pitch.
(iv)   Some adverbial enclitics have their own stress but do not exhibit a high pitch.

(vi) Each word in a NP has its own primary stress, but not necessarily its own high tone.

(vi) A few final bound morphemes have a lexical high tone, but not a primary stress.

A tone feature has been previously proposed for Kashibo-Kakataibo (Shell 1950 and 1986) and for other Pano languages like Amahuaca (Russell and Russell 1959), Chakobo (Iggesen 2006), Marubo (Soares 2000; Soares et al 1993) and Capanahua (Safir 1979). Therefore, the topic is not completely new in the Pano tradition. However, this chapter proposes a new analysis of the Kashibo-Kakataibo prosodic system in the sense that, rather than assuming that tone is a restricted feature associated with a few forms, it argues that tone is as important as stress in order to understand the prosodic system of the language. Interestingly, Michael (2010) has shown that the Zaparo language Iquito exhibits a prosodic system that also combines tone and stress, and presents salient similarities to what has been presented for Kashibo-Kakataibo in this section.

Through this grammar, the reader will find Kashibo-Kakataibo examples that illustrate different grammatical topics. In those examples, I do not mark stress, since it is always preditable according the rules proposed here. However, specifications of the position of the high tone are provided for some words: basically, in those cases where the high pitch is lexically assigned or we find a disyllabic word with a second underlyingly closed syllable.

4.4   Some notes on utterance-level prosody

4.4.1   Intonation contours

4.4.1.1   Declarative intonation contour

Declarative utterances show a falling pitch at their end (as we can see in Figure 41). If there is no highlighted (see §22.3) or focused (see §22.2) constituent, the highest level of pitch of the utterance will be found on the second position enclitics. If there is a focused or a highlighted element in the clause, the highest pitch of the complete utterance falls, normally, on it. Focused elements, expressing different types of new information, are post-verbal and, therefore, if there is one, the complete utterance will end in a high pitch. Highlighted elements are marked by the presence of a resumptive third person pronoun *a*, which appears after the highlighted element and is preceded by a pause. This pronoun will carry a very high pitch, which is very likely to be the highest in the utterance.

Indicative utterances without focused elements end in a creaky vowel, which is not only low in pitch, but also low in loudness, as can also be seen in the following figure. In some cases, this creakiness can make the vowel longer but strongly low in intensity.

Figure 41 Spectrogram and pitch track of *ax kaisa ikën* **'it is said that it is (like this)'**

falling intonation

| a | x | k | ai | s | a | 'i | k | ën |
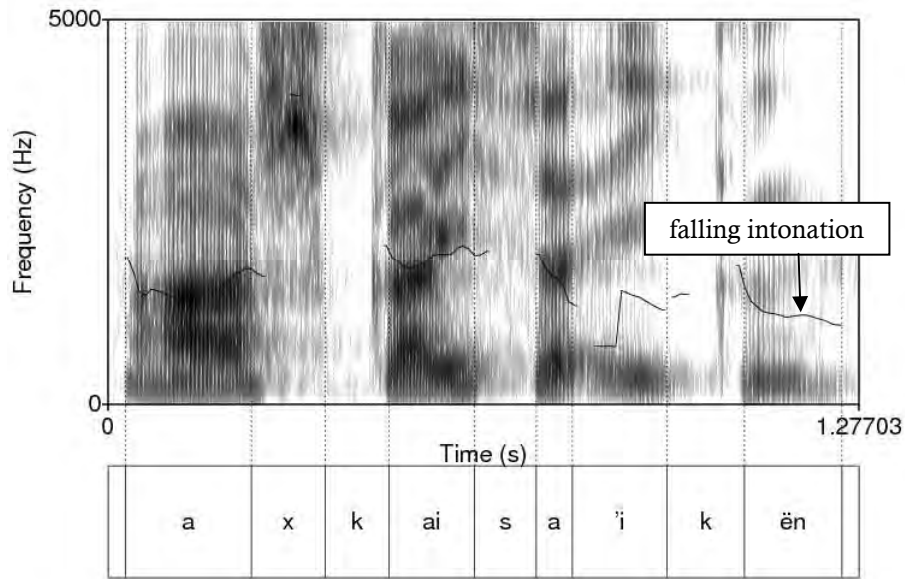
4.4.1.2 Interrogative intonation contour

Interrogative utterances in Kashibo-Kakataibo show a final rising pitch and do not exhibit final glottalisation. This can be seen in the following figure:

Figure 42 Spectrogram and pitch track of *uisai kara ñu mëti ikën?* **'what will be the work'**

rising intonation

| ui | s | a | k | a | r | a | ñ | u | m | ë | t | i | 'i | k | ën |
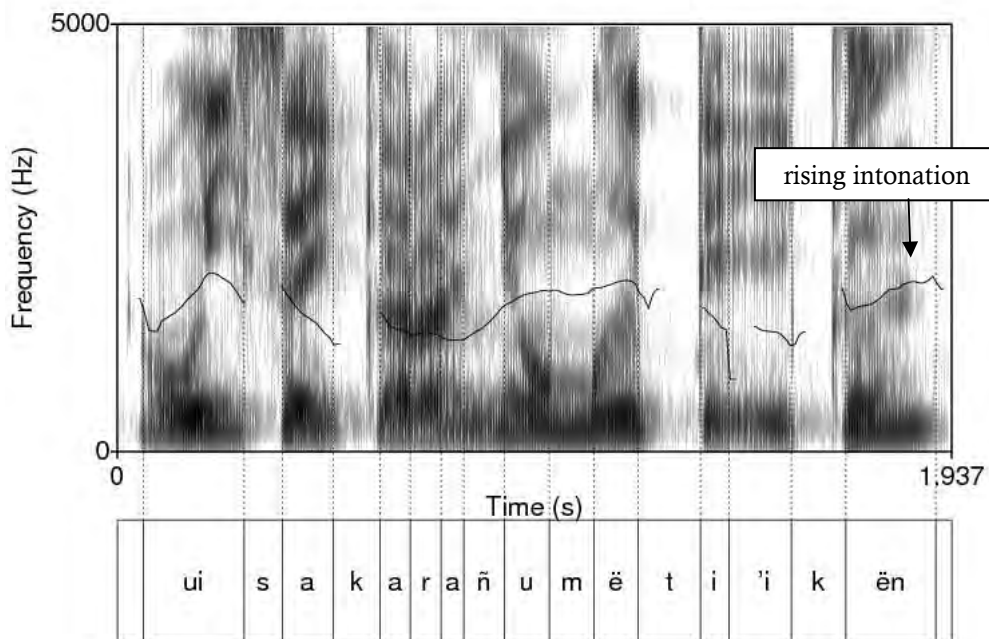
4.4.1.3 Imperative intonation contour

Similar to interrogative utterances, imperatives always end in a high pitch. If the verb is monosyllabic, the imperative ends in a rising pitch. If there are more syllables after the highest pitch in the verb form, these syllables will normally show, more and less, the same pitch until the end of the utterance, producing a high level pitch. This is different from interrogative utterances, where we systematically find rising pitches at the end.

Another interesting difference between the two types of utterances is that imperatives may end in a glottal stop if the verb root does not end in a consonant. I call this phenomenon the **imperative contour**. Figure 43 presents an example of an imperative form.

Figure 43 Spectrogram and pitch track of *ka pimi'* 'feed (somebody)!'
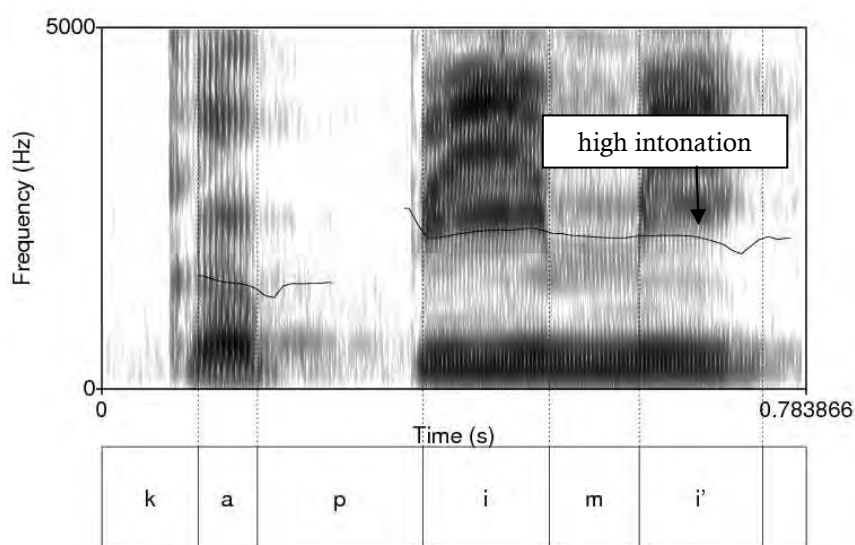
In addition, imperatives with *ri* 'conversational register' (see §15.1 for a detailed discussion of the distinction between conversational forms with *ri* and narrative forms with *ka*) may show a nasalised contour, which is considered very impolite and violent. Nasalised *ri*-imperatives carry a final *n* and the previous vowels also surface nasalised. They indicate that the speaker is seriously upset,

and they can even be interpreted as implicit threats, in which the speaker expresses that he or she may become violent if the addressee does not follow his or her order. It is important to note that I have heard children exhibiting a completely nasalised speech contour when they fight or have arguments with each other, and, in their case, every single vowel is nasalised. I have not heard adults speaking like this, but nasalised imperatives are common with both adults and children. Some examples of these nasalised imperatives follow:

(152) ri **pĩn**   'eat!'
      ri **ũn**   'come!'

4.4.1.4   Vowel lengthening and high pitch in accusatory speech

A final interesting observation in relation to intonation contours has to do with some verbal forms that are used to express that someone is doing something inappropriate or bad (what I call **accusatory speech**; see §13.8.1.2). The verbs in accusatory speech show a particular final morpheme *-ie:*, which has a long vowel that is kept even though the verb appears at the end of the utterance. See the example in (153):

(153) Juan kamëné́   min   kuriki   **mëkamaié:**
      Juan kamëné́   mi=n   kuriki   mëkama-**ié:**
      Juan NAR.3p.MIR   2sg=GEN   money.ABS   steal-3p.acusation
      'Juan is stealing your money!'

Figure 44 Spectrogram and pitch track of *juanën ka mënë́ min kuriki mëkama-ié*:
'Juan is stealing your money!'
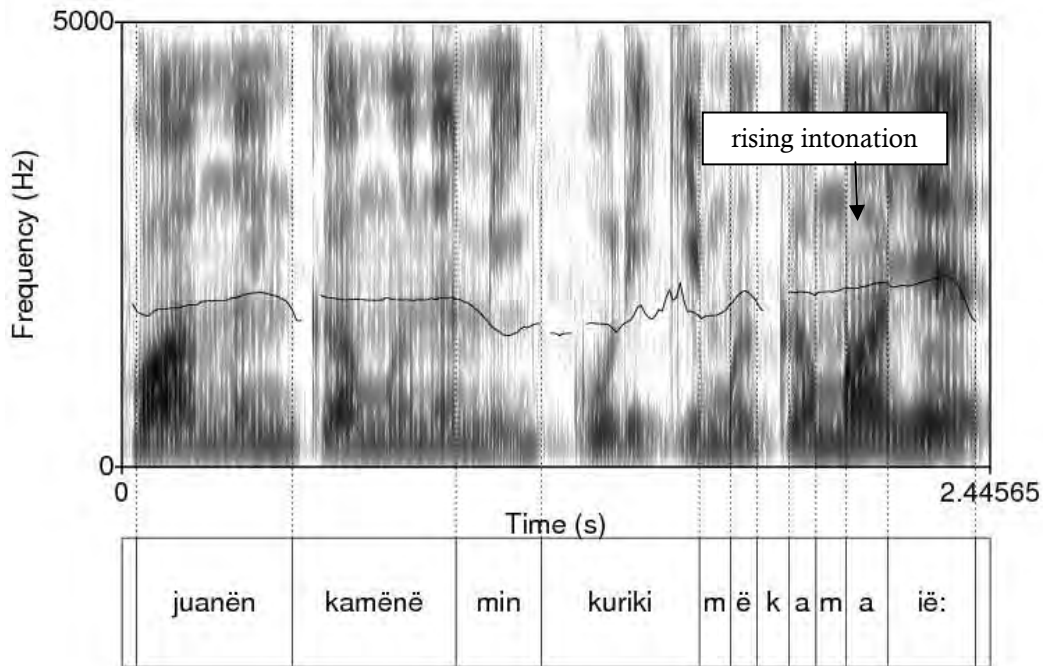
4.4.2   Pauses in tail-head linkage structures

In most narratives, sentences very often begin with a mention of the event described in the previous sentence. This mention appears in the form of a switch-reference clause which tracks the participation of the referents throughout the narrative. The switch-reference clauses repeat the main verb of the previous sentence and represent prototypical cases of tail-head linkage structures (see §22.7). The interesting fact regarding intonation is that pauses between these different parts of the tail-head structures tend to demarcate prosodic units that do not correspond exactly to the morphosyntactic units. Let us see an example of this:

(154) C04A02-EE-2007.001-2

	(1) nukën	chaiti	kaisa	tsóakëxa	nortenu
	nukën	chaiti	kaisa	tsó-akë-x-a	norte=nu
	1pl.GEN	ancestor.ABS	NAR.REP.3p	live-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	north=LOC

(2) nortenu   tsóxun   kaisa   nukën   chaitibaën

norte=nu   tsó-xun   kaisa   nukën   chaiti-baë=n

north=LOC   live-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   1pl.GEN   ancestor-COL=ERG

uniñuma   noñuma   'akëxa

uni=ñu=ma   no=ñu=ma   'a-akë-x-a

people-PROP=NEG   foreign-PROP=NEG   do-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that our ancestor lived in the northern territory. Living in the northern territory, they work without other people or foreign people.'

In the example in (154), we have two sentences. The first one begins with the morphosyntactic constituent *nuken chaiti*; and the second one, with the switch-reference clause *nortenu tsóxun* as part of a tail-head linkage structure. However, the pauses do not reflect this morphosyntactic reality. Instead, we have a distribution of pauses as shown in (155), where # means 'short pause' and ## means 'long pause'.

(155) (1) nukën chaiti kaisa tsóakëxa ## nortenu # (2) nortenu tsóxun kaisa ## nukën chaitibaën uniñuma noñuma 'ain

As we can see, their distribution suggests that pauses do not follow a morphosyntactic principle, but a discursive one, based on a distinction between new and old information (see more on information structure in §22.2). The locative form *nortenu* 'to the north' constitutes new information and it is introduced in a postverbal position. It surfaces after a long pause and with a high pitch, even though it is morphosyntactically related to the verb *tsóakexa* 'to live'. In addition, the switch-reference clause in (2) appears closer to the focused element in the previous sentence than to the rest of the sentence to which it belongs grammatically, and there is a long pause after the second position enclitic *kaisa*, which in that context prosodically attaches to the switch-reference clause.

Chapter 5   Introduction to morphology

5.1   Introduction

This chapter begins with a general morphological characterisation of Kashibo-Kakataibo (§5.2). Then, it discusses the distinction between roots, stems and words (§5.3); inflection and derivation (§5.4); and suffixes and enclitics (§5.5). Section §5.6 presents Kashibo-Kakataibo's prefixes and, finally, §5.7 lists and illustrates the most salient morphophonemic processes found in Kashibo-Kakataibo.

In addition to the use of suffixes, enclitics and prefixes to express different inflectional and derivational categories, Kashibo-Kakataibo exhibits a number of morphological processes, all of them less productive and less widespread in the grammatical system. This includes the use of high pitch to highlight arguments in discourse (see §22.3); the existence of irregular paradigms and suppletive forms in personal pronouns and a few verbs (see §6.2.1 and §13.10, respectively), reduplication (see §6.4 and §13.9) and verbal periphrasis (§13.11). In addition, the language exhibits some unmarked categories (see, for instance, §9.3.1.2 for the unmarked absolutive case and §13.6, for the third person subject cross-reference in some verbal forms).

5.2   Morphological characterisation

Kashibo-Kakataibo is a **predominantly postpositional** language and almost all the grammatical categories and derivational processes are expressed by suffixes,

enclitics or postpositions. The most salient exception to this postpositional tendency is a closed set of prefixes, mainly related to body parts, which generally express locative meanings.

Kashibo-Kakataibo is predominantly **agglutinative**; that is, in most cases, words are composed of two or more morphemes and those morphemes are easily identified and segmented. This can be seen in the following verbal form:

(156) pitëkënkanin
      pi-tëkën-kan-i-n
      eat-again-PLU-IMPF-1/2p
      'we are eating again'

As in (156), in a good number of cases, there is in Kashibo-Kakataibo a one to one correspondence between forms and meanings, but, as described for other Pano languages (e.g., Valenzuela 2003b: 140 for Shipibo-Konibo; and Fleck 2003: 204 for Matses), Kashibo-Kakataibo shows forms that are more distant from the agglutinative prototype. Verb roots in the imperative form (see §15.2.3), nouns in the absolute case and pronouns in the O function (see §9.3.1.2 and §6.2, respectively) appear without any overt morpheme, as is typical of **isolating** languages. One example of an imperative form follows. We can see there that the pronoun *'ë* '1sg', the noun *'atsa* 'manioc' and the verb *'inan* 'to give' surface without any morphology:

(157) 'ë   ka   'atsa   'inan
      'ë   ka   'atsa   'inan
      1sg.O   NAR   manioc.ABS   give.IMP
      'Give me manioc!'

A further exception to the agglutinating tendency is that some suffixes are *portmanteau* morphemes; that is, forms that express more than one meaning

simultaneously, as is common in **fusional** languages. Examples include, for instance, the suffixes that mark switch-reference, which also code temporal relations between the linked events (for example, whether they are simultaneous or not; see Chapter 18); and some inflectional verbal forms that combine subject cross-reference and TAM values (see §13.8). However, these cases are scarce in Kashibo-Kakataibo. One example of a *portmanteau* verbal morpheme follows:

(158) nukën   chaitinën   ka   bana   ñuixun**kian**
      nukën   chaiti=n   ka   bana   ñui-xun-**kian**
      1pl.GEN   ancestor=ERG NAR.3p tale.ABS say-BEN-**REM.PAST.HAB.3p**
      'Our ancestors used to tell tales (to us)'

The presence of directional suffixes and other derivational and inflectional elements on the verb can produce very long words, which may be considered similar to those that can be found in **polysynthetic** languages. The following is an example of a particularly long word in Kashibo-Kakataibo (note that there are some morphophonological processes applying in the example; see §5.7):[32]

(159) pimibëtsintëkënkankëxa
      pi-mi-bëtsin-tëkën-kan-akë-x-a
      eat-CAUS-coming-again-PLU-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
      '(after) coming, they made (someone) eat again a long time ago'

Although such words are not frequent in natural speech, words of such complexity are grammatical and accepted by the speakers in elicitation sessions. Thus, as Valenzuela (2003b: Chapter 4) states for Shipibo-Konibo, it is possible to say that Kashibo-Kakataibo shows a polysynthetic tendency, but this tendency is clearer in predicative forms. Verbs, as well as other word classes used as

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[32] As I have explained in §4.3.4, the prosodic properties of such long words are very complex and require further research.

predicates (see Chapter 7), are usually the longest words in the language and can contain as many as six or seven suffixes.

5.3   Roots, stems and words

As we saw in §4.3.10, phonologically a word in Kashibo-Kakataibo is a prosodic unit with at least two surfacing syllables and a primary stress. From a grammatical point of view, words in Kashibo-Kakataibo can easily be identified since they can be produced in isolation (without modifying or being modified by any other element) and since they exhibit relatively free positions if appearing within a clause. They are usually identifiable as independent units by the speakers and have a conventionalised meaning. In addition, words can be morphologically complex and, if this is the case, their morphological formatives appear together and form one single unit (see Dixon and Aikhenvald 2003).

The word **root** is generally used to refer to (1) morphologically simple forms that (2) contain a lexical meaning and (3) constitute the nuclear part of a word. However, in some specific Kashibo-Kakataibo cases, these criteria are not sufficient. For example, the suffix *-bëtsin* can be glossed as 'coming' and, therefore, can be claimed to have lexical meaning, and in an example like *'inan-bëtsin-ti* 'to give (something to somebody) while coming', it is not necessarily clear which part of the meaning is more nuclear than the other. In order to analyse such cases, we can use another parameter that helps us to identify roots: (4) they can usually be used as stems. A **stem** is understood as a root, or a combination of a root with one or more derivational morphemes, which is ready to receive inflection and undergo related processes.

Therefore, we can distinguish between *'inan* 'to give' and *-bëtsin* 'coming', based on the fact that only the former is also a stem, that is, an element ready to receive, for example, inflectional markers, as in *'inan-i-n* 'to give-IMPF-1/2p' (but **betsin-i-n*). Thus, we may say that only *'inan* is a root (and, of course, also a stem).

In addition, it is also possible to find cases in which stems are used as **words**. Thus, for example, *'inan* can be used as a free form in the imperative mood: *ka 'inan* 'give (it to somebody)!'. Such a function is not allowed for bound elements such as *-bëtsin* 'coming' (**ka bëtsin*) and it is thus useful for distinguishing between free and bound forms. In the following example, both, *'inan* 'to give' and *amiribishi* 'again', can be considered roots, stems and words at the same time:[33]

(160) amiribishi   ka   'inan
      amiribishi   ka   'inan
      again   NAR   give.IMP
      ROOT   ROOT
      STEM   STEM
      WORD   WORD
      'Give (it) again!'

However, examples like (160) are not necessarily common. It is in fact more frequent to find roots combined with derivational forms that create morphologically complex stems. These complex stems, in turn, receive the appropriate inflectional forms depending on their function in order to be used as words (see the following section for the distinction between inflection and derivation). Compare example (160) with the following one:

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[33] The particular behaviour of second position enclitics like the register marker *ka* 'narrative' will be discussed in detail in Chapter 15.

(161) amiribishi kana   **'inantëkënin**
    amiribishi kana   **'inan   -tëkën   -i-n**
    again   NAR.1sg   give   -again   -IMPF-1/2p
    ROOT   ROOT
    STEM   STEM
    WORD   WORD
    'Give (it) again!'

5.4   Inflection vs. derivation

A distinction between derivational and inflectional morphology is relevant for Kashibo-Kakataibo. Derivation, understood as the process of producing new stems from another root or stem (Matthews 1991: 38), seems to be exclusive to the forms defined in this chapter as suffixes (and also prefixes; see §5.4). On the other hand, inflectional categories, which create paradigms of morphological elements used "to 'complete' a word by marking its relations within larger structures" (Anderson 1985: 162) are shared by both suffixes (as in the case of verbal morphology; see Chapter 13) and enclitics (as in the case, for instance, of nominal morphology; see §5.5.2.1).

The distinction between inflection and derivation is more relevant in the case of nominal and verbal constituents, since adjectives and adverbs do not have rich morphological systems, and only have a few associated bound morphemes (see Chapters 10 and 14, respectively). The distinction between derivation and inflection within nominal morphology is more clear-cut than within verbal morphology, since nominal derivational markers are suffixes and nominal inflectional markers are enclitics (the derivational form *-rá* 'diminutive' is the only problematic form, since it could be analysed as both a suffix and an enclitic; see §8.3.2).

The situation is more complex for verbal morphology, which shows the largest morphological inventory in the language. While most morphological forms can be classified as either inflectional or derivational by means of a set of morphosyntactic criteria, verbal morphology presents a few forms that seem to be intermediate in terms of this distinction (see, particularly, §13.2).

The existence of a few intermediate forms does not mean that the distinction between inflection and derivation is irrelevant. This distinction is useful and, for most cases, is reflected in a solid set of morphosyntactic criteria. In order to understand these criteria, let us compare the verbal suffixes *-tëkën* 'again' (derivational) and *-x* 'third person' (inflectional). In the following examples, we can see that the 'third person' marker *-x* has a fixed position in the word and any position different from (162) is considered ungrammatical:

(162) pimishibëtsintëkënkankë**x**a
      pi-mi-ishi-bëtsin-tëkën-kan-**akë-x**-a
      eat-CAUS-only-coming-again-PLU-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
      '(After) coming, they only made (someone) eat again a long time ago.'

(163) *pimishibëtsintëkënkan**x**akëa
      pi-mi-ishi-bëtsin-tëkën-kan-**x-akë**-a
      eat-CAUS-only-coming-again-PLU-3p-REM.PAST-non.prox
      '(After) coming, they only made (someone) eat again a long time ago.'

(164) *pimishibëtsintëkënkankëax
      pi-mi-ishi-bëtsin-tëkën-kan-akë-**a-x**
      eat-CAUS-only-coming-again-PLU-REM.PAST-non.prox-3p
      '(After) coming, they only made (someone) eat again a long time ago.'

However, as shown in the following examples, the derivative suffix *-tëkën* 'again' appears in different positions, showing a freer distribution than the third

person marker *-x* (note that a difference in the position of *-tëkën* 'again' usually carries a difference in its semantic scope):

(165) pi**mitëkën**kankëxa
pi-mi-**tëkën**-kan-akë-x-a
eat-CAUS-again-PLU-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
'Again [they made him/her eat] a long time ago.'

(166) pi**tëkëmi**kankëxa
pi-**tëkën-mi-**kan-akë-x-a
eat-again-CAUS-PLU-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
'They made him/her [eat] again a long time ago.'

An analysis of other verbal suffixes will reveal comparable results (with some allowing for different positions and others not) and this difference can be considered a good principle for establishing a distinction between two classes of suffixes. Following cross-linguistic principles, we can call **inflectional** the forms that behave like *-x*, and **derivational,** the ones that behave like *-tëkën*. In accordance with that, we see that there is a strong correlation between rigid position and further distance from the root. This fact coincides with the general cross-linguistic morphological principle that derivational forms are closer to the root than inflectional ones.

Inflectional and derivational suffixes are also different in terms of their obligatoriness: only inflectional slots are obligatory. In the following elicited examples, I compare the obligatoriness associated with the marker *-tëkën* 'again' and the third person suffix *-x*:

(167)

nukën	chaitinën	kaisa	'ó	nami	amiribishi	**pitëkënkëxa**
nukën	chaiti=n	kaisa	'ó	nami	amiribishi	pi-**tëkën**-akë-x-a
1pl.GEN	ancestor=ERG	NAR.REP.3p	tapir	meat.ABS	again	eat-again-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that our ancestor ate tapir meat again a long time ago.'

nukën	chaitinën	kaisa	'ó	nami	amiribishi	**piakëxa**
nukën	chaiti=n	kaisa	'ó	nami	amiribishi	pi-akë-x-a
1pl.GEN	ancestor=ERG	NAR.REP.3p	tapir	meat.ABS	again	eat-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that our ancestor(s) ate tapir meat again a long time ago.'

(168) nukën	chaitinën	kaisa	'ó	nami	**piakëxa**
nukën	chaiti=n	kaisa	'ó	nami	pi-akë-**x**-a
1pl.GEN	ancestor=ERG	NAR.REP.3p	tapir	meat.ABS	eat-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that our ancestors ate tapir meat a long time ago.'

*nukën	chaitinën	kaisa	'ó	nami	**piakëa**
nukën	chaiti=n	kaisa	'ó	nami	pi-akë-a
1pl.GEN	ancestor=ERG	NAR.REP.3p	tapir	meat.ABS	eat-REM.PAST-non.prox

('it is said that our ancestors ate tapir meat a long time ago')

Thus, we can see that the suffix *-tëkën* 'again' is not obligatory and that the presence of the adverbial form *amiribishi* 'again' does not require the suffix to be added to the verb. In turn, the slot to which the suffix *-x* 'third person' belongs is certainly obligatory; that is, if there is a third person subject with a past predicate, this predicate needs to be marked with the suffix *-x* in order to be grammatical. There is an exact correspondence between the principles presented up to this point: forms belonging to obligatory slots are also fixed in terms of their position and appear further from the root, thus, it is possible to claim that these three features identify a special class of suffixes: inflectional suffixes. However, there are some mismatches. As discussed in §13.2, the verbal inflectional slot I is not obligatory and is more 'derivational' in that respect. Nevertheless, it is inflectional in relation to the two other criteria. The special behaviour of this inflectional slot suggests that the distinction between inflection and derivation in Kashibo-Kakataibo verbal morphology is to be understood as a continuum.

There is one additional criterion that can be used to establish a distinction between inflectional and derivational morphemes: inflectional morphemes in obligatory and positionally fixed paradigms are **mutually exclusive**. This property

allows us to postulate **inflectional slots**. Derivational suffixes, by contrast, are not mutually exclusive and can only be divided into classes according to their semantics. Thus, while we cannot have the third person marker and the first/second person marker in the same verb, we can combine, for example, the 'causative' marker *-mi* and the 'associative applicative' marker *-kin*, even though they are both valency-increasing suffixes. This is shown in the following examples:

(169) **pikinmiakëxa**
 pi-**kin-mi**-akë-x-a
 eat-ASSO-CAUS-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
 '(S)he made them eat with other people a long time ago.'

(170) **pimikiankëxa**
 pi-**mi-kin**-akë-x-a
 eat-CAUS-ASSO-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
 '(S)he helped them to make other people eat a long time ago.'

We can also see that valency-increasing suffixes can appear in both possible combinations: they are derivational forms and, thus, are expected to show a less rigid distribution within the word. In addition, under some certain conditions, derivational forms can appear twice in the same word (and this is impossible for inflectional suffixes):

(171) **pitëkënmitëkëankëxa**
 pi-**tëkën**-mi-**tëkën**-akë-x-a
 eat-again-CAUS-again-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
 '(S)he made again her/him eat again a long time ago.'

There is one additional rule in relation to the position of both derivative and inflectional suffixes: derivational forms cannot appear after inflectional ones, as shown in the following ungrammatical example:

(172) ***pikiankëmixa**
pi-**kin**-akë-**mi**-x-a
eat-ASSO-REM.PAST-CAUS-3p-non.prox
('(s)he made them eat with other people a long time ago')

Thus, we have a number of principles that help us to understand the distinction between derivational and inflectional forms in Kashibo-Kakataibo, and to classify different bound verbal morphemes as belonging to one class or to the other. This is particularly important in the case of verbal morphology, which is the most complex morphological system in the language. These principles can be stipulated in the following terms:

(173) <u>Inflectional suffixes</u>
- Are distributionally fixed (they have a fixed position in the verb).
- Are obligatory (at least one form belonging to the same paradigm has to appear).
- Are mutually exclusive (no more than one form belonging to the same paradigm can appear).

(174) <u>Derivational suffixes</u>
- Are distributionally free (they can appear in more than one possible position).
- Are not obligatory.
- Do not form paradigms and, therefore, derivational suffixes with similar functions are not mutually exclusive (and can even appear twice in the same word).

In the case of nominal morphology, which is also fairly complex, we have an additional criterion to distinguish between inflection and derivation: inflectional forms are enclitics and derivational ones are suffixes. An important note in relation to the criterion of **obligatoriness** presented above should be made: in some paradigms the absence of a marker has a specific meaning, and I thus consider such paradigms obligatory. This is the case, for example, of the subject cross-referencing system attested with the imperfective suffix *-i*. When we

have this marker, there is a subject cross-reference distinction between: *-n* '1/2 person' and an unmarked '3 person'. The absence of marking in this paradigm does not mean that it is not obligatory, but that the unmarked form codes 'third person'. A person category is obligatory on the verb, but the third person is formally unmarked in the imperfective.

5.5   Suffixes and enclitics

5.5.1   Suffixes

Suffixes are bound morphemes that attach to the end of roots or stems. Cross-linguistically, suffixes (or affixes in general) operate over single words rather than over phrases. This is also the main criterion for distinguishing between suffixes and enclitics in Kashibo-Kakataibo. In addition, Kashibo-Kakataibo suffixes are normally added to one specific word class (we can talk about nominal or verbal suffixes, for instance). On the other hand, enclitics are in general (but not in all the cases; see §5.5.2.1) less sensitive to word class distinctions and operate over phrases. The following chapters will list, describe and analyse in detail the different suffixes related to each word class in the language, including detailed comments on the different allomorphic patterns found in association with some of them. For illustration purposes, I provide two examples of suffixation in (175) and in (176):

(175) **'akanania**
　　　'a-**kan-anan-i-a**
　　　do-PLU-REC-IMPF-non.prox
　　　'They are fighting.'

(176) **'abiantëkënia**

　　'a-**bian-tëkën-i-a**

　　do-going(TRAN)-again-IMPF-non.prox

　　'(S)he does it while going, again.'

　　Bound morphemes added to the root *'a-* in words like those in (175) and (176) can be called *suffixes*, since (1) they have the verbal stem as their domain; and (2) they constitute strictly verbal or predicate morphology (but note that adjectives and nouns can also function as predicates, and when this happens, they can carry verbal morphology; see Chapter 7).

5.5.2　Enclitics

Different phonological, morphological and syntactic criteria have been used for defining clitics, and for distinguishing them from affixes, in the literature (see, for example, Anderson 1992: chapter 8; Aikhenvald 2002b; Zwicky 1977; Zwicky and Pullum 1983, Zwicky 1994, among others). I use the term **enclitic** here to refer to modifying elements that operate at the level of the phrase and not at the level of the word (thus, they constitute a kind of **phrasal affix**; see Anderson 1992: chapter 8). However, despite their common phrasal nature, enclitics are different from each other with regard to other criteria and can be classified into three different classes. We will see this in the following subsections.

5.5.2.1　Inflectional enclitics

Two inflectional paradigms in Kashibo-Kakataibo are formed by clitics rather than suffixes: NP inflectional markers and participant agreement markers. I will briefly present and illustrate these two morphological classes in the following subsections:

NP inflectional enclitics are phonologically bound morphemes for purposes of both stress and tone assignment (but a few of them, like =*kupí* 'reason', may create their own phonological words in certain contexts and are exceptional regarding this; see §9.3.1.9).[34] NP inflectional enclitics are also grammatically bound and need to appear attached to a host. This host is clearly the NP and, therefore, they are analysed as enclitics due to their phrasal scope. This can be seen in the following examples, where the enclitic =*bëtan* 'COM(A)' attaches to the final element of the NP, regardless of which word occurs last:

(177) uni   chaxkḗ   **achushibëtan**   kana   'ën   xubu   'ati   'ain
      [uni   chaxkḗ   achushi]ₙₚ=**bëtan**   kana   'ë=n   xubu   'a-ti   'ain
       man   big   one=COM(A)   NAR.1sg 1sg=GEN   house.ABS do-NOM be.1/2p
      'I will build my house with one big man.'

(178) achushi uni   **chaxkḗbëtan**   kana   'ën   xubu   'ati   'ain
      [achushi uni   chaxkḗ]ₙₚ=**bëtan**   kana   'ë=n   xubu   'a-ti   'ain
       one   man   big=COM(A)   NAR.1sg 1sg=GEN   house.ABS do-NOM be.1/2p
      'I will build my house with one big man.'

A common criterion for distinguishing affixes from clitics is the low degree of selection between the enclitics and the words they attach to.[35] Kashibo-Kakataibo NP inflectional enclitics are not prototypical clitics in relation to this parameter, since they attach only to NPs. However, in this dissertation, I assume as a working principle that, as Anderson (1992) has argued, the definitional feature of **enclitics** is that they are **phrasal suffixes**, and I therefore analyse noun inflectional markers as enclitics. Within the class of enclitics, NP inflectional

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[34] More research is needed in order to determine which other enclitics may create their own phonological words (and in which contexts).

[35] Clitics "can attach to words of virtually any category" (Zwicky and Pullum 1983: 504).

enclitics are special because of their restricted combinatorial possibilities, and are more suffixal in relation to this.

5.5.2.1.2 *Participant agreement markers*

The term **participant agreement** refers to an inflectional category associated with different types of adjuncts. It is used to indicate that the adjunct is semantically oriented to one particular argument of the verb (see Valenzuela 2005 and §14.4.1). On nominal locative adjuncts, participant agreement markers appear after the NP inflectional clitics presented in the preceding section. See the following example, where the participant agreement marker *=xun* 'PA: A' is presented:

(179) unin   ka   **bakanuxun**   chaxu   'axa

uni=n   ka   [baka]$_{NP}$=nu=**xun**   chaxu   'a-a-x-a

man=ERG   NAR.3p   river=LOC=PA**:A**   deer.ABS   kill-PERF-3p-non.prox

'The man, being in the river, killed the deer.'

Participant agreement markers are phonologically bound morphemes for purposes of both stress and tone assignment. They are also grammatically bound and need to appear attached to a host. As we can see in the example above, this host is the phrase and, therefore, they are to be analysed as enclitics due to their phrasal scope. In addition, participant agreement marker can attach to different classes of hosts and therefore are non-selective; this is also a typical property of enclitics.

Some participant agreement markers can also be used as derivational elements that derive adjuncts from numerals, quantifiers and certain nouns. In this function, they appear on single words and seem to be more suffixal in nature. Thus, in the construction *xanu-xun* 'woman-PA: A', the maker *-xun* seems to

derive a manner adjunct translatable as 'women only' from the single noun *xanu* 'woman' and, therefore, we have the following structure: [*xanu-**xun***] (notice the form [*rabë̃ xanu*]-***xun*** 'between two women' is, if not ungrammatical, pragmatically marked). See the following example:

(180) **xanuxun**   ka   'atapa   'axa
       xanu-**xun**   ka   'atapa   'a-a-x-a
       woman-PA:A   NAR.3p   chicken.ABS   kill-PERF-3p-non.prox
       'Women only killed the chicken.'

Cases like the participant agreement markers are difficult to analyse either as inherent enclitics or as suffixes: their morphological nature needs to be define **according to the construction in which they appear**.[36]

5.5.2.2 Adverbial enclitics

Other bound morphemes that could be considered **enclitics** are the ones that I call **adverbial enclitics** (see Chapter 16). They normally attach to a phrase, are not selective in terms of the word classes they can be added to, and are phonologically bound in terms of high pitch assignment, but interestingly some of them are phonologically independent units for stress (see §4.3.8). Two adverbial enclitics are illustrated in the following examples: *pain* 'first' (181) and *ishi* 'only' (182).

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[36] In fact, this is also true for switch-reference markers (see §18.2) and some nominalisers (see §20.6), which can operate over single words and whole clauses, according to the construction where they appear. I analyse those two morphological paradigms as suffixal, but this is open to debate.

(181) uni **achushinënpain** ka ënë 'ó 'axa

[uni achushi=n]_{NP}=**pain** ka ënë 'ó 'a-a-x-a

man one=ERG=first NAR.3p this tapir.ABS kill-PERF-3p-non.prox

'One man killed this tapir first (before other people).'

(182) **munuishi** kamina piti 'ain

[munu]_{AvP}=**ishi** kamina pi-ti 'ain

slowly- only NAR.2p eat-NOM be.1/2p

'You will eat (it) only (i.e. very) slowly.'

These morphemes behave like prototypical enclitics, according to the criteria proposed in this dissertation; yet there are two facts that deserve some attention. The first one, also documented for Shipibo-Konibo by Valenzuela (2003b:146 and 148), is related to the behaviour of these forms with finite predicates, where some of them (see Chapter 16 for a list) appear before inflectional suffixes (e.g. *-i* 'imperfective' in the example below), a position that is unexpected for enclitics, which are **culminative** (i.e. do not appear before suffixes, but only before other enclitics; Zwicky 1984). An instance of this behaviour is presented in the following example:

(183) Robertonën ka ënë 'ó nami pi**pan**ia

Roberto=n ka ënë 'ó nami pi-pan-i-a

Roberto=ERG NAR.3p this tapir meat.ABS eat-first-IMPF-non.prox

'Roberto is first eating this tapir meat (before doing other things).'

As we can see, in (183) the morpheme =*pain* (which surfaces as =*pan* in the example) behaves as a verbal suffix (very similar to a derivational marker, since it appears before the inflectional elements). Therefore, as in the case of the participant agreement enclitics, the morphological nature of adverbial enclitics is dependent on the construction in which they appear.

In addition, in very specific cases, some adverbial enclitics seem to appear inside a NP (i.e. they have scope over a modifier instead of the whole phrase). Cases of this are presented in the following examples:

(184) **'itsatani**   uni   ka   nukën   menu   uakëxa
['itsa**=tani** uni]_{NP}   ka   nukën   me=nu   u-akë-x-a
a.lot=least   man.ABS   NAR.3p   1pl.GEN   land=LOC come-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
'At least a lot of men came to our land a long time ago.'

(185) **achushishi**   ñu   ka   'ë   'inan
[achushi**=ishi** ñu]_{NP}   ka   'ë   'inan
one=only   thing.ABS   NAR   1sg.O   give.IMP
'Give me only one thing!'

This behaviour is only possible with numerals and quantifiers (and not with other word classes; see the following examples) and it is restricted to only a few adverbial enclitics (only those that are compatible with intensifying/restricting quantificational meanings). Thus, the enclitic *pain*, for example, cannot appear in this NP-internal position: *['itsapain uni]* but *['itsa uni]pain* 'a lot of men first'. The following examples show that the phrase internal position is not possible if the adverbial enclitic attaches to a noun (186) or to an adjective (187):

(186) ****unishi**   achushinën   ka   ënë   'ó   'axa
[uni**=ishi** achushi=n]_{NP}   ka   ënë   'ó   'a-a-x-a
man=only   one=ERG   NAR.3p   this   tapir.ABS kill-PERF-3p-non.prox
('only one man killed this tapir')

(187) ****kushishi**   unin   ka   ënë   'ó   'axa
[kushi**=ishi** uni=n]_{NP}   ka   ënë   'ó   'a-a-x-a
strong=only   one=ERG   NAR.3p   this   tapir.ABS kill-PERF-3p-non.prox
('the only (i.e. very) strong man killed this tapir')

We have at least two possible analyses for the facts presented here. We can accept that examples like the ones in (184) and (185) represent exceptions; that is, in those examples we find adverbial enclitics in a phrase-internal position. However, based on the fact that this behaviour is only attested with numerals and quantifiers (as shown in (186) and (187)), we can alternatively attribute the situation to a particular characteristic of those words rather than to the enclitics under study. In fact, there is evidence that numerals and quantifiers create constituents that can be analysed as phrases (see §6.4). According to this, the examples in (184) and (185) would be analysed as follows and would not represent an exception to the claim that enclitics are phrasal modifiers:

(188) **'itsatani**   uni   ka   nukën   menu   uakëxa
      [['itsa]_{QP}=**tani** uni]_{NP}   ka   nukën   me=nu   u-akë-x-a
      a lot=least   man.ABS   NAR.3p   1pl.GEN   land=LOC   come-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
      'At least a lot of men came to our land long time ago.'

(189) **achushishi**   ñu   ka   'ë   'inan
      [[achushi]_{QP}=**ishi**   ñu]_{NP}   ka   'ë   'inan
      one=only   thing.ABS   NAR   1gs.O   give.IMP
      'Give me only one thing!'

5.5.2.3   Second position enclitics

Second position enclitics will be presented in Chapter 15, where all their complexity will be commented on. As their name indicates, second position enclitics represent a class of elements that appear in the second position of the sentence, after the first constituent. In that position, one or more of these enclitics appear together and create a constituent that indicates the register, mood, modality, evidentiality, mirativity and subject cross-reference values of the sentence. The relative position of the enclitics in relation to each other is fixed

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and, when combined, second position enclitics form one single independent

phonological word with its own stress and its own high tone. Thus, second

position enclitics are not prosodically independent elements per se, but when

combined with each other create a constituent with the properties of a

phonological word. Based on their phonological properties (but also on some of

their grammatical properties; see below), second position enclitics can be

considered more similar to independent words than to affixes.

These enclitics are not selective in relation to the class of the element that

appears before them. They follow any type of phrasal constituent in the sentence,

including dependent clauses. We can look at some examples of the second

position enclitic *sapikana* 'dubitative, narrative, first person singular' in (190) and

(191). We can see that the first constituent can differ: in the first case, we have a

NP while in the second example we have an adverb.

(190) uni   chaxkë́   achushibëtan   **sapikana**   'ën   xubu   'ati   'ain
      [uni   chaxkë́   achushi]$_{NP}$=bëtan **sapikana**   'ë=n   xubu   'a-ti   'ain
      man   big   one=COM(A)   DUB.NAR.1sg   1sg=GEN house.ABS do-NOM   be.1/2p
      'Perhaps, I will make my house with one big man.'

(191) imëishi   **sapikana**   Aguaytíanu   kwanti   'ain
      [imëishi]$_{AP}$ **sapikana**   Aguaytía=nu   kwan-ti   'ain
      tomorrow   DUB.NAR.1sg   Aguaytía=DIR   go-NOM   be.1/2p
      'Perhaps, I will go to Aguaytía tomorrow.'

Second position enclitics are positionally fixed elements and this

behaviour makes them different from more prototypical words, which are freer in

terms of their position in the sentence, as exemplified with the following

examples, where we can see that *Aguaytía=nu* 'Aguaytía city=DIR' and *imëishi*

'tomorrow/yesterday' can appear in different positions:

(192) **Aguaytíanu** sapikana **imëishi** kwanti 'ain
   Aguaytía=nu sapikana **imëishi** kwan-ti 'ain
   Aguaytía=DIR DUB.NAR.1sg tomorrow go-NOM be.1/2p
   'To Aguaytía, perhaps, I will go tomorrow.'

(193) **imëishi** sapikana **Aguaytíanu** kwanti 'ain
   imëishi sapikana **Aguaytía=nu** kwan-ti 'ain
   tomorrow DUB.NAR.1sg Aguaytía=DIR go-NOM be.1/2p
   'Tomorrow, perhaps, I will go to Aguaytía.'

Even though they are not as free as prototypical words, the distinction between them and words is not completely straightforward. The first point, of course, is the fact that they constitute phonological words: in the examples above, *sapikana* surfaces as [ˈsápiˌkana], observing the prosodic pattern found for non-predicates. In addition, differently from other enclitics, second position enclitics can easily be identified and pronounced in isolation by the speakers, who can also attribute a meaning to them and translate them into Spanish, in a similar way to prototypical words like *xubu* 'house' or *upí* 'beautiful' (my teachers usually translated the enclitics as personal pronouns). Finally, and this is something that makes them clearly different from the other enclitics presented above, in some contexts, second position enclitics appear as the first constituent of the sentence; that is, without a preceding element to attach to (this basically occurs when the topic of the sentence is omitted for pragmatic reasons; see §15.1). See the following examples (but notice that not all the members of the class can equally appear in that position; see §16.3):

(194) **ka** kwan! '(you) go!'
   kana kwan '(I) am going'

The properties just listed make second position enclitics the most word-like class of enclitics.

5.5.3 Summary

Kashibo-Kakataibo is mainly a postpositional language. While we have elements that are clearly affixes (e.g., most nominal derivational suffixes) or clearly independent words (e.g., nouns and verbs, see Chapter 7-14); enclitics are somewhere in the middle between these two prototypes. However, as we have seen in this section, they do not constitute a unitary class: while NP inflectional enclitics are the most suffix-like enclitics; second position enclitics are the most word-like ones. Participant agreement markers and adverbial enclitics are somewhere in between, but function as suffixes in some specific contexts and their morphological nature is highly dependent of the construction in which they appear.

NP inflectional makers, participant agreement markers and adverbial enclitics can appear on the same word; when this happens, they follow a rigid order: =NP inflection=participant agreement=adverbial clitic. This is shown in the following example:

(195) unin   ka   **bakanuxunbi**   chaxu   'axa
        uni=n   ka   baka=**nu**=**xun**=**bi**   chaxu   'a-a-x-a
        man=ERG NAR.3p river=LOC=PA:A=same   deer.ABS kill-PERF-3p-non.prox
        'The man, being exactly in the river, killed the deer.'

The following table offers a summary of the facts discussed in this section (the <*> symbol means that there are exceptions in relation to the application of the principle and <N/A> indicates that a particular principle is not applicable for one specific type of element). The table includes prototypical open word classes for purposes of a general comparison (but those elements will be discussed in detail in independent chapters throughout this dissertation).

Table 24   Criteria for distinguish different bound morphological elements at the right edge of words[37]

Criteria		suffixes	Clitics				Word-classes
Typological parameter/test	**Property**		**nominal inflectional enclitics**	**participant agreement enclitics**	**Adverbial enclitics**	**Second positions enclitics**	**noun, adjectives verbs, adverbs**
Prosodic properties	carry a primary stress	N	N*	N	Y	Y	Y
	carry a high tone	N	N*	N	N	Y	Y
Free morpheme	can appear without modifying another element	N	N	N	N	Y*	Y
Domain	operate over roots, stems or words	Y	N	N Y[38]	N Y[39]	N	N/A
	operate over phrases	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Combinatory possibilities	are selective with the class of its domain	Y	Y	N	N	N	N/A
Speakers' intuitions	are treated as words by speakers	N	N	N	N	Y	Y

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[37] * = some exceptions attested.

[38] If used in a derivational function.

[39] If used on a finite verbal form (but only some adverbial enclitics can appear in this position).

5.6 Prefixes

Having discussed the most salient properties of the different morphological elements that operate at the right edge (i.e. the end) of roots and phrases, I will discuss in this subsection a group of morphemes that are added to the left edge (i.e. the beginning) of the elements they modify. Although Kashibo-Kakataibo is mainly postpositional, there is a group of prefixes, which are semantically related to body part nouns and related concepts and usually express a locative meaning. These prefixes can be added to nouns, verbs and adjectives, and thus they are not selective with respect to the word class of their host. Based on this parameter, they behave more like proclitics than like prefixes. See the following examples:

(196) <u>Prefixes with nouns</u>
ma-xaka	'skin located on the head, head skin'
më-xaka	'skin located on the hand, hand skin'
bë-xaka	'skin located on the face, face skin'
shí-xaka	'skin located on the chest, chest skin'

(197) <u>Prefixes with adjectives</u>
bë-tunan uni	'man with black eyes' or 'black-eyed man'
më-tunan uni	'man with black hands'
ta-tunan uni	'man with black feet'
të-tunan uni	'man with a black neck'

(198) <u>Prefixes with verbs</u>
më-tiski-	'for one's hand to swell'
ta-biski-	'to get cut on one's foot'
më-táxka-	'to beat somebody on the hand'
shi-chachi-	'to prick somebody on the chest'

The main reason for why I consider them to be prefixes is that they function at the word level, rather than at the phrase level. In addition, since there are no other morphemes that operate at the beginning of elements, it is not

possible – and, indeed, not necessary – to distinguish between different morpheme types in that position. Kashibo-Kakataibo prefixes are prosodically tightly bound to the root they precede and form a single unit for the assignment of both tone and stress (see §4.3 for a description of the prosodic system of the language).

5.6.1   Inventory of Kashibo-Kakataibo prefixes

Body-part prefixes have been identified in a number of Pano languages (see Zariquiey and Fleck forthcoming for a summary). The number of prefixes appears to vary, but apparently it is always around 30. Kashibo-Kakataibo has 31 body part prefixes. Most of these prefixes refer to body parts of humans and animals, many with extended meanings designating parts of plants or inanimate objects and spatial relations that are synchronically expressed by postpositions (see §6.3). Less frequently we also find prefixes that refer to other types of inanimate objects such as 'hill' or 'liquid'.[40]

Table 25 shows, in alphabetical order, all the Kashibo-Kakataibo prefixes with their glosses and their **corresponding roots**. The expression **corresponding root** follows Hall de Loos and Loos' (1973: 97) "nombre correspondiente" (i.e. corresponding noun) and is used to refer to synchronic roots that are semantically equivalent to the prefixes (see more details in Zariquiey and Fleck in press). Corresponding roots are **semantically** equivalent to (at least part of the semantic range of) the prefixes and, thus, are potentially replaced in discourse by or used in

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[40] Kashibo-Kakataibo prefixation was also treated by Olive Shell (1957: 185), who listed a sample of 19 prefixes.

combination with the corresponding prefix, which may or may not be based on the first segments (usually the first syllable) of its corresponding noun(s):

Table 25   List of Kashibo-Kakataibo prefixes and their corresponding roots[41]

Prefix	Corresponding root	Gloss
an-	ana	oral cavity, tongue
	manxanta	palate
	namë́	interior of a cavity or concave surface
	namë́ (postposition)	inside
	kini	(elongated) hole
ban-	banbuxu	elbow
bë-	bëru	eye
	bëun	tear
	bëxá	rheum ("sleep" of the eyes)
	bëmana	face, forehead, front
	bëbun (postposition)	in front of
bu-	maxká	head, "head" of an object
	manan	above, top of
i-	itax	shank (lower leg)
in-	ina	tail, tail fin
	inxú	penis
ka-	kaxu	back, back part of an object
	kaxu (postposition)	underside (e.g., of a table), behind
	kaspai, kapais	dorsal fin (of fish)
ki-	kisi	leg, back of leg, thigh
kwë-	kwëbí	mouth, border
	kwëbí (postposition)	nearby
	kwëpa	lip(s)
	kwëxá	chin

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[41] Corresponding roots can be nouns or postpositions. If the latter is the case, it is explicitly indicated in the table. Note that the Kashibo-Kakataibo nouns/postpositions in the table correspond to the opposite gloss in the next column and not to the entire meaning range of the prefix. All glosses together represent the semantic range of the prefix. The first gloss included for each prefix is usually the most common one or the preferred one. When semantically plausible, this first gloss can also be assumed to be the primary or most general one (but finding one single general gloss for some of the prefixes may prove impossible).

ma-	maxká	head, "head" of an object
	bu	human head hair
	maspui ~ mapuis	brains
	manan	top of
	bashi	large hill
	matán	small hill
	tumua	sphere
	(no specific term)[42]	ground surface
më-	mëkën	hand, finger
	'untsis ~ mëntsis	fingernail
	mëxu	knuckles
na-	puku	belly
	nitú	navel
	namë́	interior of a cavity or concave surface
	namë́ (postposition)	inside
	nubí	abdomen flesh
në-	(no general term)[43]	liquid
	tsi	fire
	chipi	vulva
	namë́	interior of a cavity or concave surface
	namë́ (postposition)	inside
nu-	puku	belly
	nitú	navel
	nubí	abdomen flesh
pa-	pabí	ear
	'ispan	temple (of head)
pë-	pëkwë	shoulder (blade)
pën-	pëñan	arm, front leg
	pëchi	wing
pi-	putú	rib
ra-	nami	body, flesh
	bëxí	skin
	xaká	(fruit) rind, (animal) hide
	rapasu (postposition)	at the side of

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[42] There is no a word with the specific meaning 'ground surface'. The word *me* 'ground' could be considered a partially corresponding root for *ma-*, whose meaning only includes the surface.

[43] There is no term with the general meaning 'liquid' in Kashibo-Kakataibo, but the prefix *në-* can replace or be replaced by more specific terms such as *baka* 'river', *imi* 'blood', etc.

ran-	ranbuxu	knee
rë-	rëkin	nose
	rëbun	tip, point, prow, headwaters
	rëpan	snout (of animal)
	rëshi	snot
	rësun (postposition)	at the end of
shi-	shikan	chest, front of object, underside (e.g., of table)
xë-	xëta	tooth, beak (of bird) arrow head, tip
xu-	xuma	breast, nipple
xa-	xabi	crotch
xan-	xama	new unopened (palm) frond
	kini	(round) hole (in tree or ground)
ta-	taë	foot, toe
	'untsis	toenail
	tapun	root
	tanain (postposition)	at the base of
tan-	tamu	cheek
	tantsi	dimple (of cheek)
të-	tëxá	neck, top of shoulder, trapezoid muscle
	tëru	throat
	tëkwa	wattle (of guan or turkey)
	tëpus	crop (of bird)
tsi-	chixu	buttock
	tsiki	anus
	tsipun	stern, "butt" end of an object
	chipi	vulva
	tsispin	coccyx (human tailbone)
	chichu (postposition)	inside, deep inside
u-	ubu	testicle(s)

Some scholars have analysed Pano prefixation, using examples like the ones offered in (196)-(198), as being based on a synchronic one-to-one relationship between prefixes and nouns, within which the prefixes represent shortened versions of the source nouns (e.g. *xëta* 'tooth' > *xë-* 'tooth') (e.g. Kashibo-Kakataibo: Shell 1957: 185; Kapanawa: Hall de Loos and Loos 1973: 97, Loos and Loos 1998: 60; Kashinawa: Montag 1978: 141; Shipibo-Konibo:

Faust 1973: 144, Loriot et al. 1993: 64, Valenzuela 2003: 206-7; Yaminawa: Eakin 1991: 158; Sharanawa dialect of Yaminawa: Scott 2004: 149; Pano family: Loos 2005: 43, Amarante Ribeiro and Cândido 2008: 129). Under this analysis, the bound monomorphemic elements (i.e., the prefixes) are seen as allomorphs of, or otherwise derived from "source nouns". If this process is productive, it could be considered a type of noun incorporation, as some Pano scholars have maintained for individual languages (Ferreira 2001 for Matis; Cândido 2004: 159 for the Shanenawa dialect of Yaminawa) or for the whole family (Loos 1999: 243). Loos (1999: 243), for example, states that "Pano languages have no prefixes. There is, however, incorporation of some noun roots immediately before the verb." Therefore, according to Loos, it is possible to analyse the prefixes in Pano languages as synchronically derived short versions of their corresponding nouns that are incorporated into verbs. This analysis has been criticised by Fleck (2006) for Matses and by Zariquiey and Fleck (in press) for Kashibo-Kakataibo. Both studies have demonstrated that, in the Pano languages under study, body part prefixes cannot be analysed as synchronically related to their corresponding nouns or postpositions and that such relationship is only diachronic.

5.6.2 Grammatical properties of prefixes

5.6.2.1 Prefixes on nouns

Body-part prefixes can modify only a small group of nouns, basically those with meanings like 'skin', 'hair' or 'flesh'. When modifying nouns, they have a locative meaning, as we can see in the examples in (196). In the following text example, the noun *xaká* 'skin' is modified by the prefix *të-* 'neck' and the whole form *tëxaka* 'skin located on the neck' is modified by *kapẽ́* 'caiman':

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(199) C02A07-JE-2007.025

këkia	kaisa	kapế	**tëxaká**	mërax
këki-ia	kaisa	kapế	**të**-xaká	mëra-ax
shout-S/A>O(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	caiman	**neck-**skin.ABS	find-S/A>S

'It is said that, when (the man) shouted finding the caiman neck skin...'

There are many cases of lexicalised prefixed nouns in Kashibo-Kakataibo. For example *bë-* 'eye' and *rë-* 'nose' occur as part of the nouns *bëun* 'tear(s)' and *rëun* 'snot' with the ending *un* that does not occur with any other prefix. Another recurring formative that combines with prefixes and produces nominal elements is *-ni* 'hair and similar body growths':

(200) ra**ni** 'body hair, bristle, down (of bird)'
   xa**ni** 'female pubic hair'
   kwë**ni** 'beard, moustache'

5.6.2.2 Prefixation of adjectives

The same set of prefixes can attach to adjectives with, again, a locative meaning. That is, the prefix locates the attribute, as shown in the following examples with the adjective *tunan* 'black':

(201) **bë**-tunan uni 'man with black eyes'
   më-tunan uni 'man with black hands'
   ta-tunan uni 'man with black feet'
   të-tunan uni 'man with a black neck'

Prefixed adjectives are not very common (they are clearly less common than prefixed nouns and verbs). Only a few adjectives can be prefixed and, in general, it seems to be case that adjectives expressing colours and physical shapes are the most likely to be prefixed. Thus, while examples like the ones in (201) are easily accepted by speakers, forms like the ones in (202) were considered unacceptable.

(202) ***më-**upí uni   ('man with beautiful hands')
     ***ta-**upí uni   ('man with beautiful feet')
     ***të-**upí uni   ('man with a beautiful neck')
     ***bë-**upí uni   ('man with beautiful eyes')

Full body part nouns can occur in addition to prefixes attached to adjectives, as the following examples show:

(203) Roberto   ka   **mëuxu**   'ikën
     Roberto   ka   **më**-uxu   'ikën
     RoberABS   NAR.3p   **hand**-white   be.3p

     Roberto   ka   **mëkënu**   **mëuxu**   'ikën
     Roberto   ka   **mëkën=nu**   **më**-uxu   'ikën
     RoberABS   NAR.3p   **hand**=LOC   **hand**-white   be.3p

     'Roberto's hands are white'/ 'Roberto is white-handed.'

5.6.2.3   **Prefixation of verbs**

A large proportion of instances of prefixation in Kashibo-Kakataibo narratives and other forms of natural speech are found with verbs, rather than with nouns or adjectives. I first explore the semantic properties of verbal prefixation and then discuss some of its most interesting grammatical features.

5.6.2.3.1   *Semantics of verbal prefixation*

When verbs are prefixed, the body part expressed by the prefix always belongs to the S or O argument of the verb. Unlike with nouns and adjectives, prefixes on verbs may sometimes have other, non-locative meanings, as will be discussed below. I will first discuss verb prefixation with locative meanings, as in the following intransitive (204) and transitive (205) examples.

(204) **më**-tiskiti   'for one's hand to swell'
     ta-biskiti   'to get cut on one's foot'

(205) **më-**taxkati   'to beat somebody on the hand'
     shi-chachiti   'to prick somebody on the chest'

In the following examples taken from narratives, it can clearly be seen that the body part prefix refers to the O (206) and the S (207) argument of the clause.

(206) C02A06-NA-2007.040

tatanikatsi	kixun	rakanbian
ta-tani-katsi	ki-xun	rakan-bian-a-n
foot-tie-pretending	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)	lay.down-going(TRAN)-PERF-1/2p

'You laid (the animal) down, thinking that you had previously tied it on its feet (but you hadn't).'

(207) C03A02-EE-2007.008

tënkakëbë	kaisa	uni	ëëëëë	ki
tënka-këbë	kaisa	uni	ëëëëë	ki-i
cut-when(DS/A/O.INTR)	NAR.REP.3p	person.ABS	ëëëëë	say(INTR)-S/A>S(SE)

kaisa	**bë**mamëakëshín
kaisa	**bë**-man-mët-akë-x-ín
NAR.REP.3p	**eyes-**touch-REFL-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, when (they) cut it, the man touched his eyes, saying "eeeeeee".'

The locative value of the prefixes becomes ever clearer when we compare the following examples. In the first example, we have a prefixed verb, and in the second one, this prefix is replaced by a locative NP:

(208)

parunuti ax	ka	**pabëntamëti**	'ikën
parunuti a=x	ka	**pa**-bëntan-mët-ti	'ikën
earring	that=S	NAR.3p	ear-hang-REFL-NOM	be.3p

'That earring will hang in the ear (lit. the earring will be ear-hanging).'

(209)

parunuti ax	ka	**pabínu**	bëntamëti	'ikën
parunuti a=x	ka	pabí=nu	bëntan-mët-ti	'ikën
earring	that=S	NAR.3p	ear=LOC	hang-REFL-NOM	be.3p

'That earring will hang in the ear.'

In some cases, the locative meaning is less transparent and the prefix seems to express a theme (210) or an instrument ((211)-(212)) roles:

(210) *bëruankati* 'to take care of oneself'
    ta-bëruankati   'to walk carefully' (*ta-* 'foot')
    më-bëruankati   'to take care of one's hands' (*më-* 'hand')

(211) *'unanti* 'to know'
    bë-unanti   'to know through the eyes' (*bë-* 'eye')

(212) *'ati* 'to do'
    më-ëti   'to do something with one's hands, to touch, to hit' (*më-* 'hand')

Prefixed verbs like the ones presented so far constitute a continuum in terms of their productivity: cases where the locative meaning is salient and clear are much more productive (in the sense that most prefixes can appear with the same verb, creating a paradigm like the one in (198)) than cases where a locative meaning is not found (which are usually restricted to the combination of the verb with one or two prefixes).

A more deviant case is the verb *atsin-* 'to go inside'. This form is an intransitive verb (as illustrated in (213)) and, therefore, the causative suffix *-mi* is required to obtain a transitive version of the predicate with the meaning 'to introduce' (as illustrated in (214)). However, when this verb appears with a prefix, it requires the reflexive suffix *-mët*, in order to obtain forms such as *më-atsin-mët-* 'to introduce one's hand somewhere', or *ta-atsin-mët-* 'to introduce one's foot somewhere' (as illustrated in (215)). Interestingly, in this case, the prefix seems to be the grammatical object of the verb and/or to increase its valency, since only transitive verbs can carry the reflexive suffix and this suffix cannot be added to the intransitive non-prefixed root *atsin-* 'to enter'. This is the only equivalent case that I am aware of (for more on prefixation and valence; see §21.4.3)

(213) ‘ëx   kana   xubunu   **atsinin**   (intransitive)

‘ë=x   kana   xubu=nu   atsin-i-n

1sg=S   NAR.1sg   house=LOC   enter-IMPF-1/2p

 ‘I enter the house.’

(214) ‘ën   kana   xubunu   i   **atsinmin**   (transitive)

‘ë=n   kana   xubu=nu   i   atsin-**mi**-i-n

1sg=A   NAR.1sg   house=LOC   wood.ABS   enter-CAUS-IMPF-1/2p

‘I bring a piece of wood into the house.’

(215) ‘ëx   kana   kininu   **mëatsinmëtin**   (intransitive)

‘ë=x   kana   kini=nu   **më**-atsin-**mët**-i-n

1sg=S   NAR.1sg   hole=LOC   hand-enter-REFL-IMPF-1/2p

 ‘I put my hand into the hole.’

5.6.2.3.2   *Co-occurrence of prefixes and their corresponding nouns*

As with prefixed adjectives, in Kashibo-Kakataibo a prefixed verb can sometimes be accompanied by a locative NP headed by a body part noun. Sometimes, the NP can have a more specific referential value ((216) and (217)), but in other instances (i.e., when the prefix has only one corresponding noun), this is not necessarily the case (218).

(216) **ain**   **bëmananu**   ka   **bëtáxka’**

ain   **bëmanan=nu**   ka   **bë-**táxka’

3sg.GEN   forehead=LOC   NAR   eye/face-hit.IMP

‘Eye/face-hit him on his forehead!’

(217) **ain**   **bërunu**   ka   **bëtáxka’**

ain   **bëru=nu**   ka   **bë-**táxka’

3sg.GEN   eye=LOC   NAR   eye/face-hit.IMP

‘Eye/face-hit him in his eye!’

(218) **ain**   **banbuxunu**   ka   **bantashka’**

ain   **banbuxu=nu**   ka   **ban-**tashka’

3sg.GEN   elbow=LOC   NAR   elbow-hit.IMP

‘Elbow-hit him on his elbow!’

Such cases are rare in Kashibo-Kakataibo, although they do appear in spontaneous speech. The co-ocurrence of a prefix and (one of) its corresponding nouns in the same clause has also been observed in Matses (Fleck 2006) and Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2003b: 357). These constructions where the prefix occurs in addition to the body part noun rather appear to be serving either an emphatic function or a disambiguation function (the latter in the cases where the prefix is more general than its corresponding nouns). Some cases in which both a body part prefix and an unmarked body part noun appear in the same construction are discussed in §21.4.3.

5.7 Morphophonemics

5.7.1 Morphophonemic processes on suffixes and enclitics

Some general morphophonemic processes that operate at the morphological boundaries created by adding a suffix or enclitic to a stem are briefly presented in the following subsections. The patterns of allomorphic alternations of particular suffixes or enclitics will be discussed in detail in the sections presenting each form.

5.7.1.1 Loss of syllabicity

Whenever there is a sequence of vowels at morphological boundaries, the metrically less-prominent vowels will surface as glides, after or before the more prominent ones. Examples (219) and (220) show this process:

(219) bari-akë-x-a
       (ba.ri)(a.kë)xa
       [βaɾjákɨʂa]
       'he looked for (something) a long time ago'

(220) ñui-akë-x-a
       (ñu.i)(a.kë)xa
       [ɲʊjákɨʂa]
       'he told (something) a long time ago'

5.7.1.2 Deletion

5.7.1.2.1 *Deletion of root-final stops (and one affricate)*

Root-final stops (and this includes the root-final affricate of the predicate *bits-* 'to pick up') are unstable and drop whenever they cannot be syllabified as the onset of the following syllable (see §4.3.1.3). Some cases of this type of deletion are shown in the following examples:

(221) aba**t**-pun-i-n   >   abápunin   'I/you ran in the morning'
      kapë**k**=kama   >   kapékama   'caimans'
      bi**ts**-kan-a-x-a   >   bikanxa   'they picked (it) up'

5.7.1.2.2 *Deletion of n*

When, at a morphological boundary, a syllable-final *n* is followed by another nasal, by the flap *r* or by the approximant *b*, the *n* sound is deleted. Examples of this process follow:

(222) 'una**n**-**mi**-ti   >   'unámiti   'to teach'
      mëkë**n**=ñu   >   mëkéñu   'who has hands'
      kwa**n**-**r**u-ti   >   kwáruti   'to go up'
      chumí**n**-**b**ut-ti   >   chumíbuti   'to get very thin'

5.7.1.3   Assimilation

5.7.1.3.1   *Assimilation of vowels*

When, due to morphological reasons, we find the same vowel repeated twice in a sequence, the two vowels usually become a single vocalic unit. See the following examples. This single vocalic unit may or may not surface as long:

(223) p**i-i**-n   >   pi(:)n   'I/you eat'
    '**a-a**-x-a   >   'a(:)xa   '(s)he did'

In addition, if we find a vowel *a* in contact with a vowel *o*, *a* may assimilate to *o*. In this case, the resulting vowel is in most cases saliently long. Examples of this are presented in (224):

(224) 'itsis-**o-a**kë-x-a   >   'itsis[o:]këxa   '(s)he made it hot a long time ago'
    mëni-**o-a**kë-x-a   >   'mëni[o:]këxa   '(s)he cleaned it a long time ago'
    xab**a-o**-ti   >   xab[o:]ti   'to release'
    chun**a-o**n   >   chun[o:]n   'monkey species'

5.7.1.3.2   *Assimilation of fricatives*

When, due to morphological reasons, we have a cluster of two fricatives, the cluster surfaces as one extra long fricative with the place of articulation of the first one. Examples of this process follow:

(225) i**s-x**un   >   is:un   'looking at'
    pi-ka**s-x**un   >   pika[s:]un   'wanting to eat'

5.7.1.4   Metathesis of *n*

Whenever a morpheme ending in *n* is followed by a morpheme beginning with a vowel; the nasal sound moves in order to continue occupying the coda position. Thus, if we have /V1n-V2/, we will obtain [V1V2n], and both V1 and V2 surface nasalised. This process works even when V1 and V2 are the same vowel, in which

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case we may or may not obtain a long vowel. Examples of this process are shown in (226):

(226) pi-ki**n-a**kë-x-a   >   pikiankëxa   '(s)he ate with (somebody) a long time ago'
      kwa**n-a**kë-n   >   kw[a:]nkën   'I/you went a long time ago'

5.7.1.5   Epenthesis of *t*

i.   <u>Epenthetic *t* with the suffixes *-isa* 'irrealis' and *-taba* 'for the first time'</u>

The irrealis suffix *-isa* is used in a few constructions with different meanings (see §12.5.2). One of these constructions is a desiderative form, exemplified in the following examples, where the irrealis appears in bold case:

(227) 'a-**isa**-tan-i-n   'I/you would like to do/to kill'
      ka-**isa**-tan-i-n   'I/you would like to say'
      pi-**isa**-tan-i-n   'I/you would like to eat'

    When *-isa* 'irrealis' appears on a root or stem with two or three moras, a harmonic *t* (in italics in the examples) is attested:

(228) 'a-mi-*t*-**isa**-tan-i-n   'I/you would like to make someone do/kill'
      'ux-*t*-**isa**-tan-i-n   'I/you would like to sleep'
      'unan-*t*-**isa**-tan-i-n   'I/you would like to know (something)'
      ñui-*t*-**isa**-tan-i-n   'I/you would like to tell (something)'

    Of course, these cases can be explained as an allomorphic alternation related to *-isa* which would have to be represented as *-(t)isa*. The problem with this analysis is that there is no phonological reason for this *t* to drop in cases like those shown in (227), since it occurs at the onset of its syllable and *t* is usually stable in that position.

    Similarly, the verbal derivational morpheme *-taba* 'for the first time' also requires the harmonic form *-t* in certain contexts. In order to make the

comparison with *-isa* 'irrealis' easier, let us first see some examples where it does not appear:

(229) 'a-mi-**taba**-i-n   'I/you make (somebody else) do (something) for the first time'
     'ux-**taba**-i-n   'I/you sleep for the first time (somewhere)'
     'unan-**taba**-i-n   'I/you know (something) for the first time'
     ñui-**taba**-i-n   'I/you tell (something) for the first time'

    But, if we use this suffix with the same verbs presented in (227), we will have the following forms, where an extra *t* is attested:

(230) 'a-**taba**-*t*-i-n   'I/you do (something) for the first time'
     ka-**taba**-*t*-i-n   'I/you say (something) for the first time'
     pi-**raba**-*t*-i-n   'I/you eat (something) for the first time'

    Its presence is not conditioned by the following suffixes (as it was the case for the forms discussed in §4.3.1.3, but by the number of moras of the stem to which *-taba* is added. Interestingly, in the examples presented in (229) and (230) we can see that, with *-taba* 'for the first time', the epentetic *t* behaves exactly in the opposite way to how it behaves in combination with *-isa* 'irrealis': in the former case, the epentetic sound appears after the suffix and when the root has one mora; while in the second case, it surfaces before the suffix and when the root has two or three moras. However, if we look at longer forms, the pattern becomes less clear and requires more study.

ii.   <u>Epenthetic *t* with adverbial enclitics in the verb-internal positions:</u>

As we have seen in §5.5.2.2, adverbial enclitics (see also §16.1) can be added to finite verb stems, where they operate as derivational suffixes. Examples of the behavior of these enclitics with finite verbs follow:

(231) pi-pan-in   'I eat first' (=*pan/pain* 'first')

      pi-tani-*t*-in   'I eat at least' (=*tani* 'at least')

      pi-ishi-*t*-in   'I only eat' (=*ishi* 'just, only')

      pi-ira-in   'I eat a lot' (=*ira* 'a lot of')

(232) 'ux-pan-in   'I sleep first' (=*pan/pain* 'first')

      'ux-tani-*t*-in   'I sleep at least' (=*tani* 'at least')

      'ux-ishi-*t*-in   'I only sleep' (=*ishi* 'just, only')

      'ux-ira-in   'I sleep a lot' (=*ira* 'a lot of')

As we can see, in some cases, if the enclitic ends in a vowel we find an extra *t* after it (the only exception being =*ira* 'a lot'). This extra *t* may also be analysed as an epentetic *t*.

5.7.1.6   Morphophonemics of prefixes

Prefixation in Kashibo-Kakataibo exhibits quite complex morphophonology, including different and interesting processes that are briefly presented and exemplified here (see also Zariquiey and Fleck in press).

5.7.1.6.1   *Palatal harmony*

The forms *tsi-* and *chi-* 'buttock, end of' occur in complementary distribution: the form *chi-* appears only when the root contains a *ch, sh* or *x* (233), while in all other contexts the form *tsi-* occurs (234). Interestingly, in order for *chi-* to appear, the *ch, sh* or *x* sound in the root does not need to be the first segment of the root ((233)d-e), or even the first consonant ((233)f), or even part of the first syllable ((233)h-i). Specifically, the rule seems to require that *ch*, *sh*, or *x* appear either in the first syllable of the root or as the onset of the second syllable, otherwise the prefix harmony is not triggered. For example, the *sh* in *nara**sh**kati* 'rip part of an object' does not condition *chi-* ((234)a).

(233) <u>Forms that take *chi-*</u>

    a. chi-**ch**achi-   'to prick the butt'

    b. chi-**sh**aíka-   'to move the butt'

    c. chi-**x**anao-   'to warm up the butt'

    d. chi-u**x**(u)   'white-butted'

    e. chi-u**sh**in   'red-butted'

    f. chi-ta**x**ka-   'to hit on the butt'

    g. chi-ma**ch**a-   'to insert stick in the anus'

    h. chi-ña**sh**i   'hard butt meat'

    i. chi-ñu**x**u   'crooked butt'

(234) <u>Forms that take *ts-*</u>

    a. tsi-**n**ara**sh**ka-   'to rip the back part'

    b. tsi-**m**ë-   'to touch the butt'

    c. tsi-**r**aká-   'to lay butt-down'

    d. tsi-**p**un-   'to poke the butt'

    e. tsi-**t**unan   'black-butted'

    g. tsi-**m**an-   'to feel the butt/anus'

    h. tsi-ñunan-   'to smoke the back parts (e.g. of a butchered animal)'

5.7.1.6.2 *Root reduction*

There is a small number of roots that are phonologically reduced when a prefix attaches to them. The roots that exhibit this behavior almost always contain a fricative sound, and the reduction may occur in different parts of the root, as we will see here.

    The root *xatë-* 'to cut superficially' surfaces as *-xtë-* when occurring with a prefix, losing its first vowel, precisely the vowel that follows the fricative; for example, *ta-xtë-* 'to cut superficially on the foot.' Other verbs that follow this pattern are *xaki-/-xki-* 'to grate' and *sika-/-ski-* 'to rub' (note the final vowel change in the last example). This process can produce (C)VCC phonetic syllables: *ran-* 'knee' plus *xatë-* 'cut superficially': *ranx.të-* 'to cut superficially on the knee'.

    Another type of root reduction involves adjectives, nouns and verbs. For example, the adjective *uxu* 'white' surfaces optionally as *-ux-* when occurring with

a prefix, as in *chi-ux*/*chi-uxu* 'white-butted, white-tailed'; the noun *buxa* 'gray hair' obligatorily surfaces as *-bux* when occurring with a prefix, as in *shi-bux* 'gray chest hair'; and the verb *tasa-* 'to nail' obligatorily surfaces as *-tas-* when occurring with a prefix, as in *rë-tas-* 'to nail on the tip'.

There is a third, but clearly unproductive type of root reduction in Kashibo-Kakataibo. For example, the form *'itsis* 'hot' becomes *-tsis*, when occurring with a prefix, as in *tatsis* 'warm at the feet' or *mëtsis* 'warm at the hand(s)', losing the initial glottal stop and the following vowel.

5.7.1.6.3 *Metathesis*

Some Kashibo-Kakataibo roots exhibit a process of metathesis when they occur with a prefix. This happens with the root *pais* 'fin', which, when prefixed, can appear also as *-spai*. Consequently, we find alternating forms such as *ka-pais* and *ka-spai* for 'dorsal fin.' This process is also found in the formative *-puis* 'soft matter'; for example, in *mapuis* 'brains', which alternates with the form *maspui*, although *-puis* is not currently attested as an independent word in the language.

5.7.1.6.4 *Vowel assimilation*

Vowel assimilation in the context of prefixation occurs productively in association with one Kashibo-Kakataibo verb: *ëchi-* 'yank off' (which, when prefixed, surfaces as *-Vchi-* where V stands for a vowel of the same quality as the vowel of the prefix, like in **ma**achíti 'yank off the **head**' or **më**ëchíti 'yank off the **hand**'). There is also a lexicalised form *mëë-* 'to hit, to touch', which seems to have come from *më-'ati* 'hand-do' (notice that, if my interpretation is correct, in this case the glottal stop has also been deleted).

Chapter 6   Closed word classes

6.1   Introduction

Closed word classes are those that "contain a fixed and usually small number of member words, which are [essentially] the same for all the speakers of the language or the dialect" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 3). While it is beyond any doubt that all languages have open word classes, this is not necessarily true for closed classes. According to Schachter and Shopen (2007: 23), "closed word classes tend to play a more prominent role in analytic languages than they do in synthetic languages." Even though Kashibo-Kakataibo is primarily synthetic, we do find some closed word classes in the language. These closed classes are pro-forms (personal pronouns, interrogatives words and demonstratives), postpositions, numerals and quantifiers and interjections. All of them will be presented and exemplified in the following sections: §6.2 describes different types of pro-forms; §6.3 offers relevant information about postpositions; §6.4 comments on numeral and quantifiers; §6.5 lists interjections; and, finally, §6.6 discusses onomatopoeic words, which are not properly a closed word class, but, due to their special morphosyntactic properties, are discussed in this chapter.

6.2   Pro-forms

The label *pro-form* (see Schachter and Shopen 2007: 24) is "a cover term for several closed classes of words which, under certain circumstances, are used as substitutes for words belonging to open classes, or for larger constituents." The

words that satisfy the definition offered by Schachter and Shopen in Kashibo-Kakataibo are personal pronouns, interrogative words and demonstratives (which in Kashibo-Kakataibo can be used both as NP-modifiers and as pronouns).

6.2.1   Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are grammatical forms that are used "to refer to the speaker (e.g. *I*, *me*), the person spoken to (*you*) and other persons and things whose referents are presumed to be clear from the context (*he*, *him*, *she*, *her*, *it*, etc.)" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 24). At first glance, Kashibo-Kakataibo seems to have a system of personal pronouns that distinguishes between three different persons and two numbers: singular and plural. However, as we will see, we find more than one plural form for each person and speakers usually attribute different meanings to them. If we include such distinctions in our analysis, the result will be a system with two types of plural (one used for dual/paucal plurals and the other associated with bigger groups) and a distinction between first person plural inclusive and exclusive (which has been reconstructed for the the Proto-language in Zariquiey 2006).

The existence of two plural forms for each person category seems to be related to two different systems for marking this category: one that I consider more archaic (with different plural markers for each person; see Zariquiey 2006) and another based on plural forms derived from the singular ones by means of the general Kashibo-Kakataibo plural marker =*kama*. The archaic forms are the ones which are potentially interpretable as dual (in the case of the first and second person) or paucal (in the case of third person) forms. The plural forms that take =*kama* are preferred for referring to bigger groups (but can in principle be used for

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dual/paucal referents as well, making the distinctions being described less transparent).

The distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms of the first person plural relates to the existence of two ways of expressing this category in Kashibo-Kakataibo: the use of a specialised first person plural pronoun (frequently interpreted as inclusive) and the possibility of adding the plural marker *=kama* to the singular form of the first person pronoun '*ë*. The resulting form, *'ëkama,* is only interpretable as an exclusive pronoun.

However, these distinctions are neither systematically present in texts nor systematically identified by all speakers and, therefore, we should be cautious regarding their status in the synchronic language. The pronominal system presented in the following table was carefully checked and the distinctions included in the table were systematically identified by my teachers. However, people do not seem to always use the pronominal forms in this way and, in discourse, the different plural forms associated with each person seem to be synonymous. In addition, the form *'ëkama,* identified as an exclusive first person plural form, does not appear in my text database and was given to me in elicitation, as opposed to *nu(kama)*, which was primarily identified as an inclusive first person plural form. The status of this complex pronominal system needs more research.

Pronouns in Kashibo-Kakataibo show a tripartite case marking system, where A, S and O functions are expressed differently (the first two functions are marked by different enclitics and the last one is unmarked). In some cases, similarly to what happens with nouns, the genitive case is expressed by the *=n* marker (related to the A function and also used for instruments and temporal

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locatives; see §9.3.1.1). In others, the genitive pronouns are special forms that do not follow the general inflectional pattern attested in the language. This is also true for the instrumental form of the pronoun *a* 'third person', *anun* 'with it', which also exhibits a unique formation. The Kashibo-Kakataibo pronominal forms, including the proposed distinctions between inclusive and exclusive, and between plural and dual/paucal are presented in Table 26 (where genitive forms are also included for exemplification).

Table 26   Personal pronouns in Kashibo-Kakataibo

person	A	S	O	genitive
1p singular	'ën	'ëx	'ë	'ën
2p singular	min	mix	mi	min
3p singular	an	ax	a	ain
1p dual (inclusive) 1p plural (inclusive) 1p plural (exclusive)	nun nukaman 'ëkaman	nux nukamax 'ëkamax	nu nukama 'ëkama	nun ~ nukën
2p (dual) 2p (plural)	mitsun mikaman	mitsux mikamax	mitsu mikama	mitsun
3p (dual/paucal) 3p (plural)	atun akaman	atux akamax	atu akama	atun

In addition, Kashibo-Kakataibo's personal pronouns can be combined with the adverbial enclitic *=bi* 'same, self' to produce emphatic pronominal forms, which can be translated as self-pronouns into English. Emphatic pronouns can be used in reflexive constructions (§21.4.4.1) and, interestingly, show a neutral case alignment, according to which they remain unmarked, regardless of their grammatical function. However, the marker *=x* 'S' can optionally appear with them. Notice that when this marker is included, it appears after the adverbial enclitic *=bi*. This is not the order that we would expect for the combination of a case marker and an adverbial enclitic (see §5.5.2) and, therefore, it is possible to

argue that the emphatic pronouns in Kashibo-Kakataibo, presented in the following table, are lexicalised forms. Notice that not all the distinctions described for non-emphatic personal pronouns are available for emphatic ones (therefore, Table 27 is clearly simpler than Table 26):

Table 27   Emphatic personal pronouns in Kashibo-Kakataibo

person	A	S	O
1p singular	'ëbi	'ëbi(x)	'ëbi
2p singular	mibi	mibi(x)	mibi
3p singular	abi	abi(x)	abi
1p plural	nubi	nubi(x)	nubi

6.2.2   Interrogative words

Interrogative words are "words like English *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*, etc., as they are used at the beginning of questions" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 33). They include "[t]he set of interrogative pronouns (e.g. *who*, *what*), interrogative adverbs (e.g. *where*, *when*) and interrogative articles (e.g. *which* in *which book*)" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 33). Kashibo-Kakataibo's interrogative words are, in almost all the cases, derived from the basic form *ui* 'who', which, like personal pronouns, functions with a tripartite case marking as shown in the following examples (also note that interrogative words in Kashibo-Kakataibo are fronted as they are in languages like English and Spanish):

(235) **ui**   kara   isaxa
      ui   kara   is-a-x-a
      who.O   NAR.INT.3p   see-PERF-3p-non.prox
      '**Whom** did he look at?'

(236) **uin**   kara   Emilio   isaxa

       ui=n   kara   Emilio   is-a-x-a

       who=A   NAR.INT.3p Emilio.ABS   see-PERF-3p-non.prox

       'Who looked at Emilio?'

(237) **uix**   kara   abáxa

       ui=x   kara   abat-a-x-a

       who=S NAR.INT.3p   run-PERF-3p-non.prox

       'Who ran?'

For a number of interrogative words, we find a combination of the form *ui* and a case marker, but in other instances, we have forms derived from *ui* by adding an ending that is not synchronically identifiable. The list of interrogative words is presented in the following table where the morphological material that is not synchronically identifiable appears in bold. Note that in a number of derived interrogatives, the form *ui* cannot be translated as 'who' and therefore I gloss it more generally as 'interrogative'.

Table 28   **Interrogative words in Kashibo-Kakataibo**

interrogative word	segmented form	meaning
ui	ui (INT.O)	'who (O)'
uin	ui-n (INT-A)	'who (A)'/'whose'
uix	ui-x (INT-S)	'who (S)'
uibë(tan)	ui=bë(tan) (INT-COM)	'with whom'
uinu	ui=nu (INT=LOC)	'where (exact location)'
uimi	ui=mi (INT=IMPR.LOC)	'where (inexact location)'
uiti	ui-**ti** (INT-???)	'how much/many'
uisaran	ui-**saran** (INT-???)	'when'
uisa	ui=sa (INT=COMP)	'how'
uisa kupi	ui=sa=kupi (INT=COMP=CAUS)	'why'
uinikë	ui-**nikë** (INT-???)	'which'
a ñu	a ñu (that thing.ABS)	'what (lit. that thing)'
a ñun	a ñu=n (that thing-INS)	'with what (instrumental)'

As we can see, case markers are productive with interrogative words (for a complete presentation of case markers, see §9.3.1). Another interesting fact is that the form for 'what' is literally 'that thing'. Like other nouns and differently from the other interrogative words, the forms with *a ñu* follows an ergative/absolutive alignment, rather than a tripartite one. Interrogative utterances are easily recognised because of the presence of the second position enclitic *ra* 'interrogative' (see §15.2.2) and because of the intonation contour (see §4.4.1.2).

6.2.3   Indefinite and negative pro-forms

Interrogative words can be turned into derived indefinite pro-forms by adding the endings *=birës* and *=bira* to them. While *=birës* is also an adverbial enclitic with the meaning 'purely' (see §16.2.8), I have not found *=bira* in any other context. In most cases, indefinite forms derived with any of these two enclitics seem to be almost synonymous; although there is a slight semantic difference between them. Both the forms with *=birës* and *=bira* present an indefinite value but only the latter can be used with specific arguments, like the English form *someone* in the sentence *someone was looking for you in the morning*. Thus, we can claim that forms with *=birës* and *=bira* are both indefinite, but that there is a difference in specificity. The following tables present the paradigms associated with the two types of indefinite forms.

Table 29   Indefinite pro-forms in Kashibo-Kakataibo (non-specific)

form	meaning
uibirës	'anyone (O)'
uinbirës	'anyone (A)'
uixbirës	'anyone (S)'
uinubirës	'anywhere'
uisaranbirës	'anytime'
uisaibirës	'any way'
a ñubirës	'anything'

Table 30   Indefinite pro-forms in Kashibo-Kakataibo (specific)

form	meaning
uibira	'someone (O)'
uinbira	'someone (A)'
uixbira	'someone (S)'
uinubira	'somewhere'
uisaranbira	'some time'
uisaibira	'some way'
a ñubira	'something'

Examples of indefinite pronouns of the two paradigms follow:

(238) uinbirës   ka   'ën   piti   piti   'ikën
    uinbirës   ka   'ë=n   piti   pi-ti   'ikën
     anyone.A   NAR.3p 1p=GEN   food.ABS eat-NOM   be.3p
    '**Somebody** will eat my food (but I do not know who: non-specific).'

(239) uinbira   ka   'ën   piti   piti   'ikën
    uinbira   ka   'ë=n   piti   pi-ti   'ikën
    someone.A   NAR.3p 1p=GEN   food.ABS eat-NOM   be.3p
    '**Somebody** will eat my food (and I know who: specific).'

The negative pro-forms are obtained by adding the adverbial enclitic *=bi*

'same, self' to interrogative words, as shown in the following paradigm:

Table 31   Negative pro-forms in Kashibo-Kakataibo

form	meaning
uibi	'nobody (O)'
uinbi	'nobody (A)'
uixbi	'nobody (S)'
uinubi	'nowhere'
uisaranbi	'no time'
uisaibi	'no way'
a ñu bi	'nothing'

Negative pro-forms need to be used in negative sentences. Thus, the forms in the table above do not necessarily mean 'nobody', etc. by themselves; they probably mean something like 'who exactly' or 'the one exactly' and the negation is added through the negative marker: 'not the one exactly' = 'no-one'. Some examples of these pro-forms follow and we can see that the use of the forms in the table above without a negative predicate results in an ungrammatical construction:

(240) uinbi   ka   'ën   piti   pitima   'ikën
      uinbi   ka   'ë=n   piti   pi-ti-**ma**   'ikën
      no.body.A   NAR.3p   1p=GEN   food.ABS   eat-NOM=NEG   be.3p
      'Nobody will eat my food.'

(241) *uinbi   ka   'ën   piti   piti   'ikën
      uinbi   ka   'ë=n   piti   pi-ti   'ikën
      no.body.A   NAR.3p   1p=GEN   food.ABS   eat-NOM   be.3p
      ('nobody will eat my food')

6.2.4   Demonstratives

In this grammar, I use the term **demonstrative** to refer to a closed class of words which have primarily a deictic function and which can be used both as *demonstrative adjectives* and as *demonstrative pronouns*. There are three

demonstratives in Kashibo-Kakataibo, which are presented in Table 32 (note that these forms also follow a tripartite alignment).

Table 32   Demonstratives in Kashibo-Kakataibo

meaning	A	S	O
'proximal to the speaker'	ënën	ënëx	ënë
'proximal to the addressee'	an	ax	a
'distal to both of them'	un	ux	u

According to the typology proposed by Anderson and Keenan (1985: 282), Kashibo-Kakataibo's demonstratives form a **person-oriented three-term deictic system** which should be distinguished from **distance-oriented three-term deictic systems**, like the one that we find, for example, in Spanish (in this language, the forms *este*, *ese* and *aquel* are spatially oriented and have meanings similar to 'close', 'less close' and 'far' relative to the speaker). As shown in Table 32, the three choices offered by the Kashibo-Kakataibo system are better described as 'proximal to the speaker', 'proximal to the addressee' and 'distal to both speaker and addressee' (see Fleck 2003: 258-262 for a similar analysis of the Matses deictic system). The first meaning is expressed with the form *ënë*; the second one, with *a*; and the third one, with *u*. A diagram is presented in Figure 45:

Figure 45 Diagram of spatial deixis in Kashibo-Kakataibo
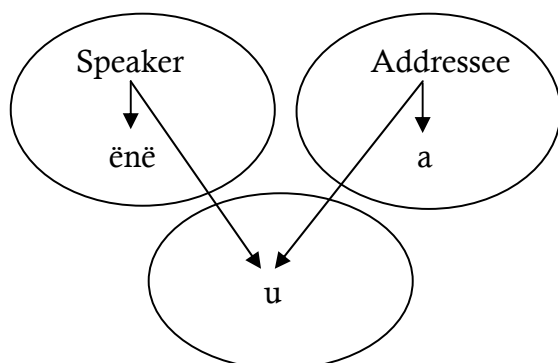
The basic meaning of these demonstratives is deictic and, thus, they are normally accompanied by extra-linguistic signs, like pointing to the object with a hand. However, in the pre-head position within NPs, some demonstratives (*a* 'proximal to de addressee' and *ënë* 'proximal to the speaker') behave as definite markers (see §9.2.1). The use of the three demonstratives as pronouns and as modifiers is illustrated in the following examples:

(242) <u>As pronouns</u>

ax		ka	'ën	bëchikë	'ikën
a=x		ka	'ë=n	bëchikë	'ikën
that(proximal. addressee)=S	NAR.3p	1sg=GEN	son.ABS		be.3p

'That one (proximal to the addressee) is my son.'

ux	ka	'ën	bëchikë	'ikën
u=x	ka	'ë=n	bëchikë	'ikën
that(distal)=S	NAR.3p	1sg=GEN	son.ABS	be.3p

'That one (far from the speaker and the addressee) is my son.'

ënëx	ka	'ën	bëchikë	'ikën
ënë=x	ka	'ë=n	bëchikë	'ikën
this=S	NAR.3p	1sg=GEN	son.ABS	be.3p

'This one is my son.'

(243) <u>As modifiers</u>

tuá ax		ka	'ën	bëchikë	'ikën
tuá a=x		ka	'ë=n	bëchikë	'ikën
boy	that(proximal. addressee)=S	NAR.3p	1sg=GEN	son.ABS	be.3p

'That boy (proximal to the addressee) is my son.'

tuá ux		ka	'ën	bëchikë	'ikën
tuá u=x		ka	'ë=n	bëchikë	'ikën
boy	that(distal)=S	NAR.3p	1sg=GEN	son.ABS	be.3p

'That boy (far from the speaker and the addressee) is my son.'

tuá	**ënëx**	ka	'ën	bëchikë	'ikën
tuá	**ënë=x**	ka	'ë=n	bëchikë	'ikën
boy	this=S	NAR.3p	1sg=GEN	son.ABS	be.3p

'This boy is my son.'

6.3 Postpositions

Kashibo-Kakataibo postpositions represent a gradient category in the sense of DeLancey's (1997a) discussion of similar elements in Tibetan and Burmese. Like in these languages, we have strong evidence in Kashibo-Kakataibo to state that most postpositions have come from nouns through a recategorisation process. However, as I will show in this section, this process has operated to different degrees on different postpositions and some of them are still noun-like with regard to one property or another; while others have changed considerably and now belong to a different (new) category. This sort of recategorisation "does not have to be a sudden process" (DeLancey 1997a: 67) and, thus, we expect to find some gradience in word classes that have developed from others, as it is usually the case with postpositions (see also Aristar 1991).

6.3.1 General characterisation of postpositions

Like Kashibo-Kakataibo, other Pano languages also have a closed word class of postpositions (see Valenzuela 2003b: 173 for Shipibo-Konibo and Fleck 2003: 625 for Matses). The number of forms attested in different languages is variable. For example, while Valenzuela (2003b: 173) states that there are around 20 postpositions in Shipibo-Konibo, Fleck (2003: 625) lists 32 forms for Matses.

According to my current analysis, Kashibo-Kakataibo shows 20 forms that can be claimed to function as postpositions.

Postpositions in Kashibo-Kakataibo are prosodically independent words, which take NPs as their complements in order to produce syntactic constituents that are called here **postpositional phrases** (PP) and that function as locative adverbial constituents in the clause. PPs establish a spatial relationship, according to which the referent of the complement NP is used as the reference point for indicating the location of an event or of a particular participant of an event, as in the case of the postposition *tanain* 'around' in a PP such as *xubu tanain* 'around the house'.

Postpositional phrases can be distinguished from NPs because the former are inherently adverbial elements; that is, they express location, without the need of carrying a locative case marker. One PP is illustrated in the following example, in which we see the postposition *'ipasu* 'at the border of' modifying the noun *bai* 'road'. The whole PP *bai 'ipasu* is an adverbial element in relation to the verb *tsót-but-* 'to sit down'.

(244) C01A08-JE-2007.013

tanu	rërëkanux	tsóbuakëxa
tanu	rërëka-nux	tsoot-but-akë-x-a
palm.worm.ABS	spill-S/A>S(POE)	live-down(INTR)-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

bai	**'ipasu**
[[bai]_{NP}	**'ipasu]**_{PP}
path	at.side.of

'He sat down at the border of the path to spill palm worms.'

The example in (244) can be considered a prototypical case of a PP, since it appears without an oblique case marker and, therefore, it can be argued that, as expected for postpositions, *'ipasu* itself has the potential of creating a locative

element with an adverbial function (i.e. capable of modifying a predicate).

However, some postpositions include the case marker =*mi* 'imprecise location', as

if they were still (at least partially) nominal. In (245), we find the postposition

rëbumi 'beyond' (< *rëbu* 'tip' =*mi* 'imprecise locative') with the NP *Palcaso* 'Palcaso

river' as its complement:

(245) C02B02-NA-2007.077

y	a	kaiburibi	abá	ka	'ikën	bëtsi
y	a	kaibu=ribi	abat-a	ka	'ikën	bëtsi
and	that	relative.ABS=also	escape-NOM	NAR.3p	be.3p	other

Palcaso	**rëbúmi**
[[Palcaso]ₙₚ	**rëbúmi]**ₚₚ
Palcaso river	beyond

'And those relatives who escaped are others (who live) beyond the Palcaso river.'

Postpositions like *rëbumi* 'beyond' are difficult to analyse, since they can

also be synchronically analysed as a noun plus a case marker (i.e., *rëbu* 'tip' plus

=*mi* 'imprecise location'). However, I analyse them as postpositions, rather than

nouns, based in the arguments to be presented in §6.3.2. The 20 postpositions

attested in my database at this stage are presented in Table 33, with their

respective meanings:

Table 33   List of postpositions

form	meaning
'ipasu	'at the side of'
bëbun	'in front of'
chichu	'inside (e.g. a river)'
ëman	'far from, outside'
kamánan	'over'
kaxu	'behind'
kwëbí	'near'
manámi	'above'
mëú	'inside (e.g. a house)'

namḗ	'inside (e.g. a pot)'
nëbëtsi	'in the centre of'
puntḗ	'in direction to'
rapasu	'next to'
rëbumi	'beyond'
rësu	'at the end of' (= *sënën*)
sënën	'at the end of' (= *rësu*)
shimú	'under and in contact with' (e.g. stuck under a table)
tanain	'at the base of'
tëmú	'under (e.g. a table)'
tsipúmi	'below'

Notice that most of the postpositions in Table 33 can appear without a complement and without any oblique case marker (a similar behaviour has been documented for Matses; see Fleck 2003: 632-633). In this context, the postpositions are very similar to adverbs (see Chapter 14). One example of an adverb-like use of the postposition *manámi* 'above' follows. Notice that at least *namḗ* 'inside (e.g. a pot)', *bëbun* 'in front of' and *rëbumi* 'beyond' cannot appear in this type of construction.

(246) C01A09-SE-2007.015

manámi	kwanxun	kaisa	kaiankëxa
manami	kwan-xun	kaisa	kain-akë-x-a
above	go-S/A>A	NAR.REP.3p	wait-REM.PAST-3p-no.cont

'It is said that, going above, he waited.'

6.3.2 Postpositions vs. nouns

As DeLancey (1997a: 57) explains: "[i]t is clear that adpositions derive historically from exactly two sources: serial verb constructions (or some functional equivalent) and relator noun constructions." In Kashibo-Kakataibo, most postpositions can be argued to have come from nominal sources, which can be analysed as relator noun constructions, and, as predicted by DeLancey (1997a), some of the members of this class are more nominal than others. In

addition, different postpositions have undergone different development processes, which have produced different results. As we will see, some of them keep their arguably original nominal meanings and functions (for instance, the postposition *kaxu* 'behind' still has the corresponding noun *kaxu* 'back'); while others do not (for instance, there is a postposition *mëu* 'inside', but no equivalent noun). In turn, some postpositions include the 'imprecise locative' marker (for instance, *manámi* 'above' < *manan* 'upside part' plus =*mi* 'imprecise locative'); while others do not (*'ipasu* 'at the border of' and not **'ipasu**mi***).

In this section, I will briefly describe the interaction between nouns and postpositions, offering some examples and proposing different diachronic paths in order to account for the diverse situations just described. Let us begin with the very basic facts, comparing the examples in (247):

(247) 'ën   xubun   xëpúti
     [['ë=n   xubu-n]NP   xëpúti]NP
     1sg=GEN   house=GEN   door
     'my house's door'

     'ën   xubu   mëu
     [['ë=n   xubu]NP   mëu]PP
     1sg=GEN   house   inside
     'inside my house'

As we can see in the examples above, the postposition *mëu* is grammatically different from the noun *xëputi* 'door'. The noun takes a genitive modifier, *ën xubu=n* 'my house=GEN' and the postposition, an unmarked complement *'ën xubu* 'my house'. The structure **'ën xubu=n mëu* 'my house=GEN inside' is simply unacceptable. In addition to that, only the noun *xëputi* 'door' can take a locative case marker:

(248) 'ën   xubun   xëpútinu
['ë=n   xubu=n   xëpúti]_{NP}=nu
1sg=GEN house=GEN   door=LOC
'in my house's door'

*ën   xubu   mëunu
[ë=n   xubu   mëu]_{PP}=nu
1sg=GEN house   inside=LOC
('in the inside of my house')

Thus, we have at least two criteria for stating that synchronically *xëputi* and *mëu* belong to two different categories: (i) the possibility of being combined with a genitive NP and (ii) the possibility of taking a case marker. Then, we can argue that the word *xëputi* 'door' is a prototypical noun and the word *mëu* 'inside' is a prototypical postposition. However, we have not yet found any evidence to suspect that *mëu* has come from a nominal source and, that, therefore, the two word classes are historically related. Let us explore those cases in which this relation becomes clear.

As shown in Table 34, at least seven of the postpositions in Table 33 have a related nominal use/meaning (but more research may reveal the number to be larger). When used with nominal meanings, these forms behave as prototypical nouns according to the two criteria previously described: they can be combined with a genitive NP and they can receive potentially any case marking, semantics permitting. When used as postpositions, there is an important difference. Four of them (*kaxu* 'behind', *kwebí* 'near', *namë̃* 'inside' and *shimú* 'under') do not carry the enclitic *=mi* 'imprecise location', which is attested in the remaining three postpositions (*rëbumi* 'beyond', *manámi* 'above' and *tsipúmi* 'below'). However, what unifies the seven postpositions in Table 34 is that they cannot take a genitive complement under any circumstance.

Table 34　Postposition with an associated noun

postposition		noun	
form	**meaning**	**form**	**meaning**
kaxu	'behind'	kaxu	'back'
kwëbí	'near'	kwëbí	'mouth'
shimú	'under' (= *tëmú*)	shimú	'reversal'
namḗ	'inside (e.g. a pot)'	namḗ	'interior'
rëbumi	'beyond'	rëbu	'tip'
manámi[44]	'above'	manan	'upside part'
tsipúmi	'below'	tsipun	'end, buttocks'

Notice that the semantic difference between the postpositional and nominal uses of these forms may be explained as a shift from **intrinsic parts of objects** to **relative frames of reference**, and that this process is quite common cross-linguistically. In the two following sentences, we find the form *kaxu* in two different functions. In (249), *kaxu* is used as a postposition with the meaning 'behind' (i.e. in a relative frame of reference) and, thus, its complement *a* 'third person singular' appears in its unmarked form. In (250), *kaxu* appears as the noun 'back' (i.e. as an intrinsic body part) and, in this case, its modifier is *ain* '3p.genitive'. We should also pay attention to the fact that only the nominal use of *kaxu* exhibits a locative case marker.

(249) C01B02-JE-2007.019

kwarukëbë	kaisa	axribi	**a**	**kaxu**
kwan-ru-këbë	kaisa	a=x=ribi	[a	kaxu]PP
go-up-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)	NAR.REP.3p	3sg=S=also	3sg	behind

ukairi	a	tënkanux		kwaruakëshín
ukairi	a	tënka-nux		kwan-ru-akë-x-ín
ladder	that.ABS	cut.making.noise-S/A>A(POE)		go-up-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, when he went up, the other one went up **behind** him to cut the ladder.'

---

[44] Note that the nasal at the end of *manan* 'upside part' drops in the form *manámi* 'above', due the rule of nasal deletion presented in §5.7.1.2.2. This is also the case of the example *tsipúmi* 'below'.

(250) C02B01-NA-2007.023

ësaokin	upíraokin	kwanxun	kaisa
ësa-o-kin	upit-ira-o-kin	kwan-xun	kaisa
like.this-FACT-S/A>A(SE)	good-INTF-FACT-S/A>A(SE)	go-S/A>A	NAR.REP.3p

'akëxa	**ain**	**kaxunu**	ënu
'a-akë-x-a	[ain	kaxu]_{NP}=nu	ënu
do-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	3sg.GEN	back=LOC	here

'It is said that, doing like this, very well, going, (they) hit (him) in **his back**, here.'

Examples like the ones presented above not only show the differences between postpositions and nouns, but also suggest that they are likely to be historically related. That is, we find evidence to state that, at least in some cases, postpositions are the result of a grammaticalisation process that started with some certain nominal constructions expressing part-whole relationships and produced a new grammatical category. Interestingly, in cases like *kaxu*, this grammaticalisation process did not imply the loss of the original function. This pattern is described in Figure 46:

Figure 46 The grammaticalisation path of postpositions like *kaxu* 'behind'

kaxu 'back' (noun)

kaxu 'behind' (postposition)   *kaxu* 'back' (noun)
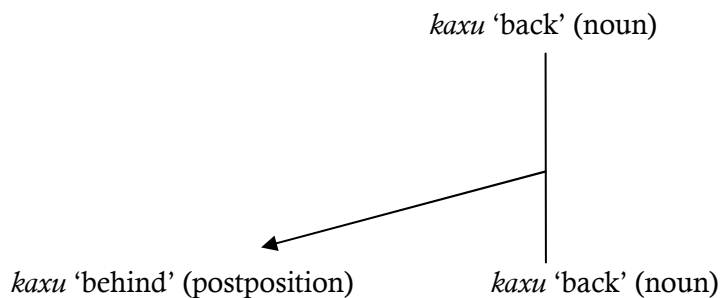
Three cases in Table 34 are different, in the sense that the postpositions are the result of combining a noun denoting the part of an object with the imprecise locative marker =*mi*. This is illustrated in the following examples: in the first one, we find the noun *tsipun* 'end, buttock' and because of its nominal nature, it is modified by the genitive form *ain* '3p=GEN' and it carries the locative marker

=*nu*, which cannot appear with postpositions. In the second example, we find the postposition *tsipúmi* 'below' and, accordingly, the NP *Santa Rosa*, which is the name of a village, appears without the possessive marker.

(251) C01B05-SE-2007.029

kana	rani	xon	rani	kananuna
kana	rani	xon	rani	kananuna
macaw	bristle.ABS	red.macaw	bristle.ABS	NAR.1pl

ain	**tsipunu**	bëtanitin
[ain	tsipun]_NP=nu	bëtanit-i-n
3sg.GEN	end=LOC	tie-IMPF-1/2p

'We (put) macaw bristle and red macaw bristle at the end (of our arrows).'

(252) C07A03-EE-2008.017

como diez años	aish	kana	'ëx	tsókën	***Santa Rosa***	**tsipúmi**
como diez años	aish	kana	'ë=x	tsót-akë-n	[*Santa Rosa*	**tsipumi**]_PP
like.ten.years	be(S/A>S)	NAR.1sg	1sg=S	live-REM.PAST-1/2p	Santa.Rosa.village	below

'I lived below Santa Rosa for around ten years.'

The development of postpositions like *tsipúmi* can be represented by the following figure:

Figure 47 The grammaticalisation path of words like *tsipun* 'behind'

tsipun 'end, buttock' (noun)

tsipun=mi 'around the end, the buttock'

tsipúmi 'below' (postposition)   *tsipun* 'end, buttock' (noun)
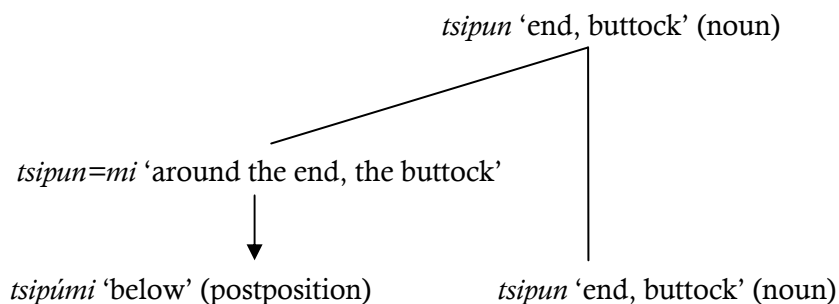
Taking into consideration that postpositions like *tsipúmi* may be seen as more nominal due to the fact that they still carry the imprecise locative marker, it might be possible to argue that this situation precedes the situation of *kaxu*. That is, when moving from nominal constructions to postpositional ones, it is very

likely that there was a point at which the imprecise locative marker =*mi* was obligatory. Thus, following this argumentation, in the case of *kaxu*, for example, we would have had a change from *kaxu=mi* 'around the back (not precisely on the back)' to *kaxu=mi* 'behind'. And, as a final step, the locative would have been dropped, but this deletion of the imprecise locative marker only happened in some cases and not in others.[45] Thus, we may have had:

Figure 48 The grammaticalisation path of postpositions like *kaxu* 'behind' with an intermediate hypothetical stage

kaxu 'back' (noun)

kaxu=mi 'around the back'

kaxu 'behind' (postposition)   *kaxu* 'back' (noun)
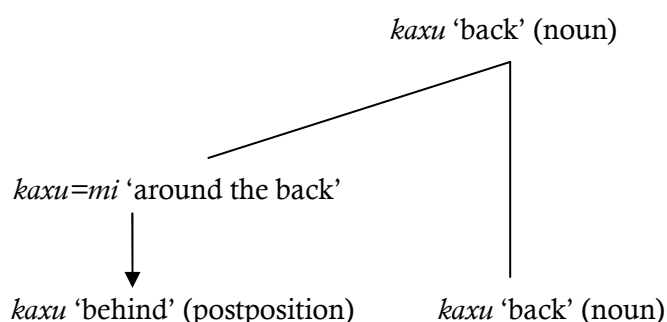
We still have to explain the diachronic development of examples like the ones in the following table, which are prototypical postpositions (with an unmarked object and without a locative postposition), but which do not have a corresponding noun in the synchronic language.

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[45] According to Creissels (2008), the presence of case markers on spatial adpositions is common cross-linguistically. However, the diachronic path proposed here for Kashibo-Kakataibo still needs to be confirmed by evidence showing clear parallels, where the case marker is later dropped, in other languages. Comparative Pano evidence is also necessary in order to determine if this intermediate step existed and is perhaps still found is other languages within the family.

Table 35 Postpositions without a synchronic nominal use

form	meaning
'ipasu	'at the border of'
bëbun	'in front of'
chichu	'inside (e.g. a river)'
ëman	'far, outside'
kamánan	'over'
mëú	'inside (e.g. a house)'
puntÉ	'in direction to'
rapasu	'next to'
rësu	'at the end of' (= *sënën*)
sënën	'at the end of' (= *rësu*)
tanain	'at the base of'
tëmú	'under'

We have one piece of evidence to argue that at least some of these forms may also have come from (old) nouns: some of the postpositions in Table 35 show related synchronic prefixes (see §5.6). As it has been argued by Zariquiey and Fleck (in press), prefixes in Kashibo-Kakataibo (as in other Pano languages) are diachronically related to nouns that primarily refer to body parts and related meanings. Thus, the fact that some postpositions have corresponding synchronic prefixes makes the nominal origin of these postpositions likely. As illustration, a list of some of the postpositions in Table 35 with their corresponding prefixes follows:

Table 36 Postpositions and their corresponding prefixes

form	meaning	corresponding prefix
bëbun	'in front of'	bë-
nëbëtsi	'in the centre of'	në-
rapasu	'next to'	ra-
rësu	'at the end of'	rë-
tëmú	'below'	të-

If we consider the data in the table above as evidence in favour of the nominal origin of the synchronic postpositions, we might postulate the following grammaticalisation path for at least some of the postpositions that lack a corresponding nominal form:

Figure 49 A hypothetic grammaticalisation path for some postpositions that lack a synchronic corresponding noun
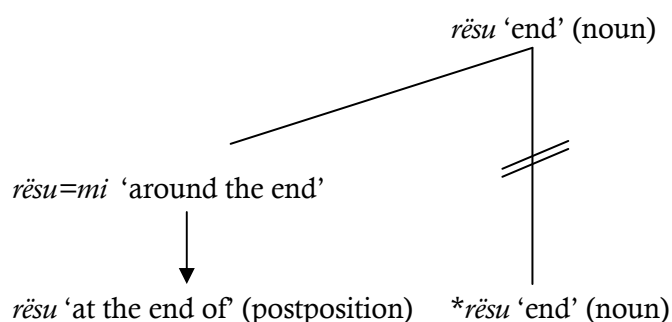
There is only one postposition in Table 33 that seem to have had a different source: *sënën* 'at the end of', which is very likely to be related to the verb *sënën-* 'to finish'. Notice that a similar derivation is found in a few very unusual other cases, such as *'isin-* 'to be sick' and *'isin* 'illness' and *bana-* 'speak' and *bana* 'word, language, tale', but in those cases, *'isin* 'illness' and *bana* 'word, language, tale' are nouns and not postpositions.

6.4   Numerals and quantifiers

The numerical system of Kashibo-Kakataibo is relatively simple. There are just three numerals: *achushi* '1', *rabë́* '2' and *mapai* '5'. The last meaning can alternatively be expressed with *mëkën*, which also means 'hand'. In fact, the word *mapai* is not necessarily known by all the speakers of the language. Other small numbers can be expressed by combining the three forms presented above (normally by adding the conjunction '*imainun* 'and', but not always). Thus,

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achushi ('imainun) rabë̃ can be used to say '3' and *rabë̃ ('imainun) rabë̃* can be used as '4' (but none of those forms represents fixed constructions). Even so, when the speakers try to express higher numbers, they normally offer different solutions which follow different kinds of logic: for example, the form *rabë̃ ('imainun) mapai* is translated as '2+5=7'or '2x5=10' by different people. This fact shows that there was probably not a socially well-established numeric system for expressing higher numbers among the Kashibo-Kakataibo. The closely related language Shipibo-Konibo has borrowed and phonologically readapted a decimal numeric system from Quechua, probably through the influence of Franciscan missionaries in earlier centuries, but this did not happen in Kashibo-Kakataibo. Consequently, although some speakers who are fluent in Shipibo-Konibo use its borrowed numeric system, most of them use Spanish numbers. This fact can easily be seen in natural speech and narratives, where talking about quantities usually triggers relatively long portions of discourse in Spanish, in constructions which can be analysed as code-switching.

In addition to numerals, Kashibo-Kakataibo has two clear quantifiers: *'itsa* 'a lot' and *kamabi* 'all'. The form *bëtsi* 'other' grammatically behaves as a quantifier, rather than as an adjective, and thus may belong to the same lexical class as *'itsa* and *kamabi*. The form *kamabi* 'all' is related to the plural enclitic *=kama* and the form *'itsa* 'a lot' can also be used in the negative form to mean 'not many/much' (*'itsa-ma*) and 'a few' (*'itsamashi*).

One of the most interesting properties of numerals and quantifiers is that, different from adjectives, numerals and quantifiers create constituents that can be used as arguments without the presence of any other element or modifier (at least

in some constructions). In this sense, they are similar to demonstratives. See the
following examples:

(253) **'itsa**   kana   isan
    ['itsa]~QP~   kana   is-a-n
    a.lot.ABS   NAR.1sg   see-PERF-1/2p
    'I saw **a lot**.'

(254) **achushinën**   ka   'axa
    [achushi]~QP~**-n**   ka   'a-a-x-a
    one-ERG   NAR.3p   do-PERF-3p-non.prox
    '**One** did (it).'

In accordance with their ability to produce phrases, when they appear
within NPs as modifiers, they can carry their own adverbial enclitics (see
§5.5.2.2). This is not possible with any other type of modifier. In addition,
numerals and quantifiers are the only non-predicative type of constituent that can
be reduplicated (see §13.9 for predicate reduplication). This is shown in the
following example, where the form *bëtsi* 'other' (which, as previously mentioned,
belongs to the class of numeral/quantifiers) is reduplicated:

(255) C01B05-SE-2007.024

y	usaokin		ka	'akëxa	**bëtsi bëtsi** *forma*
y	usa-o-kin		ka	'a-akë-x-a	**bëtsi bëtsi** *forma*
and	like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)		NAR.3p	do-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	other other form.ABS

 'And doing like that, they prepared lots of different forms (of arrows) a long time ago.'

6.5   Interjections

A closed word class of interjections can be postulated for any particular language
(Schachter and Shopen 2007) and this is also true for Kashibo-Kakataibo. The
following table offers all the interjections attested in my corpus. The last two

forms were found in narratives, as part of the speech of mythical characters, and, according to my teachers, they are no longer used in daily speech:

Table 37   List of interjections documented in my corpus

interjection	meaning
ëpɛ́	'just remembered'
arí	'it hurts'
'a'a	'it hurts'
ëmá	'not in that way'
ë:	'fear'
ma:	'surprise'
u:	'response to a call'
pë:ns (archaic)	'crying when loosing something
ërí (archaic)	'fear'

Interjections are different from other word classes in relation to different phonological, morphological and syntactic criteria. Phonologically, they often exhibit special phonological features, such as a glottal stop in an internal position (see *'a'a*) or a complex codas (see *pë:ns*). Morphologically, their particularity is that they do not take any affixes and, syntactically, they are not usually used as parts of clauses. If this happens their only possible position is as complement of say-verbs like *ka-* 'to say, transitive' and *ki-* 'to say, intransitive' in direct speech clauses (see §19.2.1). It is also important to mention here that Kashibo-Kakataibo does not have single words equivalent to 'yes' or 'no' in English and these concepts are usually expressed with verbless copula clauses like *asabi ka* '(it is) good' and *usama ka* '(it is) not like that'.

6.6   Onomatopoeic words

Onomatopoeic words are very common in Kashibo-Kakataibo narratives. They are used to imitate the singing of birds or other common sounds in the

environment. They cannot be derived from other word classes, but people have some freedom to invent and produce new onomatopoeic items. In this sense, they are not a completely closed word class and we do not have to expect that all the speakers of the language know a comparable inventory (normally, old people are more likely to be aware of a larger number of them).

When they are used in discourse, onomatopoeic words are normally used with both the intransitive and the intransitive versions of the predicate 'to say': *ki-* and *ka-*, respectively. For example, in one narrative, when a female character was trying to hide herself, she entered into a big hole in a big tree but she made some noise with dry leaves and, for that reason, she was discovered by her enemy. This event is described with the following construction, where we also find the verb *ki-*:

(256) C06B04-NA-2007

këjëru këjëru këjëru	kaisa	kiakëxa
këjëru këjëru këjëru	kaisa	ki-akë-x-a
këjëru këjëru këjëru	NAR.REP.3p	say(INTR)-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that a long time ago, she made (lit. said) a noise këjëru këjëru këjëru.'

Another strategy is to include them in sentences without any verbal form, very much like adverbs. This use, which is less frequent than the previous one, is presented in the following example:

(257) C03A05-EE-2007

papixun	kaisa	uni	buankëshín	**shooo**
papi-xun	kaisa	uni	buan-akë-x-ín	**shooo**
carry-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.3p-REP	man.ABS	bring-REM.PAST-3p-prox	shooo

buanxun	kaisa	**tiiiish**	menu	' apakëshín
buan-xun	kaisa	**tiiiish**	me=nu	'a-pat-akë-x-ín
bring-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	tiiiish	ground=DIR	put-down-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that a long time ago, carrying him, (the condor) brought the man (making a noise like) shooo. Then, bringing him, (the condor) took (him) to the ground (making a noise like) tiiiish'.

Another interesting fact is that sometimes onomatopoeic words show unusual phonological features, like the sound <j> ([x]), whose phonetic correlate is a velar fricative that is not a phoneme in the language. Some onomatopoeic words in combination with the say-verbs *ka-* 'transitive' and *ki-* 'intransitive' have grammaticalised into verbal forms with different meanings (for instance, **táx**ka- 'to hit (someone) with the fist' and **tásh**ka 'to slap (someone)'; see §11.6 for more examples).

Chapter 7   Criteria for open word classes

7.1   Open word classes: an overview

Open word classes such as nouns, verbs and adjectives are a topic of controversy within linguistic theory. While a number of scholars consider them to be language-particular categories and not language universals (see, for example, Hengeveld 1992); others assume that at least the distinction between nouns and verbs may be universal (Schachter and Shopen 2007:5) or that this universality also applies to adjectives (Dixon 2010: Vol.II, 62).

In Kashibo-Kakataibo, almost any word belonging to an open class can potentially be used as a predicate, including those whose primary function is reference or modification; and this makes it difficult to classify them into different lexical categories. In this chapter, I will argue that, despite this functional flexibility, Kashibo-Kakataibo can be analysed as having lexical categories and I will give language-internal criteria for how these categories can be distinguished and identified. Thus, I will be more interested in showing how different lexical categories are distinguished in Kashibo-Kakataibo than in addressing the question about the universal validity of those categories.

Different criteria are said to be relevant to studying, analysing and distinguishing different words classes (see, for example, Hopper and Thompson 1984:703-704 for a brief presentation of these criteria). While some traditional grammarians based the distinction between word classes on semantic grounds and offer notional definitions for them, Schachter and Shopen (2007: 1) assume

that: "the primary criteria for parts-of-speech classification are grammatical not semantic" (see also Schachter 1985: 3). With the term **grammatical**, Schachter and Shopen (2007:1-2) refer to "the word's distribution, its range of syntactic functions, and the morphological or syntactic categories for which it is specifiable."

In defining grammatical categories, I will take into account different types of evidence (associated with the morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of the words under study), looking carefully at the ways in which they interact with each other. This study will reveal that word class-distinctions in Kashibo-Kakataibo are fairly systematic, despite the general polyfunctionality found in Kashibo-Kakataibo words. We will even see that the word class distinctions established in Kashibo-Kakataibo are similar to the distinctions between **nouns**, **verbs**, **adjectives** and **adverbs** in other languages. In the following discussion, I will be constantly referring to predication, reference and modification as the three basic pragmatic (communicative) functions of language and as being the basis for "the traditional major parts of speech" (Croft 2000: 87; 2001: 66).

This chapter has been organised as follows: §7.2 is about the distinction between nouns and verbs; §7.3 offers some criteria for distinguishing adjectives from verbs and §7.4 does the same for adjectives and nouns. Section §7.5 deals with adverbs (and particularly with cases of forms that have both adjectival and adverbial functions); and, finally, §7.6 offers a summary of the chapter. In this chapter, I focus on distinguishing between the word-classes and, therefore, I will not exemplify all the properties of each of them (I do this in Chapters 8-14 instead).

7.2   Distinguishing nouns from verbs

In Kashibo-Kakataibo there are no major problems establishing verbs and nouns as two separate word classes, and most roots are easily classifiable as either nouns or verbs: nouns can function as referring expressions without carrying any additional morphology and, therefore, reference can be seen as the unmarked function of nouns; verbs, by contrast, need to receive a nominaliser in order to appear in that function. However, both nouns and verbs can function as predicates (but note that there is an overwhelming tendency in discourse for nouns to appear as referring expressions and not as predicates).

Grammatically, nouns can function as the nucleus of an NP (which can appear as a clausal argument or a complement of a postposition), can be omitted if the context is clear and can be replaced by pronouns. They can be syntactically modified by other nouns, by adjectives and by other modifiers like numerals, quantifiers and demonstratives. Finally, there are morphological forms specific to nouns, including enclitics marking case, and number (also available for adjectives; see §7.4), and a group of derivational suffixes. Those properties are not found in base verbs (unless they have been nominalised first; for a detailed discussion of lexical nominalisation, see §8.4).

On the other hand, both nouns and verbs can be heads of predicates and, in that function, can be modified by adverbs or adverbial elements, and have access to a rich morphological system that includes inflectional suffixes for tense, aspect, modality and person, and also a long list of derivational suffixes. However, the combinatorial possibilities of nouns and verbs used as predicates seem to be different, and this can be used as an additional criterion for establishing a distinction between them (see also the next section for adjectives

functioning as predicates). Let us look at the following case of a word used as both a referring expression (> noun) and a predicate (> verb):

(258) ʻibu

(1) reference 'owner' (>noun)

nukën	**ʻibu**	kaisa	nainuax	uakëxa
nukën	**ʻibu**	kaisa	nai=nu=ax	u-akë-x-a
our	owner.ABS	NAR.REP.3p	sky=LOC=PA:S	come-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that our owner came from the sky a long time ago.'

(2) predicate 'become owner' (>verb)

ax	ka	**ʻibu**axa
a=x	ka	**ʻibu**-a-x-a
3sg=S	NAR.3	become.owner-past-3p-non.prox

'(S)he became the owner (of something).'

Examples like the ones in (258) can be analysed in at least two different ways. The first one is to state that there is a verb *ʻibu-* but also a noun *ʻibu*; that is, that we have **two** different lexical items that have the same form: **homonymy**. The second one is to postulate that we have just one lexeme with two different functions, associated with two different constructions; that is, we have **one** polyfunctional lexical item: **polysemy**.

Assuming two different lexical forms for examples like the one in (258) is unsatisfactory since we would have to postulate two different lexemes for (almost) all nouns (and also for almost all adjectives; see §7.3). I prefer systematic polysemy, since it is simpler: the semantic values 'X' and 'to become X' are intrinsically part of the semantic content of forms like *ʻibu* and they are triggered by the construction in which the word is used. Since this semantic relationship is strong, predictable and systematic, we do not need to claim that there are two different lexemes, one verb and one noun. Instead, we can argue that lexical items like *ʻibu* "have multiple conventional meanings, each of which happens to fall

into different parts of speech of the usual sort" (Croft 2001: 71).[46] More examples of this follow:

(259) <u>kini</u>

(1) referring term 'hole' (>noun)

achushi	**kiniñu**	ka	min	xo rabë́okë	'ikën
achushi	**kini**=ñu	ka	mi=n	xo rabë́okë	'ikën
one	hole=PROP	NAR.3p	2p=GEN	pants	be.3p

'Your pants have one hole'

(2) predicate 'become a hole/getting holes (>verb)

min	nunti	ka	**kinín**
mi=n	nunti	ka	**kini**-i-ín
you=GEN	canoe.ABS	NAR.3p	become.hole-IMPF-prox

'Your canoe is becoming (i.e. getting) holes (as you can see).'

(260) <u>matá ~ matat</u>

(1) referring term 'hill' (>noun)

ax	ka	'ikën	achushi	**matá**	ka	is!
a=x	ka	'ikën	achushi	**matá**	ka	is!
that=S	NAR.3p	be.3p	one	hill.ABS	NAR	look

'There is a hill. Look!'

(2) predicate 'to become a hill' (>verb)

min	xubu	ka	**matatín**
mi=n	xubu	ka	**matat**-i-ín
you=GEN	house.ABS	NAR.3p	become.hill-IMPF-prox

'Your garden is becoming a hill (as you can see).'

Thus, we regularly find intransitive predicates related to a change of state-meaning and, conveying the inception of the state, which are easily translated into English as "to become X". This systematic semantic derivation is language-specific and constitutes an argument for their basic nominal nature: this meaning

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[46] It may be interesting to note that, when used as predicates, temporal nouns like *nëtë* 'day' or *imë̃* 'night', in addition to the meaning of 'to become day (to dawn)' and 'to become night (to get dark)', have a meaning equivalent to 'to spend the night at a place' and 'to stay until late', respectively.

is not necessarily found in words that are classified as verbs, whose semantic range is much wider.

In addition, there is a morphosyntactic difference between nouns used as inchoative predicates and basic verbs. Intransitive verbs in Kashibo-Kakataibo can normally be derived into causative forms by using the general causative suffix *-mi* and, in some cases, the transitiviser suffix *-n.* In the appropriate context, predicates like the ones in (258)-(260) can have two distinct causative forms too. However, while they can be marked with *-mi* to express indirect causation, the form expressing direct causation does not include the marker *-n,* but the factitive *-o* (which alternates with *-a* after *u*). This marker cannot be combined with any basic intransitive predicate and, therefore, is exclusive to the forms discussed here (which cannot take *-n* under any circumstances). Let us look at the following examples of different predicates based on nominal elements:

Table 38   Referential terms, intransitive predicates and transitive predicates

referential term	intransitive predicate	direct causative predicate	indirect causative predicate	ungrammatical form
'ibu 'owner'	'ibu- 'to become the owner'	'ibu**o**- 'to make someone a owner'	'ibu**mi**- 'to let someone be the owner'	**'ibu**n**-
kini 'hole'	kini- 'to get a hole'	kini**o**- 'to make a hole'	kini**mi**- 'to be careless and let something get holes'	*kini**n**-
matá 'hill'	matá- 'to become a hill'	matá**o**- 'to make a piece of land a small hill, by adding soil'	matá**mi**- 'to let a garden become a small hill, because of lack of care'	*matá**n**-

The behaviour of a predicate in relation to these valency-changing devices can be considered a useful test for assigning it membership in the classes of nouns

and verbs, respectively. Crucially, it coincides with the other criteria previously presented in this section: we have a class of words that, in addition to other characteristics which will be discussed in §7.4, (i) can function as referential terms when unmarked; (ii) function as heads of NPs; (iii) always have a change of state-meaning when used as predicates; and (iv) when functioning as predicates, carry the factitive marker *-o* in order to express direct causation (and not the marker *-n* 'transitiviser, direct causative'). Words with those properties are called **nouns** in this dissertation and they are thus clearly different from the forms that will be called **verbs**, which: (1) do not have reference as their unmarked function; (2) cannot function as heads of NPs if they are not overtly nominalised; (3) do not necessarily have a change of state meaning when used as predicates; and (4) when functioning as predicates, never carry the factitive *-o*. The forms in the former class are usually used as referential terms (the unmarked function of nouns); while the forms in the latter class are usually used as predicates (the unmarked function of verbs), a fact which coincides with the predictions made by Hopper and Thompson (1984). Let us examine this distinction in more detail, by looking at some forms which are considered verbs in this dissertation and at the way in which they behave.

(261) <u>bama- 'to die'</u>
    word class: verb

min	atapa	ka	**bamaxa**
mi=n	atapa	ka	**bama**-a-x-a
you=GEN	chicken	NAR.3p	die-PERF-3p-non.prox

    'Your chicken died.'

    noun: **bama-ti** 'death' (*bama)
    Transitive verb: **bamami-**, but not *bamao-

(262) saë́ ~ saët 'to drain into'
    word class: verb

Aguaytía	sapika	Parunu	**saëtia**
Aguaytía	sapika	Paru=nu	**saët**-i-a
Aguaytía.river	DUB.NAR.3p	Ucayali.river=LOC	flow.into-IMPF-non.prox

'The Aguaytía river drains into the Ucayali river, I think.'

noun: **saë́-kë** 'mouth of a river'
Transitive form: **saë́mi-**, but not *saë́o-

The form *bama-* and *saë́-* are clearly verbal stems according to the criteria proposed here: they must be nominalised in order to be used as nouns (with -*ti* 'instrument nominaliser' and -*kë* 'patient nominaliser', respectively) and they cannot be causativised with -*o* 'factitive'. Therefore, examples like the ones in (258)-(260) and (261)-(262) exhibit the prototypical behaviour of nouns and verbs in Kashibo-Kakataibo, respectively.[47]

7.3   Distinguishing adjectives from verbs

The unmarked function of adjectives is the modification of referential expressions. Therefore, in principle, if a bare lexeme can appear in that modification function, it is very likely to be an adjective (but see the following section, where I discuss modifying nouns). Adjectives, in addition to other properties, can also be used in comparative constructions; can be derived into superlative forms; can be the complement of predicative constructions with or

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[47] There are a few cases which do not follow those prototypes in one way or the other. For instance *'isin-* 'to get sick' cannot be causativised with -*o* (like verbs) but has an inchoative meaning and can be used unmarked as a referential expression meaning 'illness' (like nouns). In addition, *bana-* 'to speak' can be causativised by both -*mi* and -*o,* and can be used unmarked as a referential expression meaning 'word, language, tale'. Since these forms are used with equal frequency as predicates and as referential expressions in discourse, it is difficult to classify them unambiguously as nouns or verbs. Homonymy is an analytical possibility here, but I leave this issue for further research.

without the copula verb; and, when appearing at the right edge of NPs can be the host of the set of NP inflectional enclitics.

As was the case for nouns, generally, adjectives in Kashibo-Kakataibo can also be used as predicates, making the distinction between adjectives and verbs less transparent. However, on the basis of almost the same set of criteria as presented in the previous section (plus a few other principles), it is possible to distinguish between those two classes. Like nouns, adjectives show a change of state meaning when used as predicates, and they can, in principle, be causativised by *-mi* 'general causative' and *-o* 'factitive', used for indirect and direct causation, respectively. As we have seen in the previous section, the latter form cannot appear with roots classified as verbs. In addition, verbs necessarily need to carry a nominaliser in order to appear as modifiers of referential expressions or in combination with a copula. Let us look at the following examples: the first one shows a prototypical verb; and the second, a prototypical adjective:

(263) ichú- (~ ichut-) 'to be bright'
    word class: verb
    as an intransitive predicate:
    a   këntí   ka   **ichut**ia
    a   këntí   ka   **ichut**-i-a
    that   pot.ABS   NAR.3p   be.bright-IMPF-non.prox
    'That pot is bright.'

    Modifying form: **ichú**-kë 'bright'
    këntí **ichukë** 'bright pot'
    *këntí ichú ('bright pot')
    * ichú këntí ('bright pot')

(264) <u>tirí (~ tirit)</u> 'shiny'[48]
word class: adjective
As a modifier:

tirí	ñu	/		ñu	**tirí**
shiny	thing	/		thing	shiny
'shiny thing'		/		'shiny thing'	

As a copula complement:

a	ñu	ka	**tirí**	**'ikën**
a	ñu	ka	**tirí**	**'ikën**
that	thing.ABS	NAR.3p	shiny	be.NON.PAST.3p

'That thing is shiny.'

As a predicate: 'to become shiny':

min	*linterna*	ka	tiritín
min	*linterna*	ka	tirit-i-ín
you=GEN	torch.ABS	NAR.3p	become.shiny-IMPF-prox

'Your torch becomes shiny (is a light now but it was not before).'

The semantic content of the forms in the examples in (263) and (264) is relatively similar, but it is possible to say, based on their distributional patterns, that they are grammatically different. This difference can be explained by proposing that the first example is the **verb** 'to be bright' while the second one is the **adjective** 'shiny'. The arguments for this proposal are comparable to those presented for the distinction between nouns and verbs: verbs are expected to be nominalised when they are used as modifiers (as in (263)), while adjectives appear freely as such without being overtly marked (as in (264)). Like nouns, adjectives can be used as predicates without any overt derivation. However, the verb in (263) and the adjective in (264) are transitivised by partially different means, in that the factitive *-o*, which expresses direct causation, is only available for the latter:

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[48] The form *tirí* also functions as a referring term, with the meaning 'torch'; the distinction between adjectives and nouns is discussed in the following section.

(265) barin   ka   a   këntí   **ichúmiaxa**
      bari=n   ka   a   këntí   ichút-**mi**-a-x-a
      sun=ERG   NAR.3p   that   pot.ABS   be.bright-CAUS-PERF-3p-non.prox
      'The sun made the pot bright.'

      *barin   ka   a   këntí   **ichúaxa**
      bari=n   ka   a   këntí   ichú-**o**-a-x-a
      sun=ERG   NAR.3p   that   pot.ABS   be.bright-FACT-PERF-3p-non.prox
      ('the sun made the pot bright')

(266) min   *linterna*   kamina   **tiríon**
      min   *linterna*   kamina   tirit-**o**-a-n
      you=GEN   torch.ABS   NAR.3p   become.shining-FACT-PERF-2p
      '(You) made your torch light.'

      min   *linterna*   kamina   **tirímian**
      min   *linterna*   kamina   tirit-mi-a-n
      you=GEN   torch.ABS   NAR.3p   become.shining-FACT-PERF-2p
      '(You) made your torch light (accidentally).'

As we can see, the evidence in (265) and (266) suggests that, while *ichú-* is a prototypical verb, *tirí* is more similar to the nominal forms presented in the previous subsection, which were also able to appear as intransitive predicates expressing a change of state. In the same way, the second predicate can be transitivised with either *-mi* or *-o* (that is, in the same way as nouns) and the first one is transitivised only by *-mi*.

Another interesting fact is that membership in the verb and adjective classes can partially be predicted by the semantics of the word under analysis: most psychological or bodily **non-time-stable properties** (like *be sad*, *be happy*, *be thirsty*, etc.) have been lexicalised as verbs, while psychological and physical more **time-stable properties** (*lazy*, *stupid* and *brave* or *long*, *short*, *thin* and *thick*) have been lexicalized as adjectives (see Talmy 2007 for a typology of lexicalisation paths). The following examples show cases of verbs, all of which are related to psychological or bodily non-stable properties:

Table 39   Non-stable properties lexicalised into verbs

verb	causative form	derived adjective-like form
katё́- 'to feel ashamed'	*katё́-mi-* 'to make someone else feel ashamed' **katё́-o-*	*katё́kё* 'ashamed'
pánan- 'to be hungry'	*pánan-mi-* 'make someone else feel hungry' **pánan-o* [pánaon-]	*pánankё* 'hungry'
nitё́xё- 'to feel sad'	*nitё́xё-mi-* 'to make someone else feel sad' **nitё́xё-o-*	*nitё́xёkё* 'sad'
kwё́n- 'to feel happy'	*kwё́n-mi-* 'to make someone else feel happy' **kwё́n-o-* [kwё́on]	*kwё́nkё* 'happy'
shima- 'to be thirsty'	*shima-mi-* 'to make someone else feel thirsty' **shima-o-*	*shimakё* 'thirsty'

Psychological properties that can be seen as more time-stable are usually expressed as adjectives (which can additionally function as predicates, with a 'to become X'-meaning). It is important to note that those predicates in most cases cannot be transitivised by any direct causative-like form, neither *-o* nor *-n*, but *ñusmá* 'stupid' is exceptional in relation to this. This is likely to be the result of a semantic incompatibility (see §21.4.2 for a discussion of the semantics of causation in Kashibo-Kakataibo).

Table 40 Stable properties lexicalised into adjectives

adjective	predicate-use	causative form
chikish 'lazy'	*chikish-* 'to become lazy'	*chikish-mi-* 'make somebody else become lazy' **chikish-o-* **chikish-n-*
ñusmá 'stupid'	*ñusmá-* 'to become stupid'	*ñusmá-mi-* 'make somebody else become stupid' *ñusmá-o-* **ñusmá-n-*
siná 'brave'	*siná-* 'to become brave'	*siná-mi-* 'make somebody else become brave' **siná-o-* **siná-n-*

While all adjectives can function as copula objects with (or without) the verb 'to be', receiving the meaning 'to be X' (where X is the property expressed by the adjective), not all of them can function as predicates with verbal morphology and with a meaning of 'to become X'. This is the case of adjectives related to colours, which exhibit an unusual morphosyntactic behaviour (as we will see in the following subsection), and adjectives that are, historically or synchronically, morphologically complex, like *asérabi* 'true', *asábi* 'good' and *aisama* 'bad'. As illustration, the functional possibilities of *asábi* 'good' are shown in the following examples:

(267) ax   ka   **asábi**   'ikën
      a=x   ka   **asábi**   'ikën
      3sg=S   NAR.3p good   be.NON.PAST.3p
      'It is good.'

(268) *ax   ka   asábiaxa
      a=x   ka   asábi-a-x-a
      3sg=S   NAR.3p   become.good-PERF-3p-non.prox
      ('it became good')

    In some of those cases, however, we may still have transitive predicates derived with the 'factitive' -o (for example, *aisama-o* [aisamo:] 'to do bad things to (or mistreat) someone'). Other interesting cases are those where, as in (269), we have transitive verbs containing the 'factitive' marker -o, but the element to which -o is added is no longer synchronically available in the language, thus, the adjectival form is formed by adding the nominaliser -kë to the verb containing the diachronic -o:

(269) mënió- 'to clean'
      word class: verb
      adjective: **mëniókë** 'clean' / *mëni

7.4   Distinguishing adjectives from nouns

In order to demonstrate that an independent adjective class can be postulated for Kashibo-Kakataibo, it is necessary to establish criteria for distinguishing between words which can be considered adjectives and words which can be considered nouns. Before showing the differences between the two classes, I will illustrate some of their similarities.

    Adjectives are very similar to nouns in several respects. For example, both of them can be used as predicates exhibiting the same behaviour, as we can conclude from the two previous subsections and as illustrated in the following examples:

(270) ax ka **'ibuaxa**
  a=x ka **'ibu**-a-x-a
  3sg=S NAR.3p become.owner-PERF-3p-non.prox
  '(S)he became the owner (of something).'

(271) ax ka **chaxkéaxa**
  a=x ka **chaxké**-a-x-a
  3sg=S NAR.3p become.long-PERF-3p-non.prox
  '(S)he became long.'

In addition, both nouns and most adjectives can be turned into transitive predicates by means of the factitive marker *-o*, which cannot be combined with verbs. Some examples of a transitivised noun and a transitivised adjective follow:

(272) an ka **'ibuoaxa**
  a=n ka **'ibu-o**-a-x-a
  3sg=A NAR.3p become.owner-FACT-PERF-3p-non.prox
  '(S)he made somebody else the owner (of something).'

(273) an ka **chaxké-o**-a-x-a
  a=n ka **chaxké-o**-a-x-a
  3sg=A NAR.3p become.long-FACT-PERF-3p-non.prox
  '(S)he made (something) long.'

In addition to that, both nouns and adjectives can be modifiers within an NP, as shown in the following examples:

(274) [**kamun** (N) xaká (N)]$_{NP}$
  wild.dog skin
  'wild dog skin'

(275) [**chaxké** (Adj) 'unkin (N)]$_{NP}$
  big peccary
  'big peccary'

Therefore, forms that I analyse as **adjectives** share important features with forms that I analyse as **nouns** but, as I will explain, these two word classes can be distinguished on the basis of three criteria. The first one is their freedom to appear

either before or after the element they modify within the NP. While adjectives can usually appear in either position in relation to the head of the NP, modifying nouns can only appear before the head. This can be seen in the following examples, which are the same as the ones presented in (274) but with the words in the opposite order:

(276) [*xaká (N) **kamun** (N)]_{NP}
     skin   wild.dog
     ('wild dog skin')

(277) ['unkin (N)   **chaxkë́** (Adj)]_{NP}
     peccary   big
     'big peccary'

Thus, while the form *chaxkë́* can appear either after or before the noun it modifies, the phrase **xaká kamun* was considered unacceptable, since, semantically, *xaká* cannot modify *kamun* (if we want to say something like 'skinny wild dog', we have to use another construction, with the first noun having the proprietive marker *=ñu*, which can be translated as 'who/that have X'; see §10.6.2). Thus, even though modification is a possible function for both nouns and adjectives, the absence or presence of this positional freedom constitutes a test for distinguishing between modifying nouns and adjectives.

A second criterion has to do with the potential of certain forms to appear as heads of NPs. Nouns can create NPs by themselves without being combined with any other modifier in order to produce a more complex structure. This is a primary criterion for defining nouns and this behaviour is not found in adjectives (but see more complicated examples below). Let us compare the words *uni* 'man' and *bëná* 'young' in the following examples:

(278) 'ën   kana   **uni**   isan
       'ë=n   kana   [**uni**]_{NP}   is-a-n
       1sg=A   NAR.1sg   man.ABS   see-PERF-1/2p
       'I saw the man.'

       *'ën   kana   **bëná**   isan
       'ë=n   kana   [**bëná**]_{NP}   is-a-n
       1sg=A   NAR.1sg   young.ABS   see-PERF-1/2p
       ('I saw the young (one)')

In the examples above, we can see that *bëná* 'young' cannot create a phrasal constituent by itself and is in that sense different from *uni*. If we would like to obtain a grammatical version of the second example in (278), we will need to add a nominal head like *uni* 'person', as in the following example:

(279) 'ën   kana   **uni**   **bëná**   isan
       'ë=n   kana   [**uni**   **bëná**]_{NP}   is-a-n
       1sg=A   NAR.1sg   man   young.ABS   see-PERF-1/2p
       'I saw the young man.'

In some cases, words like *bëná* can be heads of NPs, but this is only possible if they are followed (never preceded) by a demonstrative.[49] Note that this type of construction was not equally accepted by all my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers and that it was rejected by some of them. See the following examples:

(280) 'ën   kana   **bëná**   **a**   isan
       'ë=n   kana   **bëná**   **a**   is-a-n
       1sg=A   NAR.1sg   young   that.O   see-PERF-1/2p
       'I saw that young one.'

(281) *'ën   kana   **a**   **bëná**   isan
       'ë=n   kana   **a**   **bëná**   is-a-n
       1sg=A   NAR.1sg   that   young.ABS   see-PERF-1/2p
       ('I saw the young one')

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[49] In the pre-head position, *a* seems to functions as a definite modifier.

(282) 'ën   kana   **a**   **uni**   isan
      'ë=n   kana   **a**   **uni**   is-a-n
      1sg=A   NAR.1sg   that   man.ABS   see-PERF-1/2p
      'I saw the man.'

Adjectives can also appear as heads of NPs if they are modified by the third person genitive pronoun *ain*. The combination of this pronoun with an adjective results in an NP, within which the adjective seems to be the head. Interestingly, we find a systematic semantic derivation in that construction: words analysable as adjectives according to the two criteria presented above have two possible interpretations when possessed by *ain*: either they become superlative forms (something like 'the X-est one', where X refers to the attribute expressed by the adjective); or they express the name of the property (something like 'X-ness', where X again is the attribute expressed by the adjective). This systematic semantic derivation, illustrated in the following examples, is different from the semantics of possessed nouns. Therefore, it constitutes another criterion for distinguishing between nouns and adjectives:

(283) ain **tua**   'her son'
      ain **maxká**   'his head'
      ain **xubu**   'his house'
      ain **ñu**   'his thing'

(284) ain **mëtú**   'the shortest / shortness'
      ain **naxbá**   'the widest / width'
      ain **chaxkë́**   'the longest / length'
      ain **pënë́**   'the most brilliant / brilliance'

However, there is a group of words that, even though they appear as positionally-free modifiers within NPs (like adjectives), can also be heads of NPs without being possessed by *ain* or being modified by a demonstrative (like nouns). The following table lists all the forms in my database that behave in this way.

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Notice that the table lists only those forms that were systematically tested for both their nominal and their adjectival properties, and it is thus possible that other forms—not yet tested—exhibit this behaviour, too. Hence, the list is not exhaustive. In addition, while all the forms here can be used as adjectives, there was some disagreement among my teachers as to whether they accept these forms in truly nominal functions.

Table 41   Noun/adjective forms

form	adjective meaning	noun meaning
xanu	'female'	'woman, wife'
bënë	'male'	'husband'
ñuxan	'old (female)'	'old woman' (very rare)
ñusi	'old (male)'	'old man'
xuntaku (< Shipibo-Konibo)	'young (female)'	'girl'
rairi	'different'	'different one'
bata	'sweet'	'candy'
kacha	'sour'	'lemon'
muka	'bitter'	'poison'
xëni	'fat'	'fat'

Like other adjectives, the forms included in the table above are positionally free in relation to the head they modify. Thus, we have: *xanu aintsi* and *aintsi xanu* 'female relative' and in both cases it appears to be the case that the form *aintsi* 'relative' is the head of the NP and that *xanu* is the modifier.[50] This fact makes this group of forms different from nouns, since modifying nouns can only appear before the element they modify. But, similarly to nouns, the forms in Table 41, at least for some speakers, can appear by themselves as heads of NPs.

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[50] At least semantically it appears to be the case that this NP always refers to relatives who are female and not to women who are relatives; syntactically the situation might be different, though.

Those few examples have to be understood as idiosyncratic forms and do not invalidate the criteria proposed in this section, which apply systematically over the vast majority of nouns and adjectives.

7.5   Distinguishing adverbs from other word classes

As Schachter and Shopen (2007: 20) say, the label *adverb* "is often applied to several different sets of words in a language, sets that do not necessarily have much in common with one another, either notionally or grammatically." Due to this absence of shared features, the members of the adverb class are generally divided into semantic sub-classes (manner, location, time, etc.); nevertheless, adverbs are expected to share at least one common feature, which, according to Schachter and Shopen (2007: 20), is that they "function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns." For Kashibo-Kakataibo, I propose that the definitional feature of adverbs is that they function unmarked as predicate modifiers.

We can argue that a few words in Kashibo-Kakataibo are primarily adverbs. Some examples of adverbs are: *imḗishi* 'today or tomorrow', *bërí* 'now', *bëráma* 'before', *ma* 'already', *munu* 'slowly', *ñanká* 'in vain' (a possible Quechua loan: < *yanqa*), *amiribishi* 'again', *ishtun* 'fast (< Shipibo-Konibo)', and *uri ~ ura* 'far'. All of them have the ability of modifying predicates without carrying any additional morphology, and this makes them different from nouns, adjectives and verbs in Kashibo-Kakataibo:

(285) a   unin   ka   **uri**   achushi   xaë   mëraxa
      a   uni=n   ka   uri   achushi   xaë   mëra-a-x-a
      that man=ERG   NAR.3p far   one   turtle.ABS find-PERF-3p-non.prox
      'That man found one turtle far (away).'

Words related to parts of the day, like *ñamë́* 'morning', *imë́* 'night' and *ñantan* 'afternoon' are nominal with regard to all the criteria proposed in this chapter, but they can also be used as adverbs (i.e., as unmarked predicate modifiers). Interestingly, the forms just mentioned are different from *nëtë* 'day' and *baritia* 'year', which, when used as adverbial elements, must take the temporal locative marker *=n*. See the following examples, where the different functions of *imë* 'night' are presented. We can see that this form can be used both as the head of an NP and as a predicate (both are accessible functions for nouns); but also as an unmarked predicate modifier (the definitional function of adverbs).

(286) <u>imë́ (imët)</u>
      (1) 'night'
      imë́   ka   upí   'ikën
      imë́   ka   upí   'ikën
      night   NAR.3p   beautiful   is
      'The night is beautiful.'

      (2) 'become night'
      ka   imëtia
      ka   imët-i-a
      NAR.3p become.night-IMPF-non.prox
      'It is becoming night.'

      (3) 'at night'
      a   xubunu   kana   imë́   kwanti   'ain
      a   xubu=nu   kana   imë́   kwan-ti   'ain
      that house=LOC   NAR.1sg   at.night   go-NOM   be.1/2p
      'I will go to that/the house at night.'

In addition, *bërí* 'now', *bëráma* 'before', *munu* 'slowly' and *ñanká* 'in vain' can also be used as adjectives modifying nouns, without any overt modification

and with the meanings 'current', 'old', 'slow' and 'useless', respectively. This can

be seen if we compare, for example, the forms *munu* 'slowly' (adverb) and *bёnё́*

'fast' (adjective). In (287), we can see that *bёnё́* 'fast' needs to be derived in order

to modify a predicate; while *munu* 'slow' does not. In (288), we find that the two

forms can be used as noun modifiers without any additional morphology:

(287) munu   ka   'a'
      munu   ka   'a'
      slowly   NAR   do.IMP
      'Do it slowly!'

      bёnё́okin   ka   'a'
      bёnё́-kin   ka   'a'
      fast-S/A>A(SA)   NAR   do.IMP
      'Do it quickly!'

(288) **munu**   uni
      slow   man
      'slow man'

      bёnё́   uni
      fast   man
      'fast man'

    Another particularity of adverbs is that most of them cannot be used as

predicates. This also makes them different from other open word classes, which,

as we have seen throughout this chapter, can be easily used in that function. The

only adverbs that seem to be able to function as predicates are *munu* 'slowly' and

ñankan 'in vain' which, as predicates, mean 'to delay' and 'to miss the shot',

respectively. One example of *munu* used as a predicate follows:

(289) ax   ka   Limanu   munuia
      a=x   ka   Lima=nu   munu-i-a
      3sg=S   ka   Lima=LOC   delay-IMPF-non.prox
      'He delays in Lima (i.e. stays longer than expected)'

It seems that adverbs are the most heterogeneous word class in Kashibo-Kakataibo and that many of its members overlap with other word-classes: some with nouns, some with adjectives and some with verbs. But they all share the capability of modifying predicates.

7.6   Summarising the distinctions between open word classes

In §7.2-§7.5, I have shown that, despite a few idiosyncratic examples, it is possible to state that Kashibo-Kakataibo distinguishes between four open word classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. I have offered sets of criteria that allow us to establish such distinctions.

The criteria used in the previous subsections are summarised in the following table. The table has been organised according to the communicative functions of predication, reference, and entity and predicate modification, and includes information about the prototypes established for each word class. It is important to recall, however, that a few words, some of which were briefly illustrated throughout this chapter, combine properties associated with more than one of the proposed classes, according to the construction in which they appear. For instance, the words *xanu* and *ñuxan* can be used both as adjectives with the meanings 'female' and 'old (female)', and as nouns with the meanings 'woman, wife' and 'old woman', respectively. This is also true regarding temporal expressions, some of which can be used as nouns and adverbs. The same applies to words like *bana* 'to speak; language, tale, word' and *'isin* 'to get sick; illness', which can function as both nouns and verbs, according to the construction in which they appear. These examples observe more than one of the prototypes defined in the following table and, therefore, are difficult to classify.

Table 42   Prototypical properties of open word classes in Kashibo-Kakataibo

Word-classes	predication				reference		entity modification		predicate modification
	change of state	other predicates	causation with -*o*	causation with -mi	head of an NP without extra modification	nominal inflection	before the noun	after the noun	unmarked adjunct
Nouns	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
Adjectives	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO
Verbs	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Adverbs	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES

Chapter 8　Nouns I: nouns classes and derived nouns

8.1　Introduction

A class of nouns can be identified in Kashibo-Kakataibo on the basis of a number of different criteria (see Chapter 7). Basically, among other characteristics, nouns systematically: (1) have reference as their unmarked function; (2) function as heads of NPs; (3) can be omitted or replaced by pronouns; (4) always have an intransitive change of state meaning when used as predicates; (5) can carry the factitive marker *-o* in order to be derived into transitive predicates; and (6) can modify other nouns within NPs but only when appearing in the pre-head position.

This chapter lists a set of noun subclasses that can be identified based on morphosyntactic principles and gives a brief description and exemplification of nominal derivative markers, which operate over nominal roots or stems and, thus, can be considered suffixes rather than enclitics.

The presentation of the data in this chapter has been organised in the following way: §8.2 offers a brief description of noun subclasses (§8.2.1: non-count nouns; §8.2.2: kinship terms; §8.2.3: body part nouns; and §8.2.4: pet vocatives); §8.3 presents the nominal derivational morphology; and §8.4 describes lexical nominalisations.

8.2 Noun subclasses

Based on their semantics, it is possible to assign Kashibo-Kakataibo nouns to different classes, but most of them have little or no grammatical relevance. Thus, for example, while it is possible to distinguish a subclass of artefacts (that is, human-made elements like *pia* 'arrow', *xubu* 'house' or *inu* 'mallet') from a subclass of natural entities (like *baka* 'river', *maxax* 'rock' or *tashi* 'salt'), the grammar does not make any distinction between these subclasses.

Something similar can be observed regarding the distinction between inanimate and animate nouns. Superficially, they seem to differ when modified by the *=n* marker, in that words like *maxax* 'rock' or *inu* 'mallet', on the one hand, and *uni* 'man' or *'inu* 'jaguar', on the other, tend to have different interpretations: in the former cases, the resulting NP is more likely to be interpreted as an instrument, while in the latter cases, the NP is more likely to be interpreted as an agent. However, this is a semantic or pragmatic rather than a grammatical distinction. Nouns belonging to one or the other class show the same grammatical possibilities, but, due to their semantic content, they tend to be interpreted differently: since inanimate nouns are less agentive, they are more likely to be instruments; in turn, animate nouns are more likely to be agents. In certain contexts, an animate noun can be an instrument (if for example somebody hits someone else with a snake); and conversely an inanimate object in a myth could be human-like and carry out an agentive action.

I argue, therefore, that many semantic distinctions like animate vs. inanimate or artefacts vs. natural entities, which may be important for other languages, are not relevant categories for understanding Kashibo-Kakataibo grammar and, thus, it is not necessary to include them as separate noun subclasses in this dissertation.

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There are, however, a few noun subclasses that do have particular grammatical features or that do behave in a special way. Such subclasses are the only ones that will be described here and they include kinship terms, body parts, pet vocatives and a very small class of non-count nouns.

8.2.1   Non-count nouns

The distinction between count and non-count nouns has been said to be significant for Pano languages like Shipibo-Konibo. Valenzuela (2003b: 204) states for this language that: [51] "[n]on-count nouns do not combine with numerals and cannot take the plural *-bu*", and she includes examples like "*tashi* 'salt', *jënë* 'flowing water', *unpax* 'contained water', *ui* 'rain', *wakanawa* 'school of fish', *kuin* 'cloud(s)', *niwë* 'wind', *bëchun* 'wave', *mashi* 'sand', *mai* 'land', *manu* 'mud', *nai* 'sky', *manish* 'weed'." In addition, food and drink products like *arus* 'rice,' *atsa putu* 'manioc flour,' *bata* 'sugar,' *bëxnan* 'sugarcane liquor' are non-count nouns and this is also the case of some body part nouns like *rani* 'body hair,' *bëru karani* 'eyebrow,' *bëru këxni* 'eyelash,' *këni* 'beard, moustache,' and *buu* 'hair' (see Valenzuela 2003b: 204).

Most of the words mentioned by Valenzuela have cognate forms in Kashibo-Kakataibo that can be counted and pluralised in this language. For example, a word like *me* 'earth' (*mai* in Shipibo-Konibo) is used in both plural and singular forms, as shown in the following text example that contains its pluralised version:

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[51] In order to avoid misunderstandings, I have partially readapted the orthography of Valenzuela's examples to the conventions followed in this dissertation and presented in Table 14. Basically, in these particular examples, Valenzuela's <o> is represented by <u> here and Valenzuela's <e> has been replaced by <ë>.

(290) C00A03-EE-2006.012

usa	'ain	ka	nu	*presidente*	*Prado*	an	ka
usa	'ain	ka	nu	*presidente*	*Prado*	a=n	ka
like.that	being(DS/A/O)	NAR.3p	1pl.O	president	Prado	he=A	NAR.3p

nu	'inanxa	me	chaira	**mekama**	'inankëxa
nu	'inan-a-x-a	me	cha=ira	me=kama	'inan-akë-x-a
1pl.O	give-PERF-3p-non.prox	land	big-INT	land=PLU	give-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Then, the president Prado gave us a piece of big land, several pieces of land.'

Similar observations hold for most of the words mentioned by Valenzuela as non-count nouns in Shipibo-Konibo. However, I have been able to find four nouns that cannot be pluralised under any circumstances in Kashibo-Kakataibo and, therefore, may be classified as non-count nouns. This is shown in the following two lists; the first one includes forms that cannot be pluralised in Shipibo-Konibo but can in Kashibo-Kakataibo, while the second one includes forms that cannot be pluralised either in Kashibo-Kakataibo or in Shipibo-Konibo (but note that the last example in the second list was not mentioned as a non-count noun by Valenzuela 2003b: 204). Information about the combinatorics of the forms with numerals is also included and we can see that there is an almost complete coincidence between the two criteria (the only apparent exceptions being *'unpax* 'water' and *mua* 'mud', which can carry the plural marker but were considered marked with the numeral *rabë̃* 'two'):

(291) <u>Examples of forms that can be pluralised or combined with a numeral in Kashibo-Kakataibo but not in Shipibo-Konibo</u>

'unpax 'water'	'unpax=kama 'deposits of water'	(?)rabë̃ unpax 'two deposits of water'
bechun 'wave'	bechun=kama 'waves'	rabë̃ bechun 'two waves'
mua 'mud'	mua=kama 'mud blocks'	(?)rabë̃ mua 'two mud blocks'
nai 'sky'	nai=kama 'heaven layers'	rabë̃ nai 'two heavens layers'
bata 'candy'	bata=kama 'pieces of candies'	rabë̃ bata 'two pieces of candies'
rani 'body hair'	rani=kama 'strands'	rabë̃ rani 'two strands'
bu 'hair'	bu=kama 'strands of hair'	rabë̃ bu 'two strands of hair'

(292) Examples of forms that cannot be pluralised or combined with a numeral in Kashibo-Kakataibo

uñe 'rain'	*uñe=kama	*rabé uñë
kuin 'cloud'	*kuin=kama	*rabé kuin
masi 'sand'	*masi=kama	*rabé masi
ni 'jungle'	*ni=kama	*rabé ni

We can conclude from the examples in (291) and (292) that even though there are less non-count nouns in Kashibo-Kakataibo than in Shipibo-Konibo, we do find some cases in which it is impossible to pluralise a noun in the former language, and this restriction is clearly a consequence of its semantics.

8.2.2 Kinship terms

The kinship system among the Kashibo-Kakataibo has been presented in §2.7, where lists of the associated terminology were also given. Kinship terms can be distinguished from other noun subclasses not only in terms of their semantics but also on morphosyntactic grounds: only kinship terms have special vocative forms, which in most cases are obtained by adding the =n marker to the respective kinship term. Trying to form a vocative by adding =n to any other noun will result in an unacceptable form. This does not mean that other nouns cannot be used in the vocative, but rather that the vocative form for all other nouns is the unmarked noun.

In addition, some of the kinship terms have shortened vocative forms, which are apparently older and are no longer used in natural speech (with the exception of *ta*, the shortened form of *tita* 'mother', and *pa*, the shortened form of *papa* 'father' which are still productive). The rest of the shortened forms appear only within narratives about the Kashibo-Kakataibo's ancestors, when the narrator recreates the

way in which the Kashibo-Kakataibo used to talk to their relatives a long time ago.[52] Shortened vocative forms are always used in possessive constructions, like *'ën ta* 'my mother' or *'ën pa* 'my father', in both today's language and in the old language presented in those narratives.[53] In addition, most kinship terms can be modified by the form *-okë* (*-o* 'factitive' plus *-kë* 'nominaliser') in order to make a distinction between "genuine" (i.e. close) relatives and more indirect ones.

The following examples present different kinship terms in their vocative forms. In the example in (293), where a character within a narrative speaks to his sister and asks her to allow him to bring his nephew into the jungle, we find a vocative form derived by the *=n* marker. In (294), in which the same man speaks to his nephew, we find an example of a shortened vocative form. The full form for 'nephew', *piaka*, is found in the first example, while the vocative form in the second one is *pian*, which is a shortened version that also shows the *=n* marker (and is also used like this in today's language). Examples of shortened vocative forms that do not need the *=n* marker are presented in example (295), where we find the vocative forms *che* (< *chai* 'uncle') and *pa* (< *papa* 'father') and *buchi* 'little brother', which is discussed below. As I have already mentioned, shortened vocative forms always appear with a possessive pronoun.

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[52] Specialised vocative forms are attested with nouns of different semantic classes and not just with kinship nouns in other Pano languages. For example, in Shipibo-Konibo, the vocative marker is a stress movement and can apply to proper names or any other noun in the vocative function (Valenzuela 2003b: 222-224).

[53] See Fleck 2003: 236-239 for a description of vocatives in Matses, a language in which possessed vocatives are not allowed. Matses also has shortened vocative forms and this fact might support the idea that these are indeed old.

(293) C01A05-SE-2007.004

chira bakën	karamina	'ë	'ën	piaka	min	tua
chira bakë=n	karamina	'ë	'ë=n	piaka	mi=n	tua
sister=VOC	NAR.INT.2p	1sg.O	1sg=GEN	nephew-AB	you=GEN	boy.ABS

mena	kana	'aisamera	isëxan
mena	kana	'aisamera	is-ëxan-n
armadillo.ABS	NAR.1sg	a.lot.of	see-PAST(days)-1/2p

'Sister, (could you give) me my nephew, your son? I have seen lots of armadillos a few days ago.'

(294) C01A05-SE-2007.019

asábi	kananuna	uan	'ën	**pian**
asábi	kananuna	u-a-n	'ë=n	pian
good	NAR.1pl	come-PERF-1/2p	1sg=GEN	nephew.VOC

'Ok. We have arrived, my nephew.'

(295) C00A06-EE-2006.028

aubiribi	mix	tsó'	'ën	**'unchi**	che	pa
au=bi=ribi	mi=x	tsót	'ë=n	'unchi	che	pa
there=same=also	you=S	live.IMP	I=GEN	little.brother.VOC	uncle.VOC	father.VOC

'Live exactly there as well, my brother, my uncle, my father!'

In the last example, we find the word *'unchi* 'little (younger) brother'. *'Unchi* has an antonym *buchi* which means 'big (older) brother' and both forms are the only kinship terms that do not have special vocative forms. But it is important to note that, as it happens with normal shortened vocatives, these two words always appear with a possessive pronoun (which is necessary for the vocative interpretation).

Most of the compound kinship terms delete one of their components when used as vocatives (*chira bakë* 'sister' is the one exception to this rule). For example, the vocative forms of *ini tua* or *bakë bechikë* 'daughter of a woman' and 'son of a man', respectively, are just *inin* and *bakën*, while the vocative of *papa xuta* 'nephew' is just *xutan*. So, we can see that the form of the vocative is lexically conditioned, and that different types of kinship terms follow different mechanisms in order to be

inflected as vocatives. What makes kinship terms a unitary class is the fact that all its members show a vocative version (even *buchi* and *unchi* can be argued to be inflected as vocatives by means of the possessive pronoun). A set of pet vocatives is discussed in §8.2.4, but pet vocatives will be consider as constituting a special noun class in its own right.

8.2.3   Body-part nouns and other nouns expressing part-whole relations

Body-part nouns (and, partially, other nouns referring to parts of objects) may be seen as forming an independent noun subclass, not only because of the existence of the set of prefixes presented in §5.6 (which in almost all cases are related to body part nouns and related categories), but also because they show another set of unifying grammatical features.

The unique features found in Kashibo-Kakataibo body part nouns can be analysed as resulting from a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession or, probably more precisely in the case of Kashibo-Kakataibo, between "true possession" (e.g., ownership of a house) and part-whole relations, which are not ownership in the sense that the possessed entity is also (part of) the possessor. A part-whole relation is a type of metonymy, and therefore it is not surprising that, for example, an eye and the owner of the eye are not treated as completely different entities (unlike a house and its owner; see Fleck 2003: 1151-1153 for a related phenomenon in Matses; and Chappel and McGregor 1996 for a thorough introduction to the notion of alienability). Although there is no obvious morphosyntactic distinction in the formation of alienable and inalienable possessive phrases in Kashibo-Kakataibo, body part nouns do behave differently from other nouns with regard to the switch-reference system (described in detail in Chapter 18)

and the subject cross-reference markers on both second position enclitics (see Chapter 15) and verbs (see §13.6). Let us look at these cases in order to understand how body part nouns are different from other nouns.

i. Body-part nouns and switch-reference

Within the switch-reference system, body parts and their possessors are grammatically treated as the same argument. Thus, if we have, for example, a clause chain that translates as 'after **your eyes** get better, **you** will be able to work', the two clauses are understood as sharing the grammatical subject, and the dependent predicate (in this case, 'get better') will carry a same-subject switch-reference marker such as *-tankëx* 'S/A>S, previous events' and not *-an* 'different subjects/objects, previous event'. This is shown in the next example, taken from a narrative, where the possessed body part *bëru* 'eye' appears as the S argument of the dependent clause and the possessor '*ë=n* '1sg-A' is the A argument of the matrix clause. We can see that the switch-reference form on the non-finite verb is *-xun* 'S/A>A', which indicates that the subject of the dependent clause (i.e. *bëru*) is the same argument as the A argument of the matrix clause (i.e. *'ën*):

(296) C01B07-JE-2007.010

bëráma	**bëru**	upí	'ixun	kana	'akën
bëráma	bëru	upí	'i-xun	kana	'a-akë-n
long.time.ago	eye.ABS	good	be-S/A>A	NAR.1sg	do-REM.PAST-1/2p

'ën	'akën	bënënkinshi	ñu
'ë=n	'a-akë-n	bënën-kin=ishi	ñu
1sg=A	do-REM.PAST -1/2p	do.quickly-S/A>A(SE)=only	thing.ABS

'A long time ago, when my eye was good, I used to do the things very fast.'

The marker *-xun* indicates that the possessed eye and the possessor pronoun are considered to be the same argument (note that in the example, the noun *bëru* is not even possessed by *'ë*, and the possessive relation is only inferred). Treating

possessed body parts as arguments that are different from their possessors will result in an unacceptable construction, as shown in the following elicited example:

(297) Elicitated example based on C01B07-JE-2007.010

*bëráma	**bëru**	upí	'ikëbëtan	kana	'akën
bëráma	bëru	upit	'i-**këbëtan**	kana	'a-akë-n
long.time.ago	eye.ABS	good	be-DS/A/O(SE.TRAN)	NAR.1sg	do-REM.PAST-1/2p

'ën	'akën	bënënkinshi	ñu
'ë=n	'a-akë-n	bënën-kin=ishi	ñu
1sg=A	do-REM.PAST -1/2p	do.quickly-S/A>A(SE)=only	thing.ABS

('a long time ago, when my eye was good, I used to do the things very fast')

If the possessed noun were not a body part, this behaviour would not be found, as is shown by the following example:

(298)

*'ën	**xubu**	'aisama	'ixun	kana
'ë=n	xubu	'aisama	'i-**xun**	kana
1sg=GEN	house.ABS	bad	be-S/A>A	NAR.1sg

bëtsi	xubu	**'ën**	'akën
bëtsi	xubu	'ë=n	'a-akë-n
other	house.ABS	'1sg=A	do-REM.PAST-1p

('when my house was bad, I made another one')

(299)

'ën	xubu	'aisama	'ikëbëtan	kana
'ë=n	xubu	'aisama	'i-**këbëtan**	kana
1sg=GEN	house.ABS	bad	be-DS/A/O(SE.TRAN)	NAR.1sg

bëtsi	xubu	**'ën**	'akën
bëtsi	xubu	'ë=n	'a-akë-n
other	house.ABS	1sg=A	do-REM.PAST-1p

'When my house was bad, I made another one.'

Thus, we can see that the possessed noun *xubu* 'house' behaves differently from the body part *bëru* 'eye'. In general, body parts behave like *bëru* while any other possessed noun behaves like *xubu* (including kinship terms and other nouns which may be grammatically classified as inalienable in other languages).

Nouns referring to parts of objects would be expected to behave like body parts since they also express a part-whole relationship: in theory, a house's wall is part of the house in basically the same way in which a man's eye is part of the man. However, nouns referring to parts of objects in Kashibo-Kakataibo are not completely equivalent to body parts and they cannot appear in the construction illustrated in (296). In the following examples, the part-noun *kënë* 'wall' is the S argument of the dependent clause and the whole-noun *xubu* 'house' is the S argument of the matrix clause and, even though those two nouns are in a part-whole relationship (just like an eye and its possessor), a switch-reference marker indicating 'same subjects' is unacceptable in that context: we need to use a marker expressing 'different subjects':

(300) ***kënë**   xaikiax   ka   **xubu**   nipakëaxa
        kënë   xaiki-**ax**   ka   xubu   nipakët-a-x-a
        wall.ABS   shake-S/A>S   NAR.3p   house.ABS   fall.down-IMPF-non.prox
        ('when the wall shook, the house felt down')

(301) **kënë**   xaikikëbë   ka   **xubu**   nipakëaxa
        kënë   xaiki-**këbë**   ka   xubu   nipakët-a-x-a
        wall.ABS shake-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)   NAR.3p   house.ABS   fall.down-IMPF-non.prox
        'When the wall shook, the house felt down.'

Thus, the examples in (300) and (301) suggest that nouns referring to parts of objects are grammatically different from body part nouns, and pattern with nouns like, for example, *xubu* 'house', which are not inherently possessed. However, parts of objects are treated like body parts in constructions in which they appear as the object argument of a dependent clause whose matrix clause contains a noun referring to the whole as its grammatical subject. This can be seen in the form of the switch-reference marker, which, for example in (302), is *-këx* 'after, O>S'. This construction is also possible with body parts but, as expected, not with other nouns.

(302) Emilionën **kënë** xaikakëx   ka   **xubu**
      Emilio=n kënë   xaika-**këx**   ka   xubu
      Emilio=ERG wall.ABS shake(TRAN)-O>S(PE.TRAN) NAR.3p house.ABS

      nipakëaxa
      nipakët-a-x-a
      fall.down-IMPF-non.prox
      'After Emilio shook the wall, the house fell down.'

We can conclude that nouns referring to parts of objects are somewhere in the middle between body parts and other nouns expressing more alienable types of possession.

ii.   <u>Body-part nouns and cross-reference</u>

Subject cross-reference is expressed on both the second position enclitics and the verb. In the following example, a possessed body part appears in the absolutive case and as the overt S argument of the sentence, but the obligatory subject cross-reference on the second position enclitic agrees with the possessor of the body part and not with the body part itself:

(303) C01B07-JE-2007.006
usa   'ain   kana   'ë   a   ñushin atimanën
usa   'ain   kana   'ë   a   ñushin atima=n
like.that being(DS/A/O) NAR.1sg 1sg.O that devil=ERG

masokëx   **kana(1p)** ['ën   **bëru**](3p) 'aisama
maso-këx   kana   'ë=n   bëru   'aisama
mistreat-O>S(PE) NAR.1sg   1sg=GEN eye.ABS   bad
'Being in this way, after the devil mistreated me, my eye (is) bad.'

The NP *'ën bëru* is the third person S argument of the main clause but the mood marker *kana* cross-references the first person, that is, the possessor of the body part, and not the body part itself, which is a third person nominal element. Since it is not a requirement for the S argument to appear overtly, one could argue that the possessor is the S argument of the clause but is not overtly expressed. However, in

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this case we would expect the NP formed with the possessed body part noun to appear in the locative case. Thus, arguing for an underlying S does not seem to be possible for examples like the one in (303).

The example in (303) illustrates a copula construction without an overtly expressed verb and, therefore, we cannot see whether the verb agrees with the possessor or with the possessed body part. However, in the following elicited examples we find that the verb also agrees with the possessor and that the cross-reference in the verb mirrors that found in the second position enclitics.

(304) 'ën   bëru   **kana**   'aisama **'ain**
      'ë=n   bëru   **kana**   'aisama **'ain**
      1sg=GEN eye.ABS   NAR.1sg   bad   be.1/2p
      'My eye is bad.'

(305) *'ën   bëru   **kana**   'aisama **'ikën**
      'ë=n   bëru   **kana**   'aisama **'ikën**
      1p=GEN   eye.ABS   NAR.1sg   bad   be.3p
      ('my eye is bad')

Such a construction is only possible with body part nouns. In elicitation sessions, my teachers systematically rejected other nouns in this construction (unfortunately, it is impossible to test it with nouns referring to parts of objects, since in that case both the part-noun and the whole-noun would be third person arguments). Thus, it is not possible to say, for example:

(306) *'ën   xubu   **kana**   'aisama **'ain**
      'ë=n   xubu   **kana**   'aisama **'ain**
      1sg=GEN house.ABS NAR.1sg   bad   be.1/2p
      ('my house is bad')

(307) *ʻën   xubu   **kana**   ʻaisama   **ʻikën**
      ʻë=n   xubu   **kana**   ʻaisama   **ʻikën**
      1sg=GEN   house.ABS NAR.1sg   bad   be.3p
      (ʻmy house is badʼ)

(308) *ʻën   xubu   **kana**   ʻaisama
      ʻë=n   xubu   **kana**   ʻaisama
      1sg=GEN   house.ABS NAR.1sg   bad
      ʻMy house is bad.ʼ

The only possible sentences are the ones with either a third person subject cross-reference on both the verb and the enclitic (in (309)) or with the locative enclitic modifying the NP *ʻën xubu* (in (310)):

(309) ʻën   xubu   ka   ʻaisama   ʻikën
      ʻë=n   xubu   ka   ʻaisama   ʻikën
      1sg=GEN   house.ABS NAR.3p   bad   be.3p
      ʻMy house is bad.ʼ

(310) ʻën   xubunu   kana   ʻaisama   ʻain
      ʻë=n   xubu=nu   kana   ʻaisama   ʻain
      1sg=GEN   house=LOC NAR.1sg   bad   be.1/2p
      ʻI am uncomfortable/unhappy in my house (lit. bad).ʼ

The construction in (309) is also possible with body parts (see (311)), that is, the cross-reference of the clause may agree with either the possessor or the possessed body part. Both possibilities are acceptable and the speaker has the option to use one or the other, as shown in the following example:

(311) C01B07-JE-2007.003
y   ʻaishbi   kana   bërí   ʻën   bëru   ka   ʻaisama ʻikën
y   ʻaishbi   kana   bërí   ʻë=n   bëru   ka   ʻaisama ʻikën
and   but(S/A>A) NAR.1sg   now   1sg=GEN   eye.ABS   NAR.3p   bad   be.3p
ʻBut, now, my eye is bad.ʼ

This behaviour differs from the interaction between body parts and the switch-reference system, where only one construction is possible. In the case of the

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cross-reference system, we find two grammatical constructions associated with body-part nouns. According to the intuition of my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers and their explanations during elicitation sessions, there is no semantic difference between the two constructions just exemplified. The alternation does not seem to be triggered by affectedness: it is common for the same speaker, who in the examples presented here is explaining that he is becoming blind, to use both constructions – even though in both cases the speaker, unfortunately, has the same level of affectedness. My preliminary research suggests that the alternation presented in the examples in (303) and in (311) follows a discourse principle, according to which certain discourse structures trigger agreement with the possessor; but this topic is beyond the scope of this section and still requires more research.

At this point it is only important to highlight the fact that body part nouns are different from other nouns and that, based on that difference, it is possible to argue that body part nouns form a subclass not only in terms of their semantics but also in terms of their morphosyntax: the language treats them as grammatically equivalent to their possessors. Another interesting fact concerns nouns referring to parts of objects, which seem to be between body parts and nouns and which only partially exhibit the grammatical features found with body parts. That is, we find a difference between body parts and other nouns referring to parts of objects. Notice that both body parts and parts of objects constitute the diachronic source for many of the postpositions presented in §6.3.

In Matses, by contrast, we find that parts and their wholes are always treated as the same grammatical argument, and that there are no differences between body parts and other part-whole relations, including individual-group relations (e.g., a peccary and its herd); and part-whole relations in objects (e.g. a house and its roof,

an axe and its handle, a river and its mouth or headwaters, etc.; see Fleck 2003: 1163).

8.2.4   Pet vocatives

There is an interesting class of nouns in Kashibo-Kakataibo that refers to those animal species that Kashibo-Kakataibo people raise or keep as pets: such nouns have special pet vocatives. This fact has been documented for other Amazonian languages (see Fleck and Voss 2006 for this phenomenon in other Pano languages, such as Marubo and Matis; and also Fleck and Dienst (2009) for an areal description of the pet vocatives in Western Amazonia). The list of the Kashibo-Kakataibo pet vocatives collected at this stage of my research is presented in the following table:

Table 43   Pet vocatives in Kashibo-Kakataibo

pet vocative	referential noun	animal species
tsitikun	*chiru*	'capuchin monkey'
betún	*riri*	'night monkey'
techun	*ru*	'howler monkey'
achun	*chuna*	'spider monkey'
achun	*chuna kuru*	'woolly monkey'
siun	*'ó*	'tapir'
bëxtun	*'unkin*	'collared peccary'
chishú (female)*, raxnun* (male)	*ño*	'white-lipped peccary'
rënku	*'amen*	'capybara'
chaxmën	*mari*	'agouti'
tanpan	*'anu*	'paca'
kushtin	*asin*	'curassow'
rëxká	*sisi*	'coati'

As we can see, pet vocatives are formed in different ways: they can be formed through the phonological modification of the root (as in the case of *achun* from *chuna*), by an onomatopoeic word (as in the case of *tsitsikun*) or by referring to

one specific physical characteristic of the animal (like *techun*, which refers to the enlarged larynx of the howler monkey (*të-* is the prefix for 'neck'). In the other cases, the etymology is obscure and possibly archaic (see Fleck and Voss 2006).

Since Kashibo-Kakataibo people do not raise wild animals very often these days, most people do not remember these pet vocatives. Actually, the only one that I have heard occurring naturally during my fieldwork was *siun* 'tapir', because there was one in the community. The people told me that this name refers to the colours of the animal when it is young, but the etymology is still unclear to me.

It may be the case that the list of pet vocatives was more complex in the past and, as with the different vocatives for 'white-lipped peccary', there could have been more pet vocatives distinguishing sex.

Pet vocatives are different from other nouns in the sense that they are hardly ever accepted in clauses and are basically used to call the animals they refer. It was only during my last fieldwork period that I was able to elicit very simple sentences using pet vocatives as referential nouns. According to my teachers, one can only use those words in that function when one talks about a specific individual; that is, one specific wild animal that is being raised as a pet and everyone else knows about (similarly to proper names). In addition, it is not possible to use pet vocatives as generic nouns referring to a particular species; and this makes them different from other nouns referring to animal species (which can be used to refer to one particular individual or to the whole class). Finally, as proper names, pet vocatives cannot be pluralised under any circumstance.

8.3 Deriving nouns from other nouns

There is a short list of suffixes which can be used in order to derive nouns from other noun roots or stems. These suffixes are: *-on ~ -an* 'augmentative', *-rá ~ -ratsu(kun)* 'diminutive', *-ina(k)* 'generic', *-baë* 'collective', *-oka* 'river' and *-kun* 'real' (and its negative version *-kuma* 'fake'). These six suffixes operate over the root or the stem and, due to this, can be distinguished from inflectional morphology, which operates over the phrase (see §9.3). A semantic and morphosyntactic description of these morphological elements is presented in the following sections.

8.3.1 *-on ~ -an* 'augmentative'

There are two ways of expressing the notion of 'augmentative' in Kashibo-Kakataibo: the adjective *cha* 'big' and the suffix *-on ~ -an* 'augmentative', which is the form to be discussed here. This suffix expresses a more intense level of augmentation than the adjective form. While *cha* is used to express that a specific token can be considered a big specimen within its category (like the adjective *big* in English), *-on ~ -an* creates a different category. In addition, while *cha* can be used with nouns of different semantic classes, *-on ~ -an* is almost exclusively used with names referring to animal species. Thus, for example:

(312) 'inu   'jaguar'
      'inu cha   'big jaguar'

      'inu-on ['inúan]   'black jaguar'[54]
      'inu-on cha   'big black jaguar'

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[54] Black jaguars are not larger than regular (spotted) jaguars, but some Amazonians ascribe special properties to them, such as being fiercer and larger (David Fleck, p.c.).

As we can see, when the suffix *-on* modifies the noun *'inu*, it creates a new noun, *'inuan* (the suffix *-on* surfaces as [-an] after *u*), which is used by the speakers to refer to an animal that they consider different from the one referred to by *'inu*. The same happens in the following examples:[55]

(313) kuni 'eel'   >   kuníon 'electric eel'
      ñapa 'fish species: *anchoveta*' >   ñapón 'fish species: *sábalo*'
      kuma 'pidgeon'   >   kumón 'big partridge'

The suffix *-on* cannot be used with all nouns referring to animal species. It might be the case that *-on* can only be used in those cases where Kashibo-Kakataibo speakers recognise a large and a small variety of an animal that must be distinguished because of their size or other properties. The following examples show cases where the suffix cannot be used (all the forms below can be modified by *cha* 'big'):

(314) amën   'capybara'   >   *amëon
      shipi   'tamarin'   >   *shipion
      ru   'howler monkey' >   *ruon [ruan]

Some phonological rules associated with *-on* can be established from the examples presented above: the allophone *-an* appears after *u* (e.g. *'inúan*), and the rule of *a*-assimilation presented in §5.7.1.3.1 also applies in those cases where the suffix *-on* appears after *a* (e.g., *ñapón* 'fish specifies: *sabalo*'). There is also a peculiar feature in relation to this suffix: *-on* shows a unique prosodic pattern when it modifies a noun that ends in a vowel different from *a*: in that case the second syllable of the word will carry a high pitch as normally only happens with nouns

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[55] I do not know if in every case the distinction established by the suffix has a correspondence in scientific classifications. The only point that I am trying to make is that forms with and without the suffix refer to animals that the Kashibo-Kakataibo people distinguish and consider different.

that have a second closed syllable. This can be seen in examples like *kuníon* and *'inúan* originally [kúni] and ['ínu] respectively.

In addition, some forms modified by *-on* show an irregular behaviour that cannot be completely predicted from the general rules presented in the previous paragraphs. This is the case, for example, with *tapu* 'canoe' and *tapan* 'raft', where we do not find the expected [tapúan] but rather [tapan]. Notice that this is the only case that I am aware of where this suffix appears on a noun that does not refer to an animal species.

8.3.2   *-rá ~ -ratsu(kun)* 'diminutive'

The special phonological properties of *-rá* have already been commented on in §4.3.9, where I have shown that this suffix is one of those that can be analysed as having its own lexical high tone. The suffix *-rá* is the shortened version of the form *-ratsu* and the two of them are in complementary distribution: the form *-ratsu* only appears when additional morphological material follows after the diminutive, as in the case of *-ratsushi*, where this morpheme is followed by the adverbial enclitic *=ishi* 'only' (realised as *-shi* in that context). In addition, the form *-ratsukun* is the ergative, genitive and instrumental version of *-rá*.

In terms of its semantics, *-rá* is a diminutive, that is, it expresses that the size of the referent it modifies is smaller than expected. There is no specific restriction in terms of its distribution and this suffix seems to be able to appear with any noun. Note that there is an adjective with a similar meaning, *chukuma* 'small', in the language. One example of the use of *-rá* follows:

(315) C01B06-JE-2007.004

xanun	kaisa	buankian	ain	bënë
xanu=n	kaisa	buan-kian	ain	bënë
woman=ERG	NAR.REP.3p	bring-HAB.PAST.3p	3sg.GEN	husband

"**unirá**	ka"
"uni-**rá**	ka"
man-DIM.ABS	NAR.3p

'It is said that the woman used to bring her husband (saying) "he is a poor man (lit. little)"'

As we can see in the example above, the variant *-rá* appears when there is no additional morphological material following it. In the next example, we find the long form *ratsukun* modifying an instrumental noun:

(316) C02A07-JE-2007.005

"min	bënë	'atankëxun	ka	'ëribi	min
mi=n	bënë	'a-tankëxun	ka	'ë=ribi	mi-n
2sg=GEN	husband.ABS	do-S/A>A(PE)	NAR	1sg.O=also	2sg=GEN

maëxratsukun	'ë	'a'"	kaisa	kakëshín
maëx-**ratsukun**	'ë	'a'	kaisa	ka-akë-x-ín
genipad-DIM.INS	1sg.O	do.IMP	NAR.REP.3p	say.REM.PAST-3p-prox

'"After you do (it) to your husband, (paint) me with your little genipad!" it is said that he said.'

It must also be said that this suffix can be used as an enclitic, that is, as an element which modifies the NP as a whole and not only the noun itself. Thus, for example, for the sequence *achushi unirá* two interpretations are possible: the first one is 'one little man' which can be related to the following structure: [*achushi uni-rá*]$_{NP}$, and the second one is 'just one man by himself, alone', which is the semantic interpretation of the following structure [*achushi uni*]$_{NP}$=*rá*. This second use is similar to the one found in adverbial enclitics (see Chapter 16); but note that the use of *-rá* as a derivative suffix is its most widespread use in the language. The diminutive *-ra* also receives other meanings in discourse, and is usually used to express empathy and love (see the example in (315), where a woman is quoted as using the

diminutive to refer to her husband, who was blind and, therefore, needed her help).

This marker can also appear with adjectives where it also receives this emotional

meaning (see §10.4).

8.3.3   *-ina(k)* 'generic'

The 'generic' suffix shows two alternating forms *-ina* and *-inak*; the latter is used

when the *=n* marker, which surfaces as *-an* in that context, follows the suffix.

Interestingly, this only happens twice in my whole corpus, since the suffix presented

here is more likely to appear on patients (see below for the reasons).

Even though the meaning of this suffix is not easy to define, I argue that the

best semantic characterisation revolves around one basic component: *-ina(k)*

expresses a generic meaning. With *generic* I follow the definition offered by Foley

and Van Valin (1985: 284), who present the following English examples to illustrate

this notion:

(317) a. The wombat is a marsupial
     b. A wombat is a marsupial
     c. Wombats are marsupials

In such examples, "the subjects […] refer not to particular wombats, but to

the entire class of wombats. Such NPs are called generics" (Foley and Van Valin

1985: 284). In Kashibo-Kakataibo, it seems to be the case that nouns modified

by *-ina(k)* are inherently plural and, therefore, it can be argued that the meaning of

this suffix is very similar to what we find in the example in (317)c. This can be

concluded from the fact that, for instance, forms modified by *-ina(k)* cannot be

modified by the numeral *achushi* 'one'. This suffix is mostly used in combination

with nouns that denote animal species (but see a few exceptions at the end of this section).

My Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers said that this suffix is "used to advise the young people". Such an explanation fits in with the semantic description proposed here, since "advising" takes the form of telling young people things like "you should be aware of snakes" or "our ancestors used to hunt tapirs and you should hunt tapirs as well" and, in such examples, **snakes** and **tapirs** are generic. Examples of this form follow: in the first one, we find the form on a patient argument and in the second, on an agent argument:

(318) C00A06-EE-2006.005

anu-xun	nukën	bakë bëchikë	nukën	ini bëchikë
anu-xun	nukën	bakë bëchikë	nukën	ini bëchikë
there-S/A>A(SE)	our	son.ABS	our	daughter.ABS

'óina	chunena	pitankëxun	kaniotin
'ó-**ina**	chuna-**ina**	pi-tankëxun	kaniot-i-n
tapir-GENE.ABS	monkey.species-GENE.ABS	eat-S/A>A(PE)	raise-IMPF-1/2p

There, we will raise our sons and daughters, eating tapir and monkey.'

(319) C01A05-SE-2007.033

"usabi	ka	**'isenakan**	rataxtamainun	chëkiai"
usa=bi	ka	'isá-**inak**=n	ra-tax-tan-mainun	chëki-ai
like.that=same	NAR	bird-GENE=ERG	skin- peck-go.to- DS/A/O(SE.DUR)	get.rotten-IMP.there

'Exactly like this, stay there, getting rotten while irds go there to peck on your skin!'

The suffix *-ina(k)* can also be used with three nouns that do not refer to animal species when used without the suffix: *ñu* 'thing', *me* 'earth' and *baka* 'river'. With the suffix they refer to general animal types rather than particular species: *ñuina* 'animals in general', *mena* 'animals which make holes in the ground and live there' and *bakaina* 'all the kinds of fishes'.

It should also be said that the nouns modified by the suffix *-ina(k)* can take the collective marker *-baë*, which has a very restricted distribution and can otherwise only be used with kinship terms. Thus, we have examples like *'inu-ina-baë* 'mythical species of tiger' while *'inu-baë* is unacceptable (see the next section).

8.3.4   *-baë* 'collective'

The suffix *-baë* is used to refer to groups which are seen as unitary referents, without internal boundaries. The distribution of *-baë* 'collective' is restricted to kinship terms and to animal species modified by *-ina(k)* 'generic'. Any attempt to modify any other noun with this collective marker will result in an unacceptable form.

The derivative suffix *-baë* establishes some sort of historical distance between the referent and the speaker: with kinship terms, it refers to (dead and sometimes mythical) ancestors; and with animal species carrying *-ina(k)*, it refers to mythological animal species which existed in the past, but do not exist nowadays. One example of *-baë* is presented below:

(320) C02B05-NA-2007

usai	ka	ëo kamëokëxa		nun	'anibu
usa-i	ka	ëo kamë-o-akë-x-a		nu=n	'anibu
like.that-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.3p	a.lot.of-FACT-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox		1pl=GEN	ancestor

nukën	**chaitibaën**	nukën	**xutabaën**
nukën	chaiti-**baë**=n	nukën	xuta-**baë**-n
our	ancestor-COL=ERG	our	grandfather-COL=ERG

'Then, our ancestors reproduced themselves a long time ago.'

This suffix shows some overlap with the inflectional plural marker *=kama* (presented in §9.3.2), but note that the plural marker shows a much more extended distribution and can appear with almost all the nominal elements in the language (e.g. *xubukama* 'houses' but not *xububaë*). Even though the semantic distinction

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between =*kama* and -*baë* is not completely clear-cut, it is obvious that they belong to different paradigms since, for example, both forms can co-occur, like in *rara-baë=kama* 'ancestor-COL=PLU'.

The plural marker =*kama* can modify kinship terms too: thus we find, for example, both *chichibaë* and *chichikama* 'grandmothers', but, while the former translates as something like 'female (dead) ancestors' and refers to a collective without clear internal boundaries, the latter refers to the specific grandmother of the speaker and her sisters (which can, for example, be listed). The plural marker =*kama* cannot directly modify nouns previously modified by -*ina(k)* (e.g. *'inuinabaë* and *'inuinabaëkama* 'mythological tigers'; but not **'inuinakama*).

8.3.5   -*oka* 'river'

The form -*oka* 'river' comes from the noun *baka* 'river'. Thus -*oka* 'river' is a phonologically weakened version of this noun and it is not prosodically independent. The change from the noun *baka* 'river' to the suffix -*oka* 'river' can be analysed as a grammaticalisation process. This form is commonly attested in names of rivers, as shown in the following examples, but it is not used productively in the language:

(321) Bana**oka**   'Speaking River'
      Maxë**oka**   'Red River'
      Kwe**oka**   'Big River'

8.3.6   -*kun* 'real' and -*kuma* 'fake'

The suffix -*kun* 'real' is used sometimes with the nouns *anë* 'name' and *uni* 'people'; that is, *anë-kun* 'real name' and *uni-kun* 'real people' but this suffix does not seem to be productively used in the language. However, its negative form -*kuma* (< *kun-ma*)

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is more frequently found in discourse and much more productive. *-kuma* can be used to refer to individuals that, for one particular reason, are not good exemplars of their class. Thus, for instance, *uni-kuma* refers to 'someone who is a person, but does not think/behave like a person' (*uni* 'person'). In turn, *'uchiti-kuma* refers to 'a dog that is not a good hunter, does not look after the house and does not keep it safe from potential robbers' (*'uchiti* 'dog'). The suffix *-kuma* can also be used with nominalised verbs with *-ti* 'instrumental nominaliser' (see §8.4.1), in forms like *'ati-kuma* 'things that cannot be done' (*'a-* 'to do') and *piti-kuma* 'food that is too bad to be eaten' (*pi-* 'to eat').

8.4   Lexical nominalisations

Nominalisation is a widespread process in Kashibo-Kakataibo and is not only used to obtain derived nominal forms from verbs, but also to produce more complex constituents that can accomplish different functions like relativisation and complementation. In this dissertation, following Shibatani (2009), I call the former **lexical nominalisations** and the latter, **grammatical nominalisations** (see Chapter 20, for a more detailed discussion of this distinction and for a description of grammatical nominalisations in Kashibo-Kakataibo). Grammatical nominalisations are characterised by the fact that they can have an overt set of arguments, expressed by NPs or by pronouns, which are marked for case according to their function within the nominalised structure; in that sense, grammatical nominalisations are formally clausal. Lexical nominalisations, by contrast, do not have an argument structure and, thus, are clearly non-clausal and better understood as derived words.

In this section, I will focus on those examples that can be considered lexical nominalisations (that is, cases of word class-changing derivations) and not on examples of grammatical nominalisations.

8.4.1   *-ti* **'instrument nominaliser'**

As a lexical nominaliser, *-ti* is used to derive instruments from verbs, but, sometimes, it is also used to obtain non-instrumental nouns. Both functions are shown in the following examples:

(322) <u>Instrument nouns derived by *-ti*</u>

maën-	'to sweep'	>	*maënti*	'broom'
mapu-	'to cover'	>	*maputi*	'quilt'
kwënu-	'to sharpen'	>	*kwënuti*	'sharpener'
mishki-	'to fish with a fishhook'	>	*mishkiti*	'fishhook'

(323) <u>Non-instrument nouns derived by *-ti*</u>

bama-	'to die'	>	*bamati*	'death'
'ipakḗt-	'to descend'	>	*'ipakḗti*	'port'
pi-	'to eat'	>	*piti*	'food'
papít-	'to carve barbs in arrows'	>	*papíti*	'barbs in arrows'

As we can see in the examples in (323), the semantics associated with the formative *-ti* is not always straightforwardly instrumental. For example, in the case of *papíti* 'barbs in arrows', the derived noun does not denote the instrument with which people carve the barbs into the arrowheads, but the result of this action. In the case of *piti* 'food', the noun appears to be a patient rather than an instrument (it refers to the food rather than, let us say, the fork) and in the case of *'ipakḗti* 'port' we could argue that the noun refers to a place that is located at a low-lying terrain (ports are located at the margins of rivers, i.e., at the waterside, while villages are usually built on small hills in order to avoid flooding). The word *bamati* 'death' is not a clear instrumental form either.

In addition to the type of examples illustrated in (322) and (323), there are some cases of nouns ending in *-ti* and having an instrumental meaning, but without a corresponding basic verb in the synchronic language. Some of those examples follow:

(324) <u>Instruments without a related basic verb</u>
    bakëti   'stretcher'
    tsati   'walking stick'
    bukanti   'sling'
    tapiti   'ladder' (< Shipibo-Konibo)

8.4.2   *-kë* 'patient nominaliser'

As a lexical nominaliser, *-kë* derives nouns that denote the patient of the nominalised verb. Some examples of this follow:

(325) <u>Patient nouns derived with *-kë*</u>
    bëchi- 'to father'   >   bëchikë   'son of a man'
    mapun- 'to cover'   >   mapunkë   'house'
     tua- 'to give birth'   >   tuakë (~ tua)   'son of a woman'

A few nouns derived by *-kë* do not show a patientive meaning. For instance, the noun *'ikë* 'house' comes from the verb *'i-* 'to be' and seems to denote a locative noun 'the place where one is'. In addition, there are some examples of nominal forms ending in *-kë* for which it is not possible to find a corresponding synchronic verb. One such example is *kuxuakë* 'mallet' (but there is no synchronic verb **kuxua-*).

8.4.3   *-katsá* 'subject nominaliser, desiderative'

The form *-katsá* appears to be related to the desiderative form *-kas,* which could historically have been *-kats* (see §18.5.2.2). The source of the remaining stressed *á* of *-katsá* is still uncertain, and the whole form *-katsá* is probably better analysed as a

unitary element synchronically. The suffix *-katsá* is not attested in my text database but it is frequently used in everyday language, to refer to individuals (mostly children) who like to eat, cry or sleep. The combination of this nominaliser with verbs with other meanings is highly unusual and marked. See the following examples, which include the contexts in which *-katsá* is most frequently used:

(326) *pi-* 'eat'   >   *pi-katsá*   'who likes to eat'
       'ux- 'sleep' >   *'ux-katsá*   'who likes to sleep, sleepy-head'
       in- 'cry'   >   *in-katsá*   'who likes to cry, crybaby'

8.4.4   Nominalisations with *tapun* 'subject nominaliser, habitual'

Verbal forms followed by the independent word *tapun* are used to refer to individuals with very strong tendencies to do something on a very regular basis. The forms derived by *tapun* are semantically very similar to the forms derived with *-katsá,* and more research is needed in order to properly understand their difference. According to some of my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers, this difference is slightly clearer in some cases. For example, the forms *pi-kën tapun* and *pi-katsá* (which include the verb *pi-* 'to eat') are interpreted as expressing different degrees of the same tendency: *pi-katsá* means 'someone who enjoys his food' and *pi-kën tapun* menas 'someone who eats all the time, who is a glutton'.

　　　Two interesting facts can be highlighted in the case of verbs appearing with *tapun*. The first one is that *tapun* treats verb stems differently depending on the number of their syllables and on their final segment. Thus, monosyllabic forms without a coda or with a final *n* take the form *-kën* in order to be combined with *tapun*; while monosyllabic forms ending in a consonant different from *n* take the form *-kënan* in order to be able to appear with *tapun* (it is v that the nominaliser *-kë* may be part of these formatives). Finally, forms with two syllables take the

corresponding allomorph of the *=n* marker according to the rules presented in §9.3.1.1 (without including the form *-kë*). Let us see the following examples:

(327) *pi-* 'to eat'   **[pi-kën tapun]** *uni*   'person who eats all the time: glutton'
     in- 'to cry'   **[in-kën tapun]** *tua*   'boy who cries all the time'
     'ux- 'to be lazy'   **['ux-kënan tapun]** *uni*   'person with a deep sleep'
     numi- 'to be hungry'   **[numi=n tapun]** *uni*   'person who is hungry all the time'
     mëkama- 'to steal'   **[mëkama-nën tapun]** *uni*   'person who steals things all the time'

The second interesting fact is that this form appears to be related to the noun *tapun* 'root'. If this is true, we can argue that we are dealing with a transparent case of grammaticalisation in which a content word has become a functional element.

8.4.5   Nominalisations with *baë* 'subject nominaliser, iterative'

Nominalisations with *baë* follow the same morphophonological principles found in nominalisations with *tapun*. However, they have a different meaning: nominalisations with *baë* refer to actions which are developed over some time with temporal interruptions and without continuity. Some examples of *baë* follow

(328) *pi-* 'to eat'   **[pi-kën baë]** *uni*   'person who eats, stops for a while and eats again'
     in- 'to cry'   **[is-kën baë]** *tua*   'boy who cries, stops for a while and cries again'
     'ux- 'to be lazy'   **['ux-kënan baë]** *uni*   'person who sleeps, stops and sleep again'
     numi- 'to be hungry'   **[numi=n baë]** *uni*   'person who is hungry, eats and is hungry again'

One interesting fact in relation to *baë* is that it has the same phonological form as the suffix *-baë* 'collective', presented in §8.3.4. The two forms are very likely to be related since both carry a plural-like value (both the notion of collectiveness and the notion of iteration include the idea of one unit being multiplied). However, in the nominalisation construction presented here, *baë* is a prosodically independent word.

Chapter 9   Nouns II: Noun phrases and inflection

9.1   Introduction

This chapter lists, describes and exemplifies nominal inflectional forms (see §9.3).
Inflectional forms are enclitics (in the sense of phrasal suffixes; see §5.5.2). Thus,
their presentation presupposes a proper understanding of the structure of NPs in the
language, and, therefore, this chapter begins with an account of this topic (§9.2). In
addition, this chapter offers some comments on *rabanan* 'because of' (§9.4) and
some information about the usual sequences of NPs in discourse (§9.5)

9.2   Noun Phrase structure

In terms of their structure, NPs are phrases headed by a noun, optionally modified
by a number of elements. In terms of their function, NPs are "syntactic constituents
which serve as arguments of verbs" (Dryer 2007: 151) and can "refer to entities"
(Rijkhoff 2002: 19). In this section, I present the internal structure of NPs,
describing their possible modifiers and the ways in which such modifiers interact
with their heads within NPs. First, I will list and exemplify these types of modifiers
and, then, I will comment in more detail on the word order possibilities inside NPs.

9.2.1   Demonstratives

As I have already mentioned (see §6.2.4), the three Kashibo-Kakataibo
demonstratives (*ënë* 'proximal to the speaker', *a* 'proximal to the addressee' and *u*
'distal to both the speaker and the addressee') can behave both as demonstrative

pronouns and as demonstrative adjectives. In the first case, they behave as NP-like constituents on their own, while in the second case, they appear modifying nouns inside NPs. It is this second use of demonstratives that will be exemplified here.

As modifiers within NPs, demonstratives accomplish two different functions: they can be used as proper demonstratives, with a deictic meaning, and as (non-deictic) definite markers. The data suggest that there is a relationship between the position of the demonstrative in relation to the nominal head and its function: pre-head demonstratives are more likely to be definite markers and post-head ones are more likely to be deictic modifiers (see also §22.4). Among the three demonstratives, only *ënë* 'proximal to the speaker' and *a* 'proximal to the addressee' can be used in both pre-head and post-head positions. The demonstrative *u* 'distal to both the speaker and the addressee' is exclusively post-head and, therefore, according to the hypothesis presented here, does not have a non-deictic function. Post-head demonstratives should be distinguished from the third person pronominal form *a* associated with the highlighting mechanism discussed in §22.3. Two examples including demonstratives as NP modifiers follow. In the first example, we find a post-head demonstrative, while in the second one the demonstrative appears in the pre-head position.

(329) C02B01-NA-2007.005

tsatsa	**ënë**	ka	bëruan
[tsatsa	**ënë**]	ka	bëruan
fish.spe.	this.O	NAR	look.after.IMP

'Look after **this** fish!'

(330) C01A01-MO-2007.005

atian	*casi*	kamabi	nëtën	kaisa	**a**	**uni**
atian	casi	kamabi	nëtë=n	kaisa	[**a**	uni]
then	almost	every	day=TEMP	NAR.REP.3p	that	person.ABS

kwankëshín
kwan-akë-x-ín
go-REM.PAST-3p-prox
'Then, it is said that **the (that)** man used to go almost every day.'

9.2.2 Adjectives

In Kashibo-Kakataibo, adjectives (see Chapter 10) have positional freedom in relation to the nominal head they modify: they can appear either in the pre-head or in the post-head position. In my corpus, it is not possible to find clear semantic differences associated with the position of the adjectives either in texts or in elicited examples. However, a more careful pragmatic study of concepts such as salience or focus, may reveal a pragmatic principle accounting for the position of the adjective. The following examples show cases of the same adjective, *upí* 'beautiful', in both positions. Notice that in (331) it seems that the quality expressed by the adjective is more salient than the nominal head *ñu* 'thing' (the speaker does not want 'things', he wants 'beautiful things'), whereas in (332) it seems that the quality of the adjective might be secondary, as the emphasis is on which tree species were picked up and then cooked. These examples preliminarily suggest that pragmatic differences are to be found in association with the position of the adjective, but this needs to be confirmed:

(331) C02B05-NA-2007.062

upí	**ñu**	kana	kwëënin
[**upí**	ñu]	kana	kwëën-i-n
beautiful	thing.ABS	NAR.1sg	want-IMPF-1/2p

'I want beautiful things.'

(332) C01B05-SE-2007.026

kananuna	**toxama**	**upí**	bitankëxun	taish
kananuna	[toxama	**upí**]	bits-tankëxun	taish
NAR.1pl	tree.spe.	beautiful.ABS	pick.up-S/A>A(PE)	tree.spe.

a	bitankëxun	kananuna	'aruin
a	bits-tankëxun	kananuna	'aru-i-n
3sg.O	buy-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.1pl	cook-IMPF-1/2p

'After picking up some beautiful *toxama* and *taish*, we cook all these things.'

In my corpus of texts, there is no example of a noun modified by two adjectives and instead we find NPs in apposition, where each NP has its own adjective. Usually, the heads of the NPs are either the same or they are two nouns with a very similar meaning (see §9.5.2). In elicitation, it is possible to obtain examples of nouns modified by two or even three adjectives and, according to my teachers, in those cases the adjectives also show a free order in relation to the head. See the following examples:

(333) [**chaxkë́** uni **xuá** **upí**]
     tall   man   fat   good

    [**chaxkë́ xuá** **upí** uni]
     tall   fat   good   man

    [**chaxkë xuá** uni **upí**]
     tall   fat   man   good

    [uni **chaxkë́ xuá** **upí**]
     man   tall   fat   good

    'good fat tall man'

9.2.3   Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and quantifiers have been presented in §6.4. Like demonstratives, they can be used both as head modifiers within NPs and by themselves in constituents that are functionally equivalent to NPs. As modifiers within NPs, they show a fairly free distribution relative to the head and can appear after or before it. The numeral *achushi* 'one' shows a different function in these two positions: before the head, it

seems to act as an indefinite marker, and is used like this in discourse; and after the head, it is a numeral.

Some examples follow. In the first two, we find the quantifier *'itsa* 'a lot of, many, much' preceding the noun *ñu* 'thing' (example (334)) and following the noun *manë* 'metal' (example (335)). In the last two examples, we find the same kind of distribution in the numeral *achushi* 'one', which in (336) appears after the noun *uni* 'man' but in (337) is followed by the same noun. Notice that, as explained before and indicated in the free translations, a semantic difference is found depending on the position of the numeral *achushi* 'one'.

(334) C01B03-SE-2007.022

ka	**'itsa**	**ñu**	xarákë
ka	['**itsa**	ñu]	xará-kë
NAR.3p	many	thing	make.noise-NOM.ABS

'(There are) many noisy things.'

(335) C02B05-NA-2007.007

ësaokin		**manë**	**'itsa**	toinkë	'ixunmabi
ësa-o-kin		[manë	**'itsa**]	toin-kë	'i-xun=ma=bi
like.this-FACT-S/A>A(SE)		metal	many.ABS	hold-NOM	be-S/A>A(SE)=NEG=although

'Then, although without having (lit. holding) much metal…'

(336) C03A02-EE-2007.003

puin	'axankëbë		kaisa	[...]	a	kaxu
pui=n	'axan-këbë		kaisa	[...]	a	kaxu
excrement-INS	fish.using.poison-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)		NAR.REP.3p		that	behind

kwankëxa	**uni**	**achushi**
kwan-akë-x-a	[uni	**achushi**]
go-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	person	one.ABS

'When (the other man) was fishing with excrement, it is said that **(this) one man** went behind him.'

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(337) C01A08-JE-2007.002

achushi	**unin**	kaisa	kamabi	nëtën	[…] tanu	[…]
[**achushi**	uni]=n	kaisa	kamabi	nëtë=n	[…] tanu	[…]
one	person=ERG	NAR.REP.3p	all	day=TEMP	palm.worm.ABS	

buankëxa
buan-akë-x-a
bring-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that **a man** used to bring palm worms every day.'

9.2.4   Bare nouns used as modifiers

Nouns that do not take any case marking and that directly modify other nouns within an NP are common in Kashibo-Kakataibo. Modifying nouns are obligatorily pre-head modifiers and the meanings associated with them include non-referential genitive modification (see Dryer 2007: 191-192) as well as different types of qualification. The example below shows two instances of the first meaning (we find non-referential genitives in which nouns related to animal species modify the noun *rani* 'bristle').

(338) C01B05-SE-2007.029

kana	**rani**	**xon**	**rani**	kananuna
[**kana**	rani]	[**xon**	rani]	kananuna
macaw	bristle.ABS	red.macaw	bristle.ABS	NAR.1pl

ain	tsipunu	bëtanitin
ain	tsipun =nu	bëtanit-i-n
his	end=LOC	tie-IMPF-1/2p

'We (put) macaw bristle and red macaw bristle at the end (of our guns).'

In the following example we can see a case of a qualifying noun modifying another noun: *muxa* 'thorn' modifies *bimi* 'fruit' and the resulting meaning is 'thorny fruit':

(339) C02A07-JE-2007.041

muxa	**bimi**	[...]	bëonxun
[**muxa**	bimi]	[...]	bë-on-xun
thorn	fruit		bring-PAST.day.before-S/A>A

'Having brought the thorny fruits the day before…'

For some languages, it might be useful to make a distinction between lexical compounds and N N structures (called *syntactic compounds* in Dryer 2007: 175). However, there are no grammatical or prosodic criteria that distinguish between the two in Kashibo-Kakataibo and, therefore, I did not find it necessary to include an independent treatment of lexical compounding in this dissertation.

9.2.5   Genitive modifiers

NPs and pronouns in their genitive forms can modify other nouns within NPs. When this happens, the genitive modifiers obligatory appear before the nominal head. The next example shows the genitive phrase *nukën papa=n* 'our father=GEN' (which, in turn, includes a genitive pronoun *nukën* '1pl.GEN'), modifying the noun *bana*, which in the context of the sentence means 'tale'.

(340) C02B05-NA-2007.063

y	**nukën**	**papan**	**banaishi**	'ai	tsótin
y	[[**nukën**	**papa]=n**	bana]=ishi	'a-i	tsót-i-n
and	1pl.GEN	father=GEN	tale.ABS=only	do-S/A>S(SE)	live-IMPF-1/2p

ashi	kana	kain
a=ishi	kana	ka-i-n
that.O=only	NAR.1sg	say-IMPF-1/2p

'And I want to say only that I live telling our parents' tales.'

9.2.6   Word order in NPs

In the preceding sections, I have presented the different NP modifiers and their distributional possibilities in relation to the head they modify. All this information is summarised in the following table:

Table 44   Distributional possibilities of the different NP modifiers

Type of modifier	pre-head	post-head
demonstratives	YES[56]	YES
adjectives	YES	YES
numerals/quantifiers	YES	YES
bare nouns	YES	NO
genitive phrases	YES	NO

As we can see, all NP modifiers can appear in the pre-head position. In addition, demonstratives, adjectives, numerals and quantifiers can also appear in the post-head position. Genitives and modifying nouns cannot appear after the head.

NPs containing multiple modifiers are not common in Kashibo-Kakataibo speech. After a review of the few instances where a nominal head is combined with more than one modifier, and after some elicitation sessions exclusively focused on this issue, I have extracted the NP template in Figure 50, in which the positional possibilities of the different modifiers in relation to the head of the NP and in relation to each other are shown.

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[56] This position is not available for the demonstrative *u* 'distal from the speaker and the addressee'.

Figure 50 NP template

pre-head				post-head	
(slot 1)	(slot 2)	(slot 3)		(slot 1)	(slot 2)
dem	adj	noun	(HEAD)	adj	dem
num					num
quantifier					quantifier

gen phrase
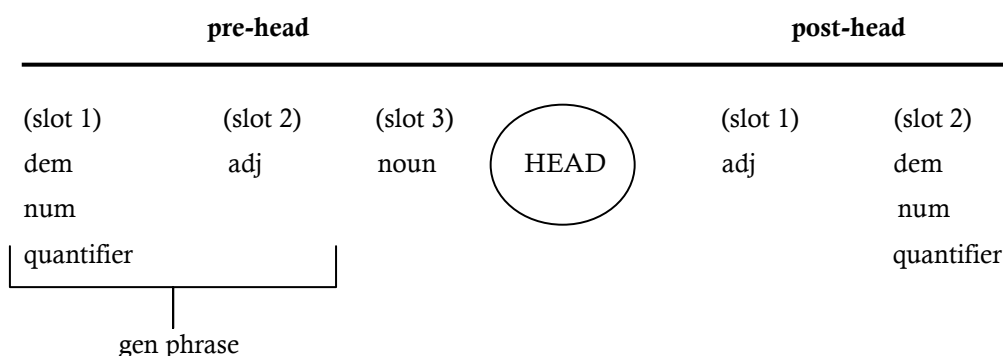
As we can see, there are three pre-head slots and two post-head ones, but, as the parentheses indicate, no slot is obligatory, and an NP can be formed just by its head. The modifiers listed in the same slot are not allowed to co-occur in the same position (but this does not include adjectives; see the elicited examples in (333)); i.e., two modifiers from the same slot can only appear in different positions in relation to the head. For instance, a demonstrative and a quantifier cannot appear both as pre-head modifiers, but can potentially appear one in the pre-head position and the other in the post-head position, as shown in the following examples:

(341) [ënë   uni   achushi]
      this   man   one

     *[**ënë   achushi** uni]
      this   one   man
     ('this one man')

We should also notice that, with the exception of adjectives, the same type of modifier cannot appear twice in the same NP (we cannot have two demonstratives or two numerals, for instance). Two modifiers from two different slots can appear in the same position in relation to the head, but if this happens, the order proposed in Figure 50 is obligatory. This is shown in the following examples:

(342) [ënë   upí   xanu]
      this   beautiful woman

*[**upí**   **ënë**   xanu]
beautiful this   woman

('this beautiful woman')

(343) [xanu   upí   ënë]
woman   beautiful   this

*[xanu   **ënë**   **upí**]
woman   this   beautiful

('this beautiful woman')

As indicated in Figure 50, the presence of a genitive modifier blocks the inclusion of any other pre-head modifier (with the exception of a modifying noun). This is shown in the following examples:

(344) [xanun   'uchiti   ënë]
xanu=n   'uchiti   ënë
woman=GEN   dog   this

'this woman's dog'

*[**xanun**   **ënë**   'uchiti]
xanu=n   **ënë**   'uchiti
woman=GEN   this   dog

*[**ënë**   **xanun**   'uchiti]
ënë   **xanu=n**   'uchiti
this   woman=GEN   dog

9.3   NP Inflectional enclitics

As explained in §5.4, nominal inflectional morphemes operate at the level of the NP (and, thus, can be claimed to be enclitics instead of suffixes), while the derivational morphology presented in §8.3 operates over roots or stems and can be analysed as suffixes (only the diminutive marker *-ra* can be used as both a suffix and an enclitic). The forms presented in the following subsections present the case (see §9.3.1), 'plural' (§9.3.2) and 'distributive' (§9.3.3) NP-enclitics. Most of these NP inflectional

enclitics are similar in terms of their morphological and phonological properties (they are bound morphemes that modify NPs and are phonologically attached to the last element of the phrase). However, the case marker =*kupí* 'reason' seems to carry its own stress and therefore may be seen as creating its own independent phonological words (see §4.3.5.1 for a characterisation of the phonological word in Kashibo-Kakataibo).

9.3.1   Case

I use the label **case** to refer to both **core** and **oblique** cases (also referred to as grammatical and semantic cases, respectively; see Blake 1994). Generally, core cases are those that appear on **arguments**, i.e. participants that are determined by the syntax of the verb. In turn, oblique cases are used on **adjuncts**, which are not dependent on the verb and are not constrained by the grammar.

In Kashibo-Kakataibo, neither core nor oblique arguments are obligatorily expressed in the clause. Thus, locative adjuncts and grammatical objects are equally optional in clauses like "I ate (apples)" and "I went (to Lima)". Therefore, obligatoriness, which represents a useful criterion in other languages, does not help us to distinguish between core and oblique arguments in Kashibo-Kakataibo. There are, however, two grammatical mechanisms that may be understood as establishing a distinction between core and oblique arguments: switch-reference (see Chapter 18) and participant agreement (see §14.4).

In relation to switch-reference, we find that only S, A and O arguments are used for purposes of argument-tracking. Thus, we find different markers that indicate that the S, A or O argument of the dependent clause is co-referential with the S, A or O argument of the matrix clause, producing a very complex and

fascinating system. However, if two clauses in a chain share any other participant (e.g. a locative, a comitative or an instrument) they are treated as not sharing arguments. Therefore, the switch-reference system makes a clear distinction between S, A and O, which may be seen as core arguments, and the remaining ones, which may be seen as oblique.

Participant agreement is a special type of agreement, according to which certain types of adjuncts (mostly locative) grammatically agree in case with one argument of the clause and are semantically oriented to it (see §14.4). Interestingly, only S, A and O arguments can be used for marking participant agreement and, therefore, this mechanism establishes a clear distinction between these arguments and any other.

Therefore, based on the mechanisms just mentioned, we can conclude that the grammar of the language makes a distinction between S, A and O, on the one hand, and any other remaining type of participant, on the other. Such a distinction coincides with the distribution established between core arguments and oblique adjuncts, as found in other languages. Therefore, based on this, we can say that the case markers that appear on S, A and O arguments are core case markers, while the case markers that appear on the different types of adjuncts are oblique case markers. Notice, however, that some of the case markers appear on both oblique and core arguments. For instance, =*n* marks the ergative (which is a core case) or the instrumental (which is an oblique case). Thus, markers like =*n* are to be analysed as oblique or core according to the construction in which they appear and cannot simply be labelled as core or oblique. A list of the different case markers and their related functions is presented in the following table:

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Table 45   Case markers in Kashibo-Kakataibo

Marker	Functions
=*n*	ergative
	A (in the tripartite alignment)
	genitive
	instrumental
	temporal location
	vocative (on some kinship terms; see §8.2.2)
=*x*	S (in the tripartite alignment)
(unmarked)	absolutive
	O (in the tripartite alignment)
=*sa*	comparative
=*bë*	comitative (S)
=*bëtan*	comitative (A)
=*këñun*	comitative (O)
=*nu*	locative
	directional
=*nu=ax*	ablative
=*mi*	imprecise location (far from the addressee)
	'object' of extended intransitive emotion predicates
=*mi(ki)*	indirect direction (towards the speaker)
=*u*	imprecise location (close from the addressee)
=*u(ki)*	indirect direction (non-towards the speaker)
=*nan*	possessive
=*kupí*	'reason'

The tripartite alignment, based on the distinction between =*n* 'A', =*x* 'S' and the unmarked 'O' is obligatory with pronouns, but NPs can also follow it under certain discourse conditions: basically when they refer to anaphoric topics. Since the tripartite system on NPs is a discourse-related phenomenon, I will discuss it in detail in Chapter §22.5 and I will not exemplify here the use of the marker =*x* 'S' on NPs headed by nouns. Notice that, in general, co-ocurrence of case markers is not possible in the synchronic language (but it is possible to combine the imprecise locative markers =*mi* and =*u*; see §9.3.1.6). Double case marking has been reconstructed for Proto-Pano by Valenzuela (2003b: chapter 20).

9.3.1.1 The =*n* marker

The =*n* marker is used with the following functions: ergative (or A, in the case of the tripartite system, mostly found with pronouns; see §6.2), genitive, instrumental, temporal locative and vocative. The last function is only found with some kinship terms and has been presented in some detail in §8.2.2. In this subsection, I will only present the ergative, genitive, instrumental and temporal locative uses of this enclitic. In addition, at the end of this subsection, a systematic description of the allomorphic alternations of this enclitic is presented.

The enclitic =*n* appears as the ergative marker in the following example, where the NP *xanu* 'woman' is modified by =*n* and is the A argument of the transitive predicate *rakan-* 'to lean (something)' whose object is *chaxu* 'deer':

(345) C02A04-JE-2007.004

rëtankëxun	kaisa	[…]	**xanun**	chaxu	rakankëshín
rët-tankëxun	kaisa	[…]	[xanu]**=n**	chaxu	rakan-akë-x-ín
kill-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.REP.3p		woman=ERG	deer.ABS	lay.down-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, after killing it, […] the woman laid down the deer.'

The genitive use of this enclitic is presented in the following example, where the noun *bana* 'word' is modified by the genitive form *Dios-an* 'God=GEN' (the =*n* marker surfaces with the allomorph =*an*):

(346) C00A01-AE-2006.009

anuxun	kana	atu	nukën	papa	**Diosan**	bana
anu-xun	kana	atu	[nukën	papa	Dios]**=n**	bana
there-PA:A	NAR.1sg	3pl.O	1pl.GEN	father	God=GEN	word.ABS

ñuixunin
nui-xun-i-n
tell-BEN-IMPF-1/2p

'There, I will tell them God's words.'

The following example shows the function of *=n* as an instrumental marker. Here the *=n* marker (surfacing as *-nën*) follows the quantifier *achushi* 'one', and not the noun *maxax* 'rock', showing that the morpheme is attached to the end of the NP and not to the noun itself.

(347) C01A01-MO-2007.027

anu	bëru	nankë	kaisa	kwanxun
anu	bëru	nan-kë	kaisa	kwan-xun
there	eye.ABS	put-NOM	NAR.REP.3p	go-S/A>A(SE)

maxax	**achushinën**	chakakëshín
[maxax	achushi]**=n**	chaka-akë-x-ín
stone	one-INS	beat-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, going to the place where (the other man) used to leave his eye, (he) beat it with one stone.'

In the following example, *=n* appears marking temporal location, modifying the NP *bërí nëtë* 'current day':

(348) C02B04-SE-2007.045

'ainbi	**bërí**	**nëtën**	kananuna	piananbi	maruin
'ainbi	[bërí	nëtë]**=n**	kananuna	pi-anan=bi	maru-i-n
but(DS/A/O)	current	day=TEMP	NAR.1pl	eat-DO(SE)=same	sell-IMPF-1/2p

ñu	nun	'apákëkama	nónsi	'atsa	xëki	arroz	akama
ñu	nu=n	'apat-kë=kama	nónsi	'atsa	xëki	arroz	a=kama
thing.ABS	we=A	plant- NOM=PLU	banana	manioc	corn	rice	that=PLU.O

'But, nowadays, eating (other things), we sell the things that we plant: banana, manioc, corn, rice, all the things.'

The morphophonemic alternations associated with this enclitic are quite complex. We find three allomorphs of *=n: =n, =an* and *=nën*, which show the following distribution:

iii.   *=n:* nouns with no more than two syllables if the last syllable is open

(349) 'i.nu   'tiger'   >   'inú=**n**
      pi.a   'arrow'   >   piá=**n**
      'un.cha   'palm.species'   >   'unchá=**n**
      me   'earth'   >   me=**n** [me.én]

iv.   *=an:* nouns with two syllables if the last syllable is closed and does not end in *n*

(350) um.pa**x**   'water'   >   umpax=**an**
      ma.i**s**   'army ant   >   mais=**an**
      max.ká**(t)**[57] 'head'   >   maxkat=**an**
      ka.pḗ**(k)** 'caiman'   >   kapëk=**an**

v.   *=an ~ =nën*: nouns with two syllables if the last syllable ends in *n*[58]

(351) mas.ma**n**   'shallow'   >   masman=**nën**   ~   masman=**an**
      mi.na**n**   'plant species' >   minan=**nën**   ~   minan=**an**
      a.pa**n**   'older person'   >   apan=**nën**   ~   apan=**an**

vi.   *=nën*: nouns with three or more syllables

(352) chi.chi.ka   'knife'   >   chichika=**nën**
      a.to.ri.pa   'hen'   >   atoripa=**nën**
      bë.chi.kë   'son'   >   bëchikë=**nën**

The third person singular pronoun *a* is the only word in the language that has different A, genitive and instrumental forms. The A-form is *an*, the genitive one is *ain* and the instrumental form is *anun*. In addition, as mentioned in §8.3.2, the suffix *-rá* 'diminutive' shows the ergative form *ratsukun*.

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[57] Cases like *maská* 'head' and *kapḗ* 'caiman', which can be analysed as carrying an underlying final stop, are discussed in §4.3.1.3.

[58] My Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers showed some disagreement in relation to these forms: while some accepted both, others accepted either only the forms with *-an* or the forms with *-nën*.

9.3.1.2 Unmarked absolutive

Dixon (1994: 56-57) argues that "that case which covers S (i.e. absolutive or nominative) is generally the unmarked term —both formally and functionally— in its system". This generalisation works for the Kashibo-Kakataibo ergative-absolutive case marking system:[59] the absolutive arguments are formally and functionally unmarked. Unmarked absolutive forms are used in different functions, which includes not only the S and O arguments of a clause, but also the arguments of copula constructions (see §17.3) and the complements of postpositions (see §6.3).

In addition, in ditransitive clauses, both objects remain unmarked, as shown in the following example, where we find the ditransitive verb *'inan-* 'to give' with its two absolutive objects: *ain xanu* 'his wife', which refers to the beneficiary object, and *charu* 'crab', which is the patient object (more on ditransitive clauses and on the nature of both objects is presented §21.3).

(353) C01A08-JE-2007.006

"ka	xui'"	kaxun	kaisa	**charu**	ain	**xanu**
"ka	xui'"	ka-xun	kaisa	[charu]	[ain	xanu]
NAR	grill.IMP	say-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	crab.ABS	3sg.GEN	woman.ABS

'inankëxa
'inan-akë-x-a
give-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, saying "grill these!", (he) gave the crabs to his wife.'

In the following example, the absolutive argument is the subject of the intransitive derived predicate *kanankëxa*, which includes the 'reciprocal' *-anan*.

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[59] Notice that, in the tripartite alignment, the unmarked function is O.

(354) C00A06-EE-2006.004

no	tsitsirukëbë	kaisa	[…]
no	tsit-tsit-ru-këbë	kaisa	[…]
foreigner.ABS	occupy-occupy-up-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)	NAR.REP.3p	

nukën	**rara**	kanankëxa
[nukën	rara]	ka-anan-ake-x-a
1pl.GEN	ancestors.ABS	say-REC-REM.PAST-3p-no.prox

'It is said that, when the foreigners were occupying (the earth) almost completely, our ancestors talked to each other.'

The unmarked form is used for the O function within the tripartite alignment (see more on the tripartite alignment in §6.2 and in §22.5.1).

9.3.1.3   =bë(tan) and =këñun 'comitative'

The forms =bë(tan) and =këñun have a comitative meaning and create a very interesting paradigm where three different comitative markers are used to indicate that the comitative adjunct accompanies the S, A or O of the event: =bë 'comitative (S)', =bëtan 'comitative (A)' and =këñun 'comitative (O)'.[60] Three examples including the three forms just mentioned follow:

(355) C00A02-AE-2006.005

kana	**abë**	banan
kana	[a]=bë	bana-a-n
NAR.1sg	3sg=COM(S)	speak-PERF-1/2p

'I spoke with him.'

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[60] Matses also shows a tripartite alignment in its comitative marker: =bëtan 'A/Instrumental Comitative', =bëta 'O Comitative' and =bëd 'S Comitative' (Fleck 2003). Elicited data indicates that the form =bëtan cannot be used for instrument adjuncts in Kashibo-Kakataibo, but it can be used with semantic instruments encoded as the A argument of a clause. Shipibo-Konibo, in turn, shows a different pattern: in that language, =bë modifies pronouns and =bëtan appears with nouns (Valenzuela 2003).

(356) C01B09-SE-2007.010

'ënëx	ka	'ikën	'ën	**bëchikëbëtan**	mënióxun	'akë
'ënë=x	ka	'ikën	['ë=n	bëchikë]**=bëtan**	mënió-xun	'a-kë
this=S	NAR.3p	be.3p	1sg=GEN	son=COM(A)	clean-S/A>A	do-NOM

'This is what I did with my sons, cleaning (it).'

(357) C02B04-SE-2007.020

'akinma	kananuna	'ain	[…]	**'atsakëñun**	xëki
'a-kin=ma	kananuna	'a-i-n	[…]	['atsa]-**këñun**	xëki
do-S/A>A(SE)=NEG	NAR.1pl	do-IMPF-1/2p		manioc-COM(O)	corn.ABS

'Without doing (this), we will plant corn with manioc.'

9.3.1.4   =sa 'comparative'

The comparative =sa is used to mark the standard of the comparison in equative comparative constructions (see §10.3.5), but also modifies NPs that introduce comparative standards in other types of constructions (like the manner adverbial form in the English sentence "he walks like a chicken"). In the following example, the clitic =sa appears accompanied by the Spanish phrase *como si fuera* 'as if it were', which has a similar meaning to that of the clitic. These kinds of reduplicated constructions using equivalent Spanish and Kashibo-Kakataibo forms at the same time are common in Kashibo-Kakataibo discourse (see §9.5.3).

(358) C02B02-NA-2007.055

usa	'aish	ka	*como si fuera*	amanu	tsókë	**unisa**
usa	'aish	ka	*como si fuera*	[amanu	tsót-kë	uni]=sa
like.that	being(S/A>S)	NAR.3p	like.if.it.was	other.place	live-NOM	person=COMP

'Being like men who live in another place.'

9.3.1.5   =nu 'locative/directional'

The enclitic =nu is a locative/directional marker, but can also be used as part of the ablative and of the limitative construction: in the former case, it is combined with a participant agreement marker (see §14.4) and in the latter case, it is usually

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combined with the Spanish preposition *hasta* 'until' or, sometimes, the adverbial enclitic *=bi* 'same' (but the use of the Spanish form is more frequently found in discourse).

The cognate enclitic in Shipibo-Konibo shows a quite complex allomorphic alternation (Valenzuela 2003b: 227-228), but *=nu* is invariant in synchronic Kashibo-Kakataibo in terms of its phonological realisation: it is always *=nu* (but an allomorph *=n* is found in traditional songs). Its two basic interpretations are presented in the following examples; in the first one, *=nu* modifies the NP *Pucallpa* within an existential clause with the verb *'ikën* 'to be' and it is interpreted as a locative marker. In the second example, with the verb *nukut-* 'to arrive', the NP *Yarinacocha=nu* is interpreted as a goal:

(359) C02B02-NA-2007.066

ain	monumento	sapika	**Pucallpanu**	'ikën
ain	monumento	sapika	[Pucallpa]=nu	'ikën
3sg=GEN	statue	DUB.NAR.3p	Pucallpa=LOC	be.3p

'I think that there is a statue of him in Pucallpa.'

(360) C02B05-NA-2007.074

uax	ka	**Yarinacochanu**	nukúakëxa
u-ax	ka	[Yarinacocha]=nu	nukut-akë-x-a
come-S/A>S	NAR.3p	Yarinacocha=LOC	arrive-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Coming, they arrived at Yarinacocha.'

The two following examples show the other interpretations of this enclitic. In the first one we find the enclitic *=nu* followed by *=ax* 'Participant agreement: S' and it is interpreted as an ablative. The presence of the marker *=ax* is obligatory to obtain the ablative reading and, without it, *Pucallpa=nu* 'Pucallpa=LOC' would be a directional (i.e 'after entering Pucallpa' and not 'after entering **from** Pucallpa'). In

the second example, we find a limitative meaning, which is obtained by the combination of this enclitic with the Spanish preposition *hasta* 'until'.

(361) C02B05-NA-2007.073

urutankëx	ka	**Pucallpanuax**	atsintankëx
u-ru-tankëx	ka	Pucallpa=nu=a**x**	atsin-tankëx
come-up-S/A>S(PE)	NAR.3p	Pucallpa=LOC=PA:S	enter-S/A>S(PE)

anu	uakëxa
anu	u-akë-x-a
there	come-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Coming up, entering from Pucallpa, they came there.'

(362) C02B02-NA-2007.020

cha	bai	ka	'akëxa		*desde*	Tingo Maria	anuxun	[…]
cha	bai	ka	'a-akë-x-a		*desde*	Tingo Maria	anu-xun	[…]
big	path.ABS	NAR.3p	do-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox		from	Tingo Maria	there-PA:A	

hasta	**Pucallpanu**
hasta	Pucallpa**=nu**
until	Pucallpa=LOC

'They made a big road from Tingo Maria up to Pucallpa.'

9.3.1.6   =*mi(ki)* 'imprecise direction/location'

The enclitic =*mi(ki)* creates together with =*u(ki)* a very complex deictic system that requires more study. The major difficulty in relation to this system is that, as we will see, these two forms exhibit two different deictic centres when used as locatives and as directionals. In this section, I will present information on =*mi(ki)* (see the next section for a description of =*u(ki)*).

The enclitic =*mi(ki)* has two related forms: =*mi* and =*miki*. While the former can be used to express both imprecise location and direction, the latter is exclusively used to express an imprecise direction. As a locative marker, the form =*mi* uses the **addressee** as the deictic centre and can be translated as 'imprecise location, not close

to the adreesee'. In its locative use, this form can co-occur with the demonstratives *ënë* 'proximal to the speaker' and *u* 'far from the speaker and the addressee', but not with *a* 'proximal to the addressee'. Therefore, *=mi* is not only used to imprecisely locate something close to the speaker but also to locate it far from him or her, provided that is also far from the addressee. It is the relative location of the addressee that determines the use of this form. See the following examples:

(363) **ënëmi**   ka   'ën   piti   nan
      [ënë]=**mi**   ka   'ë=n   piti   nan
      this=IMPR.LOC NAR   1sg=GEN food.ABS put.IMP
      'Put my food around here (close to me, but not close to you)!'

(364) **umi**   ka   'ën   piti   nan
      [u]=**mi**   ka   'ë=n   piti   nan
      that=IMPR.LOC NAR   1sg=GEN food.ABS   put.IMP
      'Put my food around there (far from me and from you)!'

(365) *****ami**   ka   'ën   piti   nan
      [a]=**mi**   ka   'ë=n   piti   nan
      that=IMPR.LOC NAR   1sg=GEN food.ABS put.IMP
      ('put my food around there (close to you)!')

The marker *=mi* can appear in combination with *-u* in order to indicate that the located argument is neither very close to the speaker nor very far from both the speaker and the addressee. This is exemplified in the following paradigm:

(366) **ënëmiu**   ka   'ën   piti   nan
      [ënë]=**miu**   ka   'ë=n   piti   nan
      this=IMPR.LOC NAR   1sg=GEN food.ABS   put.IMP
      'Put my food around here but not very close to me!'

(367) **umiu**   ka   'ën   piti   nan
      [u]=**miu**   ka   'ë=n   piti   nan
      that=IMPR.LOC NAR   1sg=GEN food.ABS put.IMP
      'Put my food around there but not very far from me and from you!'

(368) *amiu   ka   'ën   piti   nan
      [a]=miu   ka   'ë=n   piti   nan
      that=IMPR.LOC NAR   1sg=GEN food.ABS put.IMP
      ('put my food around there but not very close to you!')

A different effect is found when the form =mi(ki) is used as a imprecise directional. In this case, the speaker is the deictic centre. In accordance with this, if used as a directional, this form can only co-occur with ënë 'this, proximal to the speaker' and not with a 'that, proximal to the addressee' or u 'that, distal from both the speaker and the addressee'. One example of this clitic with an NP follows:

(369) *hotel*mi(ki)   ka   'ën   xukën   aia
      [*hotel*]=mi(ki) ka   'ë=n   xukën   u-i-a
      hotel=IMPR.DIR NAR.3p   1sg=GEN   brother.ABS come-IMPF-non.prox
      'My brother is coming in direction to the Hotel (where I am).'

This enclitic has another more common function: it is used to mark the object of a few emotion predicates that can be used in extended intransitive constructions, as *nish- 'to hate/to envy'* (see §11.3.2.2). See the following example:

(370) C01A01-MO-2007.027
ami   nishkin   kaisa
[a]**=mi**   nish-kin   kaisa
he=IMPR.LOC   hate-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p
 'It is said that hating him...'

9.3.1.7   =u(ki) 'imprecise location/direction'

Like =mi(ki), =u(ki) has two related forms: =u and =uki, and only the former can be used for imprecise locations (the latter is exclusively used for imprecise directions). The same change of deictic centre as presented in the previous section is found in relation to =u(ki). As a locative marker, the form -u uses the **addressee** as the deictic centre and can be translated as 'imprecise location, close to the adressee'. As a

directional marker, the form *=u(ki)* uses the **speaker** as the deictic centre and can be translated as 'imprecise direction, not towards the speaker'. Examples of its locative meaning follow (notice that this form exhibits exactly the opposite distribution to *=mi(ki)*):

(371) a**u**   ka   'ën   piti   nan
       a=**u**   ka   'ë=n   piti   nan
       that=IMPR.LOC NAR   1sg=GEN   food.ABS   put.IMP
       'Put my food around there (close to you)!'

(372) *ënë**u**   ka   'ën   piti   nan
       ënë=**u**   ka   'ë=n   piti   nan
       this=IMPR.LOC NAR   1sg=GEN   food.ABS   put.IMP
       ('put my food around here (close to me)!')

(373) *u   ka   'ën   piti   nan
       u=**u**   ka   'ë=n   piti   nan
       that=IMPR.LOC NAR   1sg=GEN   food.ABS   put.IMP
       ('put my food around there (far from me and from you)!')

The form *=u(ki)* as an imprecise directional is presented in the following example. As previously explained, the speaker is the deictic centre in this case:

(374) *hotel***u(ki)**   ka   'ën   xukën   kwania
       hotel=**u(ki)**   ka   'e=n   xukën   kwan-i-a
       hotel=IMPR.DIR NAR.3p   1sg=GEN   brother.ABS   go-IMPF-non.prox
       'Your brother is going to the Hotel (where I am not).'

9.3.1.8   *=nan* 'possessive'

This enclitic is used to indicate that the argument marked by it is the possessor of something else. This enclitic is thus semantically similar to a genitive, but possessive NPs marked with *=nan* are syntactically different in the sense that they cannot

modify a nominal head. Thus, *'ë=nan* '1sg=POS' or *mi=nan* '2sg=POS' are to be translated as 'mine' and 'yours', rather than as 'my' or 'your'. One example follows:

(375) 'ën   kana   **Marianan**   biti   'ain
       'ë=n   kana   Maria**=nan**   bits-ti   'ain
       1sg=A   NAR.1sg   Maria=POS   pick.up-NOM   be.1/2p
       'I will pick up Maria's.'

9.3.1.9   =*kupí* 'reason'

The enclitic =*kupí* is an independent phonological word. In fact, there is also an independent word *kupí* 'price' and the two forms, the independent word and the case marker presented here, are very likely to be related. The marker =*kupí* 'reason' is used to indicate the reason why an event has been developed. See the following example:

(376) C01B03-SE-2007.019
a**kupí**   kaisa   atux   upiti   xukutia
[a]=**kupí**   kaisa   atu=x   upit-i   xukut-i-a
that=REAS   NAR.REP.3p   they=S   good-S/A>A(SE)   peel-IMPF-non.prox
 'It is said that because of that, they are peeling.'

       In one construction, the enclitic =*kupí* can appear with another case marker: in the interrogative word *ui=sa=kupí* 'why', which also includes the comparative case marker =*sa*. This construction reveals the clear lexical origin of =*kupí* , but may be seen as a synchronically lexicalised form. One example follows:

(377)   C01A01-MO-2007.007
atian   "**uisakupí**   kara   usaokin
atian   **ui=sa=kupí**   kara   usa-o-kin
then   why   NAR.INT.3p   like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)

'aia"   kixun   kaisa   unikaman
'a-i-a   ki-xun   kaisa   uni=kama=n
do-IMPF-non.prox   say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   person=PLU=ERG

sinankëxa

sinan-akë-x-a

think-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Then, it is said that the people thought: "why does this man fish like that?".'

9.3.2 =*kama* 'plural'

There is one inflectional number marker on nouns in Kashibo-Kakataibo: =*kama* 'plural'. This marker is optional and is only used when wanting to be explicit. It is entirely possible to find NPs without =*kama* talking about plural referents, if the number value can be inferred from the context. However, NPs marked by =*kama* cannot have singular interpretations. This is exemplified by the following examples:

(378) **unikama**   ka   kwankëxa

     uni**=kama**   ka   kwan-akë-x-a

     man=PLU.ABS   NAR.3p   go-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

     'The men went.'

     (*'the man went')

(379) uni   ka   kwan-akë-x-a

     uni   ka   kwan-akë-x-a

     uni.ABS   NAR.3p   go-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

     'The man went.'

     'The men went.'

In the following text example, =*kama* appears on the NP *nun aintsi* 'our ancestor', and also on the grammatical nominalisation headed by *'i-a* 'to be-nominaliser' (for more on grammatical nominalisations, see Chapter 20):

(380) C02B05-NA-2007.020

kananuna   ësaokin   bana   ñuixunkin

kananuna   ësa-o-kin   bana   ñui-xun-kin

NAR.1pl   like.this-FACT-S/A>A(SE)   tale.ABS   tell-BEN-PAST.HAB/1.2p

nu=n	**aintsikama**	**'iakama**
[[nun	aintsi]=kama	'i-a]=kama
we=GEN	relative=PLU.ABS	be-NOM=PLU

'Doing like this, we used to tell the stories about the ones who were our relatives.'

As we have seen in §8.2.1, a few nouns can be considered **non-count nouns** and, therefore, cannot be pluralised (for instance, *uñe* 'rain' or *ni* 'jungle'). In addition, nouns carrying the 'generic' suffix *-ina(k)* cannot be pluralised by means of *=kama* (but they can carry the 'collective' derivative marker *-baë*, and can then receive the plural marker too; see §8.3.4). Pronouns, in turn, seem to have had more number-choices, including a distinction between dual/paucal and proper plural (see §6.2.1). As shown in the following example, the marker *=kama* 'plural' can also appear on inanimate referents:

(381)	**xubukama**	ka	isakëxa
	xubu=kama	ka	is-akë-x-a
	houses=PLU.ABS	NAR.3p	see-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'(S)he saw the houses a long time ago.'

Plurality can be marked on the NP by means of *=kama*, on the verb (where we find the plural marker *-kan*, which is also optional; see §13.4) or on both (but there is no obligatory NP-V number agreement in the language).

9.3.3   *=tibi ~ =tiibi* 'distributive'

There is one additional NP enclitic: *=tibi ~ =tiibi* 'distributive'. This enclitic does not appear in my text database, but my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers provided me with examples. Its morphosyntactic nature is special in the sense that it can co-occur with both the case markers and the plural enclitic. Therefore, I analyse it here independently from those forms.

Semantically, the distributive enclitic indicates that the event is associated independently with each of the individuals referred to by the NP. In terms of its morphophonology, this enclitic shows an allomorphic alternation: it has an extra long first vowel (*tiibi*) if it is attached to a host with an even number of syllables; and it has a short vowel if it attached to a host with an odd number of syllables. This is shown in the following examples. Notice that in the first example the allomorph *=tibi* appears after the case enclitic *=bë* 'comitative (S)'; and, that in the second one, the allomorph *=tiibi* appears after the plural marker *=kama*.

(382) 'ëx   kana   **xanubëtibi**   Limanu   kwanti   'ain
      'ë=x   kana   xanu=bë=**tibi**   Lima=nu   kwan-ti   'ain
      1sg=S NAR.1sg woman=COM(S)=DIST Lima=DIR go-NOM   be.1/2p
      'I will go to Lima **with each woman**.'

(383) **xanukamatiibi**   ka   Limanu   kwanti   'ikën
      xanu=kama-**tiibi**   ka   Lima=nu   kwan-ti   'ikën
      woman-PLU-DIST   NAR.3p   Lima=DIR go-NOM   be.3p
      '**Each woman** will go to Lima.'

9.4   Constructions with *rabanan* 'because of'

The form *rabanan* 'because of' is phonologically an independent word and it is different from NP inflectional enclitics because it modifies an instrumental NP. Semantically, it seems to be very similar to *=kupí* 'reason' and the distinction between these two forms still requires more research. This form might be analysed as a special case of a postposition (since the postpositions presented in §6.3 obligatorily take unmarked complements), and it seems to be related to the verb *raban-* 'to care about, to adore':

(384) C02B02-NA-2007.051

usa	'ain	ka	nun	kaibunën	sinanxun
usa	'ain	ka	nu=n	kaibu=n	sinan-xun
like.that	being(DS/A/O)	NAR.3p	we=GEN	relative=ERG	think-S/A>A(SE)

ñu	'ati	'ikën	[…]	**men**	**rabananribi**
ñu	'a-ti	'ikën	[…]	**[me=n**	**rabanan]**=ribi
thing.ABS	do-NOM	be.3p		land=INS	because.of=also

'Being like this, thinking, our relatives will do the things because of (our) land.'

9.5 Sequences of NPs

Sequences of NPs are very frequent in Kashibo-Kakataibo discourse. Their high frequency could be related to the fact that it is uncommon to have NPs with two modifiers of the same type and, thus, if the speaker intends to modify, for example, the same referent with two adjectives, the preferred solution is to form a sequence of independent NPs with the same or semantically equivalent heads containing one modifier each. This produces appositional constructions, which are pervasive in Kashibo-Kakataibo discourse (see §9.5.2). Sequences of NPs in which one NP is in Kashibo-Kakataibo and the other in Spanish or Shipibo-Konibo are also quite common (see §9.5.3). In addition to sequences in which the NPs have the same referent, enumerations and coordinate NPs are also very common in natural speech (see §9.5.1).

9.5.1 Coordination and enumeration of NPs

Coordination of two NPs is done by means of *'imainun* 'and', which appears between the two NPs in the coordination. When there are only two NPs in the structure, the use of *'imainun* is obligatory. This can be seen in the following examples:

(385) Juanën   ka   ‘atsa   **‘imainun**   xëki   biaxa
      Juan=n   ka   [‘atsa]   **‘imainun**   [xëki]   bi-a-x-a
      Juan=ERG   NAR.3p   manioc.ABS and   corn.ABS   pick.up-PERF-3p-non.prox
      ‘Juan picked up manioc and corn.’

(386) *Juanën   ka   ‘atsa   xëki   bi-a-x-a
      Juan=n   ka   [‘atsa]   [xëki]   bi-a-x-a
      Juan=ERG   NAR.3p   manioc.ABS corn.ABS   pick.up-PERF-3p-non.prox
      (‘Juan picked up manioc and corn’)

When we have more than two coordinated NPs in an enumerative construction, different strategies are attested in Kashibo-Kakataibo. In some cases, only the last element in the enumeration is preceded by the form *‘imainun* ‘and’; but in others this form appears after each NP except after the last one. It is also very common for sequences of NPs to not contain the form *‘imainun*, but rather to end with a final summarising element like *akama* ‘those’ or *u=sa=bu* ‘that-comparative-imprecise reference (= things like that)’. In very rare cases both *‘imainun* and the summarising element appear together in the same construction. In the following examples, I illustrate these different strategies: in (387), we find the form *‘imainun* before the noun *charu* ‘crab’, which is the last element of the enumeration; in (388) we find an elicited version with the form *‘imainun* included twice; and in in (389), we encounter *akama* at the end of the enumeration and the form *‘imainun* does not occur.

(387) C01B03-SE-2007.017
atian   kaisa   **xapi**   **runu**   **‘imainun**   charu
atian   kaisa   [xapi]   [runu]   **‘imainun**   [charu]
then   NAR.REP.3p   shrimp.ABS   snake.ABS   and   crab.ABS
‘Then, shrimp, snakes and crabs…’

(388) Elicited from C01B03-SE-2007.017

atian	kaisa	**xapi**	**'imainun**	**runu**	**'imainun**	**charu**
atian	kaisa	[xapi]	**'imainun**	[runu]	**'imainun**	[charu]
then	NAR.REP.3p	prawn	and	snake	and	crab

'Then, shrimp and snakes and crabs…'

(389) C02B04-SE-2007.045

ñu	nun	'apákëkama	**nónsi**	**'atsa**	**xëki**	**arroz**
ñu	nu=n	'apat-kë=kama	[nónsi]	['atsa]	[xëki]	[arroz]
thing.ABS	we=A	plant-NOM=PLU	banana.ABS	manioc.ABS	corn.ABS	rice.ABS

akama
[a]=kama
that=PLU.O

'The things what we plant: bananas, manioc, corn, rice… all these things.'

9.5.2   Appositions

Appositions are very common in Kashibo-Kakataibo discourse. They are used as a way to attribute different qualities to one referent and, also, they appear to have some stylistic value in terms of Kashibo-Kakataibo traditional story-telling. In the first example below (390), we see that the appositional construction is being used to attribute two different properties to the same nominal head *uni*; while in the second one (391), we have a sequence of two NPs that have the same referent expressed by different nouns, the second one being more informative.

(390) C00A09-SE-2007.013

nukën	papaokëkama	ka	**[uni**	**chaxkḗ]**	**[siná**	**uni]**	**'iakëxa**
nukën	papaokë=kama	ka	uni	chaxkḗ	siná	uni	'iakëxa
our	ancestor=PLU	NAR.3p	man	big	brave	man	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Our ancestors were big and brave.'

(391) C02B02-NA-2007.060

los heroes guerreros	ka	'iakëxa	akama
los heroes guerreros	ka	'i-akë-x-a	a=kama
the.warriors.ABS	NAR.3p	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	that=PLU

[a	unikama]	['ën	papaokëkama]
a	uni=kama	'ë=n	papaokë=kama
that	person=PLU	1sg=GEN	ancestor=PLU.ABS

'The warriors were those, those men, my ancestors.'

Grammatical nominalisations tend to appear in appositional constructions with nouns, in which case they accomplish a relativisation function (see §20.3 for more details).

9.5.3   Bilingual repetitions

Kashibo-Kakataibo speech contains many instances of loans, code switching and code mixing with Spanish, which is the dominant and more prestigious language in the surrounding area. One characteristic consequence of the Spanish influence is that Kashibo-Kakataibo speakers sometimes repeat the same element once in Spanish and once in Kashibo-Kakataibo. This happens with different grammatical elements: for example we find nouns which are preceded by a Spanish preposition and then followed by the equivalent Kashibo-Kakataibo case marker (for example, *como gringo=sa* 'like an American', where we find the Spanish preposition *como* and the Kashibo-Kakataibo suffix *-sa*, both meaning 'like'). This is very common in both narratives and conversations. In the former, this also happens with entire NPs and, thus, we find examples like the following one, where the Spanish and the Kashibo-Kakataibo NPs appear in an appositional construction:

(392) C02A06-NA-2007.050

después	kananuna	bëtsi	'ati	'ain
después	kananuna	bëtsi	'a-ti	'ain
after	NAR.1pl	other.ABS	do-NOM	be.1/2p

bëtsi	*historia*	**bëtsi**	**bana**
[bëtsi	*historia*]	[bëtsi	bana]
other	story.ABS	other	tale.ABS

'Since (they) told me, I will tell other tales later.'

Similar examples of Kashibo-Kakataibo and Shipibo-Konibo pairs are also attested, for instance, in the following example, where we find the pair *katsin* and *xinkun* both referring to the same banana species but the first one is the Shipibo-Konibo form and the second one is the Kashibo-Kakataibo form:

(393) C00A10-NA-2007.012

'atankëxun	kana	**'itsa** *katsin*	**'itsa xinkun**	'ati	'ain
'a-tankëxun	kana	'itsa katsin	'itsa xinkun	'a-ti	'ain
do-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.1sg	a.lot banana.spe.ABS	a.lot banana.spe.ABS	do-NOM	be.1/2p

'After doing (that), I will plant a lot of *xinkun*.'

Speakers seem to use these repetitions when they realise that they have used a non-Kashibo-Kakataibo word. Therefore, it is always the case that the Kashibo-Kakataibo form follows the Spanish or the Shipibo-Konibo one.

Chapter 10 Adjectives

10.1 Introduction

As I have argued in Chapter 7, even though there are not always clear-cut boundaries between open word classes in Kashibo-Kakataibo, a class of adjectives can be identified in this language. There are around seventy words in my corpus that can be primarily catalogued as adjectives and there are also a few adjectivisation processes in the language.

Even though adjectives can be considered an open class, they are different from the more prototypical open classes of nouns or verbs, because the latter two are much larger, with hundreds of non-derived items in each. In that sense, adjectives are more similar to adverbs (the smallest open word class in Kashibo-Kakataibo; see Chapter 14) than to verbs or to nouns.

In §9.2.2, I have described the distribution of adjectives as modifiers within NPs, showing that they tend to appear only once per NP in discourse. In addition to their function as modifiers within NPs, adjectives appear as intransitive inchoative predicates expressing changes of state, as predicate modifiers, as copula complements in predicative constructions, and as the parameter of comparison in comparative constructions. It should be said that in the last two functions, adjectives appear as constituents of the clause and, therefore, must be considered as forming phrases that can be labelled **Adjective Phrases** (AdjP). However, since adjectives in Kashibo-Kakataibo cannot be modified by other lexical elements (as it happens, for example, in languages like English or Spanish, where adjectives can be modified, as

in *very good*); adjectives do not form complex phrases in Kashibo-Kakataibo and, thus, a section about the structure and the internal order of AdjPs is not necessary. The only exceptions to this are the superlative forms which are obtained by combining the adjective with the third person singular genitive pronoun *ain*, and the possibility of combining an adjective with a demonstrative in order to create a constituent functionally equivalent to an NP. However, in those cases we do not end up with an adjectival constituent, but with a nominal one. Notice that, as discussed in §7.4, adjectives modified by demonstratives were not always considered acceptable by my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers. In addition, this combination of adjectives and demonstratives does not appear in my database of natural texts and this is an indicator of its marginal nature. Thus, this construction will not be commented on in this chapter (see again §7.4 for some examples and more details).

The data presented in this chapter has been organised in the following way: first, in §10.2, I present a list of the adjective classes that can be identified in the language based on morphosyntactic grounds (§10.2.1 offers a description of the *a*-adjectives; §10.2.2 presents *t*-adjectives; and §10.2.3 discusses post-head adjectives). Then, §10.3 summarises the syntactic functions of adjectives (§10.3.1 exemplifies adjectives as modifiers; §10.3.2 is about adjectives as intransitive predicates; §10.3.3 presents adjectives as predicate modifiers; §10.3.4 describes adjectives in copula constructions and §10.3.5 present comparative and copula constructions, respectively). Section §10.4 is about the use of the diminutive *-rá* with adjectives; and §10.5 describes superlative forms. Adjectives derived from nouns are presented in §10.6.

10.2 Adjective classes

Based on a detailed study of English adjectives, Dixon (1982) proposes seven basic semantic classes of adjectives: dimension, physical property, colour, human propensity, age, value and speed. Dixon's (1982) semantic types of adjectives do not correspond exactly to grammatical distinctions within the adjective class or between adjectives and other word classes in Kashibo-Kakataibo, but they offer relevant clues. Notions related to dimension, colour and value are the only ones exclusively expressed by adjectives in this language, while physical properties are mainly expressed by adjectives but also, in a few cases, by verbs like *ichú-* 'to be bright'. Human propensities (many of them also applicable to animals) are mainly expressed by verbs, but some adjectives with related meanings are also attested: *chikish* 'lazy', *ñusmá* 'stupid' and *siná* 'brave'. Finally, age and speed are expressed both by adverbs and adjectives.

Based on morphosyntactic criteria, it is possible to postulate different subclasses of adjectives: (i) the group of adjectives that show an additional *a* in certain positions; (ii) the group of adjectives that show a high pitch on their second and final syllable or a final *t* if followed by certain suffixes; (iii) the group of adjectives that can only occur as post-nominal modifiers; and (iv) all other adjectives, which do not show any special morphosyntactic property and will not be discussed in this section. Each of the classes just mentioned is formed by adjectives that belong to more than one of the semantic classes proposed by Dixon (1982) and include members that have a corresponding nominal use/form (see §7.4 for details).

10.2.1   The *a*-adjectives

There is a group of adjectives that takes an additional -*a* suffix when appearing in the post-head position of an NP, showing the alternation Adj-N ~ N-Adj-*a*. The forms with -*a* can also function as heads of NPs by themselves without an additional nominal element and, for this reason, this additional -*a* could be considered an adjective nominaliser (although clearly non productive, and probably only diachronically analysable as such).

This alternation Adj-N ~ N-Adj-*a* (and the possibility of functioning as an NP when carrying the -*a*) is restricted to a short list of adjectives that includes mostly forms related to colours but also a couple of adjectives which express physical properties. Those adjectives are presented in Table 46; note that the last two forms do not surface with an overt -*a* for morphophonological reasons (forms like *tunan-a* and *paxá-a* will surface as *tunan* and *paxá*, due to vowel assimilation and, in the case of the first example, also because of metathesis of -*n*; see §5.7 for more details on Kashibo-Kakataibo morphophonemics):

Table 46   List of *a*-adjectives

Basic adjective form	-*a* form	meaning
uxu	uxua	'white'
panshin	panshian	'yellow'
ushin	ushian	'red'
turu	turua	'rounded'
tumú	tumúa	'spherical'
tunan	tunan	'black'
paxá	paxá	'green'

Even though there are two exceptions (the forms *turu* 'rounded' and *tumú* 'spherical'), there is a strong correlation between the formal subclass of *a*-adjectives and the semantic domain of colour, in that all the non-derived forms referring to

colours belong to this class (if we accept the analysis proposed here for *tunan* 'black' and *paxá* 'green', which do not exhibit an overt additional -*a*).

10.2.2 The *t*-adjectives

Among the seventy odd non-derived adjectives identified in my corpus, at least 16 are disyllabic words that show alternating forms, one with a high tone on their final syllable and the other with a final *t*. The alternation follows the same pattern attested in other phonologically similar cases (see section §4.3.1.3); that is, the final *t* only surfaces when one of the morphemes in Table 22 follows the stem. A list of all the *t*-adjectives attested in my corpus is presented in the following table:

Table 47   List of *t*-adjectives

Form	alternating form	Meaning
bënat	bëná	'young'
bënët	bënë́	'fast'
chabat	chabá	'wet'
chaxkët	chaxkë́	'tall'
chinit	chiní	'last'
'iët	'ié̌	'heavy'
këxtut	këxtú	'thick'
mëtut	mëtú	'short'
naxbat	naxbá	'wide'
nënkët	nënkë́	'long'
pënët	pënë́	'lighty'
puntët	puntë́	'correct'
tirit	tirí	'shiny'
upit	upí	'good'
xabat	xabá	'clear'
xuat	xuá	'fat'

The existence of minimally 16 adjectives that were systematically proved to carry a final *t* could be considered just a coincidence. Yet there are indications that

something else may be revealed in this pattern. It might be possible to establish a conection between the 'middle marker' *-t* (see §12.2.2.3) that is synchronically attested in verbs and the final *t* in the adjectives in Table 47, because there is not only a formal but also a functional correspondence between them: both the verbs marked by *-t* and the adjectives describe states or related meanings. Even though it is possible to argue that there is a synchronic class of adjectives in Kashibo-Kakataibo, it might be the case that at least some of its members have come from stative verbs. This could explain why I have found (at least) 16 adjectives ending in *t*. It is also true, however, that this verbal source is not necessarily the source for all adjectives. Others may have also come from nouns, for instance (see the discussion in §7.4 and the few forms that appear in both adjectival and nominal functions).

10.2.3 Post-head adjectives (and one quantifier)

Finally, there is a small class of adjectives (and one quantifier) that can only appear in the post-head position (e.g., *baka masman* 'shallow river' but not **masman baka*). This makes the forms listed in Table 48 different from other adjectives in the language, which are freer in terms of their distribution within the NP and can usually appear either after or before the noun.

Table 48   Post-head adjectives and quantifier

Form	Meaning
'itsi (~*betsi* in the pre-head position)	'other'
masman	'shallow'
'ió	'new'
xëni	'old, fat'
matsi	'cold'
kamë́ ëó	'a lot, much, many'

Notice that the forms in Table 48 should not be considered postpositions (see §6.3), since they do not create a PP, but are NP modifiers. One text example including the form *'itsi* 'other' is presented in (394):

(394) C01A09-SE-2007.006

uni	**'itsin**	'aia
uni	**'itsi**=n	'a-ia
person	other=ERG	do-S/A>O(SE)

'When the **other man** was doing (i.e. having sex with the woman)...'

Conversely, it may be interesting to note that there is at least one adjective in Kashibo-Kakataibo which exhibits an obligatory pre-head position. This form is the adjective *bënë́* 'fast', which has been classified as a *t*-adjective in this dissertation. Thus, while the form *bënë́ uni* 'fast man' is grammatical, the form **uni bënë́* is not. In the case of this adjective, my assumption, based on the reactions of my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers during elicitation sessions, is that the reason for its restricted distribution is a possible ambiguity with *bënë* 'male': the second word of an NP, if disyllabic, cannot carry a high pitch (see §4.3.7) and, thus, the forms *bënë́* 'fast' and *bënë* 'male' will surface with the same phonological form in such a position. In the pre-head position, the difference between the two forms remains intact and this may be the reason why the adjective *bënë́* is confined to the pre-head position. Thus, strictly speaking, this adjective can be seen as the only pre-head adjective of the language.

10.3 Syntactic functions of adjectives

10.3.1 Adjectives as NP modifiers

One of the more common functions of adjectives is to appear as modifiers within NPs. As I have discussed in §9.2.2, most adjectives can appear in both pre-head and

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post-head positions. The possible pragmatic distinctions associated with the position of the adjective still require careful study, but some evidence was given to argue that a saliency principle may be playing a role in the position of the adjective. The function of adjectives as NP modifiers is usually called *attributive* (Bolinger 1967) as opposed to their *predicative* function (where adjectives appear as copula complements). One instance of an adjective in the attributive function is presented in the following example:

(395) C01B05-SE-2007.054

y	'ainbi	ka	**bëná**	**unin**	[...]	pia
y	'ainbi	ka	**bëná**	uni=n	[...]	pia
and	but(DS/A/O)	NAR.3p	young	person=ERG		arrow.ABS

tointi	kanti	tointi	rabinia
toin-ti	kanti	toin-ti	rabin-i-a
grab-NOM	bow	grab-NOM	feel.embarrased-IMPF-non.prox

'But, in these times, young people feel embarrassed when they grab arrows and bows.'

10.3.2 Adjectives as intransitive predicates

Adjectives can function as intransitive predicates with a change of state meaning. In this case, they take almost any type of verbal morphology (see §7.3 for details and for a discussion of the distinction between verbs and adjectives). In (396), the form *upitia* is an adjective functioning as a predicate:

(396) C02B04-SE-2007.021

"upitia"	nun	'anibu	kiakëma
upit-i-a	nu=n	'anibu	ki-akëma
good-IMPF-non.prox	we=GEN	ancestor.ABS	say(INTR)-.as.used.to

'"It is becoming good", as our ancestors used to say.'

10.3.3 Adjectives as predicate modifiers

As verbal predicates, adjectival predicates can modify other predicates in discourse (see Chapter 18 on switch-reference and converbs). In that case, they receive a switch-reference marker and follow a transitivity harmony principle (see §18.5.1) that requires them to be transitivised by means of the factitive marker -*o*, if the predicate they modify is transitive. This is illustrated in the following examples. In the first one, the matrix verb is transitive, and thus the dependent adjectival predicate formed by *upí* 'beautiful' appears in its transitive form that includes the factitive marker. This is not the case in the second example, where the matrix predicate is intransitive, and the modifying adjectival predicate does not need to be transitivised. In the examples, the predicates being modified by the adjectival predicates are underlined.

(397) C01B06-JE-2007.008

upíokin	nuixun	nikinkin
upit-**o-kin**	nui-xun	nits-kin-kin
good-FACT-S/A>A(SE)	love-S/A>A(SE)	walk-APPL-HAB.REM.PAST.3p

'(She) used to walk with him, loving him well (i.e. intensely).'

(398) C02B04-SE-2007.009

upiti	chushia	kainkin
upit-**i**	chushi-ia	kain-kin
good-S/A>S(SE)	get.dry-S/A>O(SE)	wait-S/A>A(SE)

'Waiting for it to get well (i.e. completely) dry...'

10.3.4 Adjectives in copula constructions

Adjectives (or rather adjective phrases, since they can be claimed to be clause constituents) can appear as copula complements. As we can see in the following examples, the copula complement can appear before (see example (399)) or after (see the example (400)) the copula (see §22.2 for a general discussion of post-verbal elements and see §17.4 for copula clauses).

(399) C02B02-NA-2007.033

akupí	ka	nun	me	**chukúma**	'ikën
a=kupí	ka	nu=n	me	chukuma	'ikën
that-REAS	NAR.3p	we=GEN	land.ABS	small	be.3p

'For that reason, our land is small.'

(400) C02B02-NA-2007.068

Padre	Abad	ax	ka	'iakëxa	**chiní**
Padre	Abad	a=x	ka	'i-akë-x-a	chiní
Padre	Abad	3sg=S	NAR.3p	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	last

'Padre Abad, he was the last.'

10.3.5 Adjectives in comparative constructions

Adjectives do not have morphologically derived comparative forms, but they can appear in comparative constructions, which were borrowed from Spanish. Comparative forms in Kashibo-Kakataibo include the Spanish words *más que* 'more than', which are phonologically realised as *mas ki*. Like in the Spanish comparative construction, the adjective that functions as the parameter of the comparison appears between *mas* and *ki*. The following instances of comparative constructions were obtained in elicitation sessions:

(401)

Roberto	ka	**mas**	*xuá*	**ki**	Emilio	'ikën
Roberto	ka	**mas**	*xuá*	**ki**	Emilio	'ikën
Roberto.ABS	NAR.3p	more	fat	than	Emilio	be.3p.NON.PAST

'Roberto is fatter than Emilio.'

Emilio	ka	**mas**	*ñusi*	**ki**	Roberto	'ikën
Emilio	ka	**mas**	*ñusi*	**ki**	Roberto	'ikën
Emilio.ABS	NAR.3p	more	old	than	Roberto	be.3p.NON.PAST

'Emilio is older than Roberto.'

Comparative constructions equivalent to the ones with *less* in English are obtained by adding the Kashibo-Kakataibo negative marker =*ma* to the standard of comparison:

(402)
Emilio	ka	**mas**	xuá	**ki**	Robertoma	'ikën
Emilio	ka	**mas**	xuá	**ki**	Roberto=ma	'ikën
Emilio.ABS	NAR.3p	more	fat	than	Roberto=NEG	be.3p.NON.PAST

'Emilio is not fatter than Roberto (i.e. is less fat).'

Roberto	ka	**mas**	ñusi	**ki**	Emilioma	'ikën
Roberto	ka	**mas**	ñusi	**ki**	Emilio=ma	'ikën
Roberto.ABS	NAR.3p	more	old	than	Emilio=NEG	be.3p.NON.PAST

'Roberto is not older than Emilio (i.e. is less old).'

Notice that the examples above do not mean that Emilio is just as fat as Roberto, or that Roberto is just as old as Emilio, respectively. Equative constructions are obtained by adding the comparative marker =*sa* (see §9.3.1.4) and the adverbial enclitic =*ribi* 'also' (see §16.2.4) to the standard of the comparison. The following examples are cases of equative constructions:

(403)
Emilio	ka	chaxkë́	**Robertosaribi**	'ikën
Emilio	ka	chaxkë́	Roberto=**sa**=**ribi**	'ikën
Emilio.ABS	NAR.3p	tall	Roberto=COMP=also	be.3p.NON.PAST

'Emilio is as tall as Roberto.'

Roberto	ka	upí	**Emiliosaribi**	'ikën
Roberto	ka	upí	Emilio=**sa**=**ribi**	'ikën
Roberto	NAR.3p	good	Emilio=COMP=also	be.3p.NON.PAST

'Roberto is as good as Emilio.'

10.4   *-rá* 'diminutive' with adjectives

The diminutive suffix *-rá* (which appears mostly with nouns) is also attested with adjectives in my database. The function of this form when modifying adjectives is systematically associated with an affective meaning that indicates that the speaker feels some sort of empathy in relation to the argument being qualified by the adjective, or that he or she feels impressed by the degree to which the quality is attested in the entity. See the following example:

(404) C01B06-JE-2007.005

bëxuñurá	'ikëbi	kaisa	[...]	xanun	ain	bënë
bëxuñu-rá	'i-kë=bi	kaisa	[...]	xanu=n	ain	bënë
blind-DIM.ABS	be-NOM=same	NAR.REP.3p		woman=ERG	3sg.GEN	husband.ABS

'akësa	okin	[...]	masoma	'ikën
'a-kë=sa	o-kin	[...]	maso-a=ma	'ikën
do-NOM-COMP	FACT-S/A>A(SE)		mistreat-NOM=NEG	be.3p

'It is said that, even though (he) was a blind (person), the woman did not mistreat him.'

10.5   Superlative forms

Superlative forms of adjectives can be obtained by adding the third person singular genitive pronoun *ain*.[61] Thus, superlative forms may be seen as cases of complex AdjPs in which the adjective is modified by the genitive pronoun. However, superlative forms cannot function as NP modifiers (differently from English, a language where we find forms like *the most delicious food*), but are nominal in terms of their morphosyntactic behaviour and can be translated as 'the most X one'. Thus,

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[61] This construction is also used in Spanish by Kashibo-Kakataibo people, who can say *su largo* (lit. his/her/its large) in order to say *the largest*. Notice that his construction is not grammatical in standard Spanish.

adding the third person genitive pronoun to an adjective changes its word class, since the whole phrase is now nominal rather than adjectival.

In addition, it is important to mention that some of the forms including the genitive pronoun and an adjective can also refer to the associated qualities: something like 'its X-ness', where X represents the meaning expressed by the adjective. This is usually the case with adjectives referring to physical properties of objects. A list of some adjectives including their superlative forms is presented in the following table:

Table 49 Some adjectives with their corresponding superlative forms

form	meaning	superlative form	meaning
bëná	'young'	*ain bëná*	'the youngest' 'its youth' (?)
bënë̋	'fast'	*ain bënë̋*	'the fastest' 'its speed' (?)
chaxkë̋	'long'	*ain chaxkë̋*	'the longest' 'its length'
upí	'good'	*ain upí*	'the best' 'its quality, his/her beauty'

One example of a superlative form follows:

(405) **ain**   **chaxkë̋**   ka   'ë   'inan
      ain   chaxkë̋   ka   'ë   'inan
      3sg.GEN   long   NAR   1sg.O   give.IMP
'Give me the longest one!'

In many cases, the 'intensifier' adverbial enclitic *=shaman* (see §16.2.9) can have a meaning very similar to a superlative modifier when appearing on an adjective. Thus, *ain chaxkë̋ ~ chaxkë̋shaman* can both be translated as 'the longest'. However, those forms are morphosyntactically different. While superlative forms derived by the genitive are highly nominal; adjectives with *=shaman* seem to be used

only as copula complements, which is one of the prototypical functions of adjectives.

10.6   Derived adjectives

There are two synchronic mechanisms for deriving adjectives, plus a non-productive one. Derived adjectives appear in the same positions as underived ones and, in principle, both types of adjectives share the same morphosyntactic properties.

10.6.1   *-tín* 'same size'

The suffix *-tín* 'same size' is used on nouns in order to derive NP modifiers that are very similar to adjectives in their position in relation to the head: like other adjectives, and differently from modifying nouns, forms derived by *-tín* can appear either after or before the head (see the examples below). They are used to indicate that the head they modify denotes an entity that is similar in size to a prototypical exemplar of another class, i.e. of the one denoted by the noun carrying the suffix. For instance, we find the form *chuna unitín* 'spider monkey that is similar in size to a man' in the following examples, where it appears once after and once before the head it modifies:

(406) chuna   **unitín**   an   ka   'ë   ratuaxa
      chuna   uni-**tín**   a=n   ka   'ë   ratu-a-x-a
      spider.monkey man-same.size   3sg=A   NAR.3p 1sg.O   scare-PERF-3p-non.prox

      unitín   chuna   an   ka   'ë   ratuaxa
      uni-**tín**   chuna   a=n   ka   'ë   ratu-a-x-a
      man-same.size spider.monkey   3sg=A   NAR.3p 1sg.O   scare-PERF-3p-non.prox

      'The spider monkey that is of the size of a man scared me.'

This suffix can be followed by the enclitic *=bu* 'imprecise reference, collective' in order to indicate that it is not possible to determine the nature of the

entity. Copula clauses including a noun modified by *-tín=bu* as their complement are relatively common. Like in other contexts, *=bu* receives a collective interpretation (see §16.2.10). See the following example:

(407) **xubutínbu**   ka   ux   'ikën
      xubu-**tín=bu**   ka   u=x   'ikën
      house-same.size=COL NAR.3p   that=S   be.3p
      'Those things (perhaps rocks) are of the size of a house.'

10.6.2   *=ñu* 'proprietive'

The enclitic *=ñu* 'indicates that the nominal element it modifies is the property of the referent of the head of its NP. The marker *=ñu* is used to derive NP modifiers, functionally equivalent to adjectives. These modifiers require a head noun. This can clearly be seen in the following examples:

(408) xubu**=ñu**   uni   'man with a house'
      xanu**=ñu**   uni   'man with a woman (married man)'
      bëchikë**=ñu**   uni   'man with a son (father)'

      The morpheme *=ñu* 'possessive' is clearly an enclitic, as shown by the following examples where it modifies complex NPs:

(409) [xubu chaxkë́]**=ñu**   uni   'man with a big house'
      [rabë́ xubu chaxkë́]**=ñu** uni   'man with two big houses'

      Like underived adjectives, adjectives derived by *=ñu* can also appear as copula complements. One text example of this follows. There, we find the noun *'ian* 'lake' being modified by *=ñu* and the entire form appears as the complement of the copula *'ikën*:

(410) C02B04-SE-2007.005

kara	**'ianñu**	'ikën	kixun	kananuna	barin
kara	'ian=ñu	'ikën	ki-xun	kananuna	bari-i-n
NAR.INT.3p	lake=PROP	be.3p	say(INTR)-S/A>A	NAR.1pl	look.for-IMPF-1/2p

'We look for (a place to make our garden), saying "is it with lakes?".'

10.6.3 Adjectives with *-ru* and *-ntu*

The form *-ru* 'lacking' only appears with shortened versions of body parts nouns, which are equivalent to the synchronic body part prefixes attested in the language and which were presented in §5.6. In fact, the synchronic analysis of *-ru* is complicated, because we would have to assume that it is a suffix that attaches to prefixes, and thus the resulting form would be a form without a root. This fact opens important questions regarding the relationship between body part nouns and body part prefixes (see Zariquiey and Fleck in press, for a discussion of the issue). Some examples follow:

(411) ta**ru**   'limping'
     pa**ru**   'lacking one ear'
     pën**ru**   'one-handed'
     xun**ru**   'lacking one breast'

In addition to forms with *-ru*, we find cases in which a body part prefix is combined with the ending *-ntu*. In this case, the resulting adjective is associated with the lacking not of the whole body part, but of a small portion of it. Some examples follow:

(412) më**ntu**   'with a chopped finger'

     rë**ntu**   'with a chopped tip'

     tsi**ntu**   'with a chopped tail'

Adjective forms with *-ru* and *-ntu* are similar to the adjectives presented in §10.2.3, in that they are exclusively post-head modifiers. See the following examples:

(413) ***taru**   uni

     uni   **taru**

     ('limping man')

     *mëntu uni

     uni   **mëntu**

     ('man with a chopped finger')

Chapter 11 Verbs (1): verb classes

11.1 Introduction

From a semantic perspective, prototypical verbs are defined based on the notion of temporal instability (and other semantic principles listed, for example, in Givon 2001: 52, such as temporal compactness, concreteness, complexity and spatial diffuseness, and agentiveness and mental activity). Generally, "[verbs] are coherent bundles of experience of relatively short duration" (Givon 2001: 52). But, of course, the semantic content of verbal lexemes can be closer to, or further from, the above prototype, and different semantic types of verbs can be established in different languages based upon how closely they correspond to that prototypical definition.[62]

In this chapter, I will not focus on the semantics of verbs, but on their syntactic nature, classifying them into transitivity classes. This is done because the category of transitivity is the one that has the clearest consequences for the grammar of Kashibo-Kakataibo and which is consistently marked on different morphosyntactic elements. As it has also been argued for other Pano languages (see, for example, Loos 1999: 243 for a general characterisation of the family), Kashibo-Kakataibo verbs are either inherently transitive (like *pi-* 'to eat') or inherently intransitive (like '*ux-* 'to sleep'). Therefore, transitivity in Kashibo-Kakataibo is primarily a feature of the lexeme and this can be tested by means of a number of

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[62] Just to give one example, Givon (2001: 106) establishes a distinction between states (which can be temporary or permanent), events (which can be bounded or unbounded) and actions (which can be also bounded or unbounded).

very strong and highly predictive morphosyntactic criteria that systematically show the same results for each verb stem. In Pano languages, the transitivity class of a verb is fixed (and can only be changed by means of a valency-changing suffix; see §12.2).

One important distinction to be made in this chapter is the one between **transitivity** and **valency**. I will identify two transitivity classes in Kashibo-Kakataibo: intransitive and transitive. Those transitivity classes are not primarily defined by the number of core arguments that appear overtly, which may be understood as a verb's valency (as defined, for example, by Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 3); but by a set of morphosyntactic mechanisms that will be presented in this chapter. Transitivity will be understood here as a lexical property of the verb stem. By contrast, valency will be understood as a property that is manifested on the clausal level and that may vary according to how a verb is used in a particular context. While there is a tendency for transitivity and valency to coincide (e.g. transitive verbs usually occur with two or three core arguments), in Kashibo-Kakataibo, the transitivity value of a verb cannot be predicted 100% of the time based on its valency (see the discussion in §11.2).

The information on verb classes is presented according to the following structure: section §11.2 presents a working definition of transitivity that will help us understand how Kashibo-Kakataibo grammar works; section §11.3 discusses intransitive verbs; and section §11.4 describes transitive verbs. A distinction between plain and extended types of both intransitive and transitive verbs, in similar terms to the ones proposed by Dixon and Aikhenvald (1997) is argued to be relevant for Kashibo-Kakataibo and this distinction is followed in this chapter. Section §11.5 focuses on cases of verb pairs that obligatorily carry the forms *-n* 'transitive' and *-t*

'intransitive'; and §11.6 presents verb pairs that obligatorily carry *ka* 'transitive' and *ki* 'intransitive'. Cases of verbs showing a suppletive distinction between transitive and intransitive forms are discussed in §11.7. Section §11.8 presents cases of ambitransitive verbs. Finally, section §11.9 offers a summary of the chapter.

11.2 Transitivity classes in Kashibo-Kakataibo

All the transitivity-encoding morphosyntactic operations found throughout the Kashibo-Kakataibo clause are sensitive to the lexical transitivity of the verb. In Kashibo-Kakataibo, transitivity distinctions have grammaticalised in different sections of the grammar, and transitivity is not only reflected in the case marking of arguments, but also in the switch-reference system and in some oblique markers. In addition, some derivational morphemes show different forms for transitive vs. intransitive stems, and this is also true for some multi-verb constructions that observe the transitivity harmony principle (see §18.5.1). Thus, transitivity is overtly marked throughout the clause as part of different types of transitivity encoding, agreement and harmony, and an inaccurate use of these mechanisms results in the unacceptability of a clause.

The existence of these transitivity-encoding devices implies, as a consequence, that the transitivity of any verb stem can be easily tested by resorting to its morphosyntactic distribution. Transitive verbs will show subjects in the ergative/A case (if overtly expressed in the clause); will exhibit the transitivity agreement markers for transitive verbs; and will trigger the transitive version of those constructions that are sensitive to transitivity. Intransitive forms, by contrast, will do the opposite. The following examples show how these mechanisms work.

First, we can see that transitive verbs will have their pronominal subject-like arguments marked with the form =*n* 'A', while intransitive verbs will have their pronominal subjects marked with the 'S' marker =*x* instead (see §6.2 for case marking on pronouns). Thus, we have:

(414) **'ën** kana 'atsa   pin   (*'**ëx** kana atsa pin)
   'ë**=n** kana 'atsa   pi-i-n
   1sg=A NAR.1sg manioc.ABS eat-IMPF-1/2p
   'I am eating manioc.'

(415) **'ëx** kana tanin   (*'**ën** kana tanin)
   'ë**=x** kana tan-i-n
   1sg=S NAR.1sg rest-IMPF-1/2p
   'I am resting.'

In addition to that, if we add a verb marked for switch-reference, we will see that it takes a different suffix when modifying a transitive vs. an intransitive verb (see Chapter 18 for switch-reference in Kashibo-Kakataibo). This can be understood as a type of transitivity agreement:

(416) **kwanxun(*-ax)** kana **'ën** 'atsa   pin
   kwan-**xun**   kana 'ë=n 'atsa   pi-i-n
   go-S/A>A(PE) NAR.1sg 1sg=A manioc.ABS eat-IMPF-1/2p
   'Having gone, I am eating manioc.'

(417) **kwanx(*-xun)** kana **'ëx** tanin
   kwan-**ax**   kana 'ë=x tan-i-n
   go-S/A>S(PE) NAR.1sg 1sg=S rest-IMPF-1/2p
   'Having gone, I am resting.'

We can also add an adjective in a predicate-modifying function, using this time the paradigm formed by the suffixes *-kin* 'S/A>A, simultaneous event' and *-i* 'S/A>S, simultaneous event'. In this context, it is interesting to observe that adjectives need to be transitivised first in order to be able to modify a transitive

matrix verb (see §10.3.3). The transitiviser in that context is the 'factitive' marker *-o* (~ *-a*) which is attested only in the first, transitive, example:

(418) **kwanxun**   kana   **upíokin(*-i)**   **'ën**   'atsa   pin
        kwan-xun   kana   upit-**o-kin**   'ë=n   'atsa   pi-i-n
        go-S/A>A   NAR.1sg   beautiful-FACT-S/A>A(SE)   1sg=A   manioc.ABS   eat-IMPF-1/2p

        'Having gone, I am eating manioc beautifully.'

(419) **kwanx**   kana   **upiti(*-o-kin)**   **'ëx**   tanin
        kwan-ax   kana   upit-**i**   'ë=x   tan-i-n
        go-S/A>S   NAR.1sg   beautiful-S/A>S(SE)   1sg=S   rest-IMPF-1/2p

        'Having gone, I am resting beautifully.'

    Let us now look at an operation that most clearly shows that transitivity in Kashibo-Kakataibo is a property of the verb stem, since it is a verb-internal derivational process (see section §12.3). For example, if we add a *go/come* directional suffix to the above examples, we will find the following situation, where different transitive and intransitive suffixes are found:

(420) **kwanxun**   kana   **upíokin**   **'ën**   **'atsa**
        kwan-xun   kana   upit-**o-kin**   'ë=n   'atsa
        go-S/A>AS   NAR.1sg   good-FACT-S/A>A(SE)   1sg=A   manioc.ABS

        pibëtsinin(*pi-kwatsin-)
        pi-**bëtsin**-i-n
        eat-coming.TRAN-IMPF-1/2p
        'Having gone, I am eating manioc beautifully while coming.'

(421) **kwanx**   kana   upit**i**   **'ëx**
        kwan-ax   kana   upit-**i**   'ë-x
        go-S/A>S   NAR.1sg   good-S/A>A(SE)   1sg-S

        tankwantsinin(*tan-bëtsin-)
        tan-**kwantsin**-i-n
        rest-coming.INTR-IMPF-1/2p
        'Having gone, I am resting beautifully while coming.'

In addition, we can also mention the comitative marker that shows different allomorphs according to the transitivity of the verb: it surfaces as *=bëtan* if the verb is transitive and as *-bë* if the verb is intransitive (see §9.3.1.3):

(422) **kwanxun**   kana   upí**okin**   **Juanbëtan (*=bë)**   '**ën**
       kwan-xun   kana   upit-o-kin   Juan**=bëtan**   'ë=n
       go-S/A>AS   NAR.1sg good.TRAN-S/A>A(SE) Juan-COM(A)   1sg=A

       'atsa   pi**bëtsin**in
       'atsa   pi-**bëtsin**-i-n
       manioc.ABS   eat-coming.TRAN-IMPF-1/2p
       'Having gone, I am eating manioc beautifully with Juan while coming.'

(423) **kwanx**   kana   upit**i**   '**ëx**   **Juanbë (*=bëtan)**
       kwan-ax   kana   upit-i   'ë=x   Juan**=bë**
       go-S/A>S   NAR.1sg good-S/A>A(SE) 1sg=S   Juan-COM(S)

       tan**kwantsin**in
       tan-**kwantsin**-i-n
       rest-coming.INTR-IMPF-1/2p
       'Having gone, I am resting beautifully with Juan while coming.'

We can see from the above discussion that transitivity is overtly coded in different parts of the grammar and that adding the wrong form will result in an ungrammatical clause. The fact that the stems *pi-* 'to eat' and *tan-* 'to rest' are respectively inherently transitive and intransitive is particularly clear from the examples in (420) and (421): **pi-kwantsin-ti* ('eat-coming.INTR-NOM') and **tan-bëntsin-ti* ('rest-coming.TRAN-NOM') are ungrammatical in every possible context, even if they are produced in isolation and without appearing in a clause.

As as additional criterion for distinguishing between transitive and intransitive verbs, we can use the accessibility to valency decreasing suffixes, such as the 'reflexive' marker *-akat* (and its multiple allomorphs) and the 'reciprocal' marker *-anan,* which are not available for intransitive verbs. See the following examples of

the transitive verb *is-* 'to see' and the intransitive verb *'ux-* 'to sleep' with the reciprocal and notice that this suffix is unacceptable in the latter case (the same behaviour is found with the reflexive):

(424) nux   kananuna   **isananin**
      nu=x   kananuna   is-**anan**-i-n
      1pl=S   NAR.1pl   see-REC-IMPF-1/2p
      'We see each other.'

(425) *nux   kananuna   **'uxananin**
      nu=x   kananuna   'ux-**anan**-i-n
      1pl=S   NAR.1pl   sleep-REC-IMPF-1/2p
      ('we sleep each other')

Transitivity (in terms of the distinction between transitive and intransitive classes of verbs) is a lexical category and valency (the number of core arguments controlled by the verb) is a clausal one. The two of them correlate closely with each other, but valency cannot predict by itself the transitivity class of all verbs. Transitive verbs **tend to** appear with two overtly expressed arguments and intransitive verbs are even **more likely** to appear with only one. However, we also have many cases where a transitive verb appears in a clause with only one argument and some where an intransitive one appears with two. In addition, as we will see in this chapter, we have verbs that are semantically bivalent (at least in some constructions); but are syntactically intransitive.

In most cases where a transitive verb appears without two overt arguments, we can easily argue that the object is recoverable from the context, i.e. the verb is still transitive, but its argument is omitted for pragmatic reasons. This happens very often when we have two clauses following each other and sharing the same object. The following fragment has been taken from a narrative about the building of a road

from Pucallpa to Tingo Maria. From the previous sentence, it is clear that the O argument of the verb *'a-tëkën-akë-x-a* 'to do-again-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox' is the highway.

(426) C00A03-EE-2006.006-007

usa 'ain	ka	***carretera**ᵢ*	Pucallpanu	bëakëxa	[...]
usa 'ain	ka	***carretera***	Pucallpa=nu	bë-akë-x-a	
being.like.that	NAR.3p	highway	Pucallpa=LOC	bring-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	

'Being like that, they brought the highway to Pucallpa.'

bëbatankëxun	ka	anuxun	*hasta*	Tingo	Marianu
bëba-tankëxun	ka	anuxun	*hasta*	Tingo	Maria=nu
arrive-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.3p	then(TRAN)	until	Tingo	Maria=LOC

Øᵢ	**'atëkëankëxa**		amiribishi
	'a-tëkën-akë-x-a		amiribishi
	do-again-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox		again

'After arriving, then, they built (the road) again up to Tingo Maria.'

However, in other cases, it is not possible to recover an object from the context. This is the case, for example, with the imperative forms in the following examples, which do not have an overt object, but are still treated as transitive verbs by the grammar. In the positive form of the imperative construction in the first clause in (427) there is no overt object and, at the same time, no object can be recovered from the context. According to my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers, the first clause in (427) means 'go to eat', but does not specify what will be eaten, since there is no previously identified type of food. The object is also not located in the immediate spatial context and the action is supposed to be accomplished in a different place, because of the marker *-tan* 'go to'. However, as the negative form suggests, in this context the verb *pi-* 'to eat' is still treated as transitive by, e.g., the auxiliary and the switch-reference marker in (428) (and, thus, the situation differs from what we find regarding the intransitive form in the second clause):

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(427) ka   pitan
      ka   pi-tan
      NAR   eat-go.to.IMP
      'Go to eat!'

      ka   'uxtan
      ka   'ux-tan
      NAR   sleep-go.to.IMP
      'Go to sleep!'

(428) **pixunma**   ka   **'atan**
      pi-**xun**=ma   ka   **'a-tan**
      eat-S/A>A=NEG   NAR   TRAN.AUX-go.to.IMP
      'Don't go to eat!'

      'uxaxma   ka   **'itan**
      'ux-**ax**=ma   ka   **'i-tan**
      eat-S/A>A=NEG   NAR   INTR.AUX-go.to.IMP
      'Don't go to sleep!'

Examples like the ones in (427) and (428) show that the transitivity encoding mechanisms in Kashibo-Kakataibo are sensitive to the inherent transitivity class of the verb stem and not to the way in which the verb is being used in context. If we follow Hopper and Thompson (1980), it is possible to say that the context of *pi-* 'to eat' in the previous example is less transitive in that it refers to an atelic, imperfective and irrealis event, and this might have allowed for the omission of the O argument, but further research is needed to determine the exact contexts that allow for the omission of such arguments in Kashibo-Kakataibo. In any case, despite its omission, the lexical transitivity of the verb remains unaffected: *pi-* 'to eat' is always treated as transitive by Kashibo-Kakataibo grammar.

Something similar can be stated for intransitive verb stems. In most cases, they appear in clauses that have just one core argument and their lexical transitivity is reflected throughout the clause as expected. It is possible, however, to find cases in which non-extended intransitive verbs appear in clauses with more than one

argument. For example, in (430) we have the verb *kwain-* 'to play' appearing with the object-like noun *voley* 'volleyball'. It might be possible to argue that *volleyball* in *to play volleyball* is not truly an argument, and that *playing volleyball* is an (intransitive) activity. In other cases, however, we have intransitive verbs with objects in more transitive contexts. Let us look at the intransitive verb stem *kanta-* 'to sing'. In the first example, it appears in an intransitive construction with only one argument; while in the second, we find the object-like phrase *ënë cumbia upí* 'this beautiful cumbia', which is definite and referential and, therefore, might be seen as making the clause more transitive (again, in the sense of Hopper and Thompson 1980). Even though language-internal tests are needed for a more accurate analysis, we might say that the predicate *kanta-* 'to sing' in (432) is being used as some sort of (telic) accomplishment, which in the terms of VanValin and LaPolla (1997) has a semantic valency of two, thus accounting for the presence of an object. Kashibo-Kakataibo transitivity agreement, however, still indicates intransitivity and this fact is strong evidence for arguing that the lexical transitivity of the verb determines the morphological marking of transitivity in the language.

(429) **piax**   kana   **'ëx**   kwaian
     pi-**ax**   kana   'ë**=x**   kwain-a-n
     eat-S/A>S   NAR.1sg   1sg=S   play-PERF-1/2p
     'Having eaten, I played.'

(430) **piax**   kana   **'ëx**   voley   kwaian
     pi-**ax**   kana   'ë**=x**   voley   kwain-a-n
     eat-S/A>S   NAR.1sg   1sg=S   volleyball   play-PERF-1/2p
     'Having eaten, I played voleyball.'

(431) **piax**   kana   **'ëx**   kantan
     pi-**ax**   kana   'ë**=x**   kanta-a-n
     eat-S/A>S   NAR.1sg   1sg=S   sing-PERF-1/2p
     'Having eaten, I sang.'

(432) **piax**   kana   **'ëx**   ënë   cumbia   upí   kanta-a-n
pi-**ax**   kana   'ë=**x**   ënë   cumbia   upí   kanta-a-n
eat-S/A>S   NAR.1sg   1sg=S   this   cumbia   beautiful   sing-PERF-1/2p
'Having eaten, I sang this beautiful cumbia.'

One additional problem that requires more study has to do with the grammatical status of the second (unmarked) argument of examples like the ones in (430) and (432). Absolutive objects of transitive verbs are formally unmarked and on this basis, it is possible to argue that the unmarked arguments of (430) and (432) are also absolutive. However, preliminary evidence suggests that those arguments are grammatically different from prototypical objects of transitive verbs in relation to important criteria such as switch-reference and valency decreasing mechanisms. I will leave this issue for future research.

11.3   Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs in Kashibo-Kakataibo are defined by means of the following principles:

(433) <u>Definitional features of intransitive verbs</u>
- The only argument or the more agent-like argument (in the case of transitivity mismatches of the kind illustrated in (430) and (432)) appears as an absolutive-marked noun or as an S-marked pronoun.
- They use the intransitive version of the suffixes, enclitics and constructions that have alternating transitive and intransitive forms.
- In principle, they cannot be modified by valency decreasing suffixes, such as the 'reflexive' marker *-akat* (and its multiple allomorphs) and the 'reciprocal' marker *-anan* (but see the special case of a few emotion predicates that can carry the reciprocal in §21.4.4.2).

The features presented in (433) have already been exemplified in the examples offered in the previous section. Here I present the distinction between plain intransitive verbs (or, simply, intransitive verbs; see §11.3.1) and extended

intransitive verbs (see §11.3.2). The former are grammatically intransitive (i.e. follow the principles presented in (433)) and have a semantic valency of one. The latter are also grammatically intransitive, but have a semantic valency of two.

11.3.1 (Plain) intransitive verbs

Five of the most frequently attested plain intransitive verbs in my data base are presented in the following table:

Table 50 Some intransitive verbs

verb	meaning
kwan-	'to go'
ni-	'to walk'
u-	'to come'
'ux-	'to sleep'
in-	'to cry'

Two naturalistic examples of plain intransitive verbs follow (the verbs are underlined and the transitivity encoding devices that show their transitivity class are in bold):

(434) C00A06-EE-2006.011

kwabutankëx	kaisa	**nukën**	chaitikama
kwan-but-**tankëx**	kaisa	nukën	chaiti=kama
go-down(INTR)-S/A>S(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	1pl.GEN	ancestor=PLU.ABS

<u>bëbakëxa</u>	Amazona	'imainun	Marañon	saë́kënu
bëba-akë-x-a	Amazona	'imainun	Marañon	saë́kë=nu
arrive-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	Amazon	and	Marañon	near.by.a.river=LOC

'It is said that, after going down, our ancestor arrived to the mouth of the Amazon and Marañon rivers.'

(435) C00A06-EE-2006.022

shitákëbëbi	kaisa	nukën	chichi	**Xëxukë**
shitat-**këbë**=bi	kaisa	nukën	chichi	Xëxukë
cross-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)=same	NAR.REP.3p	our	grandmother	proper.name.ABS

ax	iankëxa
a=x	in-akë-x-a
she=S	cry-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, when they were crossing, our grandmother Xëxukë cried.'

11.3.2 Extended intransitives

11.3.2.1 *pishin-* 'to lack'

Different from what we have seen for a few intransitive verbs that can appear with an additional argument in very specific cases (see examples (430)-(432)), the verb *pishin-* 'to lack' is frequently used as an extended intransitive predicate and this seems to be its primary use. Therefore, it deserves a special treatment in this section. The predicate *pishin-* semantically refers to a situation with two arguments, one argument lacking something (the EXPERIENCER) and the other, the argument being lacked (the THEME). These two semantic roles can be expressed in two different ways and in two distinct constructions:

(436)
'ë	ka	**arroz**	pishinia
'ë	ka	**arroz**	pishin-i-a
1sg.O	NAR.3p	rice.ABS	lack-IMPF-non.prox

'I lack rice (lit. to me, rice is lacking).'

'ex	kana	**arroz**	pishinin
'e=x	kana	**arroz**	pishin-i-n
1sg=S	NAR.1sg	rice.ABS	lack-IMPF-1/2p

'I lack rice.'

In the two constructions presented above, each sense of *pishin-* is to be analysed as an instance of an extended intransitive verb. In the first one, we can conclude that the subject argument of the clause is the NP *arroz* 'rice', since the second position enclitics and the cross-referencing on the verb show a third person subject cross-reference. Thus, we have an absolute subject plus an 'O'-marked

argument (the first person pronoun *'ë* '1sg.O'). Another interesting fact about the first sentence presented in (436) is that even though the first person pronoun is not the grammatical subject of the clause, it nevertheless preferably appears as the first constituent of the clause, preceding the second position enclitics. Thus, according to my teachers, the first example in (436) is preferred over the following one (which is grammatical, but pragmatically marked):

(437) **arroz**   ka   **'ë**   pishinia
      arroz   ka   **'ë**   pishin-i-a
      rice.ABS   NAR.3p   1sg.O   lack-IMPF-non.prox
      'I lack rice (lit. to me, rice is lacking).'

      The second construction of (436) shows a reversal of roles: we can see that, according to the cross-reference marking on the second position enclitics and on the verb, the grammatical subject of the clause is the first person pronoun. This is also confirmed by the fact that it appears with the 'S' marker =*x*. Note that, again, we find an unmarked (absolutive) argument, *arroz* 'rice.ABS' which looks like the object of a transitive predicate but appears within an intransitive construction. The grammatical nature of this unmarked argument requires more study.

      Therefore, we are dealing with an extended intransitive verb that occurs in two different constructions: one assigns the subject function to the experiencer and the other, to the theme. In both cases, *pishin-* is clearly intransitive as seen in the subject marking (as in the examples above), but also in other transitivity encoding devices, such as in the intransitive form of the switch-reference markers, for example:

(438) kupíra   **'aish**   ka   **arroz**   **'ë**   pishi-ia
      kupíra   **'aish**   ka   **arroz**   **'ë**   pishin-i-a
      very.expensive   be.S/A>S   NAR.3p   rice.ABS   1sg.O   lack-IMPF-non.prox
      'When it was very expensive, rice was scarce to me.'

kënuax	kana	**'ex**	**arroz**	pishinin
kënu-**ax**	kana	**'e=x**	**arroz**	pishin-i-n
finish-S/A>S	NAR.1sg	1sg=S	rice.ABS	lack-IMPF-1/2p

'After finishing (it), I lack rice.'

In the first type of construction, the experiencer-object can potentially be omitted and the verb can be used as a plain intransitive, as in the following example. But in the second construction, with the experiencer-subject, the thing being lacked has to be identifiable and can only be omitted if it is recoverable from the context.

(439)
kupíra	**'aish**	ka	**arroz**	pishinia
kupíra	**'aish**	ka	**arroz**	pishin-i-a
very.expensive	be.S/A>S	NAR.3p	rice.ABS	lack-IMPF-non.prox

'When it was very expensive, rice was scarce.'

kënuax	kana	**'ex**	pishinin
kënu-**ax**	kana	**'e=x**	pishin-i-n
finish-S/A>S	NAR.1sg	1sg=S	lack-IMPF-1/2p

'After finishing (it), I lack something which has been previously mentioned (e.g. rice).'

11.3.2.2 Emotion-predicates that can carry a second argument with *=mi*

A small set of emotion predicates exhibits a particular grammatical behaviour that I consider pertinent enough to treat separately in this section. Basically, the predicates to be presented here can be used as plain intransitive verbs and as extended intransitive ones. However, differently from the verb *pishin-* 'to lack' and from the use of some intransitive verbs with one extra argument, as *kanta-* 'to sing' in examples like the one in (432), these emotion predicates take a second argument marked by the case enclitic *=mi* 'imprecise location'. In some cases, a semantic difference was attributed by my teachers according to the construction in which the verb appears; while, in others, the presence of this second argument marked with *=mi* was considered as almost obligatory (and examples without it where considered

as highly marked or even ungrammatical). All this is presented in the following table, which includes all the emotion predicates in my database that show this behaviour:

Table 51   Emotion predicates that can carry a second argument marked by =*mi*[63]

verb	meaning	
	as a plain intransitive	as an extended intransitive with a =*mi*-marked argument
nish-	'to be upset'	'to get angry at, to hate, to envy'
nutsi-	'to feel down'	'to get disappointed of'
rakwët-	'to fear'	'to be scared of'
katamët-	-	'to trust'
pishu-	-	'to cry because of someone else'

When used as extended intransitives, these emotion-predicates are bivalent, in the sense that they require an EXPERIENCER (a person undergoing the emotion) and a STIMULUS (something or someone producing the emotion).

Some examples of these forms follow. In the first one, we find the verb *nish-* 'to get angry at, to hate, to envy' appearing with the object *a* '3sg', which is modified by the marker =*mi*. In the second one, the verb *katamë-* 'to trust' is presented:

(440) C01A01-MO-2007.022

ami	<u>nishkin</u>	kaisa	achushi unin	[...]	maxaxnu
a=mi	nish-kin	kaisa	achushi uni=n		maxax=nu
3sg=IMPR.LOC	envy-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	one person=ERG		stone=LOC

ain	bëru	nankë	[...]	kaisa
ain	bëru	nan-kë	[...]	kaisa
3sg.GEN	eye.ABS	put-NOM		NAR.REP.3p

---

[63] The remaining emotion predicates are plain intransitive verbs and cannot be used with this argument marked with =*mi* 'indirect location'; see, for instance, *kwëen-* 'to be happy' or *nitëxë-* 'to be sad'. For more on the morphosyntactic nature of *kwëen-* 'to be happy', see §11.8.2.

kwanxun	maxax	achushinën	chakakëshín
kwan-xun	maxax	achushi=n	chaka-akë-x-ín
go-S/A>A(SE)	stone	one=INS	beat-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'However, it is said that, envying him, one man, going to the place the man had put his eye on a stone, beat the eye with (another) stone.'

(441) C02B05-NA-2007.004

pia	ax	ka	'ikën	*primero*	nun	**ami**	<u>katamëkë</u>
pia	a=x	ka	'ikën	*primero*	nu=n	a=**mi**	katamë-kë
arrow	that=S	NAR.3p	be.3p	first	1pl=GEN	3sg=IMPR.LOC	trust-NOM

nun	kanti
nu=n	kanti
1pl=GEN	bow.ABS

'Arrows, they are our first (thing) to defend with (lit. to trust), as well as our bow.'

Among the forms in Table 51, the extended intransitive verb *rakwët-* 'to be scared of' seems to be the only one that can appear with its second argument marked in a number of different ways. The verb *rakwët-* 'to be scared of' can appear with a simple object marked by *=mi* (see (442)), also with a grammatical nominalisation bearing the same case marking (see (443)); with a switch-reference clause headed by the form *ki-ax* 'to say-S/A>S' (see (444)); or with an NP headed by *rabanan* 'because of' (see §9.4):

(442)
'ëx	kana	rakwëtin	**'inumi**
'ë=x	kana	rakwët-i-n	**'inu=mi**
1sg=S	NAR.1sg	be.scared.of-IMPF-1/2p	jaguar=IMPR.LOC

'I am scared of the jaguar.'

(443)
'ëx	kana	rakwëtin	**'inun**	**piti**mi
'ë=x	kana	rakwët-i-n	**['inu=n**	**pi-ti]**=mi
1sg=S	NAR.1sg	be.scared.of-IMPF-1/2p	jaguar=ERG	eat-NOM=IMPR.LOC

'I am scared of the fact that the jaguar will eat me.'

(444)
'ëx	kana	rakwëtin	**'inun**
'ë=x	kana	rakwët-i-n	**['inu-n**
1sg=S	NAR.1sg	be.scared.of-IMPF-1/2p	jaguar=ERG

ma	ë	pia	kiax
ma	**ë**	**pi-i-a**	**ki]-ax**
already	I.O	eat-IMPF-non.cont	say-S/A>S

'I am scared, saying the jaguar is almost eating me.'

(445) 'ëx kana rakwëtin **'inun piti** rabanan

'ëx	kana	rakwët-i-n	**['inu-n**	**pi-ti]**	rabanan
1sg-S	IND.1p	be.scared.of-NON.PAST-1/2p	jaguar-ERG	eat-NOMLS	because.of

'I am scared because the jaguar will eat me.'

11.4 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs in Kashibo-Kakataibo are defined by means of the following principles:

(446) <u>Definitional features of transitive verb stems</u>
- Their more agent-like argument is an ergative or an A-marked argument (and there may be one or two overt additional arguments, which appear in the absolutive or O-case, i.e., formally unmarked).

- They use the transitive version of the suffixes, enclitics and constructions that have alternating transitive and intransitive forms.

- In addition, they can be modified by valency decreasing suffixes, such as the 'reflexive' marker *-akat* (and its multiple allomorphs) and the 'reciprocal' marker *-anan*.

The principles in (446) have already been exemplified in section §11.2. In this section, I will discuss the two major subtypes of verbs that follow the pattern in (446): plain transitive (or monotransitive) and extended transitive (or ditransitive) verbs. The former only take one absolutive nominal or O-marked pronominal object, while the latter may have two overtly expressed absolutive/O arguments. Those arguments are not obligatory and may be omitted in discourse. In addition, as commented on at the end of this section, procreation verbs may be seen as a special class of transitive verbs.

11.4.1 Plain transitive (monotransitive) verbs

The following table present five of the most commonly attested transitive verbs in my database

Table 52 Some monotransitive verbs

verb	meaning
'unan-	'to know'
bari-	'to look for'
bi-	'to grab, to pick up'
is-	'to see'
mëra-	'to find'

Some examples taken from narratives follow. In the first example, we find the verb *kain-* 'to wait' which appears in the imperative mood and with the pronoun *'ë* '1sg' functioning as the object. The object of a verb like 'to wait' is semantically little affected and is not a true patient; nevertheless, the verb is transitive as we can see in the adverbial form *ënu* 'here' that appears with the marker *-xun* 'participant agreement: A'. In the second example, we find the transitive verb *këñu-* 'to finish, to kill', which is also transitive (as we can see in the different transitivity-coding within that clause) and which has a semantically highly affected object argument.

(447) C01B06-JE-2007.015

ënu**xun**	ka	'ë	<u>kain</u>
ënu-**xun**	ka	'ë	kain
here-PA:A	NAR	1sg.O	wait.IMP

'Wait (for) me here!'

(448) C01B01-SE-2007.026

ka**xun**	kaisa	anu**xun**	në	kweoka
ka-**xun**	kaisa	anu**xun**	në	kwe-oka
say-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	then(TRA)	...	Aguaytía-River.ABS

'ikwatsinun	**nokama**	**nokama**
'i-kwatsin-nun	no=kama	no=kama
be-going(INTR)-DS(PE)	foreigner=PLU.ABS	foreigner=PLU.ABS

këñumainun	**kweokan**	këñuakëxa
këñu-mainun	kwe-oka=n	këñu-akë-x-a
finish- DS/A/O(SE.DUR)	Aguaytía-River=ERG	finish-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that after they said (so), the Aguaytía river came and killed several foreigners and white people.'

As we have seen, transitive verbs can be used in more "intransitive" contexts with one single participant. Therefore, we may say that transitive verbs **allow** for two core arguments, but they do not obligatorily present them (see the special case of procreation-verbs in §11.4.3).

11.4.2   Extended transitive (ditransitive) verbs

There are only four underived ditransitive verbs in my database: *'inan* 'to give', *ñon-* 'not to share something with someone' *ribin-* 'to owe something to someone' and *mëtika-* 'to give the same amount to various people' (see a detailed discussion of ditransitive constructions in §21.3). However, monotransitive verbs can be derived into ditransitive ones by using one of the valency increasing devices to be presented in §12.2.1. Examples of both the underived extended transitive verb and of a derived stem follow. In the first example, we find the verb *'inan* 'to give' with its two objects expressed overtly: we find the O-form of the pronoun *'ë* '1sg' and the absolutive NP *ñu mëëti* 'job'. In the second example, we find the monotransitive verb *ñui-* 'to tell', which appears here with the benefactive applicative suffix *-xun* and with two overtly expressed objects: *atu* 'they' and *nukën papa dios-an bana* 'our father God's words':

(449) C00A01-AE-2006.022

usa	'iti	ka	nukën	papa	Diosan	**'ë**
usa	'i-ti	ka	nukën	papa	Dios=n	['ë]
like.that	be-NOM	NAR.3p	1pl.GEN	father	God=ERG	1sg.O

'inankëxa		**a**	**ñu mëëti**
'inan-akë-x-a		[a	ñu mëëti]
give-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox		that	job.ABS

'In order to be like that, God gave me that work.'

(450) C00A01-AE-2006.009

anuxun	kana	**atu**	**nukën**	**papa**	**Diosan**	**bana**	<u>ñuixunin</u>
anu-xun	kana	[atu]	[nukën	papa	Dios=n	bana]	ñui-xun-i-n
there-PA:A	NAR.1sg	3pl.O	1pl.GEN	father	God=ERG	word.ABS	tell-BEN-IMPF-1/2p

'There, I will tell them God's words.'

11.4.3 'Procreation'-verbs

'Procreation'-verbs are grammatically transitive but are interesting and unusual in terms of their argument realisation. Differently from other transitive verbs, the verbs *tua-* 'to give birth' and *bëchi-* 'to father' are transitive verbs that carry an overt grammatical object in very specific contexts only. This is shown in the following examples:

(451)
Juan**nën**	ka	**bëchi**axa
Juan=**n**	ka	**bëchi**-a-x-a
Juan=ERG	NAR.3p	father-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Juan fathered.'

Maria**nën**	ka	**tua**axa
Maria-**n**	ka	**tua**-a-x-a
Maria=ERG	NAR.3p	give.birth-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Maria gave birth.'

(452)
*Juanën	ka	**bëchikë**	bëchiaxa
Juan=n	ka	**bëchikë**	bëchi-a-x-a
Juan=ERG	NAR.3p	son.ABS	father-PERF-3p-non.prox

('Juan fathered a baby')

*Marianën	ka	**tua**	tuaxa		
Maria-nën	ka	**tua**	tua-a-x-a		
Maria=ERG	NAR.3p	son.ABS	give.birth-PERF-3p- non.prox		

('Maria gave birth to a baby')

Procreation-verbs can potentially appear with proper names acting as their objects, but this construction is unusual and not equally accepted by all the speakers:

(453)	(?)Juanën	ka	**Ricardo**	bëchiaxa	
	Juan=n	ka	**Ricardo**	bëchi-a-x-a	
	Juan=ERG	NAR.3p	Ricardo.ABS	father-PERF-3p-non.prox	

'Juan fathered Ricardo.'

(?)Marianën	ka	**Ricardo**	tua-a-x-a
Maria=n	ka	**Ricardo**	tua-a-x-a
Maria=ERG	NAR.3p	Ricardo.ABS	give.birth-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Maria gave birth to Ricardo.'

Thus, the verbs presented in this subsection and exemplified in (451)-(453) are transitive in terms of the marking of their subject-like argument; but they, as suggested by the examples in (452) and (453), are unlikely to have an overt grammatical object. To include an O-argument produces very marked constructions that are rejected by the speakers if the included object is not definite and specific (e.g., a proper name). One could argue that the direct object of these verbs is so obvious that speakers simply do not feel the need to mention it, i.e., we are dealing with an extreme case of the tendency to not overtly express an object that can be recovered from the context.

Despite this restriction, these verbs are transitive, not only in the marking of their subject, but also in how other transitivity encoding devices treat them. This is presented in the following examples:

(454) Limanu   kwan**xun**   ka   **Juanën**   bëchiaxa

Lima=nu   kwan-**xun**   ka   Juan-**nën**   bëchi-a-x-a

Lima=DIR go-S/A>A   NAR.3p   Juan=ERG   father-PERF-3p-non.prox

'(After) going to Lima, Juan fathered.'

Limanu   kwan**xun**   ka   **Marianën**   tuaxa

Lima=nu   kwan-**xun**   ka   Maria-**nën** tua-a-x-a

Lima=DIR go-S/A>A   NAR.3p   Maria=ERG procreate-PERF-3p-non.prox

'(After) going to Lima, Maria gave birth.'

11.5 Verbs roots that carry *-t* or *-n*

The morphological means of encoding transitivity are sensitive to the lexical transitivity of the verb. A logical consequence of this is that the grammatical system of the language requires verbs to be either transitive or intransitive, and that this is an obligatory feature of verbs. This is true for the majority of verbs (presented in §11.3 and in §11.4): verb roots like *pi-* 'to eat' or *'ux-* 'to sleep' are already subcategorised for transitivity and, therefore, they can appear also as verb stems without any other additional modification (they can directly receive inflection and be used in discourse). A few forms like **tsó-* or **ërë-* (see Table 53 below), by contrast, can be seen as verb roots that are not subcategorised for transitivity and that are obligatorily combined with one of the suffixes *-n* 'transitive' or *-t* 'intransitive', thus producing pairs of verbs that are distinguished by transitivity. Forms like **tsó-* or **ërë-* cannot occur without one of these suffixes, and are not recognised by the speakers in isolation. This makes their synchronic analysis difficult.

Table 53   Verb roots that carry *-t* or *-n*

bound root	Transitive form	Meaning	Intransitive form	Meaning
*tsó-	*tsón-*	'to seat'	*tsót-*	´to sit down, to live'
*ërë-	*ërën-*	'to light'	*ërët-*	´to burn'
*niri-	*nirin-*	'to drag'	*nirit-*	´to crawl'
*nanë-	*nanën-*	'to submerge (something)'	*nanët-*	´to submerge oneself'
*kepi-	*kepin-*	'to bring closer'	*këpit-*	'to get closer'
*chiki-	*chikin-*	'to take out'	*chikit-*	'to go out'

The distinction between *tsón-* 'to seat somebody else' and *tsót-* 'to sit down or to live' is presented in examples (455) and (456), which are taken from narratives:

(455) C01B06-JE-2007.014

'ikë	kaisa	buanxun	ain	tsatin
'i-kë	kaisa	buan-xun	ain	tsati=n
be-NOM	NAR.REP.3p	bring-S/A>A(SE)	3sg.GEN	walking.stick=INS

mëinbiankin		buanxun	kaisa	naë
mëin-bian-kin		buan-xun	kaisa	naë
take.some.else's.hands-going(TRA)-S/A>A(SE)		bring-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	garden

rësun	**tsónkin**
rësun	tsó**n**-kin
at.the.end.of	seat.somebody.else-S/A>A(SE)

'It is said that (she), bringing (her husband) with his walking stick and taking his hand, seating him at the end of the garden...'

(456) C00A06-EE-2006.001

nukën	chaiti	kaisa	ënu	tsóma	'ikën	*sino*	nukën	chaiti
nukën	chaiti	kaisa	ënu	tsót-a=ma	'ikën	*sino*	nukën	chaiti
1pl.GEN	ancestor	NAR.REP.3p	here	live-NOM=NEG	be.3p	but	1pl.GEN	ancestor

kaisa	**tsókëxa**	Rima	kaxu	Nortenu
kaisa	tsó**t**-akë-x-a	Rima	kaxu	Norte=nu
NAR.REP.3p	live-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	Lima	behind	north=LOC

'It is said that our ancestors did not live here, but behind Lima, in the northside.'

Even though the opposition between *-n* 'transitive' or *-t* 'intransitive' is straightforward in examples like the ones presented above, and even though the two

formatives can be easily identified and segmented analytically, there are problems with regard to their synchronic analysis. It is difficult to decide if the two formatives can be synchronically segmented, or if we have to assume that verbs like *tsón-* and *tsót-* are synchronically non-segmentable forms. If we segment the suffixes, the remaining roots are not identified as verbs by Kashibo-Kakataibo speakers. In addition, we do not have a basic and a derived form: both *tsón-* 'to seat' and *tsót-* 'to sit down or to live' are equally derived; and, in this case, we find some semantic idiosyncrasy in the sense that the intransitive form also has the meaning 'to live', which is not attested in the transitive form. This might be seen as a sign of lexicalisation. In this dissertation, I analyse cases like *tsón-* 'to seat' and *tsót-* 'to sit down or to live' as two (synchronically) morphologically simple elements. However, *-n* 'transitiviser' and *-t* 'middle' are still productive in many other contexts and can be used as valency-changing devices with some other verbal forms (see §12.2).[64]

11.6   Verbs roots that carry *-ki* or *-ka*

The verbs presented in Table 54 always carry one of the two following formatives: *-ki* 'intransitive' and *-ka* 'transitive', which define the transitivity value of the verbs and allow them to appear in discourse and to receive inflectional morphology. Without one of these two suffixes, the hypothetical roots in the first column of Table 54 cannot appear in a discourse.

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[64] Historically, there is no doubt that forms like *tsót-* and *tsón-* were morphologically complex and that the *t* and *n* formatives attested in those examples are equivalent to the valency-changing suffixes *-t* 'middle' and *-n* 'transitiviser' presented in §12.2.

Table 54   Verb forms which carry *-ki* and *-ka*

hypothetical root	transitive form	meaning	intransitive form	meaning
*anta-	anta-ka-	'to spill'	anta-ki-	'to be spilled' 'to spill over'
*bá-	bá-ka-	'to lift'	bá-ki-	'to rise'
*bais-	bais-ka-	'to relive, to move something that was quiet'	bais-ki-	'to revive'
*barash-	barash-ka-	'to rip a piece of fabric, making noise'	barash-ki-	'to be ripped (a piece of fabric); to get ripped making noise (a piece of fabric)'
*báx-	báx-ka-	'to bend'	báx-ki-	'to be bended' 'to get bended'
*bë-	bë-ka-	'to carry something (the wind), to fan'	bë-ki-	'to be carried by the wind' 'to fan oneself'
*bëó-	bëó-ka-	'to take the top off; to open'	bëó-ki-	'to get open'
*bërë-	bërë-ka-	'to rub with tar'	bërë-ki-	'to be rubbed with tar' 'to rub with tar oneself'
*buá-	buá-ka-	'to fill'	buá-ki-	'to become full'
*chán-	chán-ka-	'to cut to pieces'	chán-ki-	'to be in pieces' 'to become into pieces'
*chax-	chax-ka-	'to sting'	chax-ki-	'to be stung' 'to get stung'
*ës-	ës-ka-	'to dry'	ës-ki-	'to get dry'
*kë-	kë-ka-	'to call, shouting'	kë-ki-	'to shout'
*këru-	këru-ka	'to make something produce noise'	këru-ki	'to produce noise'
*mëtí-	mëtí-ka-	'to distribute the same quantity among several people'	mëtí-ki-	'to receive the same quantity'
*náx-	náx-ka-	'to insert'	náx-ki-	'to get inserted' 'to go into the jungle'
*naxa-	naxa-ka-	'to make objects like dry leaves, paper, carton produce noise'	naxa-ki-	'to produce noise (objects like dry leaves, paper, carton)'
*pëan-	pëan-ka-	'to pierce'	pëan-ki-	'to be pierced' 'to get pierced'
*tax-	tax-ka-	'to hit somebody'	tax-ki-	'to hit oneself (by accident)'

Grammatically, examples like *pëanka-* 'to pierce' and *pëanki-* 'to be/to get pierced' are unitary forms equivalent to *pi-* 'to eat' or *'ux-* 'to sleep' but, they are clearly morphologically complex: they include the formatives *-ka* 'transitive' and *-ki*

'intransitive' (that are formally identical to the verbs *ka-* 'to say, transitive' and *ki-* 'to say, intransitive'; see §11.7.1). However, similar arguments to the ones presented in the previous section can be used here to argue that we are dealing with lexicalised elements: the segmentation of *-ki* and *-ka* leaves us with elements that are not synchronically productive or identifiable.

It is very likely that the grammatically bound forms *-ki* and *-ka* originated in the 'say'-verbs *ka-* and *ki-* (which perhaps had a more general meaning like 'to say, to do (x sound-symbolic action), to make (x noise)'. That means that the forms presented in Table 54 are the result of a grammaticalisation process from syntactically more complex structures: probably a 'say'-construction including an onomatopoeic word, which then developed fixed and conventionalised meanings and whose synchronic grammatical nature differs from that of synchronic 'say' constructions including an onomatopoeic word, e.g., where we can separate the verb and the onomatopoeia or change their relative order.

At least one of the hypothetical roots, *këru-* 'make noise' is clearly related to a synchronic onomatopoeic word. As expected, the non-grammaticalised form is phonologically longer, but the similarity is straightforward: compare the onomatopoeic word *këjëru*, which is used to refer to any unspecific noise, with the verbs *këruka-* and *këruki-,* which mean 'to make something produce noise' and 'to produce noise', respectively. This example suggests that the origin proposed here for the verbs Table 54 is possible. However, this hypothesis seems more likely in some cases than in others (see, for example, the form *mëti* in *mëtika-* 'to distribute the same quantity among several people' and *mëtiki-* 'receive the same quantity', which is hardly analysable as an onomatopoeic word).

Phonologically, *-ka* 'transitive' and *-ki* 'intransitive' are treated as independent words by different morphophonemic processes. This can be seen, for instance, in the fact that monosyllabic forms before *-ka* 'transitive' and *-ki* 'intransitive', like *tax* in *taxka-* 'to hit somebody' and *taxki-* 'to hit oneself (by accident)' surface with a long vowel in order to satisfy the minimal word requirement presented in §4.3.5.1 (i.e. phonetically they are [tăːʂka-] and [tăːʂki-]). If *tax* plus *ka* or *ki* were prosodically single words, we would not expect this compensatory lengthening to surface. In addition, we observe that reduplication treats the forms in Table 54 in a particular way, which also suggest that *-ka* 'transitive' and *-ki* 'intransitive' are prosodically independent (see §13.9).

11.7 Suppletive transitive/intransitive verbs

There are some verbs in Kashibo-Kakataibo that show a suppletive (or quasi-suppletive) transitive/intransitive distinction. Those are discussed in the following sections.

11.7.1 'Say'-verbs *ka* and *ki*

In Kashibo-Kakataibo the quoted speech that appears with a 'say'-verb is not its O-argument and is not taken into account for its transitivity value (see §19.2). However, there are both a transitive and an intransitive version of the verb 'to say'. The former is *ka-* and the latter is *ki-*. In the case of the transitive version of this verb, the addressee functions as the O-argument and, thus, its more accurate translation would be 'to say (something) to someone', while the intransitive form could simply be translated as 'to say (something)'. This is shown in the following example, in

which all the transitivity-coding devices (in bold case) indicate that the verb *ki-*

(underlined) is intransitive:

(457) C00A06-EE-2006.024-025

ini	bënë́-kinsa	**kakëx**	kaisa
in-i	bënët-kin-isa	ka-**këx**	kaisa
cry-S/A>S(SE)	get.scared-S/A>A(SE)-REP.3p	say(TRAN)-O>S(PE)	NAR.REP.3p

nukën	**chaitikama**	<u>kiakëxa</u>
nukën	chaiti=kama	ki-akë-x-a
1pl.GEN	ancestor=PLU.ABS	say(INTR)-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

"nukën	chira bakë	xanu	ka	ain	sinan	bënë́oia"
nukën	chira bakë	xanu	ka	ain	sinan	bënët-o-i-a"
our	sister	woman.ABS	NAR.3p	3sg.GEN	thought	fast-FACT-IMPF-non.prox

'It is said that, crying, getting scared, she talked to our ancestors and they said: "our sister is scared (lit. is thinking quickly)".'

Conversely, the verb *ka-* (underlined) is clearly transitive as the following example shows (see all the transitivity-coding devices in bold case):

(458) C03A03-EE-2007.002-3

unin	kaisa	ain	xanu	'aia	bëunan	**'ixun**
uni**=n**	kaisa	ain	xanu	'a-ia	bë-'unan-a	'i-**xun**
person=ERG	NAR.REP.3p	3sg.GEN	woman.ABS	do-S/A>O(SE)	eyes-know-NOM	be-S/A>A(SE)

uni	**achushi**	**uni**	<u>kakëxa</u>
uni	achushi	uni	ka-akë-x-a
person	one	person.ABS	say(TRAN)-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

"iskuan	bakë	kana	isan	ain	tuati	isan"
iskuan	bakë	kana	is-a-n	ain	tua-ti	is-a-n
paucar	breeding.ABS	NAR.1sg	see-PERF-1/2p	3sg.GEN	breeding	see-PERF-1/2p

'It is said that, knowing that the man had sex with his wife, the husband said to that other man: "I saw paucar breedings".'

After a detailed cross-linguistic presentation of the intransitive-like and transitive-like characteristics of 'say'-verbs, Munro (1982: 317-318) preliminarily concludes: "[t]he characterization of 'say' plus a quotation as syntactically

intransitive (to different language-specific degrees) appears to be a valid cross-linguistic generalization with some semantic support." As we have seen in this section, Kashibo-Kakataibo supports this generalisation.

11.7.2   Auxiliaries

The copula verb *'i-* 'to be' and the transitive verb *'a-* 'to do' function as the intransitive and the transitive auxiliaries, respectively. This distinction is particularly important for those constructions in which the transitivity class of the auxiliary needs to match the transitivity class of the lexical verb, like in the prohibitive constructions presented in (428), which observes the principle of transitivity harmony (see §18.5.1). But notice that there are other constructions, too, where the intransitive form is used regardless of the transitivity value of the main verb. As we will see, these constructions are the ones that can be analysed as periphrastic (see section §13.11 for details).

11.7.3   Other cases

There are other few cases of verbs for which there are suppletive intransitive and transitive verb pairs. This is true, for example, for the verbs *bama-* 'to die' and *rëtë-* 'to kill'; *kwan-* 'to go' and *buan-* 'to take'; *u-* 'to come' and *bë-* 'to bring'; and *kwain-* 'to move over' and *buin-* 'to move' (see §21.4.2.1 for more details).

11.8   Labile/ambitransitive verbs

In the previous subsections, I have discussed the most important verb classes in Kashibo-Kakataibo. I have followed a morphosyntactic basis for establishing this classification: verbs have been divided into classes based on their transitivity value.

Such a classification presupposes that verbs are either transitive or intransitive, and that their lexical transitivity is the main feature that controls the different mechanisms of transitivity encoding throughout the clause. In this section, I present two verbs that exhibit features associated with both the transitive and the intransitive classes. Notice that the two verbs to be presented here are exceptional and, therefore, do not invalidate the claims previously offered.

11.8.1 *sinan-* 'to think/to miss'

The verb *sinan-* 'to think/to miss' is a polysemous verb, whose two different senses are associated with two different transitivity classes. This verb appears both in a transitive construction (meaning 'to think') and also as an extended intransitive verb with a second argument marked with *=mi* (meaning 'to miss'). The two different uses of *sinan-* are exemplified in (459). The fact that the verb *sinan-* is intransitive in its latter use can be seen in the form of the pronominal subject, which appears with the 'S' marker *=x* and in the form of the switch-reference verb, which takes the form *-i* 'A/S>S, simultaneous events'.

(459) Transitive use of *sinan-* 'to think'

a	kana	**'ën**	sinanin
a	kana	'ë**=n**	sinan-i-n
this.O	NAR.1sg	1sg=A	think-IMPF-1/2p

'This, I think.'

Intransitive use of *sinan-* 'to miss'

'ën	bëchikë	kwan	kana	tsót-**i**
'ë=n	bëchikë	kwan-an	kana	tsót-**i**
1sg=GEN	son.ABS	go-DS/A/O(PE)	NAR.1sg	sit.down-A/S>S(SE)

'ëx	**ami**		sinanin
'ë**=x**	a**=mi**		sinan-i-n
1sg=S	3sg=IMPR.LOC		miss-NON.PAST-1/2p

'After my son was gone, sitting down, I miss him.'

11.8.2 *kwëën-* 'to want, to like, to be happy'

In Kashibo-Kakataibo, *kwëën-* means 'to want' in a transitive construction with an ergative-marked noun (or A-marked pronominal form) and an absolutive-marked noun (or O-marked pronoun), as in (460). However, it also means 'to be happy' when used as a plain intransitive verb (with an S-argument, as in (461)). In addition, it also appears in a construction that is not attested for any other verb class in the language. In this last case, where the verb means 'to like', we find an 'S/absolutive'-marked argument that refers to the EXPERIENCER, and another one that appears with the =*n* marker, which refers to the THEME. In this type of construction, this verb may be seen as constituting another type of extended intransitive form. When the undergoer is expressed by a pronoun, this argument is marked by -*x,* and this indicates that it is the grammatical S of the clause. But the second argument is neither marked by the suffix =*mi* (as it was the case for the emotion predicates) nor unmarked (as it was the case for the extended intransitive verb *pishin-* 'to lack'). Instead, we find the =*n* marker, which in this construction seems to be the instrumental.[65] See the following examples of the three uses of this verb:

(460) **paënxun**   kana   **'ën**   **'atsa**   kwëënin
         paën-**xun**   kana   'ë**=n**   'atsa   kwëën-i-n
         get.drunk-S/A>A   NAR.1sg   1sg=A   manioc.ABS   want-IMPF-1/2p
         'When I get drunk, I want (i.e. crave) manioc.'

(461) **paëanx**   kana   **'ëx**   kwëënin
         paën-**ax**   kana   'ë**=x**   kwëën-i-n
         get.drunk-S/A>S   NAR.1sg   1sg=S   like-IMPF-1/2p
         'When I get drunk, I am happy.'

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[65] I base this statement on the fact that the form of the third person singular pronoun in this function is *anun*, i.e. the form that is exclusively used for the instrumental function.

(462) **paëanx**   kana   **'ëx**   **'atsan**   kwëënin
     paën-**ax**   kana   'ë**=x**   'atsa**=n**   kwëën-i-n
     get.drunk-S/A>S   NAR.1sg   1sg=S   manioc=INS   like-IMPF-1/2p

'When I get drunk, I like (enjoy) manioc.'

The instrumental THEME of the third example is obligatorily required in order to obtain the meaning 'to like'. This instrumental argument seems to be similar in nature to the argument marked with =*mi* in emotion-predicates (see Valenzuela 2000 for the special syntactic behaviour of the same predicate 'to want' in Shipibo-Konibo). In the case of Kashibo-Kakataibo, we could probably assume a development from something like "I am happy **with** manioc' to 'I like manioc'.

11.9   Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the different morphosyntactic classes of verbs attested in Kashibo-Kakataibo. I have demonstrated that most Kashibo-Kakataibo verbs are lexically defined as transitive or intransitive, and that this inherent transitivity controls all the transitivity-encoding morphosyntactic mechanisms. In fact, there are only a few verbs which can be used in both transitive and intransitive constructions.

Inherently transitive and intransitive verb stems can appear in semantically "more or less transitive contexts" (following, for instance, Hopper and Thompson's 1980 definition of transitivity) but the form of the transitivity-encoding devices throughout the clause remains the same and agrees with the verb's lexical transitivity class. This fact is the basis for understanding transitivity in Kashibo-Kakataibo (but see Chapter 21 for the manifestations of transitivity at the level of the clause).

Based on this argument, I have established two main classes of verbs: transitive and intransitive. A large majority of verbs in Kashibo-Kakataibo clearly belongs to one class or the other, which include both extended and non-extended (or plain) subclasses. Extended-transitive verbs are ditransitive verbs (equivalent to the ones found in many other languages). Extended-intransitive verbs show three different possible patterns, which include an unmarked second argument, a second argument marked by =*mi* 'imprecise locative' and a second instrumental argument. Extended intransitive verbs are intransitive in relation to the parameters presented in this section, but have a syntactic valency of two. The second argument of extended intransitive verbs is required in order to obtain the extended intransitive reading. Conversely, the objects of transitive verbs are not obligatory. As we have seen in §11.5 and §11.6, there are two classes of verbs that obligatorily carry a formative indicating their transitivity value: one class requires *n* 'transitive' and *t* 'intransitive', and the other, *ka* 'transitive' and *ki* 'intransitive'. Their properties and probable origins have briefly been discussed in this chapter, but synchronically I am considering them to be non-segmentable stems that produce transitive/intransitive pairs. In addition, we have seen that some verbs produce pairs of transitive and intransitive verbs based on suppletive forms (§11.7).

Finally, we have also seen two polysemous verbs that can be used in more than one transitivity construction. Table 55 summarises the different pattern associated with the different classes of verbs:

Table 55   Verb classes, semantic valency and argument structures

verb class			semantic valency	argument structure		
				I	II	III
intransitive verbs	plain intransitive verbs	lexical *abat-* 'to run', *'ux* 'to sleep'	1	S absolutive	NO	NO
		-t *tsót-* 'to sit down'	1	S absolutive	NO	NO
		-ki *taxki-* 'to hit oneself'	1	S absolutive	NO	NO
		intransitive form in suppletive transitive/intransitive pairs *ki-* 'to say (intransitive)'	1	S absolutive	NO	NO
	extended intransitive verbs	emotion-predicates with a =*mi-marked* second argument *nish-* 'to hate' *'unan* 'to miss'	2	S absolutive	=*mi*	NO
		with unmarked object *pishi-* 'to lack'	2	S absolutive	O absolutive	NO
		with instrumental object *kwëën-* 'to like'	2	S absolutive	=*n*	NO
transitive verbs	plain transitive verbs	lexical *pi-* 'to eat' *is-* 'to see'	2	A ergative	O absolutive	NO
		-n *tsón-* 'to seat'	2	A ergative	O absolutive	NO
		-ka *taxka-* 'to hit somebody'	2	A ergative	O absolutive	NO
		transitive form in suppletive transitive/intransitive pairs *ka-* 'to say (transitive)'	2	A ergative	O absolutive	NO
	extended transitive verbs	ditransitive verbs *'inan-* *'to give'*	3	A ergative	O absolutive	O absolutive

Chapter 12 Verbs (2): Derivation

12.1 Introduction

Kashibo-Kakataibo derivational verbal morphology is richer than that found for any other word class. This makes the analysis more interesting but also more difficult. The difficulty does not only follow from the fact that there are so many suffixes, but also from other significant characteristics: the polyfunctionality of forms, the presence of complex morphophonemic alternations and the existence of pairs of suffixes marking the same category, but distinguishing between transitive and intransitive verbs.

In addition, differently from the inflectional forms to be presented in the next chapter, derivational verbal suffixes exhibit an almost completely free order (most potential combinational restrictions are associated with semantic reasons, rather than with morphosyntactic principles; see §5.4).

Derivational suffixes do not constitute morphosyntactic paradigms within which the presence of one member excludes the possibility of having another one. Therefore, the main criterion for grouping derivational suffixes into classes has been their semantics/function. The following table presents all the suffixes to be presented in this chapter (with cross-references to each major section).

Table 56   List of verbal suffixes

Valence changing markers (§12.2)
Valency increasing
-mi 'general causative'
-kin 'associative applicative'
-xun 'benefactive applicative'
-n 'transitiviser'
-o ~ -a 'factitive'
Valency decreasing
-anan 'reciprocal'
-akat (and its realisations) 'reflexive'
-t 'middle marker'
Directional markers (§12.3)
Aspectual/directionals
-uku 'iterative in one direction'
-bëkin 'iterative in different places'
-bu 'continuously in one direction'
Trajectory directionals
-ru 'upward'
-but, *-pat* and *-pakët* 'downward'
-at, *akët* (and its allomorphs) 'curved trajectory'
'Go'/'come' directionals
-kian, *-bian* 'going'
-kwatsin, -bëtsin 'coming'
-kwain, *-buin* 'passing by''
Quantificational markers (§12.4)
-tabat 'for the first time'
-tëkën 'again'
-rabat 'distributive'
Deontic/irrealis markers (§12.5)
-kas 'desiderative/abilitative'
-isa 'irrealis'
Aspectual markers (§12.6)
-rat ~ -rakët 'iterative, continuously'
-rës 'frequently, distractedly'
Non productive suffixes (§12.7)
*-chi 'taking off' and **-kut* 'going out'
*-kët 'middle marker'

12.2 Valency-changing suffixes

According to Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000: 6), "[m]ost of the languages have some verbal derivations that affect predicate arguments." Kashibo-Kakataibo has five derivational suffixes that increase the valency of a verb: *-mi* 'general causative' (§12.2.1.1), *-kin* 'associative applicative', (§12.2.1.2), *-xun* 'benefactive applicative' (§12.2.1.3), *-n* 'transitiviser' (§12.2.1.4), and *-o ~ -a* 'factitive' (§12.2.1.5), which is used to transitivise intransitive predicates obtained from nouns or adjectives. In addition, there are three suffixes that decrease valency: the reciprocal suffix *-anan* (presented in §12.2.2.1), the reflexive suffix *-akat*, which shows a complex morphophonemics (see §12.2.2.2), and the suffix *-t* 'middle marker' (see §12.2.2.3). In this section, I exemplify the use and morphological nature of these forms; a more detailed discussion of their semantic and syntactic properties is offered in §21.4).

12.2.1 Valency increasing

Derivational suffixes that increase the valency of the verb add one core argument to the predicate and convert intransitive predicates into transitive ones, and transitive ones into ditransitive ones (ditransitive predicates can also be modified by these suffixes; but this is not frequent in natural speech). There are two types of valency increasing suffixes: causatives (which include the causative *-mi*, the transitiviser *-n* and the factitive *-o ~ -a*) and applicatives (which include the benefactive *-xun* and the associative *-kin*). In the first case, the suffixes add an A argument to the clause, which causes the causative event to happen. The O argument of the causative predicate (which was the original S or A of the verb), i.e. the "causee", can show different levels of agency and volition in relation to the caused event (see the

discussion in §21.4.2.6). Applicative suffixes, by contrast, promote oblique arguments to core arguments, more precisely to O arguments.

12.2.1.1 *-mi* 'general causative'

Instances of the suffix *-mi* 'general causative' are presented in the following examples, where this suffix modifies the intransitive verb *'inut-* 'to cross' and the transitive verb *'unan-* 'to know' respectively:

(463) C02A06-NA-2007.015

upíokin	**numëntankëxun**	"'ën	ruën	tëntan	'ën	ruën
upit-**o-kin**	numën-**tankëxun**	"'ë=n	ruë=n	tënt-a-n	'ë=n	ruë=n
good-FACT-S/A>A(SE)	cut.a.tree-S/A>A(PE)	1sg=GEN	ax=INS	saw-PERF-1/2p	1sg=GEN	ax=INS

tënta-n"	amiribishi	**'inúmiakëshín**
tënt-a-n"	amiribishi	'inut-mi-akë-x-ín
saw-PERF-1/2p	again	cross-CAUS-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'After cutting the tree carefully, (saying) 'I sawed with my ax, I sawed with my ax', (she) made (the ax) pass through the trunk.'

(464) C00A01-AE-2006.024

'ën	aintsikama	**'akinkin**	kana	**upíokin**	a	unikama
'ë=n	aintsi=kama	'a-kin-**kin**	kana	upí-**o-kin**	a	uni=kama
1sg=GEN	relative=PLU	do-APPL-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.1sg	good- FACT-S/A>A(SE)	that	person=PLU

'unámiti	'ain	atux	upíribi	bukutikupí
'unan-mi-ti	'ain	atu=x	upí=ribi	buku-ti=kupí
know-CAUS-NOM	be.1/2p	they=S	good=also	live.together-NOM=REAS

'Doing it with my relatives, I will teach them well in order for them to live well too.'

In the above examples, I have highlighted in boldface all the forms that are sensitive to transitivity. As we can see in the first example above, intransitive predicates modified by the causative suffix trigger transitive marking throughout the clause, i.e., they are transitive based on the principles established in §11.4. In other words, in (463), *-mi* has not only increased the valency of the verb (from 1 to 2), but it has also changed the transitivity class of the stem. Meanwhile, in (464), *-mi* has

increased the valency (from 2 to 3), but has not affected the transitivity class (we still have a transitive verb that triggers the use of transitive markers throughout the clause).

12.2.1.2 *-kin* 'associative applicative'

The associative applicative in Kashibo-Kakataibo is used to promote comitative oblique arguments to direct objects. Thus, it expresses the idea of doing something with the company or help of somebody else, as shown in the following example. This suffix can appear with both intransitive and transitive verbs and it also triggers a change in transitive class for the former intransitive verbs. The following example illustrates this suffix on a transitive verb.

(465) C01B06-JE-2007.048

kwanxun	kaisa	ain	tuakama	kaxun
kwan-xun	kaisa	ain	tua=kama	ka-xun
go-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	3sg.GEN	boy=PLU.ABS	say-S/A>A(SE)

'aruxun	**pikiankëshín**
'aru-xun	pi-**kin**-akë-x-ín
cook-S/A>A(SE)	eat-ASSO-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, going, telling to her children, cooking (the food), she ate with them.'

12.2.1.3 *-xun* 'benefactive applicative'

The benefactive applicative codes the beneficiary of an event as the grammatical object of the clause. This suffix can modify both intransitive and transitive predicates. In the following example, we find the transitive verb *ñui* 'to tell' modified by the 'benefactive applicative' *-xun*. The original object of the verb is the grammatical nominalisation in brackets (headed by the nominalised verb *'i-a* 'to be-nominaliser, remote past') and the added beneficiary object is *'ë* '1sg.O':

(466) C01B06-JE-2007.001

ësai	ka	xanu	itsin	ain	aintsi	'ia
ësa-i	ka	xanu	itsi=n	[ain	aintsi	'i-a]
like.this-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.3p	woman	other=ERG	3sg.GEN	relative.ABS	be-NOM.ABS

'ë	**ñuixuankëxa**
'ë	ñui-**xun**-akë-x-a
1sg.O	tell-BEN-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Being like this, other woman told me a long time ago how her relatives were.'

12.2.1.4 *-n* 'transitiviser'

The form *-n* 'transitiviser' appears as part of the transitive version of a small group of verbs that produce transitive/intransitive pairs (see §11.5, where I have argued that these verb stems can be analysed as lexicalised elements). In addition, *-n* 'transitiviser' is productive and segmentable when appearing in combination with other intransitive verbal roots, as a valency increasing strategy. In those cases, as shown in the following table, this suffix represents a derivational form that can be segmented:

Table 57 *-n* 'transitiviser'

intransitive form	meaning	transitive form	meaning
bëna-	'to fade (a fire)'	*bëna-n-*	'to extinguish'
bësu-	'to wake up'	*bësu-n-*	'to wake somebody'
buku-	'to be together, to live together'	*buku-n-*	'to put things together, to gather'

12.2.1.5 *-o ~ -a*: 'factitive'

The suffix *-o ~ -a* 'factitive' is frequently used in discourse in order to obtain transitive predicates from adjectives and nouns. It surfaces as *a* after *u* and in any other case it surfaces as *o*. In general, adjectives and nouns can be used as intransitive predicates with an inchoative meaning, and the addition of *-o ~ -a*

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increases the valency of the nominal or adjectival predicate. This implies a change in the transitivity value of the predicate: predicates with *-o ~ -a* are transitive in relation to all the principles presented in §11.2. The factitive can only occur with nouns and adjectives, not with verbs, and is thus of analytical importance in distinguishing between word classes (see §7.2 and §7.3).

In most cases, this form can be translated into English as 'to make'. For example, *naë* 'garden' > *naë-o-* 'to make a garden' or *xubu* 'house' > *xubu-a-* 'to make a house (i.e. to build a house)'. Two examples of this form, one with a noun and the other with an adjective, follow:

(467) C01B09-SE-2007.015

'ixun	kana	ën	'atima		'ixunbi	*más que todo*	'ën
'i-xun	kana	ë=n	'a-ti=ma		'ixunbi	*más que todo*	'ë-n
be-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.1sg	1sg=A	do-NOM=NEG		but(S/A>A)	basically	1sg=GEN

baba	kupí	ën	xutakama	kupí	kana	**naëon**
baba	kupí	ë=n	xuta=kama	kupí	kana	naë-**o**-a-n
grandson	REAS	1sg=GEN	grandson=PLU	REAS	NAR.1sg	garden-FACT-PERF-1/2p

'I do not do that because I want to; it is because of my grandchildren that I made a garden.'

(468)

an	ka	i	chaxkё**o**xa
a=n	ka	i	chaxkё-**o**-a-x-a
3sg=A	NAR.3p	stick.ABS	long-FACT-PERF-3p-non.prox

'(S)he made the stick long.' ~ '(S)he lengthened the stick.'

12.2.2 Valency reduction

Languages of the world show different mechanisms for reducing valency; those mechanisms include (1) passives and anticausatives; (2) antipassives; and (3) reflexives and reciprocals (see Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000). In Kashibo-Kakataibo, there is special verbal morphology for reflexives and reciprocals, but there are no passive, antipassive or anticausative constructions.

12.2.2.1 *-anan* 'reciprocal'

The reciprocal marker *-anan* reduces the number of core arguments of a transitive verb and, syntactically, derives intransitive predicates from transitive ones by demoting the object argument and coding it as an oblique comitative participant. One example of this form follows and we can see in the form of the comitative marker that the reciprocal predicate is intransitive:

(469) C00A06-EE-2006.017

"ënu	kananuna	urainra	tsón	ukëmanan	paru
ënu	kananuna	uran=ira	tsót-a-n	ukëmanan	paru
here	NAR.1pl	much.time-INT	live-PERF-1/2p	other.side	big.river

ukëmanan	kwanun	ka	kwan"	kaisa	kiakëxa
ukëmanan	kwan-nun	ka	kwan"	kaisa	ki-akë-x-a
other.side	go-DIFF.PURP	NAR	go.IMP	NAR.REP.3p	say(INTR)-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

ain	**xukënkamabë**	ain	**aintsikamabë**
ain	xukën=kama=**bë**	ain	aintsi=kama=**bë**
3sg.GEN	brother-PLU-COM(S)	3sg.GEN	relative-PLU-COM(S)

kanankëxa
ka-**anan-**akë-x-a
say-REC-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'"We have lived much time here, let's go to the other side of the river!", it is said that they said, talking to each other with their brothers and their relatives.'

12.2.2.2 *-akat* (and its realisations) 'reflexive'

The reflexive suffix exhibits one of the most complex allomorphic alternations in the language. It can surface as *-akat*, *-(ë)kët*, *-(u)kut*, *-(i)kit*, *-mët* and *-mëkët*.[66] The first one appears in the majority of contexts, while *-(ë)kët*, *-(u)kut*, and *-(i)kit* surface when

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[66] I have no examples of *-(e)ket*, simply because there are no transitive predicates attested in my database that end in the vowel *e*. In addition, there is no *-(o)kot* allomorph: when a transitive predicate ends in *o*, as is the case of forms carrying the factitive *-o* (see §12.2.1.5), it takes the reflexive form *-akat*.

following a stem that ends in a syllable containing *ë*, *u*, and *i*, respectively. If the previous syllable does not have a coda (or have a coda consonant that is lost, see section §4.3.1.3), we obtain *-kët*, *-kut*, and *-kit;* and if the previous syllable ends in a fricative, we obtain *-ëkët*, *-ukut*, and *-ikit*. Thus, *-(ë)kët*, *-(u)kut*, and *-(i)kit* are the result of a vowel harmony process. In addition, if the stem ends in *n* the allomorphs *-mët* and *-mëkët* appear in apparently free alternation. In all other cases, the reflexive surfaces as *-akat*.

While the forms *-akat*, *-(ë)kët*, *-(u)kut*, and *-(i)kit* are clearly related, the forms *-mët* and *-mëkët* may have had a different origin.[67] In addition, the form *-kët* is attested as part of some other suffixes, always associated with an intransitive meaning (see section §12.7.2). Thus, it is possible that this form was an old suffix in itself. In the two following examples, we find the reflexive forms *-kit* and *-kut* modifying the verbs *ma-shi-* 'head-to rub' and *churu-* 'to untie':

(470) C02A06-NA-2007.006

"anun	**mashikinun**			ka	'ë	nanë	itsirá	'ë
"anun	ma-shi-akat-nun			ka	'ë	nanë	itsi-rá	'ë
that.INS	head-rub-REFL- DS/A(POE)			NAR	1sg.O	genipap.ABS	other-DIM.ABS	1sg.O

nipáxun"		kaisa		kakëshín
ni-pat-xun"		kaisa		ka-akë-x-ín
throw-down(TRA)-APP:BEN		NAR.REP.3p		say-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'"Throw some genipap in order for me to rub my head with it" it is said that he said.'

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[67] Notice, however, that in Matses there is a productive process by which, in some contexts, combinations like *n-an* or *n-at* become *mën* or *mët* (David Fleck, pc). Even though an equivalent process is not attested in Kashibo-Kakataibo, a similar historical scenario might be the source of the forms *-mët* and *-mëkët*. Thus, we might have had: *n-akat > mëkët*.

(471) C02A04-JE-2007.010

matsutiabi	kaisa	chaxu	an	**churukukwainkin**
matsut-ia=bi	kaisa	chaxu	a-n	churu-akat-kwain-kin
sweep-S/A>O(SE)=same	NAR.REP.3p	deer	3sg-A	untie-REFL-passing.INTR-S/A>A(SE)

kaisa	xanu	xënirá	chaxun	makwëxakëshín
kaisa	xanu	xëni-rá	chaxu=n	makwëx-akë-x-ín
NAR.REP.3p	woman	old.ABS-DIM	deer=ERG	beat.up.with.a.mallet-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, while (the woman) was sweeping, the deer beat her up, untying himself.'

In the following example, we find the reflexive form *-mët* (note that in that context *-mëkët* is also possible without any change in meaning):

(472) C03A02-EE-2007.008

kaisa	uni	"ëëëëëë"
kaisa	uni	ëëëëëë
NAR.REP.3p	person.ABS	ëëëëëë

ki	kaisa	**bëmamëakëshín**
ki-i	kaisa	bë=man-akat-akë-x-ín
say(INTR)-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	eyes-touch-REFL-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that the man touched his eyes saying "ëëëëëë".'

12.2.2.3 *-t* 'middle'

The form *-t* 'middle' appears as a lexicalised part of the intransitive version of a group of verbs that produce transitive/intransitive pairs (see also §12.2.1.4). In addition, as it was the case of *-n* 'transitiviser', *-t* 'middle' appears in combination with other (transitive) verbal roots, as a valency decreasing strategy. See the following examples:

Table 58 *-t* 'detransitiviser'

Transitive form	Meaning	Intransitive form	Meaning
pëxku-	'to cure somebody'	*pexku-t-*	'to get cured, to cure oneself'
unë-	'to hide'	*unë-t-*	'to be hidden, to hide oneself'
xui-	'to grill'	*xui-t-*	'to be grilled'
këñu-	'to finish'	*këñu-t-*	'to finish up'
chuka-	'to wash'	*chuka-t-*	'to wash oneself'

As we can see in the glosses, the marker *-t* expresses both stative and reflexive meanings, depending on the verb it is combined with.

12.3   Directional suffixes

Directional suffixes in Kashibo-Kakataibo constitute a complex and rich paradigm that exhibits a number of salient features, such as the existence of pairs of suffixes that have the same content meaning but appear with verbs of different transitivity classes. In addition, some forms have very complex allomorphic alternations. Another remarkable feature is that some directional suffixes have additional aspectual senses.

It is possible to establish three different types of directional suffixes in Kashibo-Kakataibo: a group that expresses aspectual and directional meanings (called here *aspectual/directional suffixes*); another group that expresses different trajectories ('upward', 'downward', 'curved trajectory'); and a last group of suffixes that uses the location of the speaker (or any other character in a narrative) as the deictic reference point (this category includes meanings like 'coming', 'going' but also 'passing by'). More than one directional suffix can appear on the same verb but only if they belong to different subclasses. When this happens, the suffixes observe a

rigid order: aspectual/directional forms appear before up/down directionals, which are followed by the come/go ones. This is presented in the following figure:

Figure 51 Order of directional suffixes

'iterative in different places' *-bëkin*	'upward' *-ru*	'going' *-kian*, *-bian*
'iterative in one direction' *-uku*	'downward' *-but*, *-pat...*	'coming' *-kwatsin*, *bëtsin*
'continuously in one direction' *-bu*	'curved trajectory' *-akët ~-at* …	'passing by' *-kwain*, *-buin*
slot 1	slot 2	slot 3

This order is shown in the following example, where we find the sequence *-uku-ru-kian* 'iterative in one direction-upwards-going'.

(473) C01B02-JE-2007.019

'iruax	tapitinu	ukairi	anun	nëabaikë	anun	kwës	kwës
'iru-ax	tapiti=nu	ukairi	anun	nëa-bait-kë	anun	kwës	kwës
go.up-S/A>S	ladder=LOC	ladder	that.INS	tie-DUR-NOM	that.INS	kwës	kwës

kiukurukiani	kwarukëbë	kaisa
ki-**uku-ru-kian**-i	kwan-ru-këbë	kaisa
say(INTR)-ITER(one.direction)-up-going.INTR-S/A>S(SE)	go-up-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)	NAR.REP.3p

axribi	a	kaxu	ukairi	a	tënkanux
a=x=ribi	a	kaxu	ukairi	a	tënka-nux
3sg=S=also	he	behind	ladder	that.ABS	cut.making.noise-S/A>A(POE)

kwaruakëshín
kwan-ru-akë-x-ín
go-up-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, going up, using a ladder, making the noise *kwes kwes*, several time while going up, leaving the other man behind, (he) climbed (the tree).'

12.3.1 Aspectual/directional suffixes

Aspectual/directional suffixes do not simply specify a direction, but rather indicate that the event is developping in a certain way (iteratively or continuously), at the same time that the displacement in space is happening. Aspectual/directional forms

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include the three following suffixes: *-uku* 'iterative in one direction', *-bëkin* 'iterative in different places' and *-bu* 'continuously, in one direction'. These three forms are described in the following subsections.

12.3.1.1 *-uku*: 'iterative in one direction'

As its gloss indicates, *-uku* expresses that a specific event happens several times (iteratively) in one direction or along a path. The nature of the direction is obligatorily expressed by an additional directional suffix. This co-occurrence may suggest that the directional meaning is encoded in the second suffix, and not so much in *-uku* itself. That is, the 'in one direction' semantic component of *-uku* seems to be contributed by the directional suffix, while *-uku* seems to have an aspectual (iterative) function only. However, the fact that this form cannot appear without a directional marker strongly suggests that it needs to refer to events that develop in one direction, and that it therefore has some kind of spatial meaning.

In (474), *-uku* 'iterative, in a direction' is followed by the directional suffix *-kian* 'going, intransitive', while in (475) *-uku* is followed by the directional suffix *-but* 'downward, intransitive'. Thus, we can see that *-uku* can be followed by any subtype of directional suffix (*-kian* 'going, intransitive' belongs to the 'go'/'come'-class and *-but* 'downwards, intransitive' to the trajectory one). It is even possible for *-uku* to co-occur with two directionals from two different subtypes, as in (473) above.

(474) C02A07-JE-2007.031

kwani	kaisa	xaaaa
kwan-i	kaisa	xaaaa
go-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	xaaaa

kiukukiankëshín

ki-**uku-kian**-akë-x-ín

say(INTR)-ITER(one.direction)-going.INTR-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, going, (he) went making the noise *xaaaaaa* several times.'

(475) C01B02-JE-2007.033

bëruax	kaisa	bëruan	kaisa	ukairi	a
bëru-ax	kaisa	bëru-an	kaisa	ukairi	a
stay-S/A>S	NAR.REP.3p	stay-DS(after)	NAR.REP.3p	ladder	that.O

tënkapakëshín	ubukin
tënka-pat-akë-x-ín	u-but-kin
cut.making.noise-down(TRA)-REM.PAST-3p-prox	come-down(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)

isa	**rëukubuan**
isa	rët-**uku-but**-an
REP.3p	cut-ITER(one.direction)-down(INTR)-DS/A/O(PE)

'It is said that, after (the other man) stayed (on the tree), he cut the ladder making noises, coming down and cutting it several times.'

12.3.1.2 *-bëkin*: 'iterative in different places'

The form *-bëkin* shares with *-uku* 'iterative in one direction' the idea of iterativity. Both suffixes indicate that the event is repeated several times, but they differ in that *-uku* is used when the repetitions of the event happen along a straight direction or following a specific path, while *-bëkin* is used when the repetitions are unsystematically distributed throughout space.

In addition to this semantic difference, *-bëkin* 'iterative in different places' is different from *-uku* 'iterative in one direction' in that the former form can (but does not need to) be followed by another directional suffix, while the latter always co-occurs with one. In the next example, *-bëkin* appears by itself without any other directional marker.

(476) C09B01-NA-2008.001-002

bakakama	imainun	xëxá	raran	papakama	'imainun	baka	chakama
baka=kama	imainun	xëxá	rara=n	papa=kama	'imainun	baka	cha=kama
river=PLU	and	creek	ancestor=GEN	big=PLU	and	river	big=PLU

akëñunbi	kaisa	urukin	**cháxkibëkinkin**	achushi	uni
a-këñun=bi	kaisa	u-ru-kin	cháxki-**bëkin**-kin	achushi	uni
that-POS=same	NAR.REP.3p	come-up-S/A>A	poke-ITER.diff.places-S/A>A	one	man

Isa Kuna	kakë	an	ain	manë	xon	**cháxkibëkinkin**
Isa Kuna	ka-kë	a=n	ain	manë	xo=n	cháxki-**bëkin**-kin
Isa.Kuna	say-NOM	3sg=ERG	3sg.GEN	metal	stick=INS	poke-ITER.diff.places-S/A>A(SE)

kaisa	a	unin	baka	kamabi	xëxá	'imainun
kaisa	a	uni=n	baka	kamabi	xëxá	'imainun
NAR.REP.3p	that	man=ERG	river	all	current	and

raran	papakama	anëruakëxa
rara=n	papa=kama	anë-ru-akë-x-a
ancestor=GEN	big=PLU	name-up-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, coming from the downside to the upside, a man called Isa Kunabu named all the rivers and creeks, even the big ones, poking his metal stick here and there.'

The form *-bëkin* can also be followed by other directional markers. Thus, for example, we can have forms like *cháxki-bëkin-ru-* 'stick-ITER.diff.places-upward' which can be translated as 'to poke (something) here and there, while going up'.

12.3.1.3 *-bu*: 'continuously in one direction'

The form *-bu* 'continuously in one direction' does not need to be followed by other directional markers (but, according to my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers, it can). The marker *-bu* 'continuously in one direction' is not attested in my text database and was taught to me by my teachers during elicitation sessions. Note that *-bu* 'continuously in one direction' is different from *-but* 'downwards, intransitive' and that these two forms are independent from each other. The difference is not only in the presence or absence of a final consonant *t*, but also in their morphosyntactic properties: *-but* is used with intransitive stems only, and *-bu* is used with both

transitive and intransitive forms. At least synchronically, the meaning 'continuously in one direction' is not a semantic extension or an aspectual overtone of the form *-but* 'downward, intransitive' and the two forms need to be distinguished. Some examples of this form follow:

(477) *auto*nu   kana   **'uxbuan**
       auto=nu   kana   'ux-**bu**-a-n
       car=LOC   NAR.1sg   sleep-CONTI(one.direction)-PERF-1/2p
       'I was sleeping continuously (going) in the car.'

(478) *auto*nuxun   kana   **pibuan**
       auto=nu=xun   kana   pi-**bu**-a-n
       car=LOC=PA:A   NAR.1sg   eat-CONTI(one.direction)-PERF-1/2p
       'I was eating continuously (going) in the car.'

The two following examples are ungrammatical, because the event is presented as happening at one specific place and therefore there is not displacement in the space (*Tropitop* is a cafe in Pucallpa, which cannot move along a path and therefore is different from a car):

(479) *Tropitopnu   kana   **'uxbuan**
       Tropitop=nu   kana   'ux-**bu**-a-n
       Tropitop=LOC   NAR.1sg   sleep-CONT.one.direction-PERF-1/2p
       ('I am sleeping continuously at Tropitop (name of a cafe in Pucallpa)')

(480) *Tropitopnuxun   kana   **pibuin**
       Tropitop=nu=xun   kana   pi-**bu**-i-n
       Tropitop=LOC=PA:A   NAR.1sg   eat-CONT.one.direction-IMPF-1/2p
       ('I am eating continuously at Tropitop (name of a cafe in Pucallpa)')

12.3.2 Trajectory directionals

Trajectory directionals include three categories: *-ru*: 'upward'; *-but*, *-pat* and *-pakët* 'downward'; and *-akët ~-at ~ -rat ~* and *~ -rakët* (plus *-arat* and *-arakët*) 'curved trajectory'.

12.3.2.1 *-ru*: 'upward'

The morpheme *-ru* 'upward' is the only form in this subclass that can modify both intransitive and transitive verbs; and it does not show any allomorphic alternation. The next two examples present this form with an intransitive verb (*kwan-* 'to go', but also in the lexicalised form *rónru-* 'to climb', in (481)) and a transitive verb (*put-* 'to put', in (482)):

(481) C02A06-NA-2007.010

'ën	tsipun	'ën	tsipun	'ën	tsipun"	kakëx	kaisa
'ë=n	tsi-pun	'ë=n	tsi-pun	'ë=n	tsi-pun	ka-këx	kaisa
1sg=A	buttock-poke	1sg=A	buttock-poke	1sg=A	buttock-poke	say-O>S(PE)	NAR.REP.3p

kwaruakëxa	Nishibun	ax	**rónruakëxa**
kwan-**ru**-akë-x-a	Nishibun	a=x	**rónru**-akë-x-a
go-up-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	Nishibun	that=S	climb-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, when the woman said to him 'I poke you on your buttock, I poke you on your buttock, I poke you on your buttock', Nishibun climbed up the tree.'

(482) C01B01-SE-2007.015

'axun	kaisa	amanu	atun	bakë bëchikë	ini bëchikë	a
'a-xun	kaisa	amanu	atu=n	bakë bëchikë	ini bëchikë	a
make-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	other.place	they=GEN	son	daughter	3sg.O

puruakëxa	'ani	tapan	'atankëxun
put-**ru**-akë-x-a	'ani	tapan	'a-tankëxun
put-up-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	big	raft.ABS	make-S/A>A(PE)

'it is said that, after making (it), they took up the sons and daughters on this big raft.'

The suffix *-ru* is polysemous in that it has a secondary aspectual meaning associated with the idea that the event is almost totally completed. This is exemplified in the

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following example, where we find the verb *këñu-* 'to finish' modified by the suffix *-ru* and expressing the idea that the mythical jaguar which the tale is about was killing people until there were only very few people remaining:

(483) C05B02-JE-2007

'inun	rara	an	kaisa	uni	uni	chabu	'ixunbisa
'inu=n	rara	a=n	kaisa	uni	uni	cha-bu	'i-xun=bi=isa
jaguar=GEN	ancestor	3sg=A	NAR.REP.3p	man	man	big=PLU	be-S/A>A-although=REP.3p

ain	aintsi	**këñuruiabi**	kaisa	unin
ain	aintsi	këñu-**ru**-ia=bi	kaisa	uni-n
their	relative.ABS	finish-almost.compl-A/S>O-although	NAR.REP.3p	man=ERG

kupiama	'ikën
kupi-a=ma	'ikën
revenge-REM.PAST=NEG	be.3p

'It is said that, although the ancestor of the jaguar was almost completely finishing off the people (even though they were very big), the people did not do anything and did not take revenge.'

12.3.2.2 *-but*, *-pat* and *-pakët* 'downward'

12.3.2.2.1 *-but and -pat*

These two suffixes are in a clear intransitive/transitive distribution: *-but* only modifies intransitive forms and *-pat* only appears with transitive ones. Thus, they can be glossed as 'downward, intransitive' and 'downward, transitive'. Examples of these two forms follow. In the first one, we find *-but* 'downward, intransitive' modifying the verb *rit-* 'to go together' and in the second one, we find *-pat* 'downward, transitive' modifying the verb *ni-* 'to throw'.

(484) C02B02-NA-2007.006

a	buani	ka	kwankëxa	tapanën	*cuatro*	tapanën	ka
a	buan-i	ka	kwan-akë-x-a	tapan=n	cuatro	tapan=n	ka
that.O	bring-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.3p	go-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	raft=INS	four	raft=INS	NAR.3p

ribuakëxa

rit-**but**-akë-x-a

go.together-down(INTR)-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Briging those (rafts), they went downstream together in four rafts.'

(485) C04A04-EE-2007

ronrutankëxun	kaisa	xëmën	'akëxa
ronru-tankëxun	kaisa	xëmën	'a-akë-x-a
climb-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	kinkajou.ABS	kill-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

pian	pian	'axun	'axun	**nipakëxa**
pia=n	pia=n	'a-xun	'a-xun	ni-**pat**-akë-x-a
arrow=INS	arrow=INS	kill-S/A>A	kill-S/A>A	throw-down.trans-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, after he climbed, he killed the kinkajous, killing them with arrows, killing them with arrows, he threw the kinkajous down.'

The forms *-but* and *-pat* are polysemous and have other meanings in certain contexts. The suffix *-but* also means 'advanced change of state' and can only be used with intransitive predicates, basically with predicates expressing states (including predicate adjectives). The directional meaning of this form in such a construction was pragmatically marked for my teachers, who always preferred the aspectual value just mentioned. Elicited examples of adjectives modified by *-but* follow.

(486)
ax	ka	uxuín
a=x	ka	uxu-i-ín
3p=S	NAR.3p	white-IMPF-prox

'(S)he becomes white.'

ax	ka	**uxubutín**
a=x	ka	uxu-**but**-i-ín
3p=S	NAR.3p	white-advanced.process-IMPF-prox

'(S)he is becoming white (and the process is advanced).'

(487)
ax	ka	xuatín
a=x	ka	xuat-i-ín
3p=S	NAR.3p	fat-IMPF-prox

'(S)he becomes fat.'

ax	ka	**xuabutín**
a=x	ka	xuat-**but**-i-in
3p=S	NAR.3p	fat-advanced.process-IMPF-prox

'(S)he is becoming fat (and the process is advanced).'

(488)
ax	ka	xënín
a=x	ka	xëni-i-ín
3p=S	NAR.3p	old-IMPF-prox

'(S)he becomes old.'

ax	ka	**xënibutín**
a=x	ka	xëni-**but**-i-ín
3p=S	NAR.3p	old-advanced.process-IMPF-prox

'(S)he is becoming old (and the process is advanced).'

In (489), we find an example taken from a narrative.

(489) C03A03-EE-2007.051

'aishbi	kaisa	'iakëxa	a	uni	**chumíbukë**
'aishbi	kaisa	'i-akë-x-a	a	uni	chumin-**but**-kë
but(S/A>A)	NAR.REP.3p	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	that	person	thin-advanced.process-NOM.ABS

bamati	urama
bama	ura=ma
die	far=NEG

'However, it is said that that man was very thin, not far from diying.'

Like its intransitive correlate *-but*, *-pat* 'downward, transitive' also has another meaning, which can be glossed as 'plural objects'. The form *-pat*, both as a directional and as a 'plural object' marker, exclusively appears with transitive verbs (which are the ones that have grammatical objects). Two examples of *-pat* meaning 'plural objects' follow:

(490) C02B04-SE-2007.008

rëratankëxun	kananuna	**mëchuishkapatin**
rëra-tankëxun	kananuna	më-chuishka-**pat**-i-n
cut.down-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.1pl	hand-cut-PLU.O-IMPF-1/2p

upitia		a	xarátikupí
upit-ia		a	xaró-ti-kupí
good-S/A>O(SE)		that.O	burn-NOM-reason

'Cutting down (the tree), we cut perflectly **the branches** in order to burn them.'

(491) C04A04-EE-2007.015

ain	xëni	'ati	ka	**raëskapa'**
ain	xëni	'a-ti	ka	**raëska-pat**
their	fat	cook-NOM	NAR	singe-PLU.O.IMP

'Singe (all these animals) in order to cook their fat!'

This meaning of *-pat* is similar to (but should not be confused with) iterativity. In the case of an iterative meaning, the same event can be repeated several times on the same object; but the examples presented here obligatorily implicate that there is more than one branch to cut or animal to singe. If we would like to express the meanings 'to cut several time the same branch' or 'to singe several times the same animal', we would need to use reduplicated verb forms: *mëchuis-mëchuiska-* and *raës-raëska-*, respectively (see §13.9 on verbal reduplication).

Neither *-pat* nor *-but* can be used twice in the same verbal form, in one case expressing aspect/plurality of object and in the other one expressing direction. But, interestingly, *-pat* as a 'plural object' marker can be combined with *-ru* 'upward'. This would be semantically impossible if *-pat* were used in its directional sense of 'downward'. Thus, we can find combinations such as *raëska-pat-ru-* 'to singe several animals while going up', where *-pat*, which appears first, is being used with the meaning 'plural object'. This suggests that the paradigms of each of the directional slots are not really mutually exclusive on morphosyntactic grounds, but on semantic grounds: one cannot simultaneously go upward and downward – but one can simultaneously do something iteratively while going upward. This fact strengthens

the argument that derivational suffixes do not form paradigms: every combination that makes pragmatic sense is allowed.

12.3.2.2.2 *-pakët*

The form *-pakët*, is used to obtain an intransitive form from the transitive verb *ni-* 'to throw'. The form *nipakët-* seems to exhibit a high degree of lexicalisation and to be idiosyncratic. On the basis of the verb root *ni-*, we can obtain the forms *nipat-* 'to throw down' and *ni-pakët* 'to fall down (or come down)'. The first one is a transitive stem while the second one is an intransitive one, as we can see from the form of the auxiliary in the prohibitive constructions in (492):

(492) **nipáxuma**   ka   'a'
      ni**pat**-xun=ma   ka   'a'
      throw-down(TRAN)-S/A>A=NEG   NAR   TRAN.AUX.IMP
      'Don't throw it down!'

      nipakëaxma   ka   'i'
      ni**pakët**-ax=ma   ka   'i'
      throw-down(TRAN>INTR)-S/A>S=NEG   NAR   INTR.AUX.IMP
      'Don't fall down!'

The suffix *-pakët* could be analysed as *-pat-kët*: there are reasons to assume that there was a kind of detransitivising suffix *-kët* that is not productive synchronically, but is still attested with certain derivational suffixes (see section §12.7.2 for a discussion of the issue). But synchronically, we can consider *-pakët* as a directional suffix that is used with the transitive verb *ni-* 'to throw' and that derives an intransitive one. Alternatively, *pakët* is also an independent verb meaning 'to fall' in Kashibo-Kakataibo and perhaps *nipakët-* has its origin in a straightforward verb compound of 'throw' plus 'fall', whose transitivity value is defined by the second verbal form.

12.3.2.3 *-at ~ -(a)rat ~* **and ~** *-akët ~ -(a)rakët* **'curved trajectory'**

The semantic category 'curved trajectory' is the most difficult to identify and to analyse within the directional paradigm. The reason for that difficulty is the considerable number of forms, and their seemingly unsystematic distribution (particularly in relation to the fact that a distinction between two different types of curved trajectory is only avaible for verbs ending in a nasal). An additional problem is that there is variation in speaker intuitions, as well as among dialects, in relation to the morphophonemic pattern associated with this form.Thus, the analysis to be presented here still requires confirmation.

Based on the data I have collected so far, I can tentatively conclude that all transitive forms of this suffix follow the pattern presented in (i), while intransitive forms follow the pattern proposed in (ii).

i.   Transitive verbs: *~-at ~ -(a)rat*

Transitive verbs ending in a vowel or in a fricative receive the allomorph *-arat*. Transitive verbs ending in a stop receive the allomorph *-rat* and, as expected, the verb-final stop is deleted (see §4.3.1.3). Finally, transitive verbs ending in *n* can take both *-at* and *-arat*. Interestingly, there is a semantic difference associated with these two forms: the former is used for single/short curved trajectories and the latter is used for multiple/long ones. This distinction is not available for verbs with other syllabic structures: *-(a)rat* is used in those cases for either type of movement. Some examples follow:

(493) *-arat*:
  an ka   **piaratia**
  a=n ka   pi-**arat**-i-a
  3sg=A NAR.3p eat-curve-IMPF-non.prox
  '(S)he eats following a curved trajectory.'

an	ka	**bariaratia**
a=n	ka	bari-**arat**-i-a
3sg=A	NAR.3p	look.for-curve-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he looks for (something) following a curved trajectory.'

an	ka	**xëaratia**
a=n	ka	xëa-**arat**-i-a
3sg=A	NAR.3p	drink-curve-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he drinks going in a curve, several times.'

an	ka	**kaisaratia**
a=n	ka	kais-**arat**-i-a
3sg=A	NAR.3p	choose-curve-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he chooses (something) following a curved trajectory.'

(494) *-rat:*

an	ka	xë**rat**ia
a=n	ka	xët-**rat**-i-a
3sg=A	NAR.3p	smell-curve-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he smells (something) following a curved trajectory.'

an	ka	**'ikuratia**
a=n	ka	'ikut-**rat**-i-a
3sg=A	NAR.3p	hug-curve-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he hugs (people) following a curved trajectory.'

(495) *-at* and *-arat:*

'ë=n	kana	xubu	**maënatin**
'ë=n	kana	xubu	maën-**at**-i-n
1sg=A	NAR.1sg	house.ABS	sweep-curve-IMPF-1/2p

'I sweep the house following a short curved trayectory or turning.'

'ën	kana	xubu	**maëaratin**
'ë=n	kana	xubu	maën-**arat**-i-n
1sg=A	NAR.1sg	house.ABS	sweep-curve.ITER-IMPF-1/2p

'I sweep the house following a multiple/long curved trayectory.'

'ën	kana	mesa	**buinatin**
'ë=n	kana	mesa	buin-**at**-i-n
1sg=A	NAR.1sg	table.ABS	move-curve-IMPF-1/2p

'I move the table following a short curved trayectory.' / 'I turn the table.'

'ën	kana	mesa	**buinaratin**
'ë=n	kana	mesa	buin-**arat**-i-n
1sg=A	NAR.1sg	table.ABS	move-curve.ITER/DUR-IMPF-1/2p

'I move the table following a multiple/long curved trayectory'

ii. <u>Intransitive verbs</u>

Intransitive verbs ending in a vowel or in a fricative receive the allomorph *-arakët*, regardless of the number of syllables. Intransitive verbs ending in a stop receive the allomorph *-rakët* and, as expected, the verb-final stop is deleted (see again §4.3.1.3). Finally, intransitive verbs ending in *n* can take both *-akët* and *-arakët*. As with transitive verbs, there is a semantic difference associated with these two forms: the former is used for single/short curved trajectories and the latter is used for multiple/long ones. This distinction is not available for verbs with other syllabic structures. Some examples follow:

(496) <u>*-arakët:*</u>

ax	ka	**niarakëtia**
a=x	ka	ni-**arakët**-i-a
3sg=S	NAR.1sg	walk-curve-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he walks following a curved trayectory.'

ax	ka	**mëñuarakëtia**
a=x	ka	mëñu-**arakët**-i-a
3sg=S	NAR.1sg	swim-curve-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he swims following a curved trayectory.'

ax	ka	**báxëxarakëtia**
a=x	ka	báxëx-**arakët**-i-a
3sg=S	NAR.1sg	gossip-curve-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he gossips following a curved trayectory.'

(497) <u>*-rakët*</u>

ax	ka	**'abarakëtia**
a=x	ka	'abat-**rakët**-i-a
3sg=S	NAR.1sg	run-curve-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he runs following a curved trayectory.'

ax   ka   **'unërakëtia**

a=x   ka   'unët-**rakët**-i-a

3sg=S   NAR.1sg hide.one.self-curve-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he hides himself following a curved trayectory.'

(498) *-akët* and *-arakët:*

ax   ka   **kwainakëtia**

a=x   ka   kwain-**akët**-i-a

3sg=S   NAR.1sg   move-curve-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he goes following a short curved trayectory.'

ax   ka   **kwainarakëtia**

a=x   ka   kwain-**arakët**-i-a

3sg=S   NAR.1sg   move-curve.ITER/DUR-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he goes following a multiple/long curved trayectory.'

ax   ka   **churuankëtia**

a=x   ka   churun-**akët**-i-a

3sg=S   NAR.1sg   jump-curve-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he jumps following a short curved trayectory.'

ax   ka   **churunarakëtia**

a=x   ka   churun-**arakët**-i-a

3sg=S   NAR.1sg   jump-curve.ITER/DUR-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he jumps following a multiple/long curved trayectory.'

The complexity described above has to do with the fact that the paradigm seems to have merged at least two different markers: *-at* 'curved movement' and *-rat ~ -rakët* 'continuously' (and probably even three, if we assume that **-kët* was at some point segmentable from *-rat*, see section §12.7.2).

The directional category of 'curved trajectory' also has an aspectual semantic extension. This marker, exhibiting the same allomorphy, can modify adjectives used as intransitive predicates in order to express a slow change of state that may be glossed as 'gradually', and thus contrasts with *-but* 'downward, advanced change of state'. This is presented in the following examples:

(499) ax   ka   uxuín
        a=x   ka   uxu-i-ín
        3p=S   NAR.3p   white-IMPF-prox
        'It is becoming white.'

        ax   ka   **uxubuín**
        a=x   ka   uxu-**but-**i-ín
        3p=S   NAR.3p   white-advanced.state-IMPF-prox
        'It is becoming white (and the process is advanced).'

        ax   ka   **uxuakëtín**
        a=x   ka   uxu-**akët**-i-ín
        3p=S   NAR.3p   white-gradually-IMPF-prox
        'It is becoming white gradually.'

As in its directional sense, the allomorph *-rakët* is used if the verbal stem ends in a stop:

(500) 'ëx   kana   **'upirakëtin**
        'ë=x   kana   upit-**rakët**-i-n
        1sg=S   NAR.1sg   good-gradually-IMPF-1/2p
        'I am gradually recovering.'

12.3.3   'Go'/'come' directionals:

The directionals presented here use as their spatial reference point the speaker, the hearer or a specific discourse participant. The forms included in this category are: *-kian* and *-bian* 'going'; *-kwatsin* and *-bëtsin* 'coming'; and *-kwain* and *-buin* 'passing by', and all of them show an intransitive/transitive alternation.

Particles with the first two meanings ('going' and 'coming') are commonly attested in different languages and are usually referred to as **translocative** and **cislocative** or **andative** and **venitive**, respectively. In turn, the meaning 'passing by' appears to be less common cross-linguistically. Notice that both the transitive and the intransitive forms for 'passing by' are also attested as independent verbs,

suggesting that the whole paradigm might have come from multi verb constructions (see Valenzuela 2011b, for a similar analysis regarding Shipibo-Konibo).

Another interesting observation is that there are different temporal relationships between the motion and the event expressed by the verb stem and that these depend on the construction type. If the verb stem modified by the directional is the main verb in the clause, the interpretation can be either simultaneous ('to go, to come or to pass by, doing X') or sequential ('to go, to come or to pass by, having done X'). Among the two, the second interpretation tends to be preferred by the speakers. If we want to code explicitly that both events are simultaneous, then the verb stem modified by the directional suffix occurs as a switch-reference verb linked to a verb such as *kwan-* 'to go' or *u-* 'to come'. This distinction is shown in the following examples. In the first one, the verb with the directional is the matrix verb and a preferred sequential reading is obtained: *rakan-bian-* is interpreted as 'to lay down (something) before going'. In the second example, the verb modified by the directional is functioning as a switch-reference element dependent on the main verb *kwan-* and the interpretation is that both actions are simultaneous.

(501) C02A07-JE-2007.023

kwankin	kaisa	kapḗ	kapḗ	rëxun
kwan-kin	kaisa	kapḗ	kapḗ	rët-xun
go-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	caiman	caiman.ABS	kill-S/A>A

ain	tëxaká	maxaxnu	**rakanbiankëshín**
ain	të-xakat	maxax=nu	rakan-**bian**-akë-x-ín
3sg.GEN	neck-skin.ABS	stone=LOC	lay.down-going(TRA)-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, going, killing several caimans, (they) laid down its neck skin on a stone and thus went.'

(502) C02A09-NA-2007.018

butui	kaisa	kaxori	a	ributamainun
butu-i	kaisa	kaxori	a	rit-but-tan-mainun
dive-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	pomegranate	that.O	go.together-down(INTR)-go.to-DS/A/O(SE.DUR)

bëchunan	rinpatamainun	kaisa
bëchun=n	rin-pat-tan-mainun	kaisa
wave=ERG	carry.together-down(TRA)-go.to-DS/A/O(SE.DUR)	NAR.REP.3p

kwënkébukiani	**kwankëxa**
kwënkën-but-**kian**-i	kwan-akë-x-a
shout-down(INTR)-going.INTR-S/A>S(SE)	go-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

uni	ñusi	ax	bakan bina	këñukëx
uni	ñusi	a=x	bakan bina	këñu-këx
person	old	3sg=S	wasp	finish-O>S(PE)

'It is said that, when the pomegranate sank down, going together, when the waves carried them far, the old man went shouting, because a wasp stung him completely.'

12.3.3.1 *-kian* and *-bian* 'going'

The forms *-kian* and *-bian* express the meaning 'going' and appear in complementary distribution: the first one is exclusively used with intransitive forms, while the second form is only used with transitive ones. Any other combination will result in an ungrammatical form. Cases of these two suffixes are presented in the next examples:

(503) C02A07-JE-2007.019

ain	chain	kwamikëx	usai	kixun
ain	chai=n	kwat-mi-këx	usa-i	ki-xun
3sg.GEN	brother.in.law=ERG	hear-CAUS-O>S(PE)	like.that-S/A>S(SE)	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)

kaisa	raíripan	isa	**rikiaënxan**	raíripan
kaisa	raíri-pan	isa	**rit-kian**-ëxan-a	raíri=pan
NAR.REP.3p	different-first	REP.3p	go.together-going.INTR-PAST.few.days-NOM	different=first

'It is said that, when his brother-in-law made him hear, saying like this, (he said): "first the other ones, the ones that went together a few days before that".'

(504) C02B01-NA-2007.012

uisa	'ën	ta	oi	kara	uni
ui-sa	'ën	ta	o-i	kara	uni
how	1sg.GEN	mother.short.form.ABS	FACT-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.INT.3p	person.ABS

nëtéaxa	kiax	kwankin	kaisa	ain	taërá
nëtët-a-x-a	ki-ax	kwan-kin	kaisa	ain	taë-rá
disappear-PAST1-3p-non.prox	say(INTR)-S/A>S	go-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	3sg.GEN	foot-DIM.ABS

tanaukubiankëxa
tana-uku-bian-akë-x-a
follow.footprints-ITER(one.direction)-going(TRA)-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, saying: "doing what to my mother, this man has disappeared?", (the boy) went following his footprints.'

12.3.3.2 *-kwatsin* and *-bëtsin*: 'coming'

The forms *-kwatsin* and *-bëtsin* indicate that the event is unfolding in the direction of the speaker, the hearer, or any other spatial reference point established in discourse and can be translated as 'coming'. The suffixes *-kwatsin* and *-bëtsin* also appear in complementary distribution: the first one is used with intransitive verbs and the second form is used exclusively with transitive ones. Again, any other combination will result in an ungrammatical form. These two suffixes are exemplified in the following fragments:

(505) C00A05-EE-2006.006

bukunbëtsini	kana	urupunin
bukun-**bëtsin**-i	kana	u-ru-pun-i-n
gather-coming(TRAN)-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.1sg	come-up-PAST(hours)-IMPF-1/2p

'After gathering (it), I came up the river'.

(506) C01B02-JE-2007.073

bari	rikianpunia
bari-i	rit-kian-pun-i-a
look.for-S/A>S(SE)	go.together-going.INTR-PAST(hours)-IMPF-non.prox

kaisa	kainxun	kainkëxbi	kaisa
kaisa	kain-xun	kain-këx=bi	kaisa
NAR.REP.3p	wait-S/A>A(SE)	wait-O>S(PE)=same	NAR.REP.3p

sharárabati	**rikwatsiankëshín**
sharat-rabat-i	ri-**kwatsin**-akë-x-ín
make.noise-separately-S/A>S(SE)	go.together-coming(INTR)-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, when he was waiting for (his enemies), the ones who went early that day to look for animals, they came together making noise.'

When the form *-bëtsin* appears modifying the verb *bits-* 'to pick up' the form *bits-bëtsin-* is reduced to *bitsin*, as shown in the next example:

(507) C01A08-JE-2007.005

tanu	kana	bitsian
tanu	kana	bits-bëtsin-a-n
palm.worm.ABS	NAR.1sg	pick.up-coming(TRA)-PAST1-1/2p

'I came gathering palms worms.'

12.3.3.3 *-kwain* and *-buin*: 'passing by'

The forms *-kwain* and *-buin* 'passing by' behave in the same way as the suffixes presented above. They are used with intransitive and transitive roots respectively, as shown in the following examples. In the first one, we find the form *-buin* 'passing by, transitive' modifying the verb root *matsun-* 'to sweep'; while in the second, we find the form *-kwain* 'passing by, intransitive' modifying the verbal stem formed by the verb *churu-* 'to untie' and the reflexive marker *-akat*.

(508) C02A06-NA-2007.031

kwainkinshi	kaisa	ain	tita	ñuxanrá
kwain-kin=ishi	kaisa	ain	tita	ñuxan-rá
move.over-S/A>A(SE)=only	NAR.REP.3p	3sg.GEN	mother	old(fem)-DIM.ABS

ain	maë	**matsunkubuiniabi**	rëakëxa
ain	maë	matsun-uku-**buin**-ia=bi	rët-akë-x-a
3sg.GEN	burned.garden.ABS	sweep-ITER-passing.TRA-S/A>O(SE)=same	beat-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, moving over, (he) beat her very old mother who was passing by sweeping her burned garden.'

(509) C02A04-JE-2007.010

matsutiabi	kaisa	chaxu	an	**churukukwainkin**
matsut-ia=bi	kaisa	chaxu	a=n	churu-akat-**kwain**-kin
sweep-S/A>O(SE)=same	NAR.REP.3p	deer	that=A	untie-REFL-passing.INTR-S/A>A(SE)

kaisa	xanu	xënirá	chaxun	makwëxakëshín
kaisa	xanu	xëni-rá	chaxu=n	makwëx-akë-x-ín
NAR.REP.3p	woman	old.ABS-DIM	deer=ERG	beat.up.with.a.mallet-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, while (the woman) was sweeping, the deer beat her up, passing by, after untying himself.'

The suffixes *-kwain* 'passing by, intransitive' and *-buin* 'passing by, transitive' are straightforwardly related, both formally and semantically, to the verbs *kwain-* 'to move over' and *buin-* 'to move (something)'. There is even a correspondence with respect to their valency: the transitive verb *buin-* 'to move (something)' relates to the transitive suffix *-buin* 'passing by, transitive'; while the intransitive verb *kwain-* 'to move over' relates to the intransitive suffix *-kwain* 'passing by, intransitive'. In the next two examples, the forms discussed here appear as verbs:

(510) C02B05-NA-2007.071

parun	papamiax	unitankëx	ka	nukën
paru=n	papa-mi-ax	uni-tankëx	ka	nukën
big.river=GEN	father=IMPR.LOC-PA:S	reproduce-S/A>S(PE)	NAR.3p	1pl.GEN

chaiti	**kwainakëakëxa**
chaiti	**kwain**-akë-akë-x-a
ancestor.ABS	move-curve-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'After reproducing themselves around the bigest river, our ancestors went, going in a curve.'

(511) C01B05-SE-2007.027

kananuna	'arupain	**buintankëxun**	bukunin
kananuna	'aru-pain-i-n	**buin**-tankëxun	bukun-i-n
NAR.1pl	cook-first-IMPF-1/2p	carry-S/A>A(PE)	gather-IMPF-1/2p

'We boil (them) first and carrying (the arrows) we gather (them).'

Even though we are dealing synchronically with bound morphemes, we may argue that those directional suffixes (and possible some of the other ones as well) were derived from a multi verb construction, which operated under the transitivity harmony principle (see §18.5.1) in the sense that the transitive directional verb *buin-* was combined with other transitive verbs, and the intransitive directional predicate *kwain-* was combined with other intransitive verbs.

12.4   Quantificational markers

I use the term **quantificational** for a group of derivational forms that do not express valency-changes, direction or aspect: *-taba* 'for the first time', *-tëkën* 'again' and *-(r)abat* 'distributive'. All these suffixes have to do, in one way or the other, with numeric or quantificational values, but represent the least compact class presented in this section.

12.4.1.1 *-taba*: 'for the first time

The suffix *-taba* 'for the first time' is rarely used as a productive derivational suffix in natural texts and the example presented here was given to me by one of my teachers during an elicitation session. There is, however, a very common nominalised form used to refer to the first people in the world, which carries this suffix: *unitabakë*. This form can be analysed as *uni-taba-kë*, where *uni-* is functioning as the predicate 'to reproduce', *-taba* is the suffix 'for the first time' and *-kë* is a nominaliser. Thus, the literal meaning of *uni-taba-kë* is 'the one(s) who reproduced themselves for the first

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time'. One example of this suffix in a sentence follows (notice that, in certain contexts, *-taba* is followed by an epentetic *t*; see §5.7):

(512) 'ën   kana   chaxu   nami   **pitabatin**
      'ë=n   kana   chaxu   nami   pi-**taba**-*t*-i-n
      1sg=ERG   NAR.1sg   deer   meat.ABS eat-for.the.first.time-HARM-IMPF-1/2p
      'I am eating deer meat for the first time.'

12.4.1.2 *-tëkën*: 'again'

The suffix *-tëkën* 'again' is frequently attested in texts and natural speech, and is very productive. The suffix *-tëkën* can be accompanied by the adverb *amiribishi*, which also means 'again'. One example of *-tëkën* 'again' follows:

(513) C02A02-NA-2007.052
'amikin   'amipunkin   kaisa
'a-mi-kin   'a-mi-pun-kin   kaisa
do-CAUS-S/A>A(SE)   do-CAUS-PAST(hours)-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p

ñantanbukëbëtan   **'amitëkëankëshín**
ñantan-but-këbëtan   'a-mi-**tëkën**-akë-x-ín
get.dark-advanced.process-DS/A/O(SE.TRAN)   do-CAUS-again-REM.PAST-3p-prox
'It is said that, having made (them) do it earlier, when it got dark, they made them do it again.'

12.4.1.3 *-rabat ~ -abat*: 'distributive'

The suffix *-rabat* 'distributive' is inherently plural, but differently from the inflectional plural marker *-kan*, *-rabat* indicates that the action is being carried out by different participants independently. Sometimes, the events modified by *-rabat* 'distributive' are interpreted as being disorganised and chaotic, but this seems to be an implicature associated with certain types of events (like fighting, for example). The primary value of this suffix is a strong individuation of every member in the group that carries out the event, and this event is conceptualised as being formed

from different individualised actions. This suffix shows an alternation between *-abat* and *-rabat,* whereby the last form surfaces if the verb stem ends in a stop. One example of *-rabat* 'distributive' follows (the same fragment was presented in (506)).

(514) C01B02-JE-2007.073

bari	rikianpunia
bari-i	rit-kian-pun-i-a
look.for-S/A>S(SE)	go.together-going.INTR-PAST(hours)-IMPF-non.prox

kaisa	kainxun	kainkëxbi	kaisa
kaisa	kain-xun	kain-këx=bi	kaisa
NAR.REP.3p	wait-S/A>A(SE)	wait-O>S(PE)=same	NAR.REP.3p

sharárabati	rikwatsiankëshín
sharat-**rabat**-i	ri-kwatsin-akë-x-ín
make.noise-separately-S/A>S(SE)	go.together-coming(INTR)-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, when he was waiting for (his enemies), the ones who went early that day to look for animals they came together, each of them making noise.'

12.5 Deontic modality/irrealis markers

12.5.1 *-kas*: 'desiderative/abilitive'

The suffix *-kas* has both a desiderative and an abilitive meaning depending on the polarity of the expression. With a positive polarity it is always interpreted as a desiderative marker (i.e., 'want to'), but with a negative polarity it expresses an abilitive value (i.e., 'cannot', instead of 'not want to'). Desiderative and abilitive functions are semantically similar (for instance, both are part of what Chung and Timberlake 1985: 246-250 define as the deontic mode) and, thus, some interaction between these two functions is expected and typologically common. The interesting fact about Kashibo-Kakataibo is that, when *-kas* appears with a negative polarity,

the desiderative meaning is not possible at all; but this change in meaning requires more research.[68] This fact is shown in the following examples. In the first one, *-kas* is modifying the verb *ñui-* 'to tell' and, since it appears in an affirmative clause, the meaning is desiderative. In the second example, *-kas* is modifying the verb *mëra-* 'to find' and is being followed by the negative marker; and, then, *-kas* is interpreted as a negated abilitive marker:

(515) C01A01-MO-2007.001

ënu	achushi	bëráma	nun	'anibu	'ia	kana	**ñuikasin**
ënu	achushi	bëráma	nu=n	'anibu	'i-a	kana	ñui-**kas**-i-n
here	one	old	1pl=GEN	ancestor.ABS	be-NOM	NAR.1sg	tell-DES-IMPF-1/2p

'I want to tell about someone who was one of our very old ancestors.'

(516) C01B02-JE-2007.046

uama	kaisa	barikinbi
u-a=ma	kaisa	bari-kin=bi
come-NOM=NEG	NAR.REP.3p	look.for-S/A>A(SE)-although

mërakasmakëshín
mëra-**kas-ma-**akë-x-ín
find-DES-NEG -REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'And, it is said that, although they were looking for (him), they could not find (him).'

Another important fact about this suffix is that it is one of the only two suffixes (the other being the irrealis marker *-isa*) that allow the negator marker *=ma* to appear in an internal position within the verb and before the inflectional forms.

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[68] Another possible analysis is that the form containing the negator, *-kasma*, is synchronically a unitary morpheme. This analysis might find support in the fact that the position of the negator immediately after the desiderative marker is unusual (see the discussion below). But I prefer to analyse it as a segmentable form, not only because the two morphemes are still identifiable and productive, but also because the negator *-ma* also appears in this unusual position with another marker (*-isa* 'irrealis'), for which there is no unpredictable change in meaning attested.

The more usual position for the negative marker *=ma* is at the end of a previously nominalised verb (see §16.2.6).

The negative desiderative can be obtained by negating the irrealis marker *-isa* (see the next section) or by forming a complement clause with the complement verb *kwëën* 'to want' in its negative form (see §20.4). The latter possibility is exemplified here:

(517) 'ën   kana   a   bana   ñuiti   **kwëënima**
       'ë=n   kana   a   bana   ñui-ti   **kwëën-i=ma**
       1sg=A NAR.1sg that tale.ABS tell-NOM want-IMPF=NEG
       'I do not want to tell that tale.'

Conversely, a positive ability value equivalent to 'can' in English is expressed through a periphrastic construction contaning an auxiliary and the nominaliser *-ti* on the main verb (see §13.11.2):

(518) 'ë=n   kana   a   bana   **ñui-ti**   **'ain**
       'ë=n   kana   a   bana   **ñui-ti**   **'ain**
       1sg=A NAR.1sg that tale.ABS tell-NOM be.NON.PAST.1/2p
       'I can tell that tale.'

The form *-kas* appears to have come from **-kats* and this older form is still attested in at least one construction where it expresses 'failed intention' or 'fake action' (see §18.5.2.2) in the Kashibo-Kakataibo dialect of the Upper Aguaytía River.

12.5.2   *-isa*: 'irrealis'

I use the label *irrealis* to refer to a marker that locates the event in a possible world other than the real one. The irrealis suffix *-isa* is used in three basic constructions: one with a desiderative meaning; another with the meaning 'not yet'; and the last

one expressing impossibility. Cross-linguistically, these three meanings are typically associated with the more general category of irrealis, which usually also covers categories such as future, possibility, negation and imperative (see Chung and Timberlake 1985).

This suffix is not easy to classify in terms of the distinction between derivation and inflection. We will see that its position is not completely fixed but not completely free either. In fact, this form appears in different fixed positions in some of its associated constructions, as shown in the following subsections.

12.5.2.1 Desiderative meaning

The most common use of the irrealis *-isa* is as a desiderative marker. With this function, *-isa* is almost equivalent to the desiderative suffix *-kas* and with a positive polarity it was not possible to find any clear difference between the two. The difference is that the desiderative suffix *-kas* obtains an ability meaning when it is negated (see §12.5), and this does not happen with the irrealis marker, which, when negated, keeps its desiderative meaning: we have *pi-**isa**-tan-i-n* 'I want to eat' and *pi-**isa**-**ma**-tan-i-n* 'I do not want to eat'. Notice that the irrealis marker in the desiderative construction obligatorily co-occurs with the suffix *-tan* (which is probably the same as the one with the meaning 'go to' attested in imperatives, see section §15.2.3.5).

Two examples of the irrealis marker with a desiderative meaning follow. In the first one, we find the verb *ka-* 'to say' and the polarity is positive; while in the second, the verb is *'a-* 'to do' and the polarity is negative:

(519) C01B08-NA-2007.018

ashi	kana	**kaisatanin**
a=ishi	kana	ka-**isa-tan**-i-n
that.O=only	NAR.1sg	say-IRRE-GO.TO-IMPF-1/2p

'I want to say only that thing.'

(520) C02B04-SE-2007.041

'aisamatankin	kananuna	'apatin	nónsibirës
'a-**isa-ma-tan**-kin	kananuna	'apat-i-n	nónsi=birës
do-IRRE-NEG-GO.TO-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.1pl	plant-IMPF-1/2p	banana.ABS=purely

'Without wanting to do (something else), we plant purely bananas.'

12.5.2.2 'Not yet' meaning

If the irrealis marker *-isa* appears followed by the adverbial enclitics *=ma* 'negator'

plus *=pain ~ =pan* 'first', and the suffix *-tan* 'go to', the resulting meaning is 'not

yet'. This meaning is attested in the following examples:

(521)
ënë	nami	kana	'ën	**pisamapaintanin**
ënë	nami	kana	'ë=n	pi-**isa-ma-pain-tan**-i-n
this	meat.ABS	NAR.1sg	1sg=A	eat-IRRE-NEG-first-go.to-IMPF-1/2p

'I have not eaten this meat yet.'

(522)
'ën	naë	kana	'ën	**'aisamapaintanin**
'ë=n	naë	kana	'ë=n	'a-**isa-ma-pain-tan**-i-n
1sg=GEN	garden.ABS	NAR.1sg	1sg=A	do-IRRE-NEG-first-go.to-IMPF-1/2p

'I have not made my garden yet.'

12.5.2.3 Impossibility meaning

The irrealis marker *-isa* also appears in a construction in which it indicates that the

event is impossible or did not happen. In this case, a lexical verb is modified by the

irrealis maker and followed by the auxiliary *'i-* 'to be'. This auxiliary is negated and

appears as the head of a switch-reference clause (see Chapter 18). The main

predicate usually repeats the lexical verb of the switch-reference clause. We can see this in the next examples:

(523) ënë   nami   nun   **pisa**   **'aimabi**   ka
      ënë   nami   nu=n   pi-**isa**   'ain=**ma=bi**   ka
      this   meat.ABS   1pl=A   eat-IRRE   be(DS/A/O)-NEG-although   NAR.3p

      Juanën   piaxa
      Juan=n   pi-a-x-a
      Juan=ERG   eat-PERF-3p-non.prox
      'Although we were not able to eat this meat, Juan ate it.'

(524) ënë   radio   ën   **marutisa**   **'ainmabi**   ka
      ënë   radio   ën   maru-t-**isa**   'ain=**ma=bi**   ka
      this   radio.ABS   1sg=A   buy-HAR-IRRE   be(DS/A/O)=NEG=although   NAR.3p

      Marianën   maruaxa
      Maria=n   maru-a-x-a
      Maria=ERG   buy-PERF-3p-non.prox
      'Although I was not able to buy this radio, Maria bought it.'

12.6   Aspectual markers

12.6.1.1   *-rat ~ -rakët* **'iterative, continuously'**

In §12.3.2.3, I have presented the category 'curved trajectory' and have briefly mentioned its possible relationship with *-rat ~ -rakët*: 'iterative, continuously'. In the examples presented in that section, verbs ending in *n* were able to receive two different 'curved trajectory' markers. The one expressing 'long/multiple curved trajectory', *-arakët*, may include the form presented here. The marker *-rat ~ -rakët* 'iterative, continuously' is also attested by itself in other contexts without any associated directional meaning. This can be seen in the following examples, where we can see that the allomorph *-rat* appears with transitive verbs and the allomorph *-rakët* with intransitive ones:

(525) an   ka   **piratia**

a=n   ka   pi-**rat**-i-a

3sg=A   NAR.3p   eat-CONT-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he eats several times, continuously, desperately.'

an   ka   **xëaratia**

a=n   ka   xëa-**rat**-i-a

3sg=A   NAR.3p   drink-CONT-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he drinks several times, continuously, desperately.'

(526) ax   ka   **tsórakëtia**

a=x   ka   tsót-**rakët**-i-a

3sg=S   NAR.3p   sit.down-CONT-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he sits down and stays in that position.'

ax   ka   **rakarakëtia**

a=x   ka   rakat-**rakët**-i-a

3sg=S   NAR.3p   lay.down-CONT-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he lays down and stays in that position.'

12.6.1.2 *-rës* 'frequently, distractedly'

This suffix was taught to me by my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers in elicitation sessions and does not appear in my whole text database. Its semantic characterisation still requires further research. In principle, this form seems to express two different meanings according to the context. When combined with *-i* 'imperfective', it was translated to me as 'frequently' or 'always'. In turn, when used for past events or with the perfective, the interpretation is translatable as 'distractedly' or 'without being conscious of what one was doing'. The two meanings associated with this suffix are presented in the following examples:

(527) an   ka   'atapa   **pirësia**

a=n   ka   'atapa   pi-**rës**-i-a

3sg=A   NAR.1sg hen.ABS   eat-frequently-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he always eats hen.'

(528) an   ka   'atapa   **pirësëxanxa**

       a=n   ka   'atapa   pi-**rës**-ëxan-x-a

       3sg=A   NAR.1sg   hen.ABS   eat-distractedly-PAST(days)-3p-non.prox

       '(S)he ate hen wihout realising what (s)he was doing.'

12.7   Non-productive (old) suffixes

12.7.1   Two old directional suffixes?

There is some correspondence between verbal roots expressing meanings associated with 'taking out' and 'going out' and the presence of the two endings *-chi* and *-kut*, respectively. These two forms appear to be two old suffixes **-chi* and **-kut* that have the directional meanings 'out, transitive' and 'out, intransitive'. These two suffixes, however, are not productive any longer and behave like the so-called *cranberry* forms of English. Some examples of verbs showing these two forms follow:

(529)   verbs with **-chi* 'out, transitive'

       pu**chi**-   'to take the intestines of an animal off'

       ë**chi**-   'to take off'

       bë**chi**-   'to pull out'

(530)   verbs with **-kut* 'out, intransitive'

       pi**kut**-   'to go out'

       chi**kut**-   'to appear'

       mapi**kut**-'to stick one's head out'

12.7.2   An old suffix *-kët* 'detransitiviser'?

There are four suffixes that end in *-kët* and all of them relate to intransitive values in one way or the other: *-akat* (and its realisations) 'reflexive' (which can surface as *-mëkët*; §12.2.2.2), *-pakët* 'downward' (§12.3.2.2.2), *-at ~ -(a)rat ~* and *~ -akët ~ -(a)rakët* 'curved trajectory' (§12.3.2.3) and *-rat ~ -rakët* 'iterative, continously' (§12.7.2).

All the forms associated with *-kët* presented in this chapter show intransitive values and this represents a systematic pattern. Based on this evidence, it might be possible to argue that this form was an old 'detransitiviser' marker in the language. Notice also that *-kët* ends in *-t,* which can be analysed as a synchronic 'middle' marker in Kashibo-Kakataibo (see §12.2.2.3).

Chapter 13 Verbs (3): inflection

13.1 Introduction

Verbal morphology is clearly the most complex morphological system of Kashibo-Kakataibo: in addition to the 30 odd derivational forms (the number can be larger or smaller depending on how we count certain alternating forms) presented in the previous chapter, we find 24 suffixes that can be analysed as inflectional (see Table 59). Verb stems can take several of these derivational and inflectional suffixes at the same time. This produces very long words within which some morphophonemic processes may also apply, creating unclear morphological boundaries.

According to the analysis proposed in this chapter, there are four verbal inflectional slots that exhibit a rigid order and are numbered accordingly: slot I: tense/aspect /modality; slot II: tense/aspect; slot III: subject cross-reference; and slot IV: addressee's perspective. They constitute morphosyntactic paradigms and the suffixes in each of them are mutually exclusive. This makes these forms different from the derivational suffixes presented in the previous chapter, which were classified into semantic classes (whose members do not necessarily exclude each other) and were shown to be freer in terms of their position.

In addition, there are five portmanteau suffixes that can also be considered inflectional and one suffix, the plural marker *-kan*, that shows a distinctive morphological behaviour and is difficult to classify as part of any of the proposed inflectional slots. All this is presented in the table below (where cross-references to the section discussing each slot are also included).

Notice that there is an analytical difficulty in relation to the proposed slot II. This slot includes seven suffixes that show different positions relative to the plural marker *-kan*. As indicated in the below table, the markers *-on* 'past, the day before', *-ëxan* 'past, some days ago' and *-yantan* 'past, one or some months ago' appear before the plural marker, while the markers *-i* 'imperfective', *-a* 'perfective', *-akë* 'remote past' and *-a* 'stative' appear after the plural suffix. Their position in relation to the plural marker may be taken as indicating that these forms do not belong to the same paradigm. Even though this seems to be true from a diachronic perspective, the synchronic analysis of these forms is much more complex. The main issue is that, despite their different positions in relation to the plural marker, the forms in the proposed slot II are mutually exclusive (as is the case for the other inflectional paradigms presented in this chapter), and this represents a strong argument for their grouping in the same slot. This is the synchronic fact, and based on it I have included all forms within the same slot, which has been divided into two paradigms, separated by the plural marker. However, as I explain in the following paragraph, an alternative analysis, perhaps more diachronic in nature, is also possible.

The markers *-on* 'past, the day before', *-ëxan* 'past, some days ago' and *-yantan* 'past, one or some months ago' systematically receive perfective interpretations and, based on this, one can argue that those forms are obligatorily combined with the perfective marker *-a*, which, due to the process of *n*-metathesis (see §5.7.1.4), does not surface. Thus, we would have: *-on-a* > *-on* (where the process of assimilation of *a* also plays a role; see §5.7.1.3.1); *-ëxan-a* > *-ëxan* and *-yantan-a* > *-yantan*. Their analysis as including the perfective marker in these contexts would explain the systematic perfective interpretation of these three forms, and it would

allow us to explain the position of these forms in relation to the plural marker: we have two different paradigms: if *-on* 'past, the day before', *-ëxan* 'past, some days ago' and *-yantan* 'past, one or some months ago' can be combined with *-a* 'perfective', they cannot belong to the same inflectional slot. Although this analysis is potentially possible, it also has a number of disadvantages. The first one is the need to postulate the presence of the perfective marker *-a* in contexts where it cannot be recovered under any circumstance. Even though from a diachronic point of view the presence of this marker is very likely, I do not have any evidence to argue that this is the case from a synchronic point of view (or that the speakers cognitively analyse those forms in that way). In addition, this analysis will lead to a larger number of inflectional slots (and will add non-obligatory ones), and it will make the classification of some forms in slot I more difficult (particularly, *-tsin* 'conditional' and *-këan* 'frustrative'). One possibility is to analyse all those forms as derivational, considering inflectional only those that appear after the plural marker, but this analysis is also problematic, since we will then have to postulate several derivational suffixes with a fixed order, producing culminative slots, within which the presence of one form excludes the presence of the others. In order to avoid these difficulties, I have followed the analysis proposed in Table 59; where slot II has been divided into slots II-A and II-B, in order to account for the different position of its members in relation to the plural marker:

Table 59 Verbal inflectional suffixes and their relative position

Inflection I: tense/aspect (§13.2)	Inflection II: tense/aspect			Inflection III: subject cross-reference (§13.6)	Inflection IV: addressee's perspective (§13.7)
	Inflection II-A (§13.3)		Inflection II-B (§13.5)		
-bait 'durative, the same day'	*-on* 'the day before'	*-kan* 'plural' (§13.4)	*-i* 'imperfective'	*-n* 'first/second person'	*-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee'
-nët 'durative, the night before'	*-ëxan* 'days ago'		*-a* 'perfective'	*-x* and unmarked 'third person'	*-ín* 'proximal to the addressee'
-pun 'hours ago'	*-yantan* 'months ago'		*-akë* 'remote past'		
-rabë́ 'habitual non-remote past'			*-a* 'stative'		
-inë 'durative remote past'					
-itsin 'conditional'					
-këan 'frustrative'					
Final pormanteau inflectional morphemes (§13.8)					
				-mín: 'complaining negator, third person'	
				-mán: 'complaining negator, first/second person'	
-kian: 'habitual, remote past, third person'					
-kin: 'habitual, remote past, first/second person'					
-ie:: 'acusatory speech act					

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In the analysis proposed here, Inflection I is the only **non-obligatory** slot and, in that sense, is more similar to the derivational forms presented in the previous chapter (and also closer to them in terms of its position) than to the other inflectional forms (see §5.4 for a discussion of the distinction between derivation and inflection in Kashibo-Kakataibo). The four proposed inflectional slots, however, consists of **mutually-exclusive forms** and have a **fixed position**. These properties are considered definitional of inflectional categories.

In turn, as it has been indicated in the table above, final portmanteau inflectional suffixes follow two different combinatorial patterns. The complaining negators *-mín* and *-mán* require the presence of the 'imperfective' marker *-i* and can potentially be combined with some of the suffixes in slot I (particularly, *-pun* 'hours ago'). In turn, the presence of *-kian* 'habitual remote past, 3p', *-kin* 'habitual remote past, 1/2p' and *-ié:* 'accusatory speech' prevents the ocurrence of any of the forms analysed as inflectional and presented in Table 59. As commented on in §13.8, the impossibility of being combined with these forms seem to be another criterion for identifying verbal inflectional suffixes in the language (but see the problematic case of the plural marker *-kan*, in §13.4).

This chapter also includes information on other morphological processes of importance for the understanding of verbal forms: §13.9 presents reduplication, §13.10 discusses irregular verbal forms and §13.11 describes different periphrastic verbal forms.

13.2 Inflection I: tense/aspect/modality

13.2.1 *-bait* 'durative, early the same day'

The suffix *-bait* 'durative, early the same day' indicates that the event started the same day as the speech act (or any other temporal reference point in discourse) and that it is long in duration (several hours). It may be translated into English as 'all day long'. The event is, in addition, understood as having its endpoint relatively close to the temporal reference point (which can be the speech act or any other temporal point in discourse). This suffix can be combined either with the imperfective marker *-i* or with any of the tense markers in slot II, but never with the perfective marker *-a*. One example of *-bait* 'durative, early the same day' follows. There, this form is used to indicate that the character was digging for a long time and then, as soon as he had finished, he took his enemy to the hole he had made in advance in order to bury him.

(531) C01A03-WO-2007.006

mëraxun	kaisa	**naëbaiakëxa**		uri	buankin
mëra-xun	kaisa	naë-**bait**-akë-x-a		uri	buan-kin
find-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	dig-DUR.same.day-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	far	bring-S/A>A(SE)

'It is said that, finding this, he was digging for a long time, making the hole very deep.'

13.2.2 *-nët* 'durative, the night before'

The suffix *-nët* 'durative, the night before' is used to indicate that the event has been carried out over several hours the night before the temporal reference point (which can be the speech act or any other temporal point in discourse). Thus, it may be translated into English as 'all night long'. Like *-bait* 'durative, early the same day', *-nët* 'durative, the night before' cannot appear with the perfective marker *-a,* and only appears either before *-i* 'imperfective' or before one of the past tense markers available in slot II. In the following example, we find the form *-nët* 'durative, the

night before' followed by the imperfective marker *-i* and the temporal reference point is the speech act:

(532) C02B05-NA-2007.061

'ën	kana	'ën	xuta	rabё́	**kanёtin**	bёtsikin
'ё=n	kana	'ё=n	xuta	rabё́	ka-**nёt**-i-n	bёtsi-kin
1sg=A	NAR.1sg	1sg=GEN	grandson	two.ABS	say-DUR.night.before-IMPF-1/2p	other-S/A>A(SE)

akupí	kana	'ёx	kana	kwёёnin
a=kupí	kana	'ё=x	kana	kwёёn-i-n
that=REAS	NAR.1sg	1sg=S	NAR.1sg	feel.happy-IMPF-1/2p

'I told another (tale) to my two grandchildren all night long. For that reason, I feel happy.'

13.2.3 *-pun* 'some hours ago'

This marker indicates that the event has finished a few hours ago (but necessarily on the same day as the speech act). In that sense, *-pun* is clearly a tense marker. According to my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers, events expressed with *-pun* are always imperfective in aspect. This interpretation finds support in its combinatory possibilities. Among the forms of the inflectional slot II, the suffix *-pun* can only be combined with the marker *-i* 'imperfective' and any combination with *-a* 'perfective' or any of the past tense markers included in that slot is rejected by the speakers. An example of the use of the suffix *-pun* follows:

(533) C00A05-EE-2006.002

pёkarakёbёtan	kana	**sinanpunin**	ñu mёёi
pёkara-kёbёtan	kana	sinan-**pun**-i-n	ñu mёё-i
dawn-DS/A/O(SE.TRAN)	NAR.1sg	think-PAST(hours)-IMPF-1/2p	work-PURP

kwanti
kwan-ti
go-NOM

'When it dawned (a few hours ago), I was thinking about going to work.'

13.2.4 *-rabë́* 'habitual non-remote past'

The suffix *-rabë́* 'habitual past' only appears with the perfective marker *-a*, from the inflectional slot II, and any other combination will result in an ungrammatical construction. Semantically, this form refers to events that used to happen in the past; but it cannot be used to refer to events that happened more than two years ago. Habitual events in the remote past have to be expressed instead by the markers *-kin* 'habitual remote past, 1/2p' and *-kian* 'habitual remote past, 3p' (see §13.8.1.1). An example of *-rabë́* 'habitual past' follows:

(534) C02B02-NA-2007.052

y	ka	nu	ñonrabëaxa
y	ka	nu	ñon-rabë́-a-x-a
and	NAR.3p	1pl.O	not.share.with-HAB.PAST-PERF-3p-non.prox

 'They did not use to share (the land) with us, not long ago.'

13.2.5 *-inë* 'durative, remote past'

This form is very rare in discourse and was found during elicitation sessions. The suffix *-inë* is only used for remote past events; that is, with predicates modified by the remote past marker *-akë*, from slot II. Any other combination is unacceptable. This form can be analysed as a durative, but differently from other durative suffixes in the language, it refers to events that have lasted a very long time in the remote past. Examples of its use follow:

(535)
nukën	chaitinën	kaisa	anuxun	ñuina
nukën	chaiti=n	kaisa	anu-xun	ñuina
our	ancestor=ERG	NAR.REP.3p	there-PA:A	animal.ABS

'ainëakëxa
'a**-inë**-akë-x-a
kill-DUR-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
'It is said that our ancestors killed animals for a long time there a long time ago.'

(536) nukën chaiti kaisa anuax

nukën chaiti kaisa anu-ax

our ancestor.ABS NAR.REP.3p there-PA:S

kwainakë**inë**akëxa

kwain-akët-**inë**-akë-x-a

go-curve.INT-DUR-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that our ancestors were going around for a long time from there a long time ago.'

13.2.6   *-tsin* **'conditional'**

There are three different conditional constructions in Kashibo-Kakataibo: cause-effect conditional; subjunctive conditional and counterfactual conditional. The first one is expressed by means of switch-reference (see section §18.3.1 for details), and the last two by means of the suffix *-tsin* 'conditional', occurring in different constructions. The **subjunctive conditional** is used when the conditional event is considered to be unlikely or remote (as in (537)). The **counterfactual conditional** is used to establish a relationship between a condition that has not happened (thus, it is not unlikely but unreal) and a consequence of that condition (as in (538)). In (537), the conditional appears on the verb stem, and in (538), there is a periphrastic verb form with the conditional appearing on the auxiliary.

(537) 'ëx Limanu kwanxun kana achushi *casaca* **bitsian**

'ë=x Lima=nu kwan-xun kana achushi *casaca* bits-**tsin**-a-n

1sg=S Lima=LOC go-S/A>A NAR.1sg one jacket buy-COND-PERF-1/2p

'If I were to go to Lima, I would buy a jacket.'

(538) 'ë=x Lima=nu kwan-xun kana achushi *casaca* **bikë** 'it**sian**

'ë=x Lima=nu kwan-xun kana achushi *casaca* bits-kë 'i-**tsin**-a-n

1sg=S Lima=LOC go-S/A>A NAR.1sg one jacket buy-NOM be-COND-PERF-1/2p

'If I had gone to Lima, I would have bought a jacket.'

The following example is taken from a narrative:

(539) C02B02-NA-2007.040

'ëx	'apu	'ixun	kana	kamabi	ñu	upíokin
'ë=x	'apu	'i-xun	kana	kamabi	ñu	upit-o-kin
1sg=S	boss.ABS	be-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.1sg	all		thing.ABS good-FACT-S/A>A(SE)

nantsian
nan-**tsin**-a-n
put-COND-PERF-1/2p

'If I were the boss, I would organise everything very well.'

13.2.7 *-këan* **'frustrative'**

The category of frustrative expresses the non-accomplishment of an event due to reasons that are beyond the control of the agent. In Kashibo-Kakataibo, frustrative-related meanings can be expressed by a number of different means. In addition to the suffix presented here, there are at least two frustrative multiverb-constructions (see §18.5). The frustrative suffix *-këan* is presented in the following examples, where we see that it can appear with both transitive (*pi-* 'to eat') and intransitive (*'ux-* 'to sleep') verbs and with both the perfective and the imperfective marker:

(540)	'ën	kana	'ó	nami	**pikëanin**
	'ë=n	kana	'ó	nami	pi-**këan**-i-n
	1sg=A	NAR.1sg	tapir	meat.ABS	eat-FRUST-IMPF-1/2p

'I almost eat tapir meat.'

(541)	'ëx	kana	'min	xubunu	**'uxkëan**
	'ë=x	kana	'mi=n	xubu=nu	'ux-**këan**-a-n
	1sg=S	NAR.1sg	2sg=A	house=LOC	sleep-FRUST-PERF-1/2p

'I almost slept at your house.'

13.3 Inflection II-A: tense/aspect

13.3.1 *-on*: 'past, the day before'

The marker *-on* is used for events that happened the day before. As mentioned in the introduction, *-on* always gives a perfective aspectual meaning to the events it modifies. An example of the use of *-on* follows:

(542) C02A07-JE-2007.027

këkibi	kaisa	"a	munu	ka	nitima	nukën
këki-i=bi	kaisa	a	munu	ka	nit-i=ma	nukën
shout-S/A>S(SE)-although	NAR.REP.3p	that.O	slowly	NAR.3p	walk-S/A>S(SE)=NEG	1pl.GEN

nanébaën	kamënë́	kapé̌	kamó	'axun	ain	tëxaká
nanët-baë=n	kamënë́	kapé̌	kamó	'a-xun	ain	të-xaká
brother-COL=ERG	NAR.3p.MIRAT	caiman	big	do-S/A>A	3sg.GEN	neck-hide.ABS

rakanbionxa"
rakan-bian-**on**-x-a
lean-going(TRA)-PAST.day.before-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, shouting, (he said): "Look! Without walking slowly, our brothers, killing a big caiman, have left its neck hide".'

13.3.2 *-ëxan* 'past, some days ago'

The suffix *-ëxan* is used for events that have happened a few days ago (around a week ago). Like *-on* 'yesterday', it was systematically given a perfective interpretation by my teachers. One example of its use follows:

(543) C01A05-SE-2007.005

iskinun	karamina	'aisamera	**isëxan**
is-kin-nun	karamina	'aisamera	is-**ëxan**-n
see-APPL-DS/A/O(POE)	NAR.INT.2p	a.lot.of.ABS	see-PAST(days)-1/2p

'Could you (let me go there) to see (the animals) with him? I have seen a lot a few days ago.'

13.3.3 *-yantan* 'past, one or some months ago'

There is not a single instance of this suffix in my text database and I learned of this suffix during elicitation sessions. Interestingly, *-yantan* appears to be cognate with the form *ñantan* 'morning'. In the case of the free form *ñantan* 'morning', we find the phonological change *y* > *ñ*, which is systematically attested in the Kashibo-Kakataibo dialect described in this dissertation (see §1.4). The bound form, by contrast, has not undergone this process and thus still carries the phoneme *y*, not attested in other words. Two elicited examples of this suffix follow:

(544) Juan   ka   Limanu   **kwanyantanxa**
     Juan   ka   Lima=nu   kwan-**yantan**-x-a
     Juan.ABS   NAR.3p   Lima=DIR   go-months.ago-3p-non.prox
     'Juan went to Lima a few months ago.'

     Juanën   ka   chaxu   nami   **piyantanxa**
     Juan=n   ka   chaxu   nami   pi-**yantan**-x-a
     Juan=ERG   NAR.3p   deer   meat.ABS   eat-months.ago-3p-non.prox
     'Juan ate deer meat a few months ago.'

13.4 *-kan*: 'plural'

The plural marker *-kan* is only used for third person subjects (never for objects) and, therefore, 1/2 person plural subjects are only specified in the pronominal elements (and in the case of the first person also in the second position enclitics; see §15.1). As shown in the following examples, this suffix is not obligatory and third person plural subjects do not require to be indicated on the verb:

(545) nukën   chaitiokëkaman   kaisa   'ó   nami   **pikankëxa**
     nukën   chaitiokë=kama=n   kaisa   'ó   nami   pi-**kan**-akë-x-a
     1pl.GEN   ancestor=PLU=ERG   NAR.REP.3p   tapir   meat.ABS   eat-PLU-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
     'It is said that our ancestors ate tapir meat a long time ago.'

(546) nukën   chaitiokëkaman   kaisa   'ó   nami   **piakëxa**

nukën   chaitiokë=kama=n   kaisa   'ó   nami   pi-akë-x-a

1pl-GEN   ancestor=PLU=ERG   NAR.REP.3p   tapir   meat.ABS eat-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that our ancestor(s) ate tapir meat a long time ago.'

One text example of the use of this suffix follows:

(547) C01A09-SE-2007.073

kakëx   kaisa   usai   ëman

ka-këx   kaisa   usa-i   ëman

say-O>S(PE)   NAR.REP.3p   like.that-S/A>S(SE)   outside

bukubukankëxa

buku-but-**kan**-akë-x-a

be.together-down(INTR)-PLU-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, after (he) said (it) (to them), they grouped together outside, downward.'

This suffix appears after the forms in inflection I and after part of the paradigm of inflection II (*-on* 'past, the day before', *-ëxan* 'past, some days ago' and *-yantan* 'past, one or some months ago'). However, *-kan* 'plural' appears before the markers *-i* 'imperfective', *-a* 'perfective', *-akë* 'remote past' and *-a* 'stative'. This is shown in the following examples, where the combinatory possibilities of *-kan* in relation to the marker *-bait* 'durative, early the same day', from inflectional slot I, and *-ëxan* 'past, some days ago' and *-i* 'imperfective', from inflectional slot II, are shown:

(548) pi**baikan**ia

pi-bait-kan-i-a

eat-DUR.same.day-PLU-IMPF-non.prox

'They were eating for a long time.'

*pi**kanbait**ia

pi-kan-bait-i-a

eat-PLU-DUR.same.day-IMPF-non.prox

(549) pi**ëxankan**xa

pi-ëxan-kan-x-a

eat-PAST.days.ago-PLU-3p-non.prox

'They ate some days ago.'

*pi**kanëxant**ia
pi-kan-ëxan-x-a
eat-PLU-PAST.days.ago-3p-non.prox

(550) 'ux**kani**a
'ux-kan-i-a
sleep-PLU-IMPF-non.prox
'They are sleeping.'

*'ux-**i-kan**
'ux-i-kan-a
sleep-IMPF-PLU-3p-non.prox

In addition, the plural marker *-kan* is the only verbal inflectional form presented in this chapter that can appear in combination with the final portmanteau inflectional suffixes *-kian* 'habitual remote past, 3p', *-kin* 'habitual remote past, 1/2p' and *-ié:* 'accusatory speech', as shown in the following example:

(551) 'ux**kankian**
'ux-kan-kian
sleep-PLU-HAB.REM.PAST.3p

'They used to sleep a long time ago.'

A final peculiarity of its position is shown in its behaviour in combination with the derivative reciprocal marker *-anan*: *-kan* can appear immediately after the root and before the reciprocal marker in order to indicate that the reciprocal event is carried out by the participants simultaneously (see particularly §21.3.9). In the case of this type of construction, it might be possible to argue for some level of lexicalisation, but the position of *-kan* in this context is still unexpected for inflectional forms, which should not appear before derivational ones, such as the reciprocal marker.

13.5 Inflection II-B: tense/aspect

13.5.1 *-i* 'imperfective'

The marker *-i* 'imperfective' can appear in combination with three forms in inflection I: *-bait* 'durative, early the same day', *-nët* 'durative, early the night before' and *-pun* 'some hours ago'. The result of combining *-i* with any of those markers is always an imperfective event. Used on its own (i.e. without being combined with any of the markers in slot I), it may express both present progressive (but see §13.11.5 for a dedicated progressive periphrastic construction) and present habitual events. In addition, in this context, it can be used for near-future events. The following example, for instance, can receive all three interpretations:

(552) 'ëx   kana   Limanu   **kwanin**
  'ë=x   kana   Lima=nu   kwan-**i**-n
  1sg=S   NAR.1sg   Lima=DIR   go-IMPF-1/2p
  'I go to Lima.'
  'I am going to Lima.'
  'I will go to Lima.'

13.5.2 *-a* 'perfective'

The suffix *-a* 'perfective' can be used for any event that was completed in the past without adding a more specific temporal modification. However, *-a* cannot be used, under any circumstance, for events that happened the day before (which need to be expressed with *-on* 'past, the day before'; see §13.3.1) or in the remote past (which need to be expressed with *-akë* 'remote past'; see §13.5.3). Other past tense meanings, such as 'some days ago' and 'one or some months ago' (which also have dedicated markers) can be easily expressed with a predicate in the perfective and a temporal phrase in the clause. This is also true for the past tense meanings that do not have a specialised marker, such as 'immediate past' and 'one/ two years ago' (as

commented on in §13.5.3, *-akë* 'remote past' can only be used for events that happened more than two years ago). One example of *-a* 'perfective' follows and, in this case, because of the context of the narrative, an immediate past reading is obtained:

(553) C02A06-NA-2007.018

chaxu	ka	ënu	**pakếaxa**
chaxu	ka	ënu	pakët-**a**-x-a
deer.ABS	NAR.3p	here	fall.down-PERF-3p-non.prox

'The deer **just** fell here.'

An elicited example of *-a* 'perfective' used to refer to an event that happened one year ago follows:

(554)

u baritian	kana	'ex	Limanu	kwan
u baritia=n	kana	'e=x	Lima=nu	kwan-a-n
last year=TEMP	NAR.1sg	'1sg=S	Lima=LOC	go-PERF-1/2p

'I went to Lima last year.'

13.5.3 *-akë* 'remote past'

The suffix *-akë* is the remote past marker of the language and is used for any event that has happened between two and many years ago. The suffix *-akë* is also used for narratives and tales, including those that talk about the time of the ancestors and mythological tales that belong to ancient times ("before the world became like it is now").

The suffix *-akë* 'remote past' can have both perfective and imperfective values. For example, in the next fragment it is imperfective, since, according to the story, it is not the case that the character fished with excrements only once, but he used to do so for a certain amount of time.

(555) C01A07-SE-2007.016

nantankëxun	kaisa	puin	**'axankëxa**
nan-tankëxun	kaisa	pui=n	'axan-**akë**-x-a
put-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	excrement=INS	fish.using.poison-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

ñapa
ñapa
fish.spe.ABS

'It is said that, after putting (it), he used to fish with excrement.'

13.5.4   *-a* 'stative'

The suffix *-a* 'stative' can only be used, according to my current knowledge of the language, with the verbs *rakat-* 'to lie (down)', *tsót-* 'to sit (down)', *nits-* 'to stand up', *bët-* 'to hang on', *tëtot-* 'to bend (down)', *rantin puru-* 'kneel (down)', and *unët-* 'to hide oneself'. The presence of this suffix indicates that the actor is already in the posture specified by the predicate, as we can see in the two following examples:

(556)
'ëx	kana	rakatan
'ë=x	kana	rakat-a-n
1sg=S	NAR.1sg	lie.down-STAT-1/2p

'I am lying.'

(557)
'ëx	kana	tsótan
'ë=x	kana	tsót-a-n
1sg=S	NAR.1sg	lie.down-STAT-1/2p

'I am sitting.'

The stative suffix *-a* is phonologically identical to, but morphophonologically different from, the perfective marker *-a*, since only the stative suffix retains stem-final stops. If we add the 'perfective' suffix to the same forms, as in (556) and (557), we will get the following results:

(558)
'ëx	kana	rakan
'ë=x	kana	rakat-a-n
1sg=S	NAR.1sg	lie.down-PERF-1/2p

'I lay.'

(559) 'ëx   kana   tsóan
'ë=x   kana   tsót-a-n
1sg=S   NAR.1sg   sit.down-PERF-1/2p

'I sat down.'

Comparing the examples in (556) and (557) with the ones in (558) and (559), we can see that *-a* 'stative' and *-a* 'perfective' are different suffixes, both in terms of their morphophonological behaviour and in terms of their semantics. Notice that both suffixes use the same subject cross-referencing paradigm, with third person subjects being cross-referred with *-x* (see §13.6).

13.6   Inflection III: subject cross-reference

13.6.1   *-n* 'first/second person'

The *-n* marker is used for first and second person subjects, regardless of the marker that appears in the preceding inflectional slot. In the following examples, we find this marker after the 'imperfective' *-i* (see the example in (560)) and after the 'perfective' *-a* (see the example in (561))

(560) C01B08-NA-2007.008

y	kana	'ati	'ain	kixun	kana	**sinanin**
y	kana	'a-ti	'ain	ki-xun	kana	sinan-**i-n**
and	NAR.1sg	do-NOM	be.1/2p	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.1sg	think-IMPF-1/2p

'And I think (saying) "I will do it".'

(561) C00A02-AE-2006.005

anuax	kana	'ën	aintsibë	mërananx	kana
anu-ax	kana	'ë=n	aintsi=bë	mëra-anan-ax	kana
there-PA:S	NAR.1sg	1sg=A	relative-COM(S)	find-REC-S/A>S(PE)	NAR.1sg

abë	**banan**
a=bë	bana-**a-n**
3sg-COM(S)	speak-PERF-1/2p

'There, meeting (lit. finding each other with) my relatives, I spoke with them.'

13.6.2 *-x* and unmarked 'third person'

Third person subject cross-reference is expressed by two different morphological means: it remains unmarked if the predicate carries the 'imperfective' marker *-i*; elsewhere it is expressed by the suffix *-x* (i.e. after all the remaining members of slot II). This is shown in the following examples: in (562), we find the unmarked version of this category and in (563) we find the marker *-x* 'third person subject cross-reference':

(562) C01B03-SE-2007.019

akupí	kaisa	atux	upiti	**xukutia**
a=kupí	kaisa	atu=x	upit-i	xukut-i-**ø**-a
that=REAS	NAR.REP.3p	3pl=S	good-S/A>S	peel-IMPF-**3p**-non.prox

'It is said that, for that reason, they peel well.'

(563) C02A06-NA-2007.021

anu	ka	**pakéaxa**
anu	ka	pakét-**a-x**-a
there	NAR.3p	fall.down-PERF-3p-non.prox

'(He) fell down there.'

13.7 Inflection IV: addressee's perspective

The category of **addressee's perspective** establishes a deictic relationship between the event and the addressee of the speech act (see §15.5.2 for a detailed semantic characterisation of this category and §22.6 for its function in narratives). Addressee's perspective is marked in two different parts of the clause: the verbal morphology (particularly in the inflectional slot IV, but also in the *pormanteau* marker *-ié:* 'accusatory speech'; see §13.8.1.2) and the second position enclitics (see §15.5.2).

Addressee's perspective is only marked for third person subjects (this category is not relevant for first or second person subjects). If the subject of the clause is the

first or the second person, the verb will end in the subject cross-reference marker *-n* 'first/second person' from inflection III (see §13.6). In turn, if this category has been already specified in the second position enclitics, a marker from this slot is not included on the verb either, which obligatorily ends in *-n* in this case, even though it has third person reference (see §15.5). Therefore, slot IV is marked only for third person subjects and when information about addressee's perspective has not been given in the second position enclitics.

Slot IV includes two forms: *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee' and *-ín* 'proximal to the addressee'. The speaker will use *-ín* if he or she considers that the information is proximal or accessible to the addressee. If the speaker considers that this is not the case, the form *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee' is used. This marker can also be used if the speaker does not have any expectations about the addressee's perspective or does not want to be precise about it. Therefore, it can be said that *-a* is the functionally unmarked member of the paradigm. Conversely, functionally unmarked uses of *-ín* are not possible and this marker can only be used for those events that are explicitly considered proximal to the addressee.

Note that it would be possible to unify inflection III and inflection IV within one slot by arguing that we have four different third person markers: after *-i* 'imperfective', *-a* '3p, non-proximal to the addressee' and *-ín* '3p, proximal to the addressee'; and after the remaining members of the inflectional slot II, *-xa* '3p, non-proximal to the addressee' and *-shín* '3p, proximal to the addressee'. This analysis also accounts correctly for the observed patterns, but I prefer to keep subject cross-reference and addressee's perspective separately in two different paradigms, in order to give a more organised description of the facts, and because of the interaction

between the forms in the inflectional slot IV and some second position enclitics (see §15.5).

13.7.1.1 *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee'

The form *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee' is presented in the next example, taken from a narrative: *-a* is the unmarked form in this category, and most sentences in narratives end in that form. Here, we find the verb form *pi-kan-akë-x-a* 'to eat=PLU-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox':

(564) C01B01-SE-2007.012

kixankë		'ain	kaisa	ashibaë ño	'axunpain
ki-ëxan-kë		'ain	kaisa	ashibaë ño	'a-xun=pain
say(INTR)-PAST(days)-NOM		being(DS/A/O)	NAR.REP.3p	mythical pig.ABS	kill-S/A>A(SE)=first

timë	kamë ëoxun	xëtën	bata	pëtsokin
timë	kamë ëo-xun	xëtën	bata	pëtso-kin
group	AUG-S/A>A(SE)	corn.spe.	sweet.ABS	eat.with.the.fingers-S/A>A(SE)

ashibaë ño	'axun	**pikankëxa**
ashibaë ño	'a-xun	pi-kan-akë-x-**a**
mythical.pig.ABS	kill-S/A>A(SE)	eat-PLU-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, having agreed some days before, killing first the mythical pig, meeting all together, eating sweet corn with their fingers, they ate the mythical pig a long time ago.'

13.7.1.2 *-ín*: 'proximal to the addressee'

The next example was said to me in presence of Xëtu, a little boy of the family I lived with in Yamino. The speaker, one of my teachers, pointed to him and let me know that Xëtu had diarrhea and, therefore, was sick:

(565) Xëtu	ka	chixutín
Xëtu	ka	chixut-i-ín
proper.name	NAR.3p	to.have.diarrhea-IMPF-prox

'Xëtu has diarrhea.'

In the example above, the use of *-ín* 'proximal to addressee' relates to two main facts: (i) Xëtu was present in the place of the speech act (and, therefore, I was able to see him); and (ii) the speaker knows that Xëtu is one of my favourite kids in the village and, therefore, he expected me to be concerned about his health.

13.8   Final *portmanteau* inflectional morphemes

Final *portmanteau* inflectional morphemes are a group of morphological elements that appear in the inflectional section of the verb and have complex meanings that can include tense, aspect, modality and subject cross-reference.

They follow two different patterns: *-kian* '3p, habitual, remote past', *-kin* '1/2p, habitual, remote past' and *-ié:* 'accusatory speech act' cannot be combined with any inflectional suffix, except for *-kan* 'plural'; and *-mín* '3p, complaining negator' and *-mán* '1/2 complaining negator' appear only with the 'imperfective' marker *-i*.

13.8.1.1   *-kian* and *-kin*: 'habitual, remote past'

The suffixes *-kian* and *-kin* 'habitual, remote past' not only have aspectual and tense values, but also express subject cross-referencing: *-kian* is used for third person subjects and *-kin* is used for first and second person ones, as shown in the following elicited paradigm:

(566) no   ka   Limanu   **kwankian**
      no   ka   Lima=nu   kwan-**kian**
      foreigner.ABS   NAR.3p   Lima=DIR   go-HAB.REM.PAST.3p
      'The non-Kashibo-Kakataibo people used to go to Lima a long time ago.'

(567) nux   kananuna   Limanu   **kwankin**
       nu=x   kananuna   Lima=nu   kwan-**kin**
       1pl=S   NAR.1pl   Lima=DIR   go-HAB.REM.PAST.1/2p

      'We used to go to Lima a long time ago.'

(568) mix   kamina   Limanu   **kwankin**
       mi=x   kamina   Lima=nu   kwan-**kin**
       1sg=S   NAR.2p   Lima=DIR   go-HAB.REM.PAST.1/2p

      'You used to go to Lima a long time ago.'

The following elicited examples show the differences between the meanings of the forms presented here and the marker *-rabë́* 'habitual non-remote past' (see §13.2.4):

(569) non   ka   nu   **ñonrabë́axa**
       no=n   ka   nu   ñon-**rabë́**-a-x-a
       foreigner=ERG   NAR.3p 1pl.O   not.share.with-HAB.PAST-PERF-3p-non.prox

      'The non-Kashibo-Kakataibo people did not use to share (the land) with us, not long ago.'

(570) non   ka   nu   **ñonkian**
       no=n   ka   nu   ñon-**kian**
       foreigner=ERG   NAR.3p 1pl.O   not.share.with-HAB.REM.PAST.3p

      'The non-Kashibo-Kakataibo people did not use to share (the land) with us a long time ago.'

In the following text example, we find the form *-kian* '3p habitual, remote past' in a narrative. We have the verb *ñui-xun-* 'to tell-benefactive' modified by *-kian* '3p habitual, remote past' and the speaker uses it to assert that his uncle *Manë Bërukë* used to tell him tales (the object "tales" is not overtly expressed in the clause).

(571) C03A02-EE-2007.011

kixun	ka	nukën	chaiti	Manë Bërukë	an	'ë	**ñuixunkian**
ki-xun	ka	nukën	chaiti	Manë Bërukë	a=n	'ë	ñui-xun-**kian**
say(INTR)-S/A>A	NAR.3p	1pl.GEN	ancestor	Manë Bërukë	3sg=A	1sg.O	tell-BEN-HAB.PAST.3p

'Saying (that), our ancestor Manë Bërukë used to tell me (these tales).'

13.8.1.2 -ié: 'accusatory speech act'

The form *-ié:* is a final *portmanteau* inflectional suffix used to tell the addressee that somebody else is doing something considered inappropriate. There is no other use of this suffix. The marker *-ie:* is exclusively used with the intention of accusing and, thus, it constitutes a very interesting case of grammaticalisation of an illocutionary force meaning. In addition, according to the information obtained through a controlled elicitation technique, in which one speaker was asked to tell me what a young boy was stealing from me, this form is only used if the event is non-proximal to the addressee and, thus, he or she does not have access to it. In that sense, the category of addressee's perspective is also playing a role in the semantic configuration of this suffix. The marker *-ie:* 'accusatory speech act' does not have different forms for different subject cross-reference meanings and is exclusively used with third person subjects.

(572)
Goliathnën	kamëñ́	min	kuriki	**mëkamatié:**
Goliath=n	kamëñ́	mi=n	kuriki	mëkamat-**ié:**
Goliath=ERG	NAR.3p.MIR	you.GEN	money.ABS	steal-3p.accusation

'Look!, Goliath is stealing your money!'

13.8.1.3 -mín and -mán: 'complaining negator'

The forms *-mín* '3person, complaining negator' and *-mán* '1/2 person complaining negator' co-occur with the tense marker *-i* 'imperfective', which belongs to the slot Inflection II (§13.3). As we have seen for the 'habitual, remote past' markers *-kian*

and *-kin*, the complaining negators *-mín* and *-mán* also distinguish subject cross-reference values: *-mín* is for third person subjects and *-mán* for first and second person ones. In both cases, they negate the event, but exhibit slight differences in their interpretations. With third person referents, *-mín* is used to convey that something that is not happening makes the speaker feel angry (e.g., "they are not working well (and that makes me angry)"). With first or second person referents, *-mán* is used to indicate that the subject should not do something (even if he or she receives pressure from someone else). For example, if one is about to fall asleep, but needs to be awake for any reason, one can say something like "I should not sleep", and the form *-mán* is very likely to appear in this utterance.

The complaining negators are scarcely used in narratives. The next example is one of the few cases where we find one of these forms appearing as part of a narrative. The speaker is talking about the old times, when young people were supposed to give food to their old relatives as a sign of respect and love. From her point of view, this is not happening in the current times and that makes her feel very angry and disappointed:

(573) C15A05-IE-2008.023

bërí	ka	uni	ain	chaibë	ain	kukubë
bërí	ka	uni	ain	chai=bë	ain	kuku-bë
today	NAR.3p	people.ABS	their	brother.in.law-COM(S)	their	father.in.law-COM(S)

'inananimín
'inan-anan-i-**mín**
give-REC-IMPF-COMPL.NEG.3p

'Today, people do not give (things) to each other with their brothers in law and their fathers in law (and this makes me angry).'

In the following elicited examples, we find the first/second person form of this category, which does not appear in my narrative text corpus:

(574) 'ëx   kana   **'uximán**
      'ë=x   kana   'ux-i-**mán**
      1sg=S   NAR.1sg   sleep-IMPF-COMPL.NEG.1/2p

      'I should not sleep, even if they asked me to do so.'

(575) mix   kamina   **'uximán**
      mi=x   kamina   'ux-i-**mán**
      you=S   NAR.2p   sleep-IMPF-COMPL.NEG.1/2p

      'You should not sleep, even if they asked you to do so.'

The forms *-mín* and *-mán* 'complaining negators' are clearly related to the negative marker *=ma*. The form *-mín* also reminds us of the form *-ín* 'proximal to the addressee' (and could be analysed as coming from *-ma-ín*). However, more research in needed in order to understand their diachronic nature. Notice also that the final nasal, which is found in both suffixes, is probably linked to the nasal contour of very strong imperatives and to the nasalised speech used by children for discussions and verbal fights (see §4.4.1.3).

13.9   Reduplication

Reduplication of predicates expresses iterativity or long duration. In terms of its formal characteristics, verbal reduplication follows a number of different patterns, which will be commented on briefly.

In the first type of reduplication, the whole word is reduplicated, including any word class changing derivational marker and any inflectional suffix and prefix. In the following example, we see one case of this type of reduplication. We see the verb form *'a-xun* 'to kill-S/A>A', which is completely reduplicated (in this type of reduplication, each reduplicated form is prosodically an independent word):

(576) C04A04-EE-2007

ronrutankëxun	kaisa	xëmën	'akëxa
ronru-tankëxun	kaisa	xëmën	'a-akë-x-a
climb-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	kinkajous.ABS	kill-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

pian	pian	**'axun**	**'axun**	nipakëxa
pia=n	pia=n	'a-xun	'a-xun	ni-pat-akë-x-a
arrow=INS	arrow=INS	kill-S/A>A	kill-S/A>A	throw-down.TRAN-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, after climbing, (he) killed kinkajous, killing and killing (them) with arrows, he threw down several.'

In the second type of reduplication, only the stem, without any inflectional suffix, is reduplicated. Thus, in (577) we have the form *ni-pat* 'to throw-down' reduplicated but the switch-reference marker *-kin* 'S/A>A, simultaneous events' is not included in the reduplicated unit and appears only once:

(577) C14B06-SE-2008.12

nipá	**nipá**kin	iskëxbi	kaisa
ni-pat	ni-pat-kin	is-këx=bi	kaisa
throw-down(TRAN)	throw-down.TRAN-S/A>A	see-O>S=same	NAR.REP.3p

ain	xanu	'akë	uni	ax	uakëxa
ain	xanu	'a-kë	uni	a=x	u-akë-x-a
3sg.GEN	wife.ABS	do-NOM	man	3sg=S	come-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, throwing and throwing (the animals from a tree), (the husband) saw the man who used to have sex with his wife coming.'

Alternatively, the derivational suffixes are not included in the reduplication either, resulting in a different interpretation. Thus, for instance, in the following example, the derivational suffixes *-ru* 'upward' and *-bian* 'going (transitive)' are not reduplicated and the process only applies the root *nëa-* 'to tie'. In this example, then, the reduplication mechanism only has scope over the root, indicating that the process of tying was repeated and that there was only one motion event associated with it: something like 'to tie several times while going upward'. If we had *nëarubian nëarubian-* (i.e. where reduplication applied over the root and the directionals), a better translation would have been: 'to tie several times while going upward several

times (i.e. going upward, coming downward, going upward, and so on)'. It seems to be the case that, in an example like *nëarubian-*, we only have two possible reduplicated forms: *nëa nëarubian-* and *nëarubian nëarubian-*, and that *nëaru nëarubian-* is unacceptable. That is, the available possibilities are either to reduplicate only the root or to reduplicate the whole stem, but more work is to be done in order to demonstrate that this is systematically the case. If the whole stem is reduplicated, the result is prosodically similar to the one obtained by reduplicating a whole word: we find two independent prosodic words. If only the root is reduplicated, this root prosodically attaches to the following verb.

(578) C01B02-JE-2007.017

ukairi	oxun	kaisa
ukairi	o-xun	kaisa
ladder	FACT-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p

nëa	**nëarubiankin**	'abaikin	kaisa
nëa	**nëa**-ru-bian-kin	'a-bait-kin	kaisa
tie	tie-up-going(TRA)-S/A>A(SE)	do-DUR-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p

kakëshín
ka-akë-x-ín
say-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, making a ladder, tying it several times while going upwards, doing it for a long time, he said...'

Special cases of verbal reduplication are found for verbs carrying an adverbial enclitic: differently from any other derivational form, the adverbial enclitic cannot be included in the reduplicated unit. In turn, in the case of verbs of the *-ka/-ki* class (see §11.6), we find two different possibilities: either the formatives *-ka/-ki* or the preceding morphological elements are reduplicated. It is not possible, in this case, to reduplicate the whole stem (but it is still possible to reduplicate the whole word, similarly to what we have seen in (576)).

Examples of those two cases follow. In the first one, we find the verb *is-* 'to see' modified by the adverbial enclitic *=ishi* 'only' and, as predicted, only the root is reduplicated: **isëshi isëshi-* is unacceptable (for more on adverbial enclitics in verb-internal positions; see §16.1). In the second example, we find the verb *rërëka-* 'to spill' and, again, only the form *rërë* is reduplicated: *rërë rërëka-* (notice that *rërëka ka-* is also possible but **rërëka rërëka-* is unacceptable):

(579) C02A02-NA-2007.009

kaisa	**is**	**isëshiakëxa**	atun
kaisa	is	is-**ishi**-akë-x-a	atu-n
NAR.REP.3p	see	see-only-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	3pl-A

'(Then), it is said that they saw (him) several times.'

(580) C01A08-JE-2007.014

tsóbutankëx	pëi	'apatankëxun	kaisa
tsót-but-tankëx	pëi	'a-pat-tankëxun	kaisa
sit-down(INTR)-S/A>S(PE)	leave.ABS	do-down(TRA)-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.REP.3p

tanu	tsitinkikin	tanu	**rërë**	**rërëkakëxa**
tanu	tsitinki-kin	tanu	rërë	rërë**ka**-akë-x-a
palm.worm.ABS	make.noise-S/A>A(SE)	palm.worm.ABS	spill	spill-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, sitting down, putting some leaves down her, making noise, she spilled and spilled the palm worms.'

13.10 Irregular verbal forms

Three cases of suppletion and stem modification on verbs are presented in the following table for their discussion in this section:

Table 60   Three cases of suppletion and stem modification in verbs

verb	Meaning	irregular form	meaning
'i-	to be	'a-i-n	1/2p sing/plur
		'ikën	3p sing/plur
		'i'	3p sing/plur (shortened form)
		'it-	auxiliary in progressive periphrastic constructions
u-	to come	a-	in present forms
kwan-	to go	ri-	in collective plural

The case of *u-* looks like stem modification, where the root *u-* becomes *a-* in present tense forms. One of the irregular forms of *'i-* can be analysed as a case of suppletion where the transitive auxiliary *'a-* is replacing the intransitive auxiliary *'i-* in the form *'a-i-n.* But in the cases of the third person form, the shortened version and the progressive version of the auxiliary, it is not easy to find sources for the endings *-kën, -'* and *-t*; although there exist the verbal suffixes *-kë* 'nominaliser' and *-t* 'middle marker' that could be related to these irregular verb forms (and the form with the final glottal stop may be reduced version of *'ikën*). The case of the collective plural form for *kwan-* can be considered a case of suppletion, similar to a few other cases of transitive/intransitive verb pairs attested in the language (see §21.4.2.1).

13.11 Periphrastic verbal forms

The definitional principle underlying periphrastic constructions is **clause fusion** (see Fleck 2010 for a similar analysis for Matses), that is, unlike the cases of clause chaining (see Chapter 18), periphrastic constructions represent single clauses, despite the fact that they include two verbal elements (a lexical verb plus an auxiliary). The proposal that we have one single clause finds support in a number of different facts:

(i) the order of the verbal constituents is fixed in relation to each other (the auxiliary always follows the lexical verb); (ii) it is not possible to introduce any element (i.e. an argument) between the two verbal forms (i.e., they have to be adjacent to each other); (iii) the transitivity-encoding mechanisms (such as case marking or different types of transitivity agreement) are sensitive to the transitivity of the lexical verb; (iv) subject cross-reference is found on the auxiliary only; and (v) no mechanisms of transitivity harmony (see §18.5.1) are found. In this section, I will briefly present five periphrastic constructions expressing the following meanings: obligative (§13.11.1), non-remote future/abilitive (§13.11.2), remote future (§13.11.3), purposive (§13.11.4), and progressive (§13.11.5). Note that past negative constructions, presented in §16.2.6, can also be classified as periphrastic according to the principle proposed here.

13.11.1 Obligative: V-*i* + AUX

The obligative construction expresses that the event represents an obligation for the subject. The construction is formed by modifying the lexical verb with the switch-reference suffix -*i* 'S/A>S, simultaneous events'; this verbal form is followed by the intransitive auxiliary *'i*- agreeing with the subject. This is shown in the following examples, where the intransitive predicate *'ux*- 'to sleep' (see examples in (581)) and the transitive predicate *pi*- 'to eat' (see the examples in (582)) are combined with a third and a first person subject:

(581) Juan   ka   **'uxi**   **'ikën**
       Juan   ka   **'ux-i**   **'ikën**
       Juan.ABS   NAR.3p   sleep-S/A>S(SE)   be.3p
       'Juan should sleep.'

'ëx	kana	**'uxi**	**'ain**
'ë=x	kana	**'ux-i**	**'ain**
1sg=S	NAR.1sg	sleep-S/A>S(SE)	be.1/2p

'I should sleep.'

(582)
Juanën	ka	**pi**	**'ikën**
Juan=n	ka	**pi-i**	**'ikën**
Juan=ERG	NAR.3p	eat-S/A>S(SE)	be.3p

'Juan should eat.'

'ën	kana	**pi**	**'ain**
'ë=n	kana	**pi-i**	**'ain**
1sg=A	NAR.1sg	eat-S/A>S(SE)	be.1/2p

'I should eat.'

13.11.2 Non-remote future: V-*ti* + AUX

There are three forms that can express future values: the 'imperfective' marker -*i* (§13.5.1); and two different periphrastic constructions that express non-remote and remote future, respectively (see the next section for the remote future construction). The non-remote future adds the nominaliser -*ti* to the lexical verb and combines the nominalised form with the auxiliary '*i*- 'to be'. It can be used for immediate and non-remote future events. In that sense, it overlaps with the 'imperfective' marker -*i*, but not with the remote future marker. The construction also has an abilitive meaning (see §12.5.1, for the desiderative marker -*kan*, which receives a negative abilitive interpretation when it appears with the negative marker =*ma*)

The V-*ti* plus auxiliary construction can appear with both transitive (*pi*- 'to eat' in (583)) and intransitive matrix verbs (*kwan*- 'to go' in (584)):

(583)
'ën	kana	imëishi	charu	**piti**	**'ain**
'ë=n	kana	imëishi	charu	**pi-ti**	**'ain**
1sg=A	NAR.1sg	tomorrow	crab.ABS	eat-NOM	be.1/2p

'I will eat crab tomorrow.'
'I can eat crab tomorrow.'

an	ka	charu	**piti**	**'ikën**
a=n	ka	charu	**pi-ti**	**'ikën**
3sg=A	NAR.3p	crab.ABS	eat-NOM	be.3p

'(S)he will eat crab.'

'(S)he can eat crab.'

(584)
'ëx	kana	imëishi	Limanu	**kwanti**	**'ain**
'ë=x	kana	imëishi	Limanu	**kwan-ti**	**'ain**
1sg=S	NAR.1sg	tomorrow	Lima=DIR	go-NOM	be.1/2p

'I will go to Lima tomorrow.'

'I can go to Lima tomorrow.'

ax	ka	Limanu	**kwanti**	**'ikën**
a=x	ka	Limanu	**kwan-ti**	**'ikën**
3sg=S	NAR.3p	Lima=DIR	go-NOM	be.3p

'(S)he will go to Lima.'

'(S)he can go to Lima.'

13.11.3 Remote future: V-*nuxun* + AUX

Kashibo-Kakataibo has a very complex switch reference system (see Chapter 18). As part of this paradigm, we find forms that indicate that the dependent event is posterior to the matrix one (equivalent to 'before' in English). Those forms include: *-nux* 'S/A>S, posterior event', *-nuxun* 'S/A>A, posterior event' and *-nun* 'different subjects, posterior event'. The form *-nuxun* has grammaticalised to be used in a periphrastic verb form to express remote future tense. In this construction, *-nuxun* modifies the lexical verb that appears before the transitive auxiliary *'a-* 'to do':

(585)
an	ka	'itsa	baritia	'inúkëbëtan	charu
a=n	ka	'itsa	baritia	'inut-këbëtan	charu
3sg=A	NAR.3p	several	year.ABS	pass-DS/A/O(SE.TRAN)	crab.ABS

pinuxun	**'aia**
pi-nuxun	**'a-i-a**
eat-S/A>S(POE)	do-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he will eat crab after several years.'

(586)

ax	ka	'itsa	bariatian	'inúkëbë		Limanu
a=x	ka	'itsa	bariatian	'inut-këbë		Lima=nu
he=S	NAR.3p	several	year.ABS	pass-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)		Lima=DIR

kwanuxun	**'aia**
kwan-nuxun	**'a-i-a**
go-S/A>S(PE)	do-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he will go to Lima after several years.'

13.11.4 'Going to'-construction

The verb *kwan-* 'to go' can function as an auxiliary, which can be used for expressing purposive or future non-motion events (similar to English *going to*). In this construction, the lexical verb is modified by the switch-reference marker *-i* 'S/A>S, simultaneous events'. See the following example:

(587) C01B08-NA-2007.013-014

anribi	ka	**'ai**	**kwania**
a-**n**=ribi	ka	**'a-i**	**kwan-i-a**
3sg-A=also	NAR.3p	do-PURP	go-IMPF-non.prox

'He is also going to do (that)'

13.11.5 Progressive: V-*i* + AUX

There is a progressive construction in the language, formed with a lexical verb modified with the switch-reference marker *-i* 'S/A>S, simultaneous events', and combined with the auxiliary *'i-*, which surfaces as *'it-*. Some examples of the progressive construction follow:

(588)

'ën	kana	charu	**pi**	**'itin**
'ë=n	kana	charu	**pi-i**	**'it-i-n**
1sg=A	NAR.1sg	crab.ABS	eat-S/A>S(SE)	be-IMPF-1/2p

'I am eating crab.'

an	ka	charu	**pi**	**'itia**
a=n	ka	charu	**pi-i**	**'it-i-a**
3sg=A	NAR.3p	crab.ABS	eat-S/A>S(SE)	be-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he is eating crab.'

(589)
'ëx	kana	Limanu	**kwani**	**'itin**
'ë=x	kana	Lima=nu	**kwan-i**	**'it-i-n**
1sg=S	NAR.1sg	Lima=DIR	go-S/A>S(SE)	be-IMPF-1/2p

'I am going to Lima.'

a=x	ka	Limanu	**kwan-i**	**'it-ia**
a=x	ka	Limanu	**kwan-i**	**'it-i-a**
3sg=S	NAR.3p	Lima=DIR	go-S/A>S(SE)	be-IMPF-non.prox

'(S)he is going to Lima.'

Chapter 14 Adverbs

14.1 Introduction

Adverbs represent the smallest open word class in Kashibo-Kakataibo. Their definitional feature is their ability to modify a predicate without any derivation. In addition, adverbs are the only open word class that cannot be prefixed; and, with only a few exceptions, adverbs cannot be used as predicates (see §7.5). Notice that adverbs in Kashibo-Kakataibo cannot modify adjectives. Similar meanings to the English phrase ***deeply*** *happy*, for instance, can be obtained by means of the adverbial enclitics presented in Chapter 16. However, a few adverbs in Kashibo-Kakataibo can modify nouns within NPs (see §7.5), in a function that is typologically unusual for this word class (Schachter 1985: 21-23).

Adverbs in Kashibo-Kakataibo can be classified into three semantic classes: **time**, **manner** and **space** adverbs. Some temporal nouns can be used in an adverbial function without any overt derivation (like for example *imë̃́* 'night'; see §7.5). NPs modified with some oblique case markers can also function as adverbial constituents and, in fact, a number of the space adverbs to be presented in §14.2.3 have clearly originated in the combination of a demonstrative and a case marker. Notice that most of the approximately 20 forms to be analysed as primary adverbs in this chapter seem to have come from morphologically complex elements. Among the few exceptions to this, we have *bëri* 'today/now', *ma* 'already' and *munu* 'slowly'.

Constituents created by adverbs can be called **adverb phrases**. Even though adverbs in most cases appear by themselves and, therefore, adverb phrases tend to be

simple constituents, there are a few cases in which they include an NP in addition to the adverbial head.

In the following sections, I will present the data on adverbs in this order: in §14.2, I will comment on the morphosyntactic and semantic adverb classes; in §14.3 I describe a few cases of complex adverb phrases and, finally, in §14.4, I discuss the category of participant agreement in Kashibo-Kakataibo.

14.2   Adverb classes

14.2.1   Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs in Kashibo-Kakataibo include the following forms:

Table 61   Temporal adverbs

adverb	meaning
bëráma	'a long time ago, before'
bërí	'today/now'
iménaëx	'at midnight'
'uran (< Spanish *hora* 'hour')	'for a long time'
iméishi	'yesterday/tomorrow'
ma	'already'

The forms *bëráma* and *bërí* can also be used as modifiers within NPs. For example *bëráma uni* means 'people from a long time ago' and *bërí uni* means 'today's people'. However, this is not possible for other members of this class and the behaviour of these two adverbs has to be understood as idiosyncratic.

As a manner of illustration, I present two examples. In the first one, we find the form *bërí* 'today', and in the second, the adverb *ma* 'already' appears in

combination with the the Spanish phrase *como dos años* 'around two years', which also has an adverbial function.

(590) C01B09-SE-2007.009

bërí	kana	'itsa	tëti	kana	mëran
bërí	kana	'itsa	të-ti	kana	mëra-a-n
today	NAR.1sg	many	work-NOM	NAR.1sg	find-PERF-1/2p

'**Now**, I found much work to do.'

(591) C02A02-NA-2007.016

ma	*como dos años*	'ixun	rabë	baritiañu	'ixun	sinankëshín
ma	*como dos años*	'i-xun	rabë́	baritia=ñu	'i-xun	sinan-akë-x-ín
already	like.two.years	be-S/A>A(SE)	two	year=PROP	be-S/A>A(SE)	think-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'When two years had **already** passed, then they thought.'

In addition to the words listed in Table 61, there are other words that, even though they can be considered to be primarily nouns, can be used as temporal adverbs. The most common form showing this behaviour in texts is the word *ñantan* 'evening', but *imë̃ ~ ñamë̃* 'night' was also accepted in an adverbial position during elicitation sessions (these cases have been exemplified in §7.5).

14.2.2   Manner adverbs

The only Kashibo-Kakataibo manner adverbs that do not show a morphologically complex diachronic structure are *munu* 'slowly' and *ñankan* 'in vain' (although the final *n* in this form may be related to the Shipibo-Konibo adverbialiser *-n*; see Valenzuela 2003b: 171-172).[69] In addition to these two forms, we find the adverb *ratuishi* 'suddenly', formed with the Spanish root *rato* 'moment' and the adverbial

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[69] There are two different interpretations for this observation: the first one is to assume that the *-n* suffix was also attested at an earlier stage of Kashibo-Kakataibo. The second interpretation is to assume that the whole form *ñankan* is a loan from Shipibo-Konibo, as it seems to be the case of *'ishtun* 'fast'.

enclitic =*ishi* 'only', and the Shipibo-Konibo loan *'ishtun* 'quickly', which contains

that language's adverbialiser -*n,* (the Kashibo-Kakataibo form with an equivalent

meaning is the adjective *bënë̌* 'fast', which can be derived into a predicate modifier;

see §7.5). In addition, we have the forms *ësa* 'like this' and *usa* 'like that', which

include the comparative enclitic =*sa*. Finally, we have the manner adverb *amiribishi*

which is diachronically complex. A table including all manner adverbs follows:

Table 62   Manner adverbs

Adverb	Meaning
'ishtun (< Shipibo-Konibo)	'quickly'
munu	'slowly'
ratuishi (< Spanish)	'suddenly'
ñankan	'in vain'
ësa	'like this'
usa	'like that'
amiribishi	'again'

One example of *amiribishi* 'again' follows:

(592) C00A03-EE-2006.007

bëbatankëxun	ka	anuxun	hasta	TingoMarianu
bëba-tankëxun	ka	anuxun	hasta	TingoMaria=nu
arrive-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.3p	then(TRAN)	until	Tingo Maria=LOC

'atëkëankëxa	**amiribishi**
'a-tëkën-akë-x-a	amiribishi
do-again-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	again

'After arriving, then, they built it again until Tingo Maria.'

Notice that at least two manner adverbs can be used as predicates: *munu*

'slowly' and *ñankan* 'in vain', which, when used in that predicative function, mean

'to delay' and 'to miss the shot' (see again §7.5).

14.2.3   Space adverbs

The following table presents a list of all the space adverbs found in my database:

Table 63   Space adverbs

adverb	meaning
anu	'there'
amanu	'not here'
amo	'that side'
ënu	'here'
nëkë ~ nëkëmana	'this side'
ukë ~ ukëmana	'the other side'
unu	'there (far)'
ura	'far'
uráma	'close'
uri	'far (less far than *ura*)'

It is difficult to determine if all the lexemes in Table 63 can be analysed as morphologically simple adverbs in the synchronic language or whether they are to be considered morphologically complex forms. Some of them include formatives that do not seem to be synchronic morphemes in the language: *-kë* in *nëkë* 'this side' and *ukë* 'the other side' (which might be related to the locative marker *-kë* still attested in Shipibo-Konibo), and *-ra* and *-ri* in *ura* 'far' and *uri* 'far (less far than *ura*)'. In other cases, we find formatives that are easily identifiable: the locative case marker *=nu* or the demonstratives: *ë* 'close to the speaker' (a shortened version of *ënë*), *a* 'close to the addressee' and *u* 'far from the speaker and the addressee'. However, note that differently from demonstratives, which constitute a system based on speech-act-participants (see §6.2.4), space adverbs constitute a distance-based system: that is, adverbial forms containing the forms *ë* 'close to speaker' mean 'here'; forms containing *a* 'close to the addressee' mean 'there'; and forms containing *u* 'far from the speaker and the addressee' mean 'there (far)'. This semantic shift may be seen as an indicator of lexicalisation. This is also true in relation to the meaning of *=nu*: as a locative case marker, it expresses precise location/direction and is opposed to *=mi* 'imprecise locative, not close to the addressee' and *=u* 'imprecise locative, close to the addressee' (see §9.3.1). However, when used as part of the forms in the table

above *=nu* refers to both types of location, precise and imprecise. Finally, the forms *amanu* 'not here' and *amo* 'that side' also show particularities that may reveal their lexicalised character. The first one has to do with the position of the negative marker *=ma*, which, being an adverbial enclitic, is expected to appear after the case markers, but this is not what we find in the forms above: in the first one, the negative marker appears before the locative marker *=nu* and, in the second, the negative may be argued to appear before the indirect locative *-u* (*ma-u* > *mo*). In addition, as we can see in Table 63, the glosses are not what we would expect: *a=ma=nu* should mean 'not there', but its meaning is 'not here'; and *a-ma-u* should mean 'not around there', but means 'that side'. Based on this evidence, I consider it appropriate to analyse the forms in Table 63 as lexical adverbs.

The following two examples illustrate the forms *uri* and *ura* respectively:

(593) C01A03-WO-2007.006

mëraxun	kaisa	naëbaiakëxa	**uri**	buankin
mëra-xun	kaisa	naë-bait-akë-x-a	**uri**	buan-kin
find-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	dig-DUR-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	far	bring-S/A>A(SE)

'It is said that, finding this, he dug for a long time, making the hole very deep.'

(594) C01B08-NA-2007.012

y	usa	'ain	kana	'ati	'ain	naë	**ura**
y	usa	'ain	kana	'a-ti	'ain	naë	**ura**
and	like.that	being(DS/A/O)	NAR.1sg	do-NOM	be.1/2p	garden.ABS	far

 'And then, I will make a garden far away.'

14.3   Complex adverb phrases

Some adverbs appear in my database in combination with an NP in a type of constituent that can be analysed as a complex adverb phrase. Notice that, in this context, adverbs are used similarly to postpositions (see §6.3). In the following

examples we find the adverbs *uráma* 'close' and *ukëmanan* 'the other side of (a river)' as part of these complex adverb phrases. In the first example, *uráma* 'close' appears with the nominalised verb *bama-ti* 'to die-NOM' as its complement. In the second one, *ukëmanan* 'the other side of (a river)' is used once with a nominal complement and once without it:

(595) C03A03-EE-2007.051

'aishbi	kaisa	'iakëxa	a	uni	chumíbukë
'aishbi	kaisa	'i-akë-x-a	a	uni	chumin-but-kë
but(S/A>A)	NAR.REP.3p	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	that	person	thin-down-NOM.ABS

bamati	**uráma**
[bama-ti	**uráma**]
die-NOM	close

'However, it is said that that man was really thin, not far from diying.'

(596) C00A06-EE-2006.015

"*mejor*	kananuna	**ukëmanan**	**paru**	**ukëmanan**	shitáti"
mejor	kananuna	**ukëmanan**	[paru	**ukëmanan**]	shitat-ti
instead	NAR.1pl	the.other.side	big.river	the.other.side	cross-NOM

kixun
ki-xun
say(INTR)-S/A>A

'Saying "let's cross to the other side of the river, instead"...'

14.4 Participant agreement

The term **participant agreement** (PA) is used in Pano linguistics to refer to an inflectional category associated with different types of adjuncts. According to Valenzuela (2005: 286), it "can be considered the typologically most salient feature of Pano grammar. It refers to the use of a distinct inflectional morphology on adjuncts, in correlation with the syntactic function of the participant they are predicated of." PA markers are the basis for the highly complex switch-reference system to be

presented in Chapter 18. The switch-reference system is used for dependent clauses that can be classified into two types: **converbs** and **switch-reference clauses** according to their scope (see particularly §18.2). Both converbs and switch-reference clauses are used in multi-clausal constructions. In this section, I will only discuss and exemplify those cases where PA markers are used within a clause and not in order to combine clauses.

Therefore, I will use the term **switch-reference** to refer to those cases in which a **dependent clause** predicates about one participant of the main clause, and I will use **participant agreement** to refer to those cases in which an **adjunct** predicates about one participant of the same clause.[70] This restricts the discussion to be presented here to two contexts: PA used on spatial adverbs and locative adjucts (including the use of *anu* 'there' as a discourse connector) and PA used on numerals, quantifiers and certain nouns, in order to derive adverbial elements. In the case of spatial adverbs and locative phrases, PA exhibits a tripartite alignment with three different marker for S, A and O, but space adverbs used as discourse connectors can only agree with S and A participants (and not with O) and can also take the marker *-an* 'different subjects/objects, previous event', which is only used for the meaning 'different subjects' in this paradigm (see §14.4.1). In the case of numerals, quantifiers and nouns, PA can only refer to the the S and A participants of the clause, and there is no way to use the quantifiers, nouns or numerals as adjuncts predicating about the O argument (see §14.4.2).

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[70] A similar distinction has been made by Valenzuela (2005), who distinguishes between intra-clausal and inter-clausal participant agreement.

In the case of spatial adverbs and locative phrases, the PA markers are **not obligatory** and we can find instances of adjuncts unmarked for this category. The presence or absence of a PA marker carries a semantic difference: a locative adjunct specified for PA predicates about (or is semantically oriented to) one participant and not about the whole event. In other words, a locative adjunct marked of PA indicates the location of the participant it agrees with, and not of the event (this will become clear in the examples to be presented below). In that sense, constituents carrying PA markers are not prototypically adverbial since adverbial forms tend to be semantically oriented towards the whole event and not towards particular participants. They might be considered to be closer to depictive adjuncts instead, which are defined as expressing "a state that holds during the reference time of the event encoded by the main predicate" and, at the same time, usually express states that are "interpret[ed] as holding for one of the participants of the main predicate" (Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005: 4). In turn, locative adjuncts unmarked for PA locate the event as a whole and not one particular participant.

Conversely, numerals, quantifiers and nouns need to **obligatorily** carry a PA marker in order to be used in an adverbial function and, therefore, always predicate about one participant (in this case, the S or the A), and not about the event as a whole.

14.4.1 PA on locative adjuncts

One of the more salient typological features of Kashibo-Kakataibo is that this language shows tripartite case alignment for different types of pronouns (see §6.2) and for nouns expressing anaphoric arguments (see §22.5). This tripartite system is not only attested in the case alignment of the language, but also in the PA paradigm

discussed here, where we find three different markers for co-referred A, S and O arguments: *=xun* 'PA: A', *=ax* 'PA: S' and *=a* 'PA: O' on locative adjuncts of different types (space adverbs, postpositional phrases and NPs marked with a locative case). This is shown in the following examples where the PA markers semantically orient the locative adjunct to one of the arguments of the clause:

(597) Participant agreement: A

unin	ka	**bakanuxun**	chaxu	'axa
uni=n	ka	baka=nu**=xun**	chaxu	'a-a-x-a
man=ERG	NAR.3p	river=LOC=PA:A	deer.ABS	kill-PERF-3p-non.prox

'The man, being in the river, killed the deer.'

(598) Participant agreement: O

unin	ka	**bakanua**	chaxu	'axa
uni=n	ka	baka=nu**=a**	chaxu	'axa
man=ERG	NAR.3p	river=LOC=PA:O	deer.ABS	kill-PERF-3p-non.prox

'The man killed the deer, which was in the river.'

(599) Participant agreement: S

uni	ka	**bakanuax**	kwai	'iaxa
uni	ka	baka=nu=a**x**	kwa-i	'i-a-x-a
man.ABS	NAR.3p	river=LOC=PA:S	play-S/A>S	be-PERF-3p-non.prox

'The man, being in the river, was playing.'

The locative adjunct carrying the PA marker is semantically participant-oriented. This fact may not always be clear in English or Spanish translations: e.g., a more idiomatic translation of (599) would be 'the man was playing in the river', and we might translate both (597) and (598), as 'the man killed the deer in the river' – but such a translation suggests that **in the river** modifyies the verb. This interpretation is not true. The system presented here is always oriented towards one participant, regardless of the way in which examples in (597)-(599) would be translated

idiomatically into English or Spanish. It is important to recall that a locative adjunct modified by a PA marker specifies the location of the argument cross-referred by the marker and this may have at least three potential interpretations: (1) that the participant was in the location before the event;[71] (2) that there is a close relationship between the participant and the location (e.g. the latter may be the house of the former); and (3) in the case of transitive verbs, that only one of the participant was in the location and the other was not. For instance, in the case of (597), only interpretations (1) and (3) are possible: the speaker may use *=xun* 'PA: A' in that context to state that the man was in the river **before** the deer arrived or that the man killed the deer **from** the river, but that the deer was somewhere else, e.g. behind a three. Interpretation (2) is not possible simply because people do not live in rivers. The same happens with (598): the deer may have been in the river before the man arrived or the man may have killed it from somewhere else (e.g. from a tree). However, deers do not live in rivers either and therefore interpretation (2) is awkward. Conversely, in the following examples, this interpretation is possible. In the first one the man referred to has a house next to his garden and lives there most of the time (which is something that some people do). In the second example, this interpretation is straightforward: plantains grow in gardens and belong to them.

(600) <u>Participant agreement: A</u>

unin	ka	**naënuxun**	nónsi	bëaxa
uni=n	ka	naë=nu=**xun**	nónsi	bë-a-x-a
man=ERG	NAR.3p	garden=LOC=PA:A	banana.ABS	bring-PERF-3p-non.prox

'The man, who lives there, brought plantains from the garden.'

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[71] A similar semantic interpretation has been documented for Mayoruna languages by Fleck (2010: section 5), who uses the term *event initiation transitivity agreement*. However, according to his analysis, the forms are not participant-oriented, but event-oriented

(601) Participant agreement: O

unin	ka	**naënua**	nónsi	bëaxa
uni=n	ka	naë=nu**=a**	nónsi	bë-a-x-a
man=ERG	NAR.3p	garden=LOC=PA:O	plantain.ABS	bring-PERF-3p-non.prox

'The man brought the plantains, that grow there, from the garden.'

As I mentioned in the introduction to this section, PA is not obligatory on locative adjuncts. Thus, we find minimal pairs like the following one, where the locative adjunct may be semantically oriented to the participant or to the event. Note that in the first example a 'previous location' reading is obtained, since people do not live in the jungle.

(602)

Juan	ka	**ninuax**	'uxaxa
Juan	ka	ni=nu=**ax**	ux-a-x-a
Juan.ABS	NAR.3p	jungle=LOC=PA:S	sleep-past-3p-non.prox

'Juan, being in the jungle, slept.'

Juan	ka	**ninu**	'uxaxa
Juan	ka	ni**=nu**	uxaxa
Juan.ABS	NAR.3p	jungle=LOC	sleep-past-3p-non.prox

'Juan slept in the jungle.'

Interestingly, this 'previous location' interpretation of PA forms has led to their translation as ablative obliques when they are used with predicates expressing direction, where the PA marker is added to an NP marked by a locative morpheme.[72] In the following example, *ninuax* 'jungle=LOC=PA: S' is oriented to the S argument

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[72] It is important to stress that I am presenting a synchronic analysis of the Kashibo-Kakataibo data. The form *-a* is, according to Valenzuela (2003b), the ablative marker of Shipibo-Konibo and she analyses forms like *-a* 'PA: O' and *-ax* 'PA: S' as being *-a-ø* and *-a-x*, whereby only the final forms *-ø* and *-x* are the proper PA markers. Such an analysis is not synchronically possible for Kashibo-Kakataibo, since this language does not have the ablative marker *-a* (in fact, Kashibo-Kakataibo does not have any specialised ablative marker; see §9.3.1). Thus, it may be the case that the forms *-ax* 'PA: S' and *-a* 'PA: O' in Kashibo-Kakataibo resulted from the fusion of an old ablative marker plus a core case marker (the 'S' marker =x and and the unmarked O-category are still found in Kashibo-Kakataibo), as Valenzuela (2003b: Chapter 20) proposes.

and indicates its previous location, thus obtaining an ablative reading. In the second example, *ninu* 'jungle=LOC' is a directional oblique oriented to the event, and functioning as the goal of the predicate.

(603) Juan   ka   **ninuax**   kwanxa
      Juan   ka   ni=nu=a**x**   kwan-a-x-a
      Juan.ABS NAR.3p   jungle=LOC=PA:S   go-past-3p-non.prox
      'Juan went **from** the jungle (to another place).'

      Juan   ka   **ninu**   kwanxa
      Juan   ka   ni=**nu**   kwan-a-x-a
      Juan.ABS NAR.3p   jungle=LOC   go-past-3p-non.prox
      'Juan went **to** the jungle.'

PA markers can appear twice in the same clause. This is shown in the following example, where we find *=a* 'PA: O' and *=xun* 'PA: A'. Note that only the latter gets an ablative interpretation. The adjunct *naë=nu=a* 'garden=LOC=PA: O' predicates about the O argument *nónsi* 'plantain' and indicates that the plantains came from the garden. However, it does not express the origin of the displacement expressed by the predicate 'to bring', as it would be expected for a real ablative. Examples like this one support the analysis proposed here: that the PA are not ablatives but receive an ablative interpretation in certain contexts (see footnote 72).

(604) Participant agreement: O and A in the same clause
      uni=n   ka   naë=nu=a   nónsi   xubu=nu=xun   bë-a-x-a
      uni=n   ka   naë=nu=a   nónsi   xubu=nu=xun   bë-a-x-a
      man=ERG NAR.3p garden=LOC=PA**:O** plantain.ABS house=LOC=PA**:A**bring-PERF-3p-non.prox
      'The man brought the plantains that grow in the garden from the house.'

Notice that in the example above, *naë=nu=a* 'garden=LOC=PA: O' is not a modifier within the NP headed by *nónsi* 'plantain', as clearly shown in the following example, where the two forms are not adjacent to each other:

(605) Participant agreement: O and A in the same clause

naë=nu=a	ka	uni=n	nónsi	xubu=nu=xun	bë-a-x-a
naë=nu=a	ka	uni=n	nónsi	xubu=nu=xun	bë-a-x-a
garden=LOC=PA:O	NAR.3p	man=ERG	plantain.ABS	house=LOC=PA:A	bring-PERF-3p-non.prox

'The man brought the plantains that grow in the garden from the house.'

When following a form ending in *u* or *o*, there is an additional sequence *kw* in the participant agreement markers for S and O, *=ax* and *=a* respectively. This *kw* segment may be related to the form *kë* (*kwë), which is still a locative marker in Shipibo-Konibo (and might be associated with the formative *-kë* attested in the forms *nëkë* 'this side' and *ukë* 'the other side'). However, synchronically, this form is not productive in Kashibo-Kakataibo and the alternation just mentioned has to be understood as an allomorphemic pattern. See the following examples, where we find this alternation happening after *o* and after *u*, respectively:

(606)
Juan	ka	amo**kwax**	'uxaxa
Juan	ka	amo=**kwax**	'ux-a-x-a
Juan.ABS	NAR.3p	that.side=PA:S	sleep-past-3p-non.prox

'Juan slept at that side.'

Juanën	ka	amo**kwa**	ño	mëraxa
Juan=n	ka	amo=**kwa**	ño	mëra-a-x-a
Juan=ERG	NAR.3p	that.side=PA:O	tapir.ABS	find-past-3p-non.prox

'Juan found the tapir at that side (where it was before).'

(607)
kini	mëu**kwax**	ka	'uxia
kini	mëu=**kwax**	ka	'ux-i-a
hole	inside=PA:S	NAR.3p	sleep-IMPF-non.prox

'(The animal) is sleeping in the hole.'

kini	mëu**kwa**	ka	pia
kini	mëu=**kwa**	ka	pi-i-a
hole	inside=PA:O	NAR.3p	eat-IMPF-non.prox

'(The animal) is eating in the hole (and the food was there before).'

The space adverb *anu* 'there' can be used as a discourse connectors, expressing a sequential relationship. When it is used in such a function, it appears in the first position of the sentence, preceding the second position enclitics. As a connector, *anu* retains remnants of the PA marking system: the markers =*ax* 'PA: S' and =*xun* 'PA: A' are kept, and are opposed to the marker -*an* 'different subjects/objects, previous event' (see the discussion on switch-reference in Chapter18); and the marker =*a* 'PA: O' is not included in the paradigm. Notice that, as indicated in the examples below, the form -*an* 'different subjects/objects, previous event' means only 'different subjects' when used on a discourse connector. The paradigm is illustrated in the following examples:

(608) <u>Participant agreement: A</u>

anuxun	ka	unin	chaxu	'axa
anuxun	ka	uni=n	chaxu	'a-a-x-a
then.PA:A	NAR.3p	man=ERG	deer.ABS	kill-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Then (after A = the man did something), the man killed the deer.'

(609) <u>Participant agreement: S</u>

anuax	ka	uni	'uxaxa
anuax	ka	uni	'ux-a-x-a
then.PA:S	NAR.3p	man.ABS	sleep-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Then (after S = the man did something), the man slept.'

(610) <u>Different subjects</u>

anuan	ka	unin	chaxu	'axa
anuan	ka	uni=n	chaxu	'a-a-x-a
Then.DS/A/O	NAR.3p	man=ERG	deer.ABS	kill-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Then (after another person did something), the man killed the deer.'

14.4.2   PA on other types of adjucts

The forms =*ax* 'PA: S' and =*xun* 'PA: A' (but not =*a* 'PA: O') also appear attached to numerals, quantifiers and certain nouns. In such cases, the resulting forms take on

a kind of adverbial meaning, although they remain oriented towards one specific participant of the event, and not to the event in general.

The forms =*ax* 'PA: S' and =*xun* 'PA: A' can appear with quantifiers and numerals like *kamabi* 'all' and *rabё̃* 'two', with which they combine to derive the following forms: *kama=(a)x=bi* 'all together, PA:S', *kama=xun=bi* 'all together, PA: A', *rabё̃=ax* 'the two together, PA: S', *rabё̃=xun* 'the two together, PA: A'. Note that the intransitive versions (i.e. the ones which carry the PA form for 'S') are not attested in my natural database, but were accepted by my teachers during elicitation sessions. An example of *kama=xun=bi* 'all together, PA: A' follows:

(611) C02B05-NA-2007.025

usa	'ain	kana	tointi	'ain	nun	pia	'atankëxun
usa	'ain	kana	toin-ti	'ain	nu=n	pia	'a-tankëxun
like.that	being(DS/A/O)	NAR.1pl	hold.on-NOM	be.1/2p	we=GEN	arrow.ABS	make-S/A>A(PE)

kamaxunbi	pia	'atankëxun	tointi	'ain
kama**xun**bi	pia	'a-tankëxun	toin-ti	'ain
all.together.PA:A	arrow.ABS	make-S/A>A(PE)	grap-NOM	be.1/2p

'Being like this, we will grab our arrows, after preparing arrows, we, all together, will grab them.'

A similar situation is found when the PA markers =*ax* 'PA: S' and =*xun* 'PA: A' appear on certain nouns. This usually happens with nouns like *bёbu* 'man' and *xanu* 'woman', in order to indicate that the event is carried out by men or women exclusively. See the following example:

(612) **xanuxun** ka 'axa
      xanu-**xun** ka 'a-a-x-a
      woman-PA:A NAR.3p do.PERF-3p-non.prox
      'Women exclusively did it.'

As mentioned in the introduction, the presence of a PA marker on numerals, quantifiers and nouns appearing in the adjunct position just illustrated is obligatory.

In fact, PA markers seem to have a derivative function in this context and seem to behave as suffixes rather than as enclitics; see §5.5.2.2.

Chapter 15 Second position enclitics

15.1 Introduction

Second position enclitics are positionally-fixed elements that appear as the second constituent of the sentence (see §22.2 for a discussion of constituent order in Kashibo-Kakataibo) and express register, mood, modality and evidentiality, mirativity, addressee's perspective and subject cross-reference. In some cases, the second-position enclitics appear as the first element of the sentence. When this happens, the sentence is obligatorily interpreted as having a non-overtly expressed topic.

The paradigm of second position enclitics includes 14 different forms. These elements combine with each other in order to express different meanings (see Table 64). The major morphological differences are associated with the register distinction in slot II: as we will see, the conversational forms with *ri* do not have access to the 'contrastive' enclitic *kaia* (slot I), the 'interrogative' enclitic *ra* (slot III), the 'reportative' enclitic *is* (slot IV) and the 'mirative' enclitic *mënë́* (slot VI, but it does have access to the forms *pa* 'certitudinal, non-proximal to the hearer' and *pënë́* 'mirative, non-proximal to the hearer'). Each sentence in Kashibo-Kakataibo requires register, mood and subject cross-reference specifications. However, slot II (register) is the only strictly obligatory slot. Both the declarative and the imperative moods are formally unmarked and the interpretation of a sentence that does not carry the interrogative enclitic (slot III) as declarative or imperative depends on the presence or absence of other elements, particularly of the second position enclitics

expressing subject cross-reference (slot V). Imperative-related constructions are unmarked for subject cross-reference and always have the addressee (plus the speaker in the case of the exhortative) as the subject (but see §15.4.2.1 for some cases of imperative forms that take the reportative marker and a subsequent subject cross-reference enclitic). Conversely, slot V is obligatorily marked for sentences in the interrogative or declarative moods. The remaining slots are clearly non-obligatory:

Table 64   Order of second position enclitics

Slot I	Slot II	Slot III	Slot IV	Slot V	Slot VI
modality	**register**	**mood**	**evidentiality**	**subject cross-reference**	**mirativity/participant agreement**
kuni 'certitudinal' *sapi* 'dubitative' *kaia* 'contrastive'	*ka* 'narrative'	*ra* 'interrogative'	*is* 'reportative'	*a* '3' *mina* '2'	*mënë* 'mirative'
	ri 'conversational'			*na* '1sing' *(na)nuna* '1plur'	*pa* 'certitudinal, non-proximal to the addressee' *pënë* 'mirative, non-proximal to the addressee'

Second position enclitics marking modality, register, mood, mirativity and addressee's perspective (slots I, II, III and VI) represent a definitional criterion for distinguishing between independent and dependent clauses in Kashibo-Kakataibo: they are only found in independent clauses, with slot II being obligatory (see Chapter17).

Usually, second position enclitics are morphologically complex (with the imperative forms being the only exception). Their components form a sequence with a rigid order (as shown in Table 64 above), producing an interesting prosodic effect: all the implicated second position enclitics tend to form one prosodic unit, starting with the first form included in the sequence.

Section §15.2 presents the register, mood and subject cross-reference distinctions that they express. The reason why I discuss these three categories together is because each sentence has to have them. The second position enclitics from slot I, which mark modality, are described in §15.3 and the reportative enclitic from slot IV and other topics related to evidentiality are presented in §15.4. Finally, §15.5 presents the forms found in slot VI, which express mirativity and addressee's perspective.

15.2   Register, mood and subject cross-reference

Every sentence in Kashibo-Kakataibo needs to carry a set of second position enclitics indicating its register, mood and subject cross-reference categories. This excludes the imperative, where subject cross-reference is not available if the form does not also include a reportative marker (but the addressee is the inferred subject). Among all those categories, the one that I have called **register** exhibits a typologically interesting nature. The Kashibo-Kakataibo language establishes a distinction

between a narrative and a conversational register by means of the second position enclitics *ka* and *ri*, respectively. While *ka* appears in both conversations and narratives, *ri* is non-existent in the latter and is clearly restricted to the former, where it interacts with *ka* in ways that will be briefly exemplified in this section. The exact nature of their relationship requires more study, but a first account of this cross-linguistically highly interesting category will be offered here (see also Shell 1975).

Based on the register distinction, second position enclitics in Kashibo-Kakataibo establish a system with three basic speech act (Sadock and Zwicky 1985) or mood distinctions: declarative, interrogative and imperative. While declarative and imperative sentences can contain either *-ri* or *-ka* (see §15.2.1 and §15.2.2), interrogative sentences can only be expressed by means of *-ka* (see §15.2.3; but see also §15.3.2 for an interesting use of *sapi* 'dubitative' plus *-ri* in order to express a kind of rhetoric question).

With respect to subject cross-reference marking, second position enclitics establish four basic distinctions: first person singular, second person, third person and first person plural, as shown in the following table:

Table 65   Subject cross-reference distinctions in second position enclitics

conversational paradigm	narrative paradigm
ria 'third person'	ka (< kaa) 'third person'
rimina 'second person'	kamina 'second person'
rina 'first person singular'	kana 'first person singular'
ri(na)nuna 'first person plural'	ka(na)nuna 'first person plural'

As we can see, in the case of the second person and the first person plural, we can identify a formative *-na*, which follows the bound pronominal forms *mi* 'second person' and *nu* 'first person plural'. In the case of *nu* 'first person plural', it can

additionally precede the bound pronominal element (but *na* is phonologically unstable in that position). This results in the forms *mina* '2p' and *nanuna* (~ *nuna*) '1.pl'. In the case of the third person, we can also identify a bound form that is phonologically equivalent to the free pronoun (i.e., *a* '3sg'), but there is no ending *-na* following it. Note that the bound pronoun for the third person is only identifiable following *ri* 'conversational'; when it appears after *ka*, the underlying form *ka-a* surfaces as [ka(:)]. In the case of the first person singular, we do not find a bound version of the pronoun *'ë* '1.sg', following either *ka* or *ri*, but only the form *na*. The presence and absence of *na* allows for a distinction between first and second persons (or speech act participants), on the one hand, and third persons (or non-speech act participants), on the other. A similar distinction is found in the verbal subject cross-reference markers (see §13.6).

15.2.1 Register distinctions in the declarative mood

In general, the declarative mood "is subject to judgments of truth and falsehood. It is used for making announcements, stating conclusions, making claims, relating stories and so on" (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 160). In many languages, declarative utterances do not carry any special or overt marker and the declarative mood is expressed by using "the most basic and widespread form of the clause available in the language" (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 160), which is usually unmarked. According to the analysis proposed here, in Kashibo-Kakataibo, declarative mood is also unmarked and the speakers only have to choose between the narrative and the conversational enclitics (that is, *ka* and *ri*, respectively), which are followed by a bound pronominal form that cross-references the subject argument.

There is not always an obvious distinction between *ri* and *ka* in the declarative mood in that both can be used in conversations. However, *ri* is never used in narratives (but it might potentially appear in a direct speech clause that reproduces one character's speech fragment that includes this form). While the use of *ka* in conversations seems to be less marked and broader, the key question is to determine when a speaker is likely to shift from sentences with *ka* to sentences with *ri*, or vice-versa. However, an in-depth conversational analysis is yet required in order to fully understand the conditions. The preliminary analysis presented here is based on a database of ten transcribed and analysed conversations, with only four of them exhibiting the use of *ri* over long portions of the interaction. On this preliminary basis, it is possible to state the following principle: *ri* appears when the information is **contextual**, in the sense that it is shared by, or relevant to, the speaker and the addressee, or that it can be perceived within the context of the conversation. Thus, many specific situations can trigger the use of *ri* in a conversation: the topic was previously introduced; the speaker considers the information to be known by the addressee; the event described is happening around the speech act environment; or one of the participants explicitly or implicitly asks about, or is involved in, it.[73] In addition to that, if we follow Labov's (1972) sociolinguistic model of narratives, **evaluative** sentences in Kashibo-Kakataibo conversations (which do not introduce

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[73] Shell (1975) already mentions the fact that there are two different mood systems in the language, one based on *ka* and the other based on *ri*. She calls this second paradigm *response modals* and her analysis is similar to the one presented here: these form are more contextual and conversational but, according to Shell, they are (only) used "to reply to a verbal question or in response to a question-like situation" (Shell 1975: 191). From my point of view, the logic behind the use of *ri* is interactional in a broader way, rather than exclusively related to a question-answer situation. In real conversations, *ri* does not appear to be used only when there is an explicit or implicit question, but whenever the propositional content of the clause is available from the context of the speech act, due to one of the situations just listed.

information but give a judgment about what was said before; see Labov 1972: 359-60 and §22.6 for an analysis of narratives following this model) tend to use narrative forms with *ka* 'narrative' and, if the preceding information was delivered by sentences including *ri* 'conversational', evaluative sentences trigger a shift to *ka* (see the example in (613)).

The above characterisation finds support in the fact that all verbal forms within clauses carrying *ri* 'conversational' end in *-n,* which is normally the '1/2 person' marker in clauses with *ka*. Thus, the distinction between first/second and third person on the verb disappears in the *ri*-paradigm. A consequence of this neutralisation is that the category of addressee's perspective (from the verbal inflectional slot inflection IV; see §13.7) cannot be marked on the verb any longer. Consequently, the forms *-in* 'proximal to the addressee' and *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee' are not available for verbs in sentences carrying the conversational register marker *ri*. This suggests that this category is irrelevant, vey likely because clauses with *ri* express events which are contextual and, therefore, very likely to be proximal to the speaker and potentially also to the addressee. In order to indicate that the events are contextual from the perspective of the speaker, but not from the perspective of the addressee, it is necessary to use the forms *-pa* 'certitudinal, non proximal to the addressee' and *-pënë* 'mirative, non-proximal to the addressee' (see §15.3).

Let me illustrate some typical contexts for the use of *ri* and *ka.* In one of the conversations in my database, *ri* is systematically used from the beginning of the conversation onwards. In this interaction, two women talk about a tapir breeding that was found in the jungle by their cousin, and was adopted as a pet in the village. Most people in the village were emotionally involved with this pet and used to look

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after it; but, suddenly, the tapir was killed by a group of outsiders. In this conversation, FE and ME discuss the situation for a long time, and most of the conversation concerns information that everyone in the village is supposed to know. As we can see in (613), this "contextual" information is presented using *ri*. Note that the evaluative form often used by the speaker ME, *usama ka* 'this should not happen', does not carry *ri*.

(613) C13A05-ME.FE-2008.010-016

ME: | *y* | ain | 'ibu | **ria** | nishkiani | kwan |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *y* | ain | 'ibu | **ria** | nish-kian-i | kwan-a-**n** |
| and | 3p.GEN | owner | CON.3p | hate-going.INTR-S/A>S(SE) | go-PERF-1/2p |

'And its owner went very upset,'

usama	**ka**
usa=ma	**ka**
that-COMP=NEG	NAR.3p

'this should not happen (lit. it is not like that).'

FE: ajá
ajá
hmm
'hmm...'

ME: | kwankë | atian | **ria** | unikaman | nu | ñuixuënxan |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| kwan-kë | atian | **ria** | uni=kama=n | nu | ñui-xun-ëxan-**n** |
| go-NOM | then | CON.3p | man=PLU=ERG | 1pl.ABS | tell-APPL-days.ago-1/2p |

'When he was gone, then, the men told us,'

siun	isa	rëtëkanxa	kixun
siun	isa	rëtë-kan-a-x-a	ki-xun
tapir(pet.vocative).ABS	REP.3p	kill-PLU-PERF-3p-non.prox	say-S/A>A

'saying: '(they said that they) killed the baby tapir.'

atian	ñuixunkë	nun	kwakëx	ñamë̃	ñamë̃	tunkia	uni
atian	ñui-xun-kë	nu=n	kwat-këx	ñamë̃	ñamë̃	tunki-ia	uni
then	tell-APPL-NOM	1pl=A	hear-O>S(PE)	night	night	grumble-A/S>O	man

'Before they told us we had heard in the middle of the night that the man made noise, like shooting a gun.'

usama **ka**
usa=ma **ka**
that-COMP=NEG NAR.3p
'This should not happen (lit. it is not like that).'

FE: ajá 'ënribi **rina** ñantamashi 'ia kwaëxan
ajá 'ë=n=ribi **rina** ñanta-ma-shi 'i-ia kwat-ëxa-n
hmm 1sg=A=also CON.1p morning=NEG=only be-A/S>O hear-days.ago-1/2p
'Hmm... I also heard so before it dawned.'

ME: ajá *a las siete de la noche* **sapiria** 'ixan
ajá *a las siete de la noche* **sapiria** 'i-ëxan**-n**
hmm at.seven.p.m. DUB.CON.3p be-days.ago-1/2p
'Hmm, was it at seven p.m.?'

FE: *a esa hora* **ria** 'ixan
a esa hora **ria** 'i-ëxan**-n**
at.that.time CON.3p be-days.ago-1/2p
'It was at that time.'

ME: *y* anu **ria** ain 'ibun bëxan
y anu **ria** ain 'ibu=n bë-ëxan**-n**
and then CON.3p 3p.GEN owner=ERG bring-days.ago-1/2p
'And then its owner brought it.'

usama **ka**
usa=ma **ka**
that-COMP=NEG NAR.3p
'This should not happen (lit. it is not like that).'

However, at some point in the conversation, speaker FE shifts to *ka* and this form is then used until the end of the interaction. Tentatively, I might say that this shift has to do with the fact that FE introduces information about herself that ME was not aware of. FM shifts to *ka*, the narrative marker, at exactly the point when she tells ME how she was told about the incident. This information was assumed by

FE as non-contextual in the broad sense proposed above (ME was not aware of how FE was told about the information). This might explain the change from *ri* to *ka*.[74]

(614) C13A05-ME.FE-2008.034-039

FE:
'ën	'unankëmabi	**ka**	'ë	Pablonën	kaëxanshín
'ë=n	'unan-kë=ma=bi	**ka**	'ë	Pablo=n	ka-ëxan-x-ín
1sg=A	know-NOM=NEG=same	NAR.1sg	1sg.O	Pablo=ERG	say-PAST(days)-3p-prox

'When I did not know it yet, Pablo told me.'

"'ó	**kaisa**	rëtëkanxa
"'ó	**kaisa**	rëtë-kan-a-x-a
tapir.ABS	NAR.REP.3p	kill-PLU-PERF-3p-non.prox

'ë	**ka**	ain	'ibun	kaxa
'ë	**ka**	ain	'ibu=n	ka-a-x-a
1sg.ABS	NAR.3p	3p.GEN	owner=ERG	say-PERF-3p-non.prox

bikinun	kaxa"
bi-kin-nun	ka-a-xa
pick.up-APPL-PURP	say-PERF-3p-non.prox

'"(It is said that they) killed the tapir; its owner said it to me... he asked me to help him to pick it up".'

ka	kixanshín
ka	ki-ëxan-xí-n
IND-3p	say-days.ago-3p-prox

'He said.'

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[74] Note that the use of *-ín* 'proximal to the addressee' on the verb is not marking addressee's perspective here, but represents a device to indicate that the topic of discourse is being continued; see §22.6.

ME: *ah*
        ah
        oh!
        'Oh!'

15.2.2   The narrative register and the interrogative mood

Interrogative utterances elicit "a verbal response from the addressee" (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 160). Both main types of questions can be identified in Kashibo-Kakataibo: yes/no questions (see §15.2.2.1) and content questions (see §15.2.2.2). These are restricted to the narrative register.

15.2.2.1 Polar questions

Polar questions seek "a comment on the degree of truth of the questioned proposition" (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 179). Thus, since they are not seeking information, they do not contain question words. In Kashibo-Kakataibo, yes/no questions show the same constituent order attested in non-interrogative utterances, and the differences between declarative utterances and yes/no questions surface in the second position enclitics (where we find the interrogative enclitic *ra*), and in the interrogative intonational contour presented in §4.4.1 (i.e., interrogative utterances end in a rising pitch), Example (615) below illustrates a yes/no question:

(615) C02B04-SE-2007.004-005

kara	ain	bashi	'ikën		
kara	ain	bashi	'ikën		
NAR.INT.3p	3sg.GEN	mountain.ABS	be.3p		

kara	'iannu	'ikën	kixun	kananuna	barin
kara	'ian=ñu	'ikën	ki-xun	kananuna	bari-i-n
NAR.INT.3p	lake=PROP	be.3p	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.1pl	look.for-IMPF-1/2p

'Saying: "are there mountains? Does (this piece of land) have lakes?", we look for (a place to make a garden).'

15.2.2.2 Content questions

Content questions seek a specific piece of information. In Kashibo-Kakataibo, content questions include a question word (see §6.2.2 for a list of the question words) and they use the same formal markers as yes/no questions; that is, they use the form *ra* in the second position enclitics and a rising intonation. Question words are fronted and appear as the first word of the utterance. Some examples follow:

(616) C00A02-AE-2006.015

uisai	**karanuna**	'iti	'ain?
uisai	karanuna	'i-ti	'ain
how(INTR)	NAR.INT.1pl	be-NOM	be.1/2p

'How will we be?'

(617) C00A03-EE-2006.001

uin	**kara**	*carretera*	'akëxa
ui=n	kara	*carretera*	'a-akë-x-a
who=A	NAR.INT.3p	road.ABS	do-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Who made the road?'

15.2.3   Register distinction in the imperative mood

Imperative constructions in Kashibo-Kakataibo include: (1) a register enclitic (either *ka* 'narrative' or *ri* 'conversational'), (2) no subject-cross reference (but see the special case of reported imperatives in §15.4.2.1), and (3) a bare verbal stem (not further inflected). Thus, there is no dedicated imperative marker and the imperative meaning comes from the imperative construction just mentioned and its three components. Note that it is cross-linguistically very common for imperative forms to lack subject cross-reference and to use unmarked verbs; the salient point about Kashibo-Kakataibo is the use of the register enclitic, which creates interesting distinctions that will be commented on here.

In addition, imperative constructions can be recognised through their distinctive imperative contour: imperative constructions obligatorily end in a high pitch and, if the verb stem ends in a vowel and has one or two syllables, a verb-final glottal stop or nasalisation is added, which converts the last syllable into a close syllable, able to attract a high pitch. The nasalised contour, which can only be used with imperatives in the conversational register, exhibits a high degree of nasalisation of the preceding vowels and is considered pragmatically stronger than the glottalised one, and very rude (see §4.4.1.3 for more details on the imperative contour).

Examples of the simplest imperative forms are the following:

(618) **ka** ‘ux   ‘sleep!’
      ri ‘ux   ‘sleep!’

The two forms above have clear pragmatic differences: *ri* is always dependent on other contextual information. It can be used, for example, if one presupposes that the addressee of the imperative does not want to carry out the command. Thus, ***ri*** *ux* ‘sleep!’ can be said, for example, when the addressee is a child who refuses to sleep, and this refusal makes the speaker feel upset. In such contexts, imperatives with *ri* receive very strong overtones. Under other conditions, however, the use of this imperative can be very cordial. For example, if we have a guest in our house and we believe that he or she is tired but too shy or polite to ask to go to sleep, *ri ‘ux* can be use to let him or her know that he or she is welcome to go to bed. The important point is that in both situations, the imperative is highly dependent on the context. Short imperatives with *ka*, as in the first example in (618) are pragmatically unmarked in relation to this: their use does not presuppose any contextual information; they can be used in most situations and, thus, constitute the most common imperative construction in Kashibo-Kakataibo.

The imperative construction described above is not only used for proper imperatives, but also for related meanings, such as exhortative, prohibitive and possible consequence, which in general express "the speaker's desire to influence future events" (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 160). All of them will be presented in the following sections, which also include other types of imperative forms.

15.2.3.1 Plural imperatives

Plural imperatives make use of the same second position enclitics as singular imperatives. But they add the plural verbal morpheme *-kan* to the predicate (without further inflection) as in the following examples:

(619) ka **pikan**
   ka pi-**kan**
   NAR eat-PLU.IMP
   'Eat you all!'

   ri **'abakan**
   ri 'abat-**kan**
   CONV run-PLU.IMP
   'Run you all!'

15.2.3.2 Exhortative constructions

Exhortative constructions in Kashibo-Kakataibo do not overtly mark any subject, but it is understood that their subject includes the speaker, in addition to the addressee, very similar to *let's*-forms in English. In Kashibo-Kakataibo, exhortative imperatives are expressed by a complex structure: the lexical verb is expressed as a non-finite verb ending in either *-ti* 'instrumental nominaliser' or *-nun* (which is glossed here as 'purpositive'), which is followed by the register enclitic without a subject cross-reference specification (just like the imperative) and the verb *kwan* 'to go' in its imperative (unmarked) form. Exhortatives with *-nun* are considered less immediate,

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or more remote, than imperatives with *-ti*. Therefore, they are not accepted with *ri* 'coversational', which presupposes that the speaker is already involved in the event.

(620) **kwanun**   ka   kwan
kwan-**nun**   ka   kwan
go-PURP   NAR   go.IMP
'Let's go!'

kwan**ti**   ka   kwan
kwan-**ti**   ka   kwan
go-NOM   NAR   go.IMP
'Let's go (soon, now)!'

(621) nashi**ti**   **ri**   kwan
nashi-**ti**   **ri**   kwan
wash-NOM   CONV   go.IMP
'Let's go to wash ourselves in the river (I am doing so, and it is very nice, e.g. it is sunny)!'

    Exhortatives with *ri* 'conversational' can be highly cordial and were usually described to me as *invitations*. They are very likely to be used when the speaker is already doing something and invites the addressee to join him or her. However, this cordiality seems to be a pragmatic implicature, because under other circumstances, it is not attested: for instance, if the speaker is working hard and thinks that the addressee should also be working, he or she would use an exhortative with *ri* in order to express a very strong command. Again, *ri* 'conversational' is used in situations that are highly dependent on the context and presuppose some contextual information.

    There is also an exhortative particle in Kashibo-Kakataibo, *tain*, which is used at the beginning of the different types of exhortative constructions presented in this section. One example follows:

(622) C02A02-NA-2007.036

tain	tanti	ka	miribi
tain	tan-ti	ka	mi=ribi
EXH	rest-NOM	NAR	you=also

'Let's rest, you also!'

15.2.3.3 Prohibitive constructions

Prohibitive constructions are negative imperatives. In Kashibo-Kakataibo they are formed on the basis of the imperative construction previously described, but include two verbal forms: a lexical verb and an auxiliary. The lexical verb is modified by the switch-reference form *-xun* 'S/A>A' (for transitive verbs) or *-ax* 'S/A>S' (for intransitive verbs), as well as the negative marker *=ma*. This negative verb is then followed by the enclitic *ka* 'narrative' and by either the transitive or the intransitive auxiliary, *'a-* or *'i-*, in harmony with the valency of the lexical verb. As expected (since it ends in a vowel), the auxiliary appears with the final glottal stop that is part of the imperative contour. Note that prohibitive constructions with *ri* were systematically rejected by my teachers, but I do not have a satisfactory explanation for this: in principle, it should be possible to have a prohibitive construction that presupposes contextual information.

(623)	pi**xunma**	ka	**'a'**
	pi-**xun=ma**	ka	**'a'**
	eat-S/A>A=NEG	NAR	do.IMP

'Don't eat (it)!'

	'ux**axma**	ka	**'i'**
	'ux-**ax=ma**	ka	**'i'**
	eat-S/A>A=NEG	NAR	do-IMP

'Don't sleep!'

Prohibitive constructions constitute a very interesting case of **transitivity harmony** (see §18.5.1 for a definition of transitivity harmony and a list of other construction

that follow this principle). In prohibitive constructions, the transitivity value of the lexical verb determines the transitivity value of the auxiliary: if the lexical verb is transitive, the auxiliary also has to be transitive (and vice-versa). See the following diagrams:

(624) *pi-* ('to eat', transitive) ⟶ *'a-* 'transitive auxiliary'
 'ux- ('to sleep', intransitive) ⟶ *'i-* 'intransitive auxiliary'

Then, if the auxiliary is transitive, the switch-reference marker in the lexical verb has to be *-xun* 'S/A>A' and if the auxiliary is intransitive the switch-reference marker in the lexical verb has to be *-ax* 'S/A>S', in order to agree with the subject of the auxiliary: S, in the case of *'i-* 'intransitive auxiliary', and A, in the case of *'a-* 'transitive auxiliary':

(625) *'a-* 'transitive auxiliary' ⟶ *pi-xun* ('to eat-S/A>A')
 'i- 'intransitive auxiliary' ⟶ *ux-ax* ('to sleep-S/A>S')

15.2.3.4 Possible consequence

There is a final type of construction that is formed on the basis of the imperative construction and, like the prohibitive, it can only appear with *ka* (and not with *ri*). Its function can be referred to as 'possible consequence' (Dixon 2009), since it warns about a possible danger in case the addressee does not carry out the command. This construction also exhibits a complex structure, which includes an overt pronominal form ending in *-na* and a finite verb. Following that finite verb, we find the imperative construction consisting of the register marker *ka* and a verb in its unmarked form. Notice that the 'possible consequence'-command admits first person plural subjects (as in example (627)) in addition to second person ones (as in example (626)). In addition, the subject can also be a third person subject, in which case, the

pronoun obligatorily carries the negative marker *=ma* (and not *-na*). I do not have a diachronic explanation for this difference. See the following examples:

(626) mi**na**   nipakëtin   ka   'ibu'
       mi-**na**   nipakët-i-n   ka   'ibut
       2sg-lest   fall.down-IMPF-1/2   NAR   descend.IMP
       'Come down, lest you will fall!'

(627) nu**na**   nipakëtin   ka   'ibu'
       nu-**na**   nipakët-i-n   ka   'ibut
       1pl-lest   fall.down-IMPF-1/2   NAR   descend.IMP
       'Let's come down, lest we will fall!'

(628) a=ma   nipakët-**i-a**   ka   'apa'
       a=ma   nipakët-**i-a**   ka   'apat
       3sg=NEG   fall.down-IMPF-non.prox   NAR   take.down
       'Take him down, lest he will fall!'

15.2.3.5 Space and imperatives

There are two different markers that can occur in imperatives and that indicate that the event in question is to happen far away from the speaker. Both occur in imperatives with *ka* and have not been attested in imperatives with *ri*. The reason for this might be that the events that they express are to happen far from the speech act location and, therefore, are not contextual in the sense previously proposed. These suffixes are *-tan* and *-ai*, and both might be glossed as 'there'. The former presupposes that the speaker and the addressee are in the same location and that the addressee will go to another place in order to accomplish the command. Conversely, the latter suffix is used when the speaker and the addressee are not in the same place and the speaker asks the addressee to do something where he or she already is. Thus, *-ai* does not imply that the addressee has to go somewhere else in order to accomplish the command. Based on this, a more precise gloss for *-tan* may be 'go to' and a better

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gloss for *-ai* may be something like 'do it there, where you already are'. The two forms are presented in the following examples:

(629) C01B04-JE-2007.015

kaxori	kana	bitsima	**ka**	**buantan**
kaxori	kana	bits-i=ma	ka	buan-**tan**
pomegranate.ABS	NAR.1sg	pick.up-IMPF=NEG	NAR	take-go.to

'I will not pick up the pomegranates, take them with you!'

(630) C01A06-JE-2007.011

ka	**nipamiai**	**ka**	**nipamiai**
ka	nipat-mi-**ai**	ka	nipat-mi-**ai**
NAR	fall.down-CAUS-there	NAR	fall.down-CAUS-there

'Make (him) throw down (the fire) there where you are! Make (him) throw down (the fire) there where you are!'

15.3   Slot I: Modality

Modality "codes the speaker's attitude toward the proposition" (Givon 2001: 300). With the term **attitude**, Givon refers to two types of judgements, **epistemic judgements** and **evaluative ('deontic') judgements**. While the second type includes categories such as desirability, ability and obligation (and is largely expressed through verbal morphology in Kashibo-Kakataibo; see §12.5); the first type includes notions such as truth, probability, certainty, belief and evidence. Kashibo-Kakataibo's second position enclitics are associated with this first type of judgements and, thus, can be considered to express epistemic rather than evaluative modality (but see the discussion on *kaia* 'contrastive' in §15.3.3 below).

15.3.1   *kuni*: 'certitudinal'

The enclitic *kuni* is used to indicate that the propositional content of the clause is considered highly certain. Such a meaning corresponds to what Givon (2001: 31)

calls a **realis assertion**. The enclitic *kuni* can be used with different purposes and in different contexts. It can be used to talk about predictions that are sure to happen, or to express emphasis about the truth value of a proposition that refers to either general knowledge or to particular events that have happened in the past. The following examples illustrate some uses of *kuni*:

(631) <u>Sure prediction</u>
    'ëx   **kunikana**   Limanu   kwanti   'ain
    'ë=x   **kunikana**   Lima=nu   kwan-ti   'ain
    1sg=S CERT.NAR.1sg Lima=LOC   go-NOM   be.1/2p
    'I will go to Lima **for sure**.'

(632) <u>General knowledge</u>
    bashinu   **kunika**   'itsaira   ñuinakama   'ikën
    bashi=nu   **kunika**   'itsa=ira ñuina=kama   'ikën
    mountain=LOC CERT.NAR.3p   a.lot-INT   animal=PLU.ABS be.3p
    '**Certainly**, there are lots of animals in the mountain.'

The following example of *kuni* has been taken from a narrative:

(633) C04A02-EE-2007-21
    'ën   **kunikana**   'unan   a   ñukama
    'ë=n   **kunikana**   'unan   a   ñu=kama
    1sg=A   CERT.NAR.1sg   know.NON.PAST.1/2p   that thing=PLU.ABS
    'I **do** know all those things.'

The marker *kuni* 'certitudinal' can appear with both *ka* and *ri*, as shown in the following examples. Note that in the latter case, the event is interpreted as contextual and, during elicitation sessions, my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers always told me that you can only say (635), if you are taking a car to Lima or if you are packing your bags. Therefore, the contextual nature attributed to *ri* 'conversational' is also appreciated in this case.

(634) ‘ëx   **kunikana**   Limanu   kwanti   ‘ain
       ‘ë=x   **kunikana**   Lima=nu   kwan-ti   ‘ain
       1sg=S   CERT.NAR.1sg   Lima=LOC   go-NOM   be.1/2p
       ‘I will go to Lima **for sure**.’

(635) ‘ëx   **kunirina**   Limanu   kwanti   ‘ain
       ‘ë=x   **kunirina**   Lima=nu   kwan-ti   ‘ain
       1sg=S   CERT.CON.1sg   Lima=LOC   will-NOM   be.1/2p
       ‘I will go to Lima **for sure** (as you can see).’

15.3.2   *sapi*: **'dubitative'**

Clauses with the enclitic *sapi* correspond to what Givón (2001: 302) calls **irrealis assertion**. The enclitic *sapi* can be used for weak predictions and inferences based on indirect evidence or speculation. In that last context, *sapi* is similar to an indirect inferential evidential, but this function should be understood as a secondary, pragmatically-triggered, function only (see also §15.4). The primary meaning of *sapi* is to code uncertainty and doubt, which are related to the speaker's attitude (towards the truth value/probability of the statement), rather than to the source of information. Two examples of *sapi* follow. In the first one, this form expresses a weak prediction: the speaker is planning to work somewhere far away, and he is not sure if this will be possible. In the second example, the speaker expresses uncertainty about a past event. The speaker knows that two engineers went to visit the Kashibo-Kakataibo people a long time ago, but he is unsure about the identity of these engineers and uses *sapi* to indicate this uncertainty. Note that no evidential value is expressed in any of the two examples:

(636) C01B09-SE-2007.006

anu	**sapikana**	'iti	'ain	rabë	uxë	o	kimisha	uxë
anu	**sapikana**	'i-ti	'ain	rabë́	uxë	o	kimisha	uxë
there	DUB.NAR.1sg	be-NOM	be.1/2p	two	month	or	three	month

kana	isti	'ain
kana	is-ti	'ain
NAR.1sg	see-NOM	be.1/2p

'I will **probably** be there for two or three months, I will see.'

(637) C02B02-NA-2007.007

ingeniero	Habich	'imainun	ingeniero	Tamishi
ingeniero	Habich	'imainun	ingeniero	Tamishi
engineer	Habich.ABS	and	engineer	Tamishi.ABS

sapika	'iakëxa	a
sapika	'i-akë-x-a	a
DUB.NAR.3p	live-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	that.O

'Those ones were, **I think**, the engineers Habich and Tamishi.'

There are two basic contexts where *sapi* can receive overtones of evidentiality: (1) in the case of weak direct evidence for an event (for example, when there is uncertain non-visual evidence or when the circumstances may shed doubt on our visual evidence); or (2) in the case of statements based on speculations for which we only have very weak indirect evidence (if any). Thus, for instance, the example in (638), can be said under the conditions given between parentheses:

(638)
Emilio	**sapika**	bëbaxa
Emilio	**sapika**	bëba-a-x-a
Emilio.ABS	DUB.NAR.3p	arrive-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Emilio **probably** arrived.'
(I saw a shadow, or heard some noise, and it is probably him)
(I knew that he was planning to arrive that day and I guess he did)

Another important fact about *sapi* is that, although it can appear with both *ka* 'narrative' and *ri* 'conversational', *sapiri* always receives an interrogative-like interpretation. Sentences with *sapiri* are understood as some kind of rhetoric

question, which presupposes that the propositional content presented is correct and asks for a confirmation. This is shown in the following examples:

(639) Juan   **sapika**   Limanu   kwanxa
       Juan   **sapika**   Limanu   kwanxa
       Juan.ABS   DUB.NAR.3p   Lima=DIR   go.PAST.3p.non.prox
       'Juan went to Lima, **I think**.'

(640) Juan   **sapiria**   Limanu   kwanxa
       Juan   **sapiria**   Limanu   kwanxa
       Juan.ABS   DUB.CON.3p   Lima=DIR   go.PAST.3p.non.prox
       'Did Juan go to Lima **(as I believe)**?'

In the following example (which is a part of the long conversation presented in (613)), we can clearly see that the introduction of an utterance with *sapi ria* by speaker ME immediately elicits a confirmation from speaker FE:

(641) C13A05-ME.FE-2008.010-016
ME: ajá   *a las siete de la noche*   **sapiria**   'ixan
        ajá   *a las siete de la noche*   **sapiria**   'i-ëxan-**n**
        hmm   at seven.p.m.   DUB.CON.3p   be-days.ago-1/2p
        'Hmm, was it at seven p.m. (as I believe)?'

FE: *a esa hora*   **ria**   'ixan
        a esa hora   **ria**   'i-ëxan-**n**
        at.that.time   CON.3p   be-days.ago-1/2p
        'It was at that time'

It is important to mention that I do not have any example where one of these questions is answered negatively and that my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers systematically rejected such a possibility in elicitation. This may constitute evidence that *sapi* still codes a dubitative meaning in this context and thus we are not dealing with a true interrogative. Basically, the addressee responds to assure the speaker that his/her doubts are not justified. The response is triggered by the combination of the

conversational register and the dubitative. Therefore, its question-like appearance seems to be only pragmatic in nature.

15.3.3 *kaia* 'contrastive'

In terms of its distribution, *kaia* is difficult to classify as either a second position enclitic or an adverbial enclitic, and its classification here as part of the modality paradigm is open to discussion (see §16.3). This form is usually a contrastive marker, but receives a mirative value when used in the interrogative mood.

The contrastive meaning of *kaia* is not properly epistemic, since it contrasts the proposition expressed in the clause with other possible worlds, which may or may not have been mentioned previously in discourse. In many cases, an epistemic interpretation is obtained, in the sense that the proposition is supposed to be true in relation to other possible situation; but in some other instances (mostly concerned with future propositions), a 'preference'-reading is obtained ('it would be good if' or 'it is better if'). In this case, *kaia* is an evaluative rather than an epistemic marker. In the following sections, I discuss the function of this form in declarative and interrogative utterances. I have not found any case of this form in an imperative construction (something like *mix kaia ka kwan 'better, go!') and such sentences were rejected by my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers in elicitation.

15.3.3.1 *kaia* in the declarative mood

In the declarative mood, *kaia* establishes a comparison between the whole event expressed by the clause and another event, which may be overtly expressed or just presupposed; or between one participant of the event and another individual, that was either previously introduced into discourse or that is the addressee or the

speaker. In addition, as mentioned in the introduction, *kaia* is used to indicate the preference of the speaker in relation to the event; that is, it functions as a deontic marker that indicates that the event should happen in one particular way and not in any other. This can be seen in the following examples:

(642) 'ëx   **kaiakana**   Limanu   tsótin
     'ë=x   **kaia**kana   Lima=nu   tsót-i-n
     1sg=S   CONT.NAR.1sg.   Lima=LOC   live-IMPF-1/2p
     '**Differently from you, or some body else**, I live in Lima.'
     '**It is better if** I live in Lima.'

(643) 'ë=x   **kaiakana**   Lima=nu   kwan-i-n
     'ë=x   **kaia**kana   Lima=nu   kwan-i-n
     1sg=S   CONT.NAR.1sg.   Lima=DIR   go-IMPF-1/2p
     '**Differently from you, or some body else**, I will go to Lima.'
     '**It is better if** I go to Lima.'

15.3.3.2 *kaia* in the interrogative mood

The enclitic *kaia* can also be used in the interrogative mood in one particular context: the speaker realises that an event has happened and then asks a rhetoric question about it. The presence of *kaia* as part of this rhetoric question indicates that the event expressed is contrary to (i.e. contrasts with) the speaker's expectations. Something like "are you arriving, even though I expected something else (e.g., that you will come tomorrow)?" or "has the devil brought you here even though I expected something else (e.g., that he killed you)?" That is, the interrogative in this construction conveys a rhetorical question and *kaia* conveys 'contrast with expectations', and from the combination of these two values, a 'surprising' interpretation is obtained. Note that the interrogative enclitic (excluding any modality markers) can be used by itself for rhetorical purposes in certain contexts, as is the case of the question *kaina uan?* 'Did you come?' which is a greeting form

equivalent to the form *hello* in English. The use of *kaia* in combination with the interrogative is illustrated in the following examples:

(644) 'ëx   **kaia**karana   Puerto Azulnu   ain
'ë=x   **kaia**karana   Puerto Azul=nu   ain
1sg=S   CONT.NAR.INT.1sg   Puerto Azul=DIR   come.present.1/2p

'I am arriving to Puerto Azul, surprisingly, because I wanted to go to somewhere else instead (lit. am I arriving to Puerto Azul contrary to my expectations?).'

(645) mix   **kaia**kaina   ain
mi=x   **kaia**kaina   ain
2sg=S   **CONT**.NAR.INT.2p   come.present.1/2p

'You arrive, surprisingly' (lit. are you arriving contrary to my expectations?).'

According to my teachers, these examples are not proper questions: there is no doubt about the truth of the event, because the speaker is already at Puerto Azul or is seeing the addressee (who he did not expect to arrive that day). In the following example, the addressee is the object of the clause containing the enclitic *kaiakara*, and a similar interpretation is obtained. The narrative is about a father whose daughter was kidnapped by a devil. Many years after this, the father was walking in the jungle and fell down into a hole, where he found his daughter with several children. Then, the father says: "ah, the devil brought you here", expressing his deep surprise, but not asking a real question (because he can see that she is there):

(646) C05A07-NA-2007.023

'itsaira   tuañu   tuañu   'ikë   kaisa   an   mëraxun
'itsa=ira   tua=ñu   tua=ñu   'i-kë   kaisa   a=n   mëra-xun
a.lot.of-INT   child=PROP   child=PROP   be-NOM   NAR.REP.3p   he=A   find-S/A>A

kakëxa   "**ënu** **kaia**kara   **mi**   **bëakëxa**
ka-akë-x-a   ënu   **kaia**kara   mi   bë-akë-x-**a**
say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox   here   CONT.NAR.INT.3p   you.O   take-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

tsikiumanun	bëakëxa		‘ën	inin”
tsikiumanu=n	bë-akë-x-a		‘ë=n	inin
devil=ERG	take-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox		1sg=GEN	daughter.VOC

'It is said that, when he found her many children, he said: "my daughter, the devil brought you here.'

The 'contrary to expectations'-reading is only possible if the event expressed by the sentence includes the first or the second persons as one of the participants (e.g. the subject in (645) and (644); or the object in (646)). In the case of third person participants, a dubitative reading is always obtained. This is shown in the following example, where we obligatorily find a shortened verbal form without an addressee's perspective marker:

(647)	‘inun	**kaiakara**	anu	‘axun	**rakanbianx**	
	‘inu=n	**kaiakara**	anu	‘a-xun	**rakan=bian-a-x**	*-a, *-ín*
	jaguar=ERG	CONT.NAR.INT.3p	there	kill-S/A>A	lean-going-PERF-3p	

'Killing (it) there, perhaps a jaguar left (the meat) on the ground and went.'

Given the two different interpretations with first/second and third persons, it seems more likely that neither the 'surprise' nor the 'dubitative' meaning is directly coded, because otherwise there would be no reason for why we obtain a different value in each case. If we assume, however, that we are dealing with rhetorical questions in both cases, it is easier to account for the two readings. Since the third person is not a speech act participant, we do not necessarily have clear evidence that contradict our expectations and this does not trigger a 'surprise'-reading, but a 'dubitative'-reading. This is different from a context where the unexpected event has to do with one of the speech act participants. In this case, the evidence that contradicts our expectations is clearly available in the speech act context itself.

15.4   Slot IV: evidentiality

Evidentiality systems can be of different types depending on the number and the meanings of the available choices. Kashibo-Kakataibo has one clear evidential marker: *is* 'reportative', which contrasts with utterances unmarked for evidentiality, used to express "everything else". These types of evidentiality systems that allow for two choices, "with one, reported, evidential, which covers information acquired through someone else's narration, are widespread all over the world" (Aikhenvald 2004: 31). Even though there is only one primary evidential marker in the language, Kashibo-Kakataibo also has some other forms that may be interpreted as evidentials in certain contexts and under certain conditions: *sapi* 'dubitative' (see §15.3.2) and *mënë́* 'mirative' (see §15.5.1).

15.4.1   Only one true evidential: *is* 'reportative'

Throughout this dissertation, we have seen many examples where the reportative marker was used. The reasons for its frequency are that most of the examples come from narratives, that most of these narratives are traditional tales and similar stories, and that the reportative *-is* has to be used once per sentence (and also in some dependent clauses) throughout such narratives. Thus, each sentence in traditional narratives and in stories that were learned second-hand includes at least one reportative marker.

The enclitic *is* also appears in legends and tales about mythical characters. Dreams are also told using the evidential, as is the case of narratives about information obtained from listening to radio shows. However, information obtained from viewing TV shows or movies does not appear with the reportative evidential. Below, I present some examples of the different contexts where the evidential *is* is

used or not used. The first three constitute the most common contexts, and include clauses taken from a myth (648) and from narratives about historical facts, one non-witnessed (649) and the other witnessed by the speaker (650). Notice that the enclitic *is* is not found in the last example because the speaker has witnessed the event himself. In addition to that, examples (651), (652) and (653) include instances of clauses taken from narratives about dreams, about information obtained through the radio and about information from a movie, respectively. Interestingly, the last one does not include the reportative marker.

(648)   C01A06-JE-2007.002 (from a myth)

chërëkënën	rara	**kaisa**	'iakëxa		tsi	kwëbí
chërëkën=n	rara	**kaisa**	'i-akë-x-a		tsi	kwëbí
parakeet=GEN	ancestor.ABS	NAR.REP.3p	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox		fire	near.by

'**It is said that** the ancestor of the parakeet was close to the fire.'

(649)   C00A06-EE-2006.001(from a narrative about an historical fact told to the speaker)

nukën	chaiti	**kaisa**	ënu	tsóma	'ikën	*sino*	nukën	chaiti
nukën	chaiti	**kaisa**	ënu	tsoot-a=ma	'ikën	*sino*	nukën	chaiti
1pl.GEN	ancestor	NAR.REP.3p	here	live-NOM=NEG	be.3p	but	1pl.GEN	ancestor

kaisa	tsókëxa		Rima	kaxu	Nortenu
kaisa	tsoot-akë-x-a		Rima	kaxu	Norte=nu
NAR.REP.3p	live-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox		Lima	behind	north=LOC

'**It is said that** our ancestors did not live here, they lived behind Lima, to the North.'

(650)   C00A03-EE-2006.004 (from a narrative about an historical fact that the speaker witnessed)

'ën	chaiti	Bolivar	'imainun	'ën	papa	'imainun	'ën	kuku	akaman
'ë=n	chaiti	Bolivar	'imainun	'ë=n	papa	'imainun	'ë=n	kuku	a=kama=n
1sg=GEN	ancestor	Bolivar	and	1sg=GEN	father	and	1sg=GEN	uncle	3sg=PLU=ERG

ka	a	carretera	'akëxa
ka	a	carretera	'a-akë-x-a
NAR.3p	that	path.ABS	do-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'My relative Bolivar, my father and my uncle, they, built the path.'

(651) C11A01-YE-2008.006 (from a narrative about a dream)

usa 'aish	**kaisna**	Robertonën	xubunu	'ain	'itsaira
usa 'aish	**kaisna**	Roberto-nën	xubu=nu	'ain	'itsa=ira
being.like.that	NAR.**REP**.1p	Roberto=GEN	house=LOC	be.1/2p	a.lot.of=INTF

tuakamabë	kwai
tua=kama=bë	kwai-i
child=PLU=COM(S)	play-S/A>S(SE)

'Then, **in my dream**, I was at Roberto's house, playing with lots of children.'

(652) C11A02-EE-2008.013 (from a narrative about information obtained by the radio)

achushi	*huelga*	**kaisa**	Ucayalinubi	kamabi	ëmanu	'iti	'ikën
achushi	*huelga*	**kaisa**	Ucayali=nu=bi	kamabi	ëma=nu	'iti	'ikën
one	strike.ABS	NAR.**REP**.3p	Ucayali=LOC=same	all	town=LOC	be-NOM	be.3p

'**It is said that** there will be a strike here in Ucayali, in each town.'

(653) C11A01-EE-2008.007 (from a narrative about a action movie)

a	amiricanonën	**ka**	achushi	nëtën	'itsaira
a	amiricano=n	**ka**	achushi	nëtë=n	'itsa=ira
that	american=ERG	**NAR.3p**	one	day-TCER.LOC	a.lot.of-INT

uni	'axa	americanokama	'itsi
uni	'a-a-x-a	americano=kama	'itsi
man	kill-PERF-3p-non.prox	american=PLU	other.ABS

'That American person killed lots of people in one day, other American people.'

Based on the previous examples, we can appreciate the basic function of the reportative evidential *is* in both traditional communicative situations (i.e. tale-telling) and new contexts, associated with the introduction of new technologies, such as television and radio. We can especially see that *is* is used for information obtained through the radio, but not for events watched on TV. Even though events on TV are not directly experienced, they are not told using the reportative, very likely because they have a visual basis. Differently from that, the information obtained through the radio is presented with the reportative, i.e., such information is treated as hearsay information.

According to information obtained through elicitation, non-visual but directly experienced events (i.e. events experienced through other senses, including hearing) are expressed in clauses unmarked for evidentiality; thus they are treated similarly to direct and visual information. However, it is also possible to find the use of the dubitative marker *sapi* in such contexts, which is also used for inferences with a low level of certainty, or based on indirect evidence. In such contexts, this form receives overtones of evidentiality.

Finally, it is important to say that the reportative *is* does not have any inherent epistemic meaning. The example in (649) is a true historical event from the speaker's perspective. He is convinced that his ancestors lived in the Northern territories, and he uses the evidential *is* to indicate that this information was told to him – he does not use it to indicate that the information is not true or unsure.

15.4.2   Interaction between evidentiality and other categories

Interesting observations can often be made when we look at the interaction between evidentiality and other grammatical categories, such as person, mood, modality, tense, aspect and negation, among others (see Aikhenvald 2004: Chapters 7 and 8). I mentioned some interactions between the 'certitudinal' *sapi* and the 'mirative' *mënë́* and evidentiality in §15.3.2 and §15.5.1, respectively. In this section, I will present some relevant information and examples on the interaction between evidentiality and mood and person.

15.4.2.1 Evidentiality and mood

According to Aikhenvald (2004: 242), "[i]n an overwhelming majority of languages more evidential choices are available in statements than in any other clause type." In

the light of this generalisation, it is interesting to observe that the reportative evidential *is* is not restricted to statements: it can appear with both questions and commands.

The interrogative and the reportative appear together when the question is related to something said by other people, as shown in the following example:

(654) uin   **karaisa**   *carretera*   'akëxa
      ui=n   **karaisa**   *carretera*   'a-akë-x-a
      who=A NAR.INT.REP.3p   road.ABS   do-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
      'Who do they say made the road?'

The reportative is also used in commands to convey that the order comes from a person different from the speaker. This can be seen in the following example:

(655) motor **kaisa**   bënan
      motor **kaisa**   bënan
      engine NAR.REP.3p   turn.off.IMP
      'As he said, turn off the engine!'

15.4.2.2 Evidentiality and person

The reportative *-is* can appear in combination with any person category, including the first person singular. In this context, the presence of the reportative usually indicates that the propositional content of the utterance is false ("they say something about me, but it is not true"). Thus, in this case, it could be argued that the evidential receives epistemic overtones. Interestingly, with the first person plural, the evidential does not only have such a negative reading, but it can also be used for counselling and recommendations. Thus, it receives, in this case, a deontic reading. The following paradigm shows the reportative with all the person categories:

(656) 'ëx   **kaisna**   Limanu   kwan
      'ë=x   **kaisna**   Lima=nu   kwan-a-n
      1sg=S NAR.REP.1sg   Lima=DIR   go-PERF-1/2p

      '**It is said that** I went to Lima **(but it is not true)**.'

(657) mix   **kaismina**   Limanu   kwan
      mi=x   **kaismina**   Lima=nu   kwan-a-n
      1sg=S NAR.REP.2sg   Lima=DIR   go-PERF-1/2p

      '**It is said that** you went to Lima.'

(658) ax   **kaisa**   Limanu   kwanxa
      a=x   **kaisa**   Lima=nu   kwan-a-x-a
      3sg=S NAR.REP.3sg   Lima=DIR   go-PERF-3p-non.prox

      '**It is said that** he went to Lima.'

(659) nux   **kaisnuna**   Limanu   kwan
      nu=x   **kaisnuna**   Lima=nu   kwan-a-n
      1sg=S NAR.REP.1pl   Lima=DIR   go-PERF-1/2p

      '**It is said that** we went to Lima.'
      '**We should have gone** to Lima, **it is said**.'

15.4.3   Different evidentiality categories in matrix and dependent clauses

The evidential marker can appear both in matrix and dependent clauses or grammatical nominalisations. Since we find the same system of two evidentiality choices (reportative vs. everything else) in both cases, there are four possible combinations:

Table 66   Evidentiality combinations in complex sentences

Sentence	
Dependent clause (or clause-like element)	Matrix clause
Non-reportative	Non-reportative
Non-reportative	Reportative
Reportative	Reportative
Reportative	Non-reportative

Interestingly, all four combinations are possible in Kashibo-Kakataibo, as the following examples show. Note that, in the following examples, each choice of reportative vs. nothing applies over either the grammatical nominalisation or the matrix clause:

(660) nukën chaiti-nën no=kama 'a-a anu **ka** Emilio
1pl.GEN ancestor=ERG enemy=PLU kill-NOM there NAR.3p Emilio.ABS

kwanxa
kwan-a-x-a
go-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Emilio went to (the place) where our ancestor killed their enemies.'

(661) nukën chaiti-nën no=kama 'a-a anu **kaisa** Emilio
1pl.GEN ancestor=ERG enemy=PLU kill-NOM there NAR.REP.3p Emilio.ABS

kwanxa
kwan-a-x-a
go-PERF-3p-non.prox

'(It is said that) Emilio went to (the place) where our ancestor killed their enemies.'

(662) nukën chaiti-nën **isa** no=kama 'a-a anu **kaisa**
1pl.GEN ancestor=ERG REP.3p enemy=PLU kill-NOM there NAR.REP.3p

Emilio kwanxa
Emilio kwan-a-x-a
Emilio.ABS go-PERF-3p-non.prox

'(It is said that) Emilio went to (the place) where **(it is said that)** our ancestor killed their enemies.'

(663) nukën chaiti-nën **isa** no=kama 'a-a anu **ka**
1pl.GEN ancestor=ERG REP.3p enemy=PLU kill-NOM there NAR.3p

Emilio kwanxa
Emilio kwan-a-x-a
Emilio.ABS go-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Emilio went to (the place) where **(it is said that)** our ancestor killed their enemies.'

15.5 Slot VI: mirativity and addressee's perspective

15.5.1 *mënë́* 'mirative'

"The term 'mirativity' refers to the linguistic marking of an utterance as conveying information which is new or unexpected to the speaker" (DeLancey 2001: 369-370). In Kashibo-Kakataibo, similar meanings are expressed by the enclitic *mënë́*, which I will present in this section. Even though there is "a well-known overlap between the expression of mirativity and an inferential evidential" (DeLancey 2001: 378), DeLancey (1997 and 2001) considers these two as different categories. Aikhenvald (2004: 209-215) also discusses some languages where an independent category of mirativity can be identified and should be analysed separately from evidentiality. For Kashibo-Kakataibo, I will present evidence below that *mënë́* codes indeed mirativity, not evidentiality (however, the probably cognate marker *-mëin ~ -main* is a speculative evidential in Shipibo-Konibo; Valenzuela 2003a: 47).

The first instance of *mënë́* that I found in my database is presented in the following example:

(664) C01B06-JE-2007.029

'inun	ka**mënë́**	'aisama
'inu=n	ka**mënë́**	'aisama
jaguar=ERG	NAR.3p.**MIR**	bad

'inúma	'aisama	'inun	ka**mënë́**	ñais
'inu-n=ma	'aisama	'inu=n	ka**mënë́**	ñais
jaguar=ERG=NEG	bad	jaguar=ERG	NAR.3p.**MIR**	armadillo

ñaismaira	bipunia
ñais-ma=ira	bits-pun-i-a
armadillo.ABS-NEG-INT	pick.up-PAST(the.same.day)-IMPF-non.prox

'**Look!** The jaguar did not do it completely. **Look!** The jaguar did not pick up the whole armadillo and left here part of it.'

According to the tale, there once was a woman married to a blind man who was not able to work. Instead of leaving him, she used to look after her husband. However, since it is not expected that a woman would hunt, she had a secret lover,' who used to kill animals and give part of them to her, in order to help her feed her husband and family. Thus, according to the tale, she was in her garden with her husband and pretended to have found some armadillo meat on the ground by accident (and that is the reason why she uses the mirative), saying that it was probably the case that a jaguar was eating the meat but did not finish it. Note that in this case it is thus easy to wrongly interpret that *mënë́* 'mirative' is indicating that her statement is based on inferential evidence: the partially eaten animal (see DeLancey 2001). While this particular kind of context might trigger an evidential interpretation, there are other examples, where the evidential hypothesis clearly reveals itself as wrong, for example:

(665) C01A09-SE-2007.009-010

usaia	okin	kaisa	sinankëxa
usa-ia	o-kin	kaisa	sinan-akë-x-a
like.that-S/A>O(SE)	FACT-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	think-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

an	"usai	ka**mënë́**	'ën	xabionkë"
a=n	"usa-i	ka**mënë́**	'ë=n	xabionkë"
he=A	come-COMP-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.3p.MIR	1sg=GEN	wife.ABS

'While he was seeing that she was doing like this, he thought: "**ah**, my wife (is) like this".'

In this example, the form *mënë́* appears in the present tense: the verbless copula clause "my wife (is) like this" appears with the mirative marker and, according to the story, the character utters this sentence at the same time that he discovers his wife playing in the river with her secret lover. In this case, the character is not engaged in any inference based on indirect evidence, but is directly watching

his wife cheating on him. Therefore, an inferential evidential reading is not possible and *mënë́* cannot be analysed as an evidential in this context.

Mirative marking always conveys that the speech act is simultaneous to the discovery of the event, but not necessarily simultaneous to the event itself (this is exactly the difference between the examples in (664) and (665)). If the mirative occurs with a present event, the speech act, the discovery of the event and the event happen at the same time. However, if mirativity occurs with a past event, the speaker discovers not the event while it is happening, but its result: the woman finding the meat, which shows traces of having been eaten by a jaguar, for example. This distinction is also clearly seen if we compare the examples in (666) and (667):

(666) min   tuakë-n   ka**mënë́**   me   piashín
      min   tuakë-n   ka**mënë́**   me   pi-a-x-ín
      your   son=ERG   NAR.3p.MIR   soil.ABS   eat-PERF-3p-prox
      'Look!, your son has eaten soil.'

(667) min   tuakë-n   ka**mënë́**   me   pín
      min   tuakë-n   ka**mënë́**   me   pi-i-ín
      your   son=ERG   NAR.3p.MIR   soil.ABS   eat-IMPF-prox
      'Look!, your son is eating soil.'

The first example could be uttered when the speaker sees that the boy's mouth is dirty with soil, that is, when the event is in the past but the time of the discovery is simultaneous to the speech act. What the speaker sees is not the event but its results and, therefore, an inferential interpretation may be triggered by the context, even though such evidential interpretation is not encoded in the sentence. In the second example, the speaker discovers the boy while he is eating the soil and, therefore, the event, the discovery and the speech act are simultaneous. In this case, an inferential reading is not possible. These two different situations are represented by the two following diagrams:

517

Figure 52 The mirative in the present tense

mirative speech act
discovery
event (the boy eats soil)
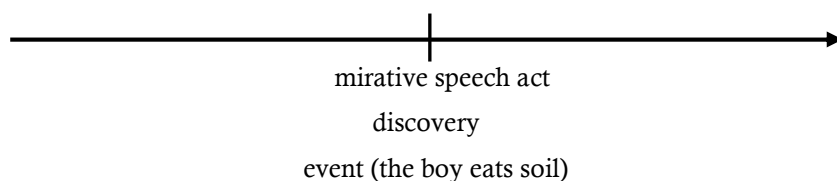
Figure 53 The mirative in the past tense

event | mirative speech act
(the boy eats soil) | discovery
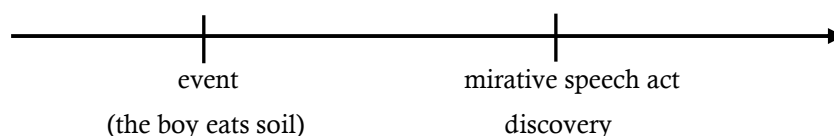
Speakers can use the different past tense markers presented in §13.3 in order to establish different temporal relationships between the time of the event and the time of both the discovery and the mirative speech act. Thus, for example, if we compare the example in (664) with the following one in (668), we find two different past tenses. In the case of the woman finding the armadillo meat, she uses the form *-pun* 'past, hours ago', indicating that the meat that she found was left by the jaguar early on the same day, and is thus still fresh. In (668), by contrast, there is a man who is trying to find his relatives who went hunting. He then finds the leftovers of the neck skin of a caiman, and concludes that his relatives left this skin the day before (using the form *-on* 'past, the day before'), and he is upset because he wants to receive some of the meat, too, and does not want his relatives to finish it all.

(668) C02A07-JE-2007.027

nukën	nanḗbaën	ka**mën̄ḗ**	kapé	kamó	'axun	ain	tëxaká
nukën	nanët-baë=n	ka**mën̄ḗ**	kapé	kamó	'a-xun	ain	të-xakat
1pl.GEN	brother-COL=ERG	NAR.3p.MIR	caiman	big	do-S/A>A(SE)	3sg.GEN	neck-leather.ABS

rakanbionxa
rakan-bian-**on**-x-a
lean-going(TRA)-PAST.day.before-3p-non.prox

'Look! Killing a big caiman, our brothers went leaving its neck leather yesterday.'

The enclitic *menë́* can only be used with the third person, and the form *kamënë́* also surfaces as *kënë́* in some cases. According to my current knowledge of the language, *kamënë́* and *kënë́* are just alternating forms with no semantic difference. In addition, this enclitic cannot appear with *ri* (but see §15.5.2, where *pënë́* 'mirative, non-proximal to the addressee' is presented).

15.5.2 *pa* and *pënë́*: addressee's perspective

Addressee's perspective is the label proposed in this dissertation for a deictic category that indicates the relationship between the addressee and the information being expressed in the utterance (see also §13.7). Thus, the meaning 'proximal to the addressee' is used for those cases in which the information is available to the addressee: (i) it can be perceived from his or her perspective; (ii) he or she already knows about it; (iii) it was previously talked about; or (iv) the addressee is emotionally involved in some way in the event.

Interestingly, events expressed with the register enclitic *ri* 'conversational' are by definition contextual and thus very likely to be available in the physical or discursive context of the conversation. Therefore, they are in principle proximal to both the addressee and the speaker. We have seen in §15.2.1 that declarative forms with *ri* require the verb to be in its first/second person form, even if the subject is a third person argument and that the verbal inflectional forms for addressee's perspective are not available, since this category is only marked on verbs with a third person cross-reference. Therefore, both person and addressee's perspective distinctions are neutralised in this context. However, it is possible to find situations where the event is spatially proximal to the speaker and not the addressee, but where

the addressee is emotionally involved in the event: this can be expressed within the *ri*-paradigm by means of the two forms presented here.

Both *pa* and *pënë́* indicate that the location of the addressee and the location of the event expressed by the utterance are not the same, and are *non-proximal* in this spatial sense (but not necessarily from an emotional point of view). Thus, the two forms *pa* and *pënë́* indicate an identical deictic meaning in terms of addressee's perspective: 'non-proximal'. But they differ in that the former enclitic is used if the discovery of the event and the moment of the speech act are not simultaneous, while the latter enclitic is used if they are. Thus, *pënë́* is also mirative, as already suggested by its formal similarity to *mënë́*: in fact, *pënë́* could be seen as a shortened version of the sequence *pa mënë́*.[75] In addition, *pa* has a 'certitudinal' meaning that is used by the speaker when he wants to make it clear to the addressee that, even though he or she cannot access the information (because it is non-proximal to him or her), it is nevertheless true. According to my teachers, by using *pa*, the speaker is assuming that the addressee might think that the information is false and expresses a high degree of concern about the state of mind of the addressee.

The following are elicited examples of these two forms:

(669) min   bëchikë **riapa**   abakasi   'itin
       mi=n   bëchikë **riapa**   abat-kas-i   'itin
       2sg=GEN son.ABS CON.3p.CERT.non.prox escape-DES-S/A>S(SE) be.PROG.1/2p
       'Your son is willing to escape (I discovered it and then went to tell you and it is true).'

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[75] This indicates that, at least at some point, *pa* and *mënë́* were able to appear together and therefore belonged to two different paradigms. The change from **pa mënë́* to *pënë́* is equivalent to the one from *kamënë́* to *kënë́*, but in the latter case the original form is still available and the two forms are in free alternation. I consider that in the current language *pa*, *pënë́* and *mënë́* can be considered as forming one paradigm, as proposed in Table 64, but this analysis is open to debate.

(670) min bëchikë **riapënë́**   abakasi   'itin

   mi=n bëchikë **riapënë́**   abat-kas-i   'itin

   2sg=GEN son.ABS CON.3p.MIR.non.prox escape-DES-S/A>S(SE) be.PROG.1/2p

   'Look! Your son is willing to escape (I am seeing it, but not you).'

Their very specific meanings strongly reduce the contexts in which those forms can be used. The enclitic *pa* is prototypically used when the speaker finds out that the event is happening and, then, goes on to another place to inform the addressee about it (because the speaker assumes that the information is relevant for him or her). The form *pënë́*, by contrast, is pragmatically appropriate when the speaker discovers (suddenly) that the event is happening somewhere other than the location of the addressee and, rather than going to tell him or her, the speaker speaks loud enough to be heard by him or her. Thus, in both cases, the speaker and the addressee are not in the same place: while the speaker is or was close to the event, the addressee is not.

The following diagrams are simplified representations of the prototypical situations in which *pa* and *pënë́* are used:

Figure 54 The use of *pa*
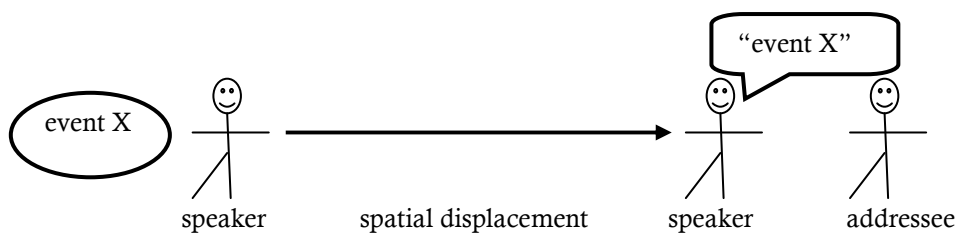
Figure 55 The use of *pënë́*
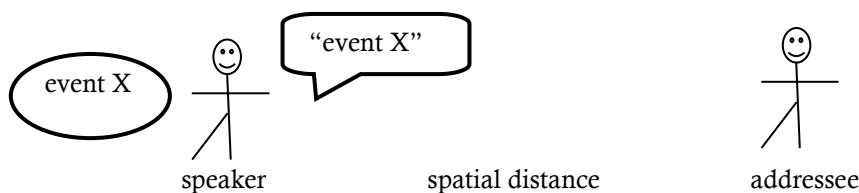
The enclitic *pa* is used only in one of the conversations in my database of natural texts, while the enclitic *pënë́* does not appear at all. This is not surprising since their use requires very specific conditions that are difficult to recreate in the context of a recorded conversation; but I have heard both forms in daily conversations and the meanings proposed here have been checked in elicitation sessions (but are still tentative until more data becomes available). The following example presents a fragment of the only instance of *pa* in my database. In this example, we find the speakers EE and AE talking about the building of the road from Aguaytía to Pucallpa. AE arrived from Pucallpa on the day before we made the recording and he was very surprised about the way in which the workers were building this road. The building of the road is shared knowledge in the village, thus justifying the use of the conversational enclitic *ri*. In addition, the situation satisfies the criteria proposed in Figure 54: AE went to Pucallpa where he found out about the event and, then, underwent a spatial movement and came back to the village, where he is now telling the information to the addressee, to whom it is spatially non-proximal, but highly relevant (in fact, EE was about to travel with me to Pucallpa). In addition, according to the person who helped me with the translation of the conversation, AE uses *ria pa* because he assumes that EE is not believing what he is saying:

(671) E01F15-AE.EE-035-039

AE:	*mientras que*	ain	*hora*	sënënkëma	'ain
	mientras que	ain	*hora*	sënën-kë=ma	'ain
	while	3p.GEN	time	finish-NOM=NEG	be.1/2p

	riapa		anubi	nitsin
	riapa		anu=bi	nits-i-n
	CON.3p.CERT.non.prox		there=same	stand-IMPF-1/2p

barin	**riapa**		ain	yokëran
bari=n	**riapa**		ain	yokëra=n
sun=INS	CON.3p.CERT.non.prox		3p.GEN	cap=INS

'While their turn does not finish, they stand just there under the sun, with their caps.'

ax	ax	**riapa**	sëtëtan		bari	baritian	[...]
a=x	a=x	**riapa**	sëtët-a-n		bari	bari-tian	[...]
3p=S	3p=S	CON.3p.CERT.non.prox	be.stand.up-STA-1/2p		sun	sun-while	

'They stay standing up under the very strong sun.'

EE:
barin	'akëx
bari=n	'a-këx
sun=ERG	do-O>S

'The sun burns them.'

AE:
an	kaia	**riapa**		nu	*policia*nën
a=n	kaia	**riapa**		nu	*policia*-nën
3p=A	CONT	CON.3p.CERT.non.prox		1pl.O	police=ERG

'akësaokin		nu	chitëin
'a-kësa-o-kin		nu	chitë-i-n
do-NOM-COMP-TRAN-S/A>A		1pl.O	stop-IMPF-1/2p

'They, not other people, stop us, acting like policemen.'

Similar forms including both *ri* and *pa* were described as 'assertive' by Shell (1975).[76] However, although they do express a strong assertion of the event, according to my current knowledge of the language, *pa* can only be used if the addressee and the event are not at the same place. This deictic meaning, which is what I call **addressee's perspective**, is in my opinion just as important as its assertive value.

As we have mentioned throughout this chapter (and described in more detail in §13.7), the same category of addressee's perspective is also found in slot IV of the verbal inflectional morphology. One may ask why Kashibo-Kakataibo has two different paradigms expressing the same grammatical category. I consider that a

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[76] The enclitic *pë̃ẽ́* was not mentioned by Shell (1975).

possible answer has to do with the fact that the verbal suffixes (-*a* 'non-proximal to the hearer' and -*ín* 'proximal to the hearer') can only be used in the narrative genre with *ka*. We have seen in example (647) that, in the conversational genre with *ri,* the verbal inflectional morphology does not make a formal distinction between different subject cross-reference categories and first, second and third person subjects are equally cross-referred by -*n* (which in the narrative paradigm is exclusively a '1/2 person' marker). As a consequence, there are no addressee's perspective markers on the verb of a sentence in the conversational genre. Therefore, rather than unnecessarily expressing the same category twice, the second position enclitics presented here and the verbal inflectional forms presented in §13.7 complement each other in a very efficient way. In addition, it is interesting to mention that, in the narrative genre, the proximity between the addressee and the event is the pragmatically-marked situation. Therefore, the forms with -*ín* 'proximal to the hearer' are much less common than the forms with -*a* 'non-proximal to the hearer'. By contrast, in the conversational genre, events are supposed to be contextual and, therefore, are very likely to be proximal to the addressee. The forms -*pa* and -*pënë́,* according to the preliminary analysis proposed here, are associated with very specific situations in which the event is contextual from the perspective of the speaker and not from the addressee. This may explain why they are so un-common in my database. Another form that seems to operate based on the same principle is the suffix -*ië:* 'accusatory speech' (see §13.8.1.2), which can only be used when the addressee is not in the same location as the speaker, who witnesses the event and informs the addressee about it.

A more thorough study of all these forms is still required since the preliminary conclusions offered here are based on a limited sample. However, what we have seen

so far suggests that what I have called **addressee's perspective** represents a fascinating category.

It is important to highlight that addressee's perspective is different from evidentiality. It does not have to do with the speaker's information status or with the sources through which the **speaker** obtained the information, but with the information status of the **addressee** (i.e. his or her capability to access to the information). Despite this difference between addressee's perspective and evidentiality, evidentiality itself has also been argued to be deictic. De Haan (2005) has convincingly proposed that evidentiality is a deictic category and not a modal one. Explaining his argument, De Haan (2005: 379) states:

> It is argued here that they [evidentials; RZB] are used to denote the relative distance between the speaker and the action. A speaker will use an indirect evidential to state the action takes/took place outside the speaker's deictic sphere, whereas the use of a direct evidential shows that the action takes or took place within that deictic sphere

De Haan tries to demonstrate that a deictic understanding of evidentiality not only explains the fact that sometimes evidentials come from deictic markers, but also offers an appropriate account for the usual evidentiality distinctions attested in the world's languages. His conclusion is that evidentiality could be analysed as an example of *proposition deixis*; that is, a relationship between the speaker and the propositional content of the utterance, and not specifically between the speaker and one of the arguments or participants in that utterance. Interestingly, spatial deictic systems may be speaker-oriented or addressee-oriented. According to Anderson and Keenan (1985: 277):

> All languages identify locations by reference to that of the Sp[eaker]. It is also possible to determine locations by reference to that of the Ad[dressee], and many (but not all) languages utilize this possibility as well.

The point is that, if we follow De Haan's argument and define evidentiality as a deictic category, this deixis is speaker-oriented. Thus, if we look at the category of addressee's perspective and compare it with evidentiality systems such as the ones discussed by De Haan (2005), we may find that we also have a form of proposition deixis, but, in this case, it is addressee-oriented. Looking at the Kashibo-Kakataibo data and particularly at the category of hearer's perspective from this point of view might enrich our understanding of the category of proposition deixis, as proposed by De Haan, and our way of understanding evidentiality and other related categories.

Chapter 16 Adverbial enclitics

16.1 Introduction

Adverbial enclitics are the only bound morphological forms that have not yet been discussed and exemplified in detail (but a general characterisation was presented in §5.5.2.2). Semantically, they express meanings usually conveyed by adverbs in other languages, such as 'only', 'also', 'first' and so on. Syntactically, these forms are not selective in terms of their combinatory possibilities and, therefore, do not exclusively belong to the morphology of one particular word class or type of constituent. Generally, they can equally be combined with nouns, adjectives, finite and non-finite verbs and adverbs; and they can appear in any position in the clause. However, as we will see in this chapter, some of the forms in this class do not appear on finite verbal forms (see Table 67). Some examples of =*ishi* 'only', which is a distributionally non-restricted adverbial enclitic, follow:

(672) **Limanuishi**   ka   kwania   (on an NP)
      Lima=nu=**ishi** ka   kwan-i-a
      Juan=LOC=only NAR.3p   go-IMPF-non.prox
      '(S)he is going **only** to Lima (nowhere else).'

(673) 'ëx   kana   **upíshi**   'ain   (on an AdjP)
      'ë=x   kana   upí=**ishi**   'ain
      1sg=S   NAR.1sg   beautiful=only be.1/2p
      'I am **only** good (i.e. very good).'

(674) 'ëx   kana   munu**ishi**   kwanin   (on an AdvP)
      'ë=x   kana   munu=**ishi**   kwan-i-n
      1sg=S NAR.1sg   slow-S/A>S(SE)=only   go-IMPF-1/2p
      'I am going **only** slowly (not quickly at all).'

(675) **xëaxuinshi**   kana   pin   (on a non-finite verb)

xëa-xun=**ishi**   kana   pi-i-n

drink-S/A>A=only   NAR.1sg   eat-IMPF-1/2p

'I am eating only while drinking.'

(676) 'ën   kana   **pishitin**   (on a finite verb)

'ë=n   kana   pi-**ishi**-t-i-n

1sg=A   NAR.1sg   eat-only-HARM-IMPF-1/2p

'I am **only** eating (not drinking or doing something else).'

The elicited examples above illustrate the non-selectiveness of most adverbial enclitics and also indicate that their different positions may produce differences in meaning (as indicated by the free translations given). We can also see that adverbial enclitics follow case markers (example (672)) and switch-reference markers (example (675)). This fact strongly suggests that they operate over phrases and this is one of the main reasons to classify them as enclitics (see the arguments in §5.5.2.2). However, adverbial enclitics behave differently on finite verbs, where they occur in an internal position, before any inflectional marker(s) (see example (676), where we also find the epentetic *t* described in §5.7.1.5). Thus, in this position, the forms to be presented here behave like derivative suffixes.

As in the following examples, there can be more than one adverbial enclitic on the same constituent, and, when this happens, they can appear in different positions that may then produce differences in meaning.

(677) **'ëxtaniribi**   kana   Limanu   kwanti   'ain

'ë=x=**tani**=**ribi**   kana   Lima=nu   kwan-ti   'ain

1sg=S=at.least=also   NAR.1sg   Lima=LOC   go-NOM   be.1/2p

'I will at least go to Lima as well (as other people).'

(678) **'ëxribitani**   kana   Limanu   kwanti   'ain

'ë=x=**ribi**=**tani**   kana   Lima=nu   kwan-ti   'ain

1sg=S=also=at.least   NAR.1sg   Lima=LOC   go-NOM   be.1/2p

'At least, I will also go to Lima (which is not that bad).'

As we have seen in §4.3.8, if longer than one syllable, adverbial enclitics constitute phonological words and thus carry their own stress; since they are disyllabic forms, they usually still attach to their hosts in terms of high tone (like, for instance, disyllabic words in NPs; see §4.3.7). Adverbial enclitics are treated as independent phonological words by other morphophonemic processes, as well. Let us see one example. The adverbial enclitic for 'first, yet' has two different allophones depending on the number of syllables of the element it attaches to. If it has an even number of syllables, the enclitic will surface with the form *pain*, but, if it has an odd number of syllables, then we will get the form *pan* (see also §16.2.1). The behaviour of this enclitic can be seen in the following examples:

(679) uni**pain**   'the man first'
      unibë**pan**   'with the man first (intransitive)'
      unibëtan**pain**   'with the man first (transitive)'
      uchitibëtan**pan** 'with the dog first (transitive)'

If we add another adverbial enclitic like *tani* 'at least' preceding *pain/pan,* we will always get the allomorph *pain*, regardless of the number of syllables of the lexical form preceding *tani*. This clearly suggests that for the morphophonemic rule associated with *pain/pan* 'first', *tani* 'at least' is an independent disyllabic word. See the following examples:

(680) uni*tani***pain**   'at least the man first'
      unibë*tani***pain**   'at least with the man first (intransitive)'
      unibëtan*tani***pain**   'at least with the man first (transitive)'
      uchitibëtan*tani***pain** 'at least with the dog first (transitive)'

Their prosodic behaviour suggests that at least some of the forms to be presented here may have been independent words in a previous stage of the language, but the topic (and particularly the behaviour of monosyllabic adverbial enclitics) needs more research. In this chapter, I will offer a synchronic description of

these forms. In §16.2, I present and exemplify the different adverbial enclitics found in Kashibo-Kakataibo, and in §16.3, I offer some comments on the distinction between adverbial and second position enclitics.

16.2 Inventory of Kashibo-Kakataibo's adverbial enclitics

This section offers a brief description with relevant examples of the 11 forms that I am currently analysing as adverbial enclitic in Kashibo-Kakataibo. As we can see in the following table, all of them can appear on different types of constituents: NPs, adjective phrases, adverb phrases and non finite verbs. However, only seven members of the class can also appear on finite verbs (in the construction illustrated in example (676) with the enclitic *=ishi* 'only'). As we can also see in the table, two of the forms in this class (*=pain ~ =pan* 'first, yet' and *=ishi ~ ëshi ~ shi* 'only') show allomorphic alternations. The remaining members of the class show invariable phonological forms:

Table 67 Syntax and semantics of adverbial enclitics

enclitic	meaning	NP	adjective phrase	adverb phrase	non-finite verb	finite verb (internal)
=pain ~ =pan	'first, yet'	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
=tani	'at least'	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
=ishi ~ ëshi ~ shi	'only'	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
=ribi	'also	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
=ira	'intensifier'	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
=ma	'negative'	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES[77]
=bi	'same, self'	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
=birës	'purely'	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO[78]
=shaman	'intensifier'	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
=bu	'imprecise reference; collective'	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
=ri	'counterfactual'	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO

[77] Restricted to very few contexts (see §16.2.6).

[78] Notice that there is a verbal suffix *-rës* 'frequently, distractedly', which could be related to *-birës* 'purely'. There is an adverbial enclitic *=rës* 'purely' in Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2003b: 146) and this fact strongly suggest that *-rës* and *-birës* are historically related.

16.2.1   =*pain* ~ *pan* 'first, yet'

The adverbial enclitic =*pain* ~ *pan* can mean both 'first' and 'yet', according to the construction in which it appears. The latter reading is obtained in two specific constructions when the enclitic appears after the negative enclitic =*ma* on the verb and not before it (compare example (682) with examples (683) and (684)). Note that in example (683) the enclitic is followed by the imperfective marker -*i*; while in (684) the verbal form containing the negative marker and the enclitic has been nominalised with -*kë*. In this second construction we also find an auxiliary.

(681) 'ëx   kana   **'uxpanin**
      'ë=x   kana   'ux-pan-i-n
      1sg=S   NAR.1sg   sleep-first-IMPF-1/2p
      'I will sleep first (and then do something else).'

(682) 'ëx   kana   **'uxpanima**
      'ë=x   kana   'ux-pan-i=ma
      1sg=S   NAR.1sg   sleep-first-IMPF=NEG
      'I will not sleep first (I will do something else before).'

(683) 'ëx   kana   **'uximapanin**
      'ë=x   kana   'ux-i-ma-pan-i-n
      1sg=S   NAR.1sg   sleep-IMPF-NEG-yet-IMPF-1/2[79]
      'I have not slept yet.'

(684) 'ëx   kana   **'uxkëmapan**   'ain
      'ë=x   kana   'ux-kë=ma=pan   'ain
      1sg=S   NAR.1sg   sleep-NOM-NEG=yet   be.1/2p
      'I had not slept yet.'

---

[79] Note that in this case we have the marker -*i* twice. My current analysis is that in both cases this form is the imperfective marker, which is being repeated in this particular construction.

This enclitic shows an alternation between =*pan* and =*pain* which follows a morphophonological rule: forms with an even number of syllables receive the form =*pain*, while forms with an odd number of syllables trigger the allomorph =*pan*. Compare the examples above with the following one:

(685) 'ën   kana   **baripainin**
       'ë=n   kana   bari-pain-i-n
       1sg=A   NAR.1sg   look.for-first-IMPF-1/2p
       'First, I will look for something.'

However, this enclitic always surface as =*pain* after the 'irrealis' marker -*isa*, regardless of the number of syllables of the stem, as shown in the following examples:

(686) 'ëx   kana   **'uxisapainin**
       'ë=x   kana   'ux-isa-pain-i-n
       1sg=S   NAR.1sg   sleep-IRRE-first-IMPF-1/2p
       'First, I would like to sleep.'

The alternation between =*pan* and =*pain* is also found on non-verbal constituents (see the examples in (679)). In that context, as shown in the following examples, monosyllabic forms behave like disyllabic ones and trigger the allomorph =*pain* (for more on the prosodic behaviour of monosyllabic forms; see §4.3.5):

(687) **'ëxpain**   kana   Trujillonu   kwan
       'ë=x**=pain** kana   Trujillo=nu   kwan-a-n
       1sg=S=first   NAR.1sg   Trujillo=LOC   go-PAST-1/2p
       'I went to Trujillo first.'

(688) uni=n   ka   **'atsapain**   'piaxa
       uni=n   ka   'atsa**=pain**   'pi-a-x-a
       man=ERG   NAR.3p   manioc.ABS=first   eat-PERF-3p-non.prox
       '(The) man ate (the) manioc first.'

16.2.2   =*tani* 'at least'

The enclitic =*tani* 'at least' does not have any allomorphic alternation. It is the only adverbial enclitic ending in a vowel that is not followed by the epentetic *t* in a finite verb-internal position. One example of =*tani* on a finite verb follows:

(689) 'ën   kana   'atsa   **pitanin**
      'ë=n   kana   'atsa   pi-tani-i-n
      1sg=A   NAR.31p   manioc.ABS   eat-at.least-IMPF-1/2p
      'At least, I am eating manioc.'

In the following example, the form =*tani* is emphasised by the Spanish word *siquiera*, which also means 'at least'.

(690) C02B05-NA-2007.050

usa	'ain	ka	nun	aintsi	xanukama	atun	tua
usa	'ain	ka	nu=n	aintsi	xanu=kama	atu=n	tua
like.that	being(DS/A/O)	NAR.3p	1pl=GEN	relative	woman=PLU	3pl=GEN	boy.ABS

atun	baba	ñuixunti	*siquiera*	**atani**
atu=n	baba	ñui-xun-ti	siquiera	a=tani
3pl=GEN	grandson.ABS	tell-BEN-NOM	at.least	that.O=at.least

'uxëshikëma	atunribi	sinantikupí
'ux-ishi-kë=ma	atu=n=ribi	sinan-ti-kupí
sleep-only-NOM=NEG	they=A=also	think-NOM-reason

'Being like this, our female relatives have to tell at least that to their sons and grandsons, who do not have to sleep in order for them to also think.'

16.2.3   =ishi ~ shi ~ ëshi 'just, only'

The enclitic =*ishi ~ shi ~ ëshi* 'just, only' has an allomorphic distribution based on the following principles: the allomorph =*ëshi* appears after *x*, and the allomorph =*shi* appears on words with an odd number of syllables ending in *a* (but also with the diminutive marker *-ra*, which surfaces as *-ratsu* before this adverbial enclitic). In the

remaining contexts, we find =*ishi*. In the following examples, I illustrate the three allomorphs of this enclitic:

(691) C00A06-EE-2006.034

ënanantankëx	kaisa	achushi	tapan	**anuishi**
ënan-anan-tankëx	kaisa	achushi	tapan	anu=ishi
separate-REC-S/A>S(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	one	raft	there=only

auisa	kwankë	**axëshi**	anu	tsótankëx
au-isa	kwan-kë	a-x=ishi	anu	tsót-tankëx
there(NAR.LOC)-REP.3p	go.NON.PAST.1/2p-NOM	that-S=only	there	live-S/A>S(PE)

 'It is said that, after separating from each other and after living for a while **only** at the place where **only** one of the rafts went...'

(692) C01B08-NA-2007.020

a**shi**	kana	kain
a=ishi	kana	ka-i-n
that.O=only	NAR.1sg	say-IMPF-1/2p

'I say **only** this.'

16.2.4   =*ribi* 'also'

The enclitic =*ribi* does not show either allomorphic alternation or different interpretations. Thus, its recognition and analysis are straightforward. In addition, it is one of the most frequently used adverbial enclitics in my database. One example of =*ribi* follows:

(693) C01B09-SE-2007.017

'ainbi	kana	**aribi**	'amiti	'ain
'ainbi	kana	a=ribi	'a-mi-ti	'ain
but(DS/A/O)	NAR.1sg	that.O=also	do-CAUS-NOM	be.1/2p

'But I will make somebody else do it also.'

16.2.5   =*ira* 'intensifier'

The enclitic =*ira* is an intensifier. When combined with NPs, this form receives a quantificational interpretation similar to 'a lot of'. In the remaining contexts, it is used to express an intensification of the meaning expressed by the constituent =*ira* is attached to. Let us see some examples. In the first one, the enclitic =*ira* appears with a noun and the meaning 'a lot of' is attested:

(694) C02A02-NA-2007.016

nónsi	a ñu	**ñububira**	piti
nónsi	a ñu	ñu=bu=bi**=ira**	pi-ti
banana	what	thing=IMPR=same=INTF	eat-NOM

'bananas and a lot of different things to eat'

In the following examples, =*ira* appears on an adjective and on an adverb, respectively:

(695) C02A09-NA-2007.016

tsóxun	bakan bina	**nënkḗira**	ain	ba	**nënkḗira**
tsót-xun	bakan bina	nënkḗ**=ira**	ain	ba	nënkḗ**=ira**
seat.down-S/A>A(SE)	wasp	long.ABS=INTF	3sg.GEN	nest	long.ABS=INTF

an	ain	maxkatan	tikakinsa	tukakëxun
a=n	ain	maxkat=n	tika-kin-isa	tuka-këxun
that=A	his	head=INS	beat-S/A>A(SE)-REP.3p	break-O>A(PE)

 'It is said that, beating up and breaking the very long nest of very long wasps, when sitting down...'

(696) C01B06-JE-2007.023

urira	ain	mërati	kaisa	ñais	bëaxa
uri**=ira**	ain	mërati	kaisa	ñais	bë-a-x-a
far=INTF	3sg.GEN	partner.ABS	NAR.REP.3p	armadillo.ABS	bring-PERF-3p-non.prox

'It is said that (bringing it from) very far away, her partner gave armadillo meat (to her).'

Finally, an elicited example of =*ira* within a verb is presented:

(697) 'ën   kana   'atsa   **piratin**
      'ë=n   kana   'atsa   pi-**ira**-t-i-n
      1sg=A   NAR.31p   manioc.ABS   eat-INTF-HARM-IMPF-1/2p

      'I am eating manioc a lot (compulsively).'

16.2.6   =*ma* 'negator'

The negator =*ma* can appear with any type of word class and it does not have a fixed
position in the clause. In this respect, it behaves like other adverbial enclitics.
However, it exhibits a very particular behaviour with finite verbs and some adjectives
(to be discussed below). Before discussing the more idiosyncratic instances of this
enclitic, I first show an example of it in a more prototypical context. In the following
example, it appears modifying the NP *nun imi* 'our blood'.

(698) C02B02-NA-2007.042
'aishbi   ka   nun   **imima**   'ikën
'aishbi   ka   [nu=n   imi]=ma   'ikën
but(S/A>S)   NAR.3p   1pl=GEN   blood.ABS=NEG   be.3p

 'But they are **not our blood**.'

        In the following example, I present one token of =*ma* 'negator' modifying the
adjective *upí*. The interesting point in relation to this example is that the adjective is a
modifier within an NP headed by *ñu* 'thing' and, therefore, =*ma* 'negator' appears in
an NP-internal position. This position of =*ma* 'negator', which is highly unusual in
my data and has not been attested for any other member of the morphological class
described in this chapter, requires more research. Interestingly, the other few
examples also include the nominal head *ñu* 'thing':

(699) C02B05-NA-2007.052
 upí**ma**   ñu   'unanti
upit=ma   ñu   'unan-ti
beautiful=NEG   thing.ABS   know-NOM

'**not good** things to know'

With regard to verbs, *=ma* 'negator' also exhibits idiosyncratic features. Differently from other adverbial enclitics, *=ma* 'negator' appears at the end of the verb stem in both non-finite (nominalised) verbs (in the case of the negative past tense forms, which require an auxiliary), and finite verbs (where it appears after the inflectional marker *-i* 'imperfective'). Examples of these two constructions follow:

(700) C01B03-SE-2007.005

uni	'uxun	ka	nukën	raran
uni	'ux-xun	ka	nukën	rara-n
person.ABS	sleep-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.3p	1pl.GEN	ancestor=ERG

'unáma		**'ikën**
'unan-**a=ma**		'ikën
know-NOM(REM.PAST)=NEG		be.3p

'Since they were sleeping, our ancestors **did not know** (that) a long time ago.'

(701) C02B02-NA-2007.041

a	kana	'ëx	**kwëënima**
a	kana	'ë=x	kwëën-i=ma
that.ABS	NAR.1sg	1sg=S	want-IMPF=NEG

'That, I **do not want**.'

There are only two cases where the negative marker can appear in a verb-internal position: after the suffixes *-kas* 'desiderative' and *-isa* 'irrealis'. This position of the negative marker is illustrated in the following example, where it appears after *-kas* 'desiderative', which receives a negative abilitive meaning in this context. Exactly the same behaviour is found with *-isa* 'irrealis' (but this suffix does not get that negative abilitive meaning):

(702) C01B02-JE-2007.046

uama	kaisa	barikinbi	**mërakasmakëshín**
u-an=ma	kaisa	bari-kin=bi	mëra-**kas-ma-**akë-x-ín
come-DS/A/O(POE)=NEG	NAR.REP.3p	look.for-S/A>A(SE)-although	find-DES-NEG-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, after he did not come, they **were not able to find him**, even though they were looking for him.'

Thus, there are two possible positions for the negative enclitic in finite verbal forms and any attempt to relocate this enclitic to any other position is not allowed. These two different positions of the negative enclitic seem to have two different scopes: when it follows the irrealis or the desiderative, *=ma* negates the meaning associated with these suffixes. If the negator appears at the end of the verb stem, the entire event is within the scope of the negation. This is especially clear in those cases where the negator appears twice in the same stem, as shown in the following example:

(703) C15A05-IE-2008.031

usa	'ain	kamina	mima	"unin	**sinankasmaima**"
usa	'ain	kamina	mi=ma	uni=n	sinan-kas-**ma**-i**=ma**
that-COMP	being	NAR.2p	you=NEG	man=ERG	think-DES-NEG-IMPF=NEG

 'Being like this, you (should) not (forget): "(our) people **are not** (people) who **cannot** think".'

Notice that the form *sinan-kas-i-ma* 'to think-desiderative-imperfective-negative' is also possible and means 'I/you/(s)he do(es) not want to think'.

16.2.7 *=bi* 'same, self'

The enclitic *=bi* 'same, self' does not exhibit an allomorphic alternation and is very frequent in discourse. Examples of this enclitic follow. In the first one, this enclitic can be translated as *self* in English. In the second example, the speaker is explaining that the Kashibo-Kakataibo ancestors used to hunt the 'same' animals as the Kashibo-Kakataibo hunt nowadays.

(704)

Emilionënbi	ka	'atsa	'bëan
Emilio-n**=bi**	ka	'atsa	'bë-a-n
1sg-A=self	NAR.3p	manioc.ABS	bring-PERF-1/2p

'Emilio **himself** brought the manioc.'

(705) C01B05-SE-2007.057

'ainbi	ka	nukën	raran	piakëxa	**chunabi**
'ainbi	ka	nukën	rara=n	pi-akë-x-a	chuna=**bi**
but(DS/A/O)	NAR.3p	1pl.GEN	ancestor=ERG	eat-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	spider.monkey.ABS=same

rubi	[...]	**ñobi**	ñuina	pëchiñu	kamabi
ru=**bi**	[...]	ño=**bi**	ñuina	pëchi=ñu	kamabi
howler monkey=same		peccary.ABS=same	animal.ABS	wing=PROP	all

 'But our ancestors ate **the same spider monkeys, howler monkeys, peccaryes** and all the animals with wings.'

The enclitic =*bi* also appear in the emphatic pronouns that are frequently used in reflexive constructions. In these pronominal forms, the enclitic =*bi* is found before at least one case marker (a position that is not allowed for adverbial enclitics) and therefore these emphatic pronouns may be argued to have lexicalised (see, for example, *'ëbi-x* '1sg.self-S'; see §6.2.1).

As shown in Table 67, =*bi* 'same, self' cannot appear in a verb-internal position. However, it very often appears on verbs marked for switch-reference, where it can receive two different readings: 'exactly at the same time' and 'though'. One example of the latter reading follows:

(706)

ukëbëbi	ka	Emilio	abë	banankëma	'ikën
u-këbë=bi	ka	Emilio	a=bë	banan-kë=ma	'ikën
come-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)=same	NAR.3p	Emilio.ABS	3sg-COM(S)	speak-NOM=NEG	be.3p

 'Even though (he) came, (he) did not talk to him.'

16.2.8   =*birës* 'purely'

The enclitic =*birës* 'purely' appears in my database only scarcely and its semantics still requires more research. The following example shows one instance of this enclitic occurring in a text. There, this morpheme modifies the NP *nónsi* 'banana'.

(707) C02B04-SE-2007.041

'aisamatankin	kananuna	'apatin	**nónsibirës**
'a-isa-ma-tan-kin	kananuna	'apat-i-n	nónsi=**birës**
do-IRRE-NEG-GO.TO-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.1pl	plant-IMPF-1/2p	banana.ABS=purely

'Without wanting to do (something else), we purely plant banana.'

As *=bi*, this enclitic is never found on finite verbs. However, there is a verbal suffix *-rës* 'frequently, distractedly' that does appear in that context. Since *-rës* does not appear in other contexts but only as a derivational verbal suffix, I do not analyse it as an adverbial enclitic. As an adverbial enclitic, we only find *=birës*, which also includes the form *=bi*. Notice, however, that, as mentioned in footnote 78, *-rës* is an enclitic with the meaning 'purely' in Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2003b: 146).

16.2.9   *=shaman* 'intensifier'

As in the case of *=ira* (see §16.2.5), the basic meaning of *=shaman* is 'intensification'; but differently from the former enclitic, *=shaman* does not have a quantificational meaning. As indicated in Table 67, *=shaman* 'intensifier' does not appear on finite verbs. In the following two examples, *shaman* modifies the AdjP *uxu* 'white' and the PP *me chichu* 'inside the earth', respectively:

(708) C02B02-NA-2007.005

'itsaira	ka	tashin	'akë	buankëshín	**uxushamanbu**
'itsa=ira	ka	tashi=n	'a-kë	buan-akë-x-ín	uxu=**shaman**=bu
a.lot.of-INT	NAR.3p	salt=INS	do-NOM.ABS	bring-REM.PAST-3p-prox	white-INTF=IMPR.ABS

'They brought a lot of things, salted stuff, the whitest ones.'

(709) C01A05-SE-2007.028

naëkin	me	**chichushaman**	uria
naë-kin	me	chichu=**shaman**	uri-a
dig-S/A>A(SE)	earth.ABS	inside=INTF	far-PA:O

'Digging very deeply in the ground, far...'

In the next example, =*shaman* modifies the NP *pëi* 'leaf' and indicates that the leaves referred to were the best possible ones:

(710) C01A09-SE-2007.072

pëi	kwakokë	**pëishaman**
pëi	kwakokë	pëi=**shaman**
leaf	lay.out-NOM	leaf-INTF

'Layed out on leaves, on the best possible ones'

16.2.10 =*bu* 'imprecise reference, collective'

The enclitic =*bu* 'imprecise reference, collective' appears only scarcely in Kashibo-Kakataibo texts. It is used to indicate that the speaker is being imprecise about what he or she is saying. It can be used on different types of constituents, but not on finite verbs. In all the instances that I have found in my database, it appears on NPs with very vague meanings (like *ñu* 'thing') at the end of enumerations. In that context it always receives a collective interpretation. This is an interesting fact from a Pano comparative perspective, since =*bu* is the plural marker in a number of Pano languages, like Shipibo-Konibo (see Valenzuela 2003b: 203-204). An elicited example, where this enclitic does not receive a collective interpretation follows:

(711)

'inunbu	ka	'axa	
'inu-n=**bu**	ka	'a-a-x-a	
jaguar=ERG=IMPR	NAR.3p	do-PERF-3p-non.prox	

'Something similar to a jaguar did it.'

Another elicited example of this enclitic follows. In this case, we find it on the adverb *anu* 'there' and, again, the collective interpretation is not obtained:

(712)

anubu	ka	'iti	'iken
anu=**bu**	ka	'i-ti	'ikën
there=IMPR	NAR.3p	be-NOM	be.3p

'It will be somewhere around there.'

The collective interpretation is illustrated in the following example, taken from a narrative. In this example, =*bu* appears on the form *usa* 'that-comparative'. The resulting form *usabu* can be translated as 'things like those ones'.

(713) C01A01-MO-2007.006

'axani	kwanxun	kaisa
'axan-i	kwan-xun	kaisa
fish.using.poison-PURP	go.NON.PAST.1/2p-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p

bëakëxa	'itsaira	tsatsa	tsatsa	ñapa
bë-akë-x-a	'itsa=ira	tsatsa	tsatsa	ñapa
bring-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	many-INT	fish.species	fish.species	fish.species

usabu
usa-**bu**
like.that=PLU.ABS

'It is said that, going to fish, he brought *tsatsa* and *ñapa*, **thing like those ones**.'

16.2.11 =ri 'counterfactual'

This form =*ri* 'counterfactual' still requires more study. It basically appears in a few constructions that express counterfactual and presumptive meanings (see §18.5 for examples of all these constructions). This enclitic may be related to the second position enclitic *ri* 'conversational'; but it shows a different distribution. As we can see in the examples presented in §18.5, the marker =*ri* 'counterfactual' co-occurs with *ka* 'narrative' and this is not possible for *ri* 'conversational'. Thus, any potential relationship between =*ri* 'counterfactual' and *ri* 'conversational' has to be understood as diachronic rather than synchronic. One example of this form follows. Notice that =*ri* appears on both the subject of the first sentence and on the non-finite dependent verb of the second:

(714) **'ëxri**   kana   Limanu   kwan
     'ë=x=**ri**   kana   Lima=nu   kwan-a-n
     1sg=S=COUN   NAR.1sg   Lima=LOC   go-PERF-1/2p

'ë	**ñukatibiri**	ka	'iaxa
'ë	ñuka-ti=bi=**ri**	ka	'i-a-x-a
1sg.O	ask-NOM=same=COUN	NAR.3p	be-PERF-3p-non.prox

'I went to Lima. He **should have asked** me about it (but he did not)'

16.3   Adverbial enclitics vs. second position enclitics

Second position enclitics have been presented in Chapter 15, where their most salient properties have been discussed. They are a class of enclitics that exhibit a fixed position in the sentence: after the first constituent. However, if this constituent is dropped because of pragmatic reasons, they may appear as the first constituents of their sentences without being attached to any other constituent. Prosodically, they combine with each other in order to produce independent phonological words with a primary stress and a high tone. In addition, when two or more second position enclitics are found, they observe a fixed order in relation to each other and can be analysed as belonging to different paradigms (see §15.1). Due to these properties they are clearly different from adverbial enclitics, which, as we have seen in this chapter, do not have a fixed position in the sentence; always need to be attached to a host; do not carry their own high tone; and, finally, do not observe a fixed order when combined with each other. All this is summarised in the following table:

Table 68   Adverbial enclitics vs. second position enclitics

criteria	adverbial enclitics	second position enclitics
position	non-fixed	fixed
morphological nature	bound	bound / independent
prosody	carry a stress	carry a stress and a high tone
order	free order in relation to each other	fixed order in relation to each other

The criteria summarised in the table above are useful and highly predictive in most cases. However, second position enclitics reveal some internal variation, which

makes the distinction between them and adverbial enclitics less straightforward. If we compare the second position enclitics from slot I (*sapi* 'dubitative', *kaia* 'contrastive' and *kuni* 'certitudinal'), we will find interesting distributional differences among them:

(715) *sapi* 'dubitative'

In the second position (acceptable)

'ëx	**sapikana**	Aguaytianu	kwanti	'ain
'ë=x	**sapi**kana	Aguaytia=nu	kwan-ti	'ain
1sg=S	DUB.NAR.1sg	Aguaytia=DIR	go-NOM	be.1/2p

In the first position (unacceptable)

sapikana	Aguaytianu	kwanti	'ain
sapikana	Aguaytia=nu	kwan-ti	'ain
DUB.NAR.1sg	Aguaytia=DIR	go-NOM	be.1/2p

In any other position (unacceptable)

*ëx	kana	Aguaytianu	**sapi**	kwanti	'ain
ë=x	kana	Aguaytia=nu	**sapi**	kwan-ti	'ain
1sg=S	NAR.1sg	Aguaytia=DIR	DUB	go-NOM	be1/2

('perhaps, I will go to Aguaytia')

(716) *kaia* 'constrastive'

In the second position (acceptable)

'ëx	**kaiakana**	Aguaytianu	kwanti	'ain
'ë=x	**kaia**kana	Aguaytia=nu	kwan-ti	'ain
1sg=S	CONT.NAR.1sg	Aguaytia=DIR	go-NOM	be.1/2

In the first position (acceptable)

kaiakana	Aguaytianu	kwanti	'ain
kaiakana	Aguaytia=nu	kwan-ti	'ain
CONT.NAR.1sg	Aguaytia=DIR	go-NOM	be.1/2

In any other position (acceptable)

'ëx	kana	Aguaytianu	**kaia**	kwanti	'ain
'ë=x	kana	Aguaytia=nu	**kaia**	kwan-ti	'ain
1sg=S	NAR.1sg	Aguaytia=DIR	CONT	go-NOM	be.1/2p

'Differently from other people, I will go to Aguaytia.'

(717) *kuni* 'certitudinal'

In the second position (acceptable)

'ëx	**kunikana**	Aguaytianu	kwanti	'ain
'ë=x	**kunikana**	Aguaytia=nu	kwan-ti	'ain
1sg=S	CERT.NAR.1sg	Aguaytia=DIR	go-NOM	be.1/2p

In the first position (unacceptable)

kunikana	Aguaytianu	kwanti	'ain
kunikana	Aguaytia=nu	kwan-ti	'ain
CERT.NAR.1sg	Aguaytia=DIR	go-NOM	be.1/2p

In any other position (acceptable)

'ëx	kana	Aguaytianu	**kuni**	kwanti	'ain
'ë=x	kana	Aguaytia=nu	**kuni**	kwan-ti	'ain
1sg=S	NAR.1sg	Aguaytia=DIR	CERT	go-NOM	be.1/2p

'I will certainly go to Aguaytia.'

The facts illustrated by the examples in (715)-(717) suggest that the category of second position enclitics exhibit some level of internal variation at least in what respects to its first slot and that, therefore, the distinction between second position clitics and adverbial clitics is not necessarily clear-cut. While a form like *sapi* 'dubitative' follows the distributional behaviour that has been attributed to second position enclitics; *kaia* 'constrastive', in the third example of (716), appears in an unexpected position: it appears as the fourth constituent of the clause, which is a more expected position for adverbial clitics. The case of *kuni* 'emphatic' is even more deviant, since this form not only appears freely in other positions throughout the clause, but also is not allowed to appear as the first element of the clause, a position which is usually available for second position enclitics. Therefore, *kuni* 'emphatic' is even more similar to adverbial enclitics than *kaia* 'constrastive'. Thus, as mentioned before, these facts suggest that the distinction between second position enclitics and adverbial enclitics is not completely clear-cut and should be understood as a continuum.

Chapter 17 Independent vs. dependent clauses

17.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses the distinction between dependent and independent clauses in Kashibo-Kakataibo. It lists and describes a number of morphosyntactic criteria that are useful when establishing such a distinction, but it also discusses some counterexamples and difficult cases, paying special attention to copula classes, which may or may not carry an overt verb.

Independent clauses do not need any other constituent in order to create a **sentence** (i.e. an **assertive** utterance). In accordance with this, they carry second position enclitic(s) marking register/mood (see Chapter 15 for a detailed discussion of second position enclitics). In most cases, they exhibit a fully inflected verb, but they can contain shortened (non-fully inflected) verbal forms or, in the case of verbless copula clauses, they can lack a verb completely (see Chapter 13 for verbal inflection). In addition, they are mostly verb-final, but can exhibit post-verbal constituents under some pragmatic conditions (see §22.2 for a detailed discussion of constituent order in Kashibo-Kakataibo).

Three main types of dependent clauses are identified in this grammar: switch reference constructions (which are subdivided into converbs and switch-reference clauses; see §18.2); speech report clauses (which are divided into direct speech, modified direct speech and indirect speech clauses; see §19.2); and elaborative clauses (see §19.3). Dependent clauses need to be attached to a main clause in order to be used in sentences. They are **non-assertive** and, accordingly, they are severely

restricted in their possibilities to take second position enclitics. Elaborative clauses do not carry any second position enclitic. Switch-reference clauses can only carry the reportative second position enclitic *is* followed by a subject cross-reference marker. Modified direct speech and indirect speech clauses obligatorily require the presence of both the reportative and the subject cross-reference enclitics. Direct speech clauses can carry all second position enclitics and are exceptional in this respect. All this will be discussed further in this chapter.

In addition, dependent clauses exhibit different possibilities in terms of their verbal morphology: converbs and switch-reference clauses show non-finite verbal forms; modified direct speech clauses present predicates that are only partially inflected; and direct and indirect speech clauses, and elaborative clauses carry fully inflected verbs. Finally, all types of dependent clauses (including direct speech clauses) are obligatorily verb-final. All this is summarised in the following table:

Table 69   Morphosyntactic properties of different types of Kashibo-Kakataibo clauses

type of clause	function	syntactic nature	second position enclitics	form of the verb	constituent order
independent clauses	assertive	independent	all	fully inflected	some constituents may appear after the verb
independent clauses with a shortened verb	assertive	independent	all	shortened verb form	verb final
verbless copula clauses	assertive	independent	all	no verb	non applicable
converbs	non-assertive	dependent	none	non-finite verb, but optionally marked for inflectional slots I and II-A	verb final
switch-reference clauses	non-assertive	dependent	optionally the reportative and the subject cross-reference enclitics	non-finite verb, but optionally marked for inflectional slots I and II-A	verb final
direct speech clauses	non-assertive	dependent	all	fully inflected	verb final
modified direct speech clauses	non-assertive	dependent	obligatorily the reportative and the subject cross-reference enclitics	partially inflected verb, marked for inflectional slots I and II-A/B	verb final
indirect speech clauses	non-assertive	dependent	obligatorily the reportative and the subject cross-reference enclitics	fully inflected	verb final
elaborative clauses	non-assertive	dependent	none	fully inflected	verb final

In the following subsections, I discuss in more detail, and with examples, the behaviour of the different types of clauses in relation to the three criteria established so far: second position enclitics (§17.2); verbal morphology (§17.3) and constituent order (§17.5). Due to their special properties, inpendent discussion of copula clauses is offered in §17.4. A more detailed account of each dependent clause type is offered in Chapters 18 and 19. Notice that grammatical nominalisations (i.e. nominalisations obtained from clauses) are formally very similar to dependent clauses (particularly to switch-reference clauses). However, in terms of their function, they are not clauses, but denoting expressions with nominal properties. Therefore, I do not include them in the discussion in this chapter (see Chapter 20 for a detailed account of grammatical nominalisations in Kashibo-Kakataibo).

17.2   Second position enclitics

As we have seen in Chapter 15, second position enclitics establish a basic distinction between a narrative register (expressed by the enclitic *ka*) and a conversational register (marked by the enclitic *ri*). These enclitics are combined with others in order to express mood, modality, subject cross-reference, addressee's perspective and mirativity. The enclitics *ka* and *ri* (as well as the enclitics that mark mood, modality, addressee's perspective and mirativity; see §15.1) are only attested in independent clauses and in direct speech clauses, which are formally identical to independent clauses, since they attempt to repeat as accurately as possible what someone else (i.e. the original speaker) has said. Other enclitics do appear in dependent clauses: this is true for the reportative enclitic *is*, followed by a subject cross-reference enclitic. These enclitics can be found in switch-reference clauses, and they are obligatory in

modified direct speech and indirect speech clauses. These enclitics are not attested in either converbs or elaborative clauses.

Let us look at the following example in order to clarify this fact. In example (718), there is one sentence with two predicates, *uakamë eo-* 'to grow, to reproduce' and *buan-* 'to take'. The first predicate is in a switch-reference clause, as it can be seen from the verb form: it is a non-finite form with the switch-reference marker *-nun* 'different subjects, posterious event'. The second verb is the main verb of the sentence and, as expected, it is a fully-inflected verb form marked for tense, subject-cross reference and addressee's perspective. As we can see in the example, we find the reportative enclitic *is*, followed by the enclitic *a* '3p' within the switch-reference clause. Any attempt to include a register enclitic such as *ka* 'narrative' will lead to an unacceptable construction. By contrast, we find the register enclitic *ka* 'narrative', followed by *is* 'reportative' and *a* '3p' within the main clause, and any attempt to delete the register marker will produce an unacceptable utterance.

(718) C02A02-NA-2007.048

anuax	**(*ka)isa**	uakamë ëotanun	[...]
[anuax	**(*ka)isa**	uakamë ëo-tan-nun]SWITCH-REFERENCE CLAUSE	
then(INTR)	(NAR.)REP.3p	grow/reproduce-go.to-DS/A(POE)	

*(ka)isa	[...]	buankëxa	a
*(ka)isa	[...]	buan-akë-x-a	a
NAR.REP.3p		take-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	that.O

'When it is said that (the bananas) grew, it is said that (the people) took them, a long time ago.'

Direct speech clauses are formally identical to independent clauses, and they only differ in their function: direct speech clauses are used as complements of say-verbs and, in that sense, are not assertive. In the following example, we find a direct

speech clause that includes the second position enclitic *kamina* 'NAR.2p' (i.e.,

containing the narrative register enclitic *ka*), which is used for indicative utterances.

(719) C01A05-SE-2007.009

piaka	**kamina**	**buanti**	**'ain**	
[piaka	**kamina**	buan-ti	'ain]_{DIRECT SPEECH CLAUSE}	
nephew.ABS	NAR.2p	bring-NOM	be.1/2p	

kaisa	kakëxa	
kaisa	ka-akë-x-a	
NAR.REP.3p	say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	

'It is said that (she) said: "you will bring (your) nephew (to the jungle)".'

17.3   Form of the verb

As we have seen in Chapter 13, fully inflected verbs exhibit four inflectional slots:

slot I (tense/aspect/modality), slot II-A/B (tense/aspect), slot III (subject cross-

reference) and slot IV (addressee's perspective and mirativity). The first slot is

optional and the other three are obligatory (but recall that addressee's perspective is

only marked for predicates with third person subjects in the narrative register).

Like independent clauses, direct and indirect speech clauses and elaborative

clauses carry fully inflected verbs. By contrast, modified direct speech clauses take

only partially inflected verbal forms. The verbal forms in this type of dependent

clause are not marked for slots III (subject cross-reference) and IV (addressee's

perspective), but carry tense and aspect markers from slots II-A/B (obligatorily) and I

(optionally). Finally, predicates in converbs and switch-reference clauses end in a

switch-reference marker and, therefore, are non-finite. However, they can optionally

carry inflectional forms from slots I and II-A. All this is summarised in the following

figure, where I present the accessibility of different types of clauses to different verbal

inflectional slots:

Figure 56 Inflectional categories and different types of clauses

| INF I | INF II=A | INF II-B | INF III | INF IV |

converbs
switch-reference clauses

modified direct speech

independent clauses
direct speech clauses
indirect speech clauses
elaborative clauses
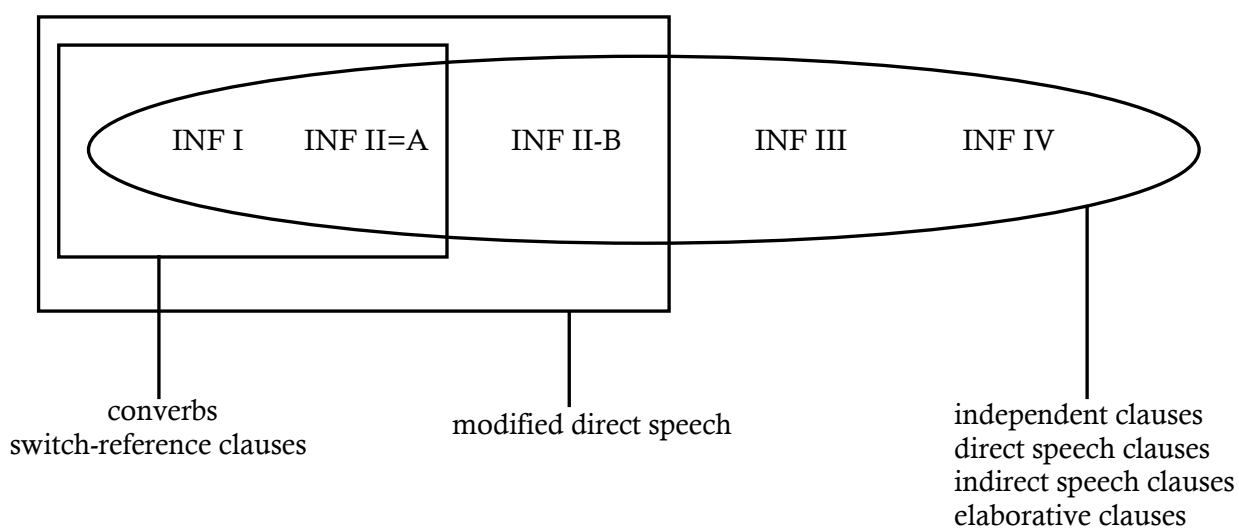
One example of a switch-reference clause with a predicate carrying a marker from the inflectional slot I follows. There, we find both a dependent and a main clause forming a complex sentence: the predicate *'a=mi* 'to make someone else do something' occurs twice in the switch-reference clause, and in the second instance, it carries the inflectional marker *-pun* 'hours ago' from the inflectional slot I, plus the switch-reference marker *-kin* 'S/A>A, simultaneous events' (see §19.2.2 for examples of modified direct speech clauses, which also show partially inflected verbal forms). Notice that, as expected, the main predicate of the sentence, *'a-mi-tëkën-**akë-x-ín*** 'do-CAUS-again-REM.PAST-3p-prox', carries a fully inflected predicate that includes markers from slots II-IV. This is also true for the predicate *'inan-tëkën-**akë-x-ín*** 'give-again-REM.PAST-3p-prox', which in this sentence functions as an elaborative clause.

(720) C02A02-NA-2007.042

['amikin	**'amipunkin]**SWITCH-REFERENCE CLAUSE	kaisa
'a-mi-kin	'a-mi-**pun**-kin	kaisa
do-CAUS-S/A>A(SE)	do-CAUS-PAST(hours)-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p

ñantanbukëbëtan	**'amitëkëankëshín**	**['inantëkëankëshín]**ELAB.CLAUSE
ñantan-but-këbëtan	'a-mi-tëkën-**akë-x-ín**	'inan-tëkën-**akë-x-ín**
get.dark-ADV.PROC-DS/A/O(SE.TRA)	do-CAUS-again-REM.PAST-3p-prox	give-again-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, having made them try (the bananas) **early in the morning**, he made them try (the bananas) again when it got dark'

The predicates of direct and indirect speech clauses are also marked for all inflectional slots, without restriction and, therefore, are fully-inflected (see the example in (719), and see §19.2.1 and §19.2.3 for more examples).

In almost all cases, inflectional slots III and IV are obligatory for independent clauses (unless the verb carries one of the final portmanteau suffixes presented in §13.8, which also produce fully inflected forms). However, sometimes we find shortened verbal forms. As far as I understand, they are restricted to very informal conversations, and occur only when we have a third person referent that is spatially close to the speech act event (or that is identifiable otherwise). In those shortened verbal forms, the markers associated with the inflectional slot IV (and optionally the markers from the inflectional slot III) are dropped. See the following examples, where fully inflected and two shortened forms of the verb *u* 'to come' are offered. In the first shortened form (example (722)), markers for both, inflectional slots III and IV are dropped and a final glottal stop is found. In the second shortened verb (example (723)), we find a subject cross-reference marker from slot III, and only the marker associated with slot IV is dropped:

(721) | Juan | kara | **uaxa** |
|---|---|---|
| Juan | kara | **u-a-x-a** |
| Juan.ABS | NAR.INT.3p | come-PERF-3p-non.prox |

'Did Juan come?'

(722) Juan   kara   **ua'**
        Juan   kara   **u-a'**
        Juan.ABS   NAR.INT.3p   come-PERF (shortened form)

        'Did Juan come?'

(723) Juan   kara   **uax**
        Juan   kara   **u-a-x**
        Juan.ABS   NAR.INT.3p   come-PERF-3p (shortened form)

        'Did Juan come?'

There seems to be a minimal semantic difference between the two shortened examples above. Apparently, the second example does not necessarily imply that Juan has come, and it might be uttered if the speaker has only indirect evidence for this (e.g., (s)he finds his bag). The example in (722), by contrast, would be some sort of rhetorical question uttered in the presence of Juan, when the speaker realises that Juan has arrived. However, more study of those forms is required. The important point to be highlighted is that these clauses are independent clauses that carry "incomplete" verbal forms.

17.4   Copula clauses

According to Dixon (2002), copula clauses express relations of identity or attribution. They are headed by copula verbs, which can be distinguished from transitive and intransitive verbs, since they do not have a referential meaning, but only a relational one.[80] Copula verbs appear with two core arguments that Dixon calls **copula subject** and **copula complement**, and may or may not be overtly expressed. The copula verb in Kashibo-Kakataibo is *ʼi-* 'to be' (see §11.7.2), which is used to express different types of relations between its two arguments. Three examples of copula clauses are

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[80] However, in Kashibo-Kakataibo, the copula clearly belongs to the intransitive class.

presented. The first one expresses identity; the second, attribution; and, finally, the third example expresses similarity:

(724) Juan   ka   **'ën**   **xukën**   **'ikën**
       Juan   kara   'ë-n   xukën   **'ikën**
       Juan.ABS   NAR.3p   1sg=GEN   brother   be.3p
       'Juan **is my brother**.'

(725) Juan   ka   **xuá**   **'ikën**
      Juan   kara   xuá   **'ikën**
      Juan.ABS   NAR.3p   fat   be.3p
      'Juan **is fat**.'

(726) Juan   ka   **chunasa**   **'ikën**
      Juan   kara   chuna=sa   **'ikën**
      Juan.ABS   NAR.3p   spider.monkey=COMP be.3p
      'Juan **is similar to a spider monkey**.'

     Similarly to the examples in (721)-(723), copula verbs can also be shortened. In this case, they always drop the markers from both slots III and IV, and include a final glottal stop, as shown in the following example:

(727) ënë   xanu   ka   upí   **'i'**
      ënë   xanu   ka   upí   **'i'**
      this   woman.ABS   NAR.3p   beautiful   be (shortened.form)
      'This woman is beautiful.'

     The most relevant property of copula clauses for the discussion presented here is that copula verbs can be omitted altogether. Therefore, Kashibo-Kakataibo has verbless copula clauses, formed usually by an adjective, an adverb or an NP plus a second position clitic. In discourse, we find many examples like the following one (which is part of the direct reported speech presented in (719)):

(728) C01A05-SE-2007.008
asábi   ka
asábi   ka
good   NAR.3p
'It's good.'

The form *asábi ka* can be considered a full clause in Kashibo-Kakataibo. In the same way, *asábi kara* would be a question "(is it) fine?", since *kara* expresses interrogative mood. Other verbless constructions are presented in the following examples:

(729) upí ka   'it (is) good'
      anu ka   'here it (is)'

17.5   Constituent order

As discussed in detail in §22.2, independent clauses in Kashibo-Kakataibo tend to be verb-final in isolation, but they can exhibit post-verbal constituents if these constituents introduce new information or re-elaborate on what has previously been said. I analyse those post-verbal arguments as being in a focus position. Focused constituents are very common in discourse, but they are never found in dependent clauses. At this stage, I can say that no type of dependent clause in Kashibo-Kakataibo can contain a focused element. This is true even for those types of dependent clauses that are highly similar to independent clauses, such as elaborative clauses or speech report clauses (including direct speech clauses, which are otherwise formally identical to independent clauses). Examples of an independent and a dependent clause with a focused argument follow. Notice that the latter example is unacceptable:

(730) a   xanubë   banatankëx   kana   banati   'ain   **Juanbë**
        [a   xanu=bë   bana-tankëx]   kana   bana-ti   'ain   **Juan-bë**
        that   woman-COM(S) speak-S/A>S(PE) NAR.1sg speak-NOM be.1/2p Juan-COM(S)
        'After talking with that woman, I will talk **with Juan**.'

(731) *banatankëx   a   **xanubë**   kana   Juanbë   banati   'ain
        [bana-tankëx   a   **xanu-bë**]   kana   Juan-bë   bana-ti   'ain
        speak-S/A>S(PE) that woman-COM(S) NAR.1sg Juan-COM(S) speak-NOM be.1/2p
        ('after talking **with that woman**, I will talk with Juan')

    Independent clauses with shortened verbs are always verb-final, since they are only used to present information that is available from the context and, therefore, do not include constituents presenting new or focused information. In this sense, these clauses are more similar to dependent clauses than to independent clauses with fully inflected verbs.

Chapter 18 Switch-reference

18.1 Introduction

This chapter presents switch-reference in Kashibo-Kakataibo. Switch-reference can be defined as a verbal category used to indicate whether the subject of one clause "has the same or different reference from the subject of an adjacent, syntactically related clause" (Stirling 1993: 1; see also Haiman and Munro 1983; or Austin 1981). In the case of Kashibo-Kakataibo, we additionally find a number of markers that indicate identity relations between the object and the subject of the syntactically related clauses. As in other Pano languages, most switch-reference forms in Kashibo-Kakataibo follow a tripartite system, distinguishing between S, A and O in the main clause, and "indicat[ing] the time of the subordinate verb relative to the main verb" (Loos 1999: 237). Due to the fact that all this information is encoded by them, Pano switch-reference systems tend to be very complex (see Valenzuela 2003b, for Shipibo-Konibo; Fleck 2003, for Matses; Sparing-Chávez 1998 for Amawaka; or Loos 1999, for Kapanawa). This is particularly true for the switch-reference system of Kashibo-Kakataibo, which may easily be one of the most complex systems within the family.

The complexity of switch reference in Kashibo-Kakataibo follows, in the first place, from the remarkably large number of suffixes (see §18.3), but also from the existence of two different types of switch-reference constructions that have different syntactic targets (and scopes). I call these two different constructions **converbs** and **switch-reference clauses** (see §18.2). In addition to these topics, in §18.4, I describe a construction used to indicate the indirect participation of the subject of the main

clause in the dependent event; and, finally, in section §18.5, I present some information on how switch-reference is used to express different modal, aspectual and related meanings, distinguishing between the ones that observe the principle of transitivity harmony and those that do not. A definition of transitivity harmony is also presented in that section.

As highlighted by Stirling (1993: 189-191), languages may exhibit differences in relation to how their switch-reference systems treat arguments that are in a part-whole relationship. Some languages may treat them as different arguments, others as the same argument and, finally, the remaining ones may use both treatments in order to express semantic or stylistic differences. I will briefly describe how Kashibo-Kakataibo behaves in relation to this in the following paragraphs.

In §8.2.3, I have discussed and given examples of the special morphosyntactic features of body part nouns and I have mentioned that, crucially, body parts of animates (e.g., a man and his eye) are treated as being the **same** argument as their possessors when they appear in any type of switch-reference constructions. As we have also seen in §8.2.3, where the appropriate examples were presented, this is only partially true for nouns referring to parts of inanimates (objects and plants). Parts of objects and plants (e.g., a house and its roof) are treated as being the same arguments as their wholes only by some of the switch-reference markers to be discussed in this chapter. This only happens if they appear as the object argument of a dependent clause whose matrix clause contains a noun referring to the whole as its grammatical subject. This fact restricts this behaviour to the switch-reference markers indicating an object-to-subject relationship (see §18.3.3). In any other type of relationship, parts of objects are treated as different arguments from their wholes.

In turn, arguments in an individual-group relationship (e.g., a peccary and its herd), which also express a type of part-whole relationship, are always treated as different arguments by the switch-reference system (but in other Pano languages like Matses they are treated as the same argument, see Fleck 2003: 1163). As I have argued in §8.2.3, it seems to be the case that in Kashibo-Kakataibo different types of part-whole relationships have grammaticalised differently and that body parts of animates represent the case in which the physical identity of a whole and its parts has been most radically analysed as grammatical identity by the switch-reference system. However, the rise of these different patterns still needs an explanation.

Finally, relatives (e.g. a man and his mother) and arguments in an alienable possession relationship (e.g., a man and his house) are treated as different argument by the switch-reference system. The following figure summarises the facts discussed here and proposes an analysis of the distinction between **same** and **different** arguments found in the switch-reference system of Kashibo-Kakataibo (notice that I analyse nouns referring to part-wholes of objects and plants as intermediate in terms of the distinction presented here):

Figure 57   Same arguments/different arguments for switch-reference

Same arguments	Different arguments
Same referents part-whole (objects, plants)	individual-group
body parts (animates)	possessors-alienably possessed
	different referents
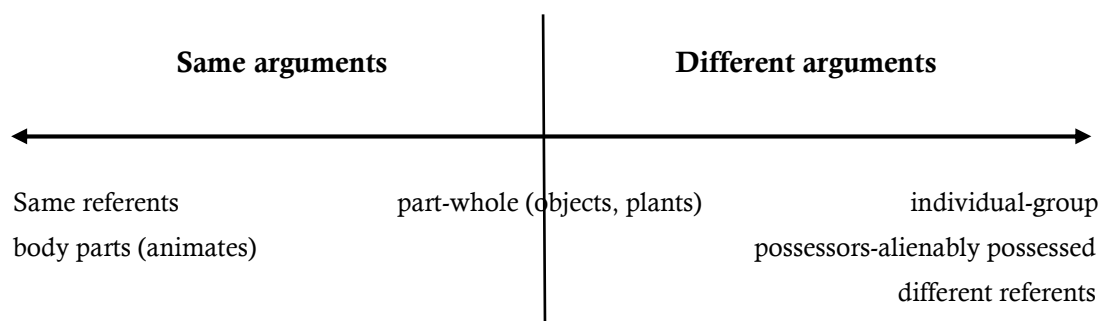
Switch-reference markers with different meanings have appeared in many of the examples presented in previous chapters, and their glosses follow the conventions presented in the list of abbreviations at the beginning of this dissertation. Since they are the topic of this chapter, it may be worthwhile to re-iterate and explicitly explain how different switch-reference meanings are glossed here. The abbreviations "A", "S" and "O" correspond, respectively, to the grammatical functions of subject of a transitive verb, subject of an intransitive verb, and object of a transitive verb. The abbreviation "A/S" refers to the grammatical relation of subject, as opposed to object ("O"), which within the switch-reference system includes the two objects of ditransitive predicates (see §21.3). The symbol ">" is used to distinguish between the arguments of dependent and matrix clauses: arguments preceding ">" belong to the dependent clause, while the arguments following ">" belong to the matrix clause).[81] Thus, the gloss "S/A>O" means that the subject of the switch-reference (dependent) clause is co-referential to the object of the matrix clause. Temporal information is also included in the glosses: "(PE)" means that the event expressed by the dependent clause precedes the event expressed by the matrix clause; "(SE)" indicates that the event expressed by the dependent clause is simultaneous to the event expressed by the matrix clause; and "(POE)" means that the event expressed by the dependent clause is posterior to the event expressed by the matrix clause. Finally, the

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[81] Note that I distinguish here between **matrix clause** and **main clause**. **Matrix clause** refers to a clause that is being modified by a (dependent) clause (a matrix clause can thus be either a main clause or another dependent clause). A **main clause**, by contrast, is a clause that is not dependent on any other clause in the sentence; in most cases, it carries the only fully finite verb of the whole structure (but see Chapter 19 for elaborative and reported speech clauses). Recall that the main criterion for distinguishing between the different types of dependent and independent clauses is the presence or absence of second position enclitics that mark register and mood: dependent clauses do not have any of these enclitics (see Chapter 17).

abbreviation "DS/A/O" indicates that the dependent and the matrix clause do not share any core argument; the abbreviation DS/A is used for clauses that do not share the subject; and the abbreviations "TRAN" and "INTR" indicate that the matrix clause is transitive or intransitive, respectively.

18.2   Converbs and switch-reference clauses

In Kashibo-Kakataibo, it is necessary to establish a distinction between two different types of switch-reference constructions, and I use the terms **converbs** and **switch-reference clauses** to distinguish between them. In turn, I use the labels **switch-reference predicates** and **switch-reference constructions** throughout this chapter, as more general terms that include both **converbs** and **switch-reference clauses**.

Notice that **converbs** and **switch-reference clauses** do not differ either in the form of the switch-reference markers, or in the potential syntactic complexity (for instance, as we will see throughout this chapter, both types can include overtly expressed arguments or adjuncts).[82] Instead, the differences between them have to do with their target, their position and their degree of embedding. These differences are summarised in the following table and commented on in more detail in the following subsections:

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[82] However, there is a tendendy for so-called converbs to be simpler in terms of their clausal properties.

Table 70   Differences between converbs and switch-reference clauses

Criteria	converbs	switch-reference clauses
target	can modify either the main predicate or the adjacent (dependent) one	can only modify the main predicate of the sentence, even if it is not adjacent to it
position	do not have a fixed position, but cannot appear immediately before second position enclitics	appear as the first constituent of the clause, before the second position enclitics, producing a kind of clause chain
degree of embedding	are embedded into their matrix clause (i.e. the main clause or another dependent clause)	depend on the main clause, but are not (completely) embedded into it

18.2.1   Target

In Kashibo-Kakataibo discourse, is it easy to find examples like the following elicited ones, where a chain of switch-reference predicates is uttered:

(732) 'ëx   kana   **[pitankëxun]**   **[xëai]**   'aban
      'ë=x   kana   pi-tankëxun   xëa-i   'abat-a-n
      1sg=S NAR.1sg eat-S/A>A(PE)   drink-S/A>S(SE) run-PERF-1/2p

'**Drinking after eating**, I ran.'

(733) 'ëx   kana   **[pitankëx]**   **[xëai]**   'aban
      'ë=x   kana   pi-tankëx   xëa-i   'abat-a-n
      1sg=S NAR.1sg eat-S/A>S(PE)   drink-S/A>S(SE) run-PERF-1/2p

' I ran **drinking, after eating**.'

The arrows indicate that, in the first example, the target of *pi-* 'to eat' is *xëa-* 'to drink', while in the second example, the target of *pi-* 'to eat' is *'abat-* 'to run' (i.e. *pi-* 'to eat' modifies *xëa-* 'to drink' and *'abat-* 'to run', respectively). In Kashibo-Kakataibo, this can be easily seen in the form of the switch-reference markers, which

usually follow a tripartite alignment and distinguish between S and A in the matrix predicate. In the first example, the form *-tankëxun* 'S/A>A (PE)' on the dependent predicate *pi-* 'to eat' indicates that the co-referential argument is the A of the target predicate. Thus, this predicate has to be transitive (like *xëa-* 'to drink'), and cannot be intransitive (like *'abat-* 'to run'). By contrast, the form *-tankëx* 'S/A>S (PE)' in the second example indicates co-reference with an S argument, and, therefore, the target of *pi-* 'to eat' has to be the intransitive predicate *'abat-* 'to run', which also happens to be the main predicate of the sentence.

Such flexibility is only attested in the converb construction. In the switch-reference clause, by contrast, the dependent predicate *pi-* 'to eat' appears in the first position of the sentence, before the second position enclitics, and it can only modify the main predicate *'abat-* 'to run', even though *xëa-* 'to drink' is positioned between them. Trying to make *pi-* modify the dependent predicate *xëa-* results in an unacceptable form:

(734) ***[pitankëxun]**   kana   **[xëai]**   'aban
        pi-tankëxun   kana   xëa-i   'abat-a-n
        eat-S/A>A(PE)   NAR.1sg   drink-S/A>S(SE)   run-PERF-1/2p

        ('**drinking after eating**, I ran')

(735) **[pitankëx]**   kana   **[xëai]**   'aban
        pi-tankëx   kana   xëa-i   'abat-a-n
        eat-S/A>S(PE)   NAR.1sg   drink-S/A>S(SE)   run-PERF-1/2p

        '**After eating**, I ran **drinking**.'

Thus, the syntactic nature of the switch-reference predicate headed by *pi-* 'to eat' depends on its position relative to a second position enclitic (such as *kana* 'NAR.1sg'): it is possible for a switch-reference predicate to modify another

dependent predicate only if the former follows such an enclitic. According to the distinction proposed here, *pi-* 'to eat' is functioning as a **converb** in (732) and (733) while, in (735), *pi-* 'to eat' is acting as (the head of) a **switch-reference clause**.

18.2.2 Position

The distinction between switch-reference clauses (SRC) and converbs (CV) is not expressed by morphological means. As shown above, what matters instead is the position of the dependent predicate in relation to the second position enclitics. Switch-reference predicates occurring immediately before the second position enclitics can only modify the main predicate (see §18.2.1) and, according to the distinction proposed here, are (the heads of) **switch-reference clauses** (see example (735) above). In turn, **converbs** can appear either after the second position enclitics (see the example (733) above) or as modifiers within switch-reference clauses. This latter position is shown in the following example, where *pi-* 'to eat' modifies the transitive dependent predicate *xëa-* 'to drink' (and not the intransitive main predicate *'abat-* 'to run'). Thus, the form *pitankexun* functions as a converb since it is dependent on *xëai* (which in itself is a dependent element), and the whole construction *pitankexun xëai* functions as a single switch-reference clause:

(736) **[[pitankëxun]**_{CV} **xëai]]**_{SRC}   kana   'aban
      pi-tankëxun   xëa-i   kana   'abat-a-n
      eat-S/A>A(PE)   drink-S/A>S(SE)   NAR.1sg   run-PERF-1/2p

'**Drinking after eating**, I ran.'

There is only one available syntactic slot for such switch-reference clauses (but see one exception in §18.2.3). That is, it is not possible to have two switch-reference clauses preceding a second position enclitic. This is the reason why the

following sentence, where both *pi-* 'to eat' and *xëa-* 'to drink' appear as switch-reference clauses, is unacceptable.

(737) *[pitankëx]_{SRC} [xëai]_{SRC} kana 'aban
      pi-tankëx   xëa-i   kana   'abat-a-n
      eat-S/A>S(PE)   drink-S/A>S(SE) NAR.1sg run-PERF-1/2p

('**after eating while drinking**, I ran')

Notice that switch reference predicates can be focused and, then, appear in a post-verbal position (see §22.2 for a description of focus in Kashibo-Kakataibo). In this case, each post-verbal switch reference predicate needs to be oriented to the main predicate of the clause. Since modifying the main predicate is possible for both converbs and switch-reference clauses, this distinction is thus neutralised in this position, and it is impossible to decide whether we are dealing with switch-reference clause(s) or converb(s). Some examples follow. Notice, however, that this position is unusual for switch-reference predicates in general:

(738) 'ëx   kana   'aban   **[pitankëx]**   **[xëai]**
      'ë=x   kana   'abat-a-n   pi-tankëx   xëa-i
      1sg=S   NAR.1sg run-PERF-1/2p eat-S/A>S(PE) drink-S/A>S(SE)

'I ran, **after eating, while drinking.**'

(739) *'ëx   kana   'aban   **[pitankëx**   **[xëakin]_{CV}**
      'ë=x   kana   'abat-a-n   pi-tankëx   xëa-kin
      1sg=S   NAR.1sg run-PERF-1/2p eat-S/A>S(PE) drink-S/A>A(SE)

('I ran, **after eating while drinking**')

(740) *'ëx   kana   'aban   **[pitankëxun]_{CV}** **xëai]**
      'ë=x   kana   'abat-a-n   pi-tankëxun   xëa-i
      1sg=S   NAR.1sg run-PERF-1/2p eat-S/A>A(PE) drink-S/A>S(SE)

('I ran, **while drinking after eating**')

18.2.3 Degree of embedding

So far we have seen that switch-reference clauses and converbs are different in terms of their position and their target. In this section, I argue that they are also different in terms of their degree of embedding and that switch-reference clauses can be seen as being less embedded than converbs.

A first indication is that, as mentioned in section §18.2.2 above, switch-reference clauses are the first constituent of the sentence, appearing before the second position enclitics and, thus, are not main clause-internal elements. Converbs, by contrast, can be seen as more embedded in the sense that they can appear within the clause they are dependent on. In addition, as mentioned in section §18.2.1, only converbs can modify other dependent predicates. The fact that switch-reference clauses can only modify main predicates (and skip over adjacent dependent predicates) suggests that they are syntactic constituents of a higher level. Looking at this fact from another perspective, one can alternatively say that they cannot depend on converbs because converbs are more embedded than switch-reference clauses and are syntactic constituents of a lower level. This analysis is supported by another fact. Interestingly, there is one construction where we can have more than one switch-reference clause modifying the same main clause. In this case, each switch-reference verb needs to be followed by a second position enclitic, as shown in the following example (note that the first instance of the enclitic is very often followed by a distinctive pause):

(741) [pitankëx]_{SRC}   kana #   [xëai]_{SRC}   kana   ‘aban
       pi-tankëx   kana   xëa-i   kana   ‘abat-a-n
       eat-S/A>S(PE)   NAR.1sg drink-S/A>S(SE)   NAR.1sg   run-PERF-1/2p

‘**After eating, while drinking**, I ran.’

I consider that the presence of more than one second position enclitic marking register in the same sentence is a clear indicator that the grammar of the language treats switch-reference clauses as only weakly embedded elements. Recall that each independent clause requires such an enclitic – and the fact that contexts like the one presented in (741) require two separate enclitics suggests that we are dealing with a low level of embeddedness. The fact that each clause receives a register marker may be an indicator that we are dealing with a construction that is close to juxtaposition; see a similar example in the case of imperative forms in §21.2.2.5).[83]

There is only one context where two switch-reference clauses can appear before the same second position enclitic: if they have the same predicate. This includes reduplicated verbs, which are single predicates with an iterative aspect (see §13.9) or restatements, as shown in the following example (notice that distinctive pauses are also likely to be found in the context of restatements):

(742) [a　　　**pitankëx**]~SRC~　#　[ʻatsa　　**pitankëx**]~SRC~　kana　[**xëai**]~CV~　　　ʻaban
　　　a　　　pi-tankëx　　　　　atsa　　pi-tankëx　　　kana　xëa-i　　　ʻabat-a-n
　　　that.ABS　eat-S/A>A(PE)　　manioc.ABS　eat-S/A>A(PE)　NAR.1sg　drink-S/A>S(SE)　run-PERF-1/2p

'**After eating that, after eating manioc**, I ran while drinking.'

The syntactic relationship between the two switch-reference clauses in the example above requires further study. It is important to note, however, that the second switch-reference clause seems to function as an elaborative clause in relation

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[83] Notice that this does not invalidate what I have said in §17.2, where I argued that a second position clitic marking register is a definitional property of independent sentences: the second position clitics exemplified in this section do not appear within the dependent clause and, therefore, are not true second position clitics in relation to them.

to the previous one; that is, the second switch-reference clause elaborates or adds more information (see §19.3 for more details on elaborative clauses).

18.2.4   Final exemplification

In this section, I have argued that Kashibo-Kakataibo grammar distinguishes between two types of switch-reference constructions, which have been called here **converbs** and **switch-reference clauses**. As we have seen in the previous subsections, such a distinction can be established based on three different criteria: target, position and level of embedding (see Table 70 for a summary).

Two text examples are included here in order to show how this distinction is used in discourse. In the first one, we find two converbs following the second position enclitics and both modifying the matrix predicate *kwan-ru* 'to go-up', as shown by the switch-reference markers *-i* 'S/A>S (SE)' and *-ax* 'S/A>S'. Note that *toin-* 'to hold on' is a transitive verb and, therefore, *tëtan-i* 'to tie-S/A>S (SE)' cannot modify it. As expected, the switch-reference clause before the second position enclitic, *kakëxbi*, modifies the main predicate and any attempt to make it modify any other dependent predicate will result in an unacceptable construction. In the second example, we find a very long switch-reference clause headed by the intransitive predicate *u-* 'to come'. Note that the preceding converbs *ka-bian-* 'to say-going', *abá-kian-* 'to run-going' and *bi-bëtsin-* 'to pick up-coming' modify each other in a chain (I do not include *bënëtishi* in the analysis, because it is primarily an adjective).

(743) C01B04-JE-2007.016

[kakëxbi]$_{SRC}$	kaisa	[kaxori	tëtani]$_{CV}$	[toianx]$_{CV}$
ka-këx=bi	kaisa	kaxori	tëtan-i	toin-ax
say-O>S(PE)-although	NAR.REP.3p	pomegranate.ABS	tie-S/A>S(SE)	hold.on-S/A>S

kwaruakëshín	[a	xanu	a	nuirui][84]
kwan-ru-akë-x-ín	a	xanu	a	nui-ru-i
go-up-REM.PAST-3p-prox	that	woman	that.O	follow-up-S/A>S(SE)

'It is said that, although (she) said it to him, he went up, following that woman, after holding on and tying the pomegranates.'

[kakëxbi]_{SRC} kaisa **[kaxori tëtani]**_{CV} **[toianx]**_{CV} *kwaruakëshín*
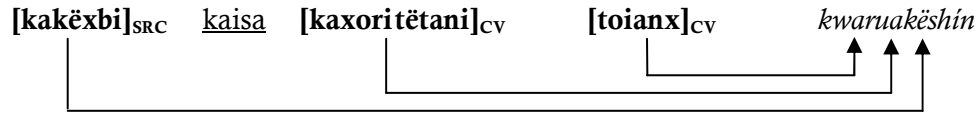
(744) C02A06-NA-2007.014

[[kabiani]_{CV}	bënëtishi	**[abákianxun]**_{CV}	**[chompëru**
ka-bian-i	bënët-i=ishi	abat-kian-xun	chompëru
say-going(TRA)-S/A>S(SE)	hurry-S/A>S(SE)=only	run-going.INTR-S/A>A(SE)	ax.ABS

bitsini]_{CV}	**uxun]**_{SRC}	kaisa	rëakëxa
bits-bëtsin-i	u-xun	kaisa	rët-akë-x-a
pick.up-coming(TRA)-S/A>S(SE)	come-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	cut-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

nanë	a
nanë	a
tree.spe	that.O

'It is said that, going after saying it, very quickly, running, picking up her ax and coming back, it is said that she cut that tree.'

[[kabiani]_{CV} **[abákianxun]**_{CV} **[bitsini]**_{CV} **uxun]**_{SRC} kaisa *rëakëxa*
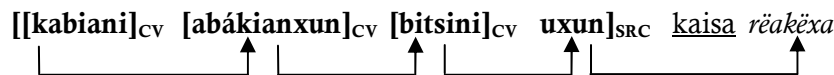
As we can see, the combination of converbs and switch-reference clauses produces a rich system of argument tracking that is frequently used by the speakers in order to structure their discourse. The following sections illustrated each switch-reference marker attested in the language. To make it easier for the reader, I will include a visualization of the switch-reference patterns (like the ones offered in (743) and (744)) for the examples in the following section.

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[84] Since the distinction between switch-reference clauses and converbs is neutralised after the main verb, I do not include references to switch-reference predicates in this position in the examples discussed in this chapter.

18.3   The switch-reference markers

As listed in Table 71, Kashibo-Kakataibo has a large number of suffixes that express different switch-reference meanings (plus another marker that is difficult to classify; see §18.5.2.5). All these forms establish different types of argument tracking, express different temporal relationships between the dependent and the matrix clauses (which can be either main or other dependent clauses; see footnote 81), and observe different grammatical relations (see §21.2.2.1).

Table 71   Switch-reference markers in Kashibo-Kakataibo

switch-reference suffix	temporal value of the event coded by the dependent predicate in relation to the matrix event	function of the co-referential argument	
		dependent clause	**matrix clause**
-i	Simultaneous	**S/A**	**S**
-ax	Previous /simultaneous	**S/A**	**S**
-tankëx	Previous	**S/A**	**S**
-nux	Posterior	**S/A**	**S**
-kin	Simultaneous	**S/A**	**A**
-xun	Previous/simultaneous	**S/A**	**A**
-tankëxun	Previous	**S/A**	**A**
-nuxun	Posterior	**S/A**	**A**
-tanan	Simultaneous	**S/A**	**S/A**
-ia	Simultaneous	**S/A/O**	**O**
-këtian	Previous	**S/A/O**	**O**
-këx	Previous	**O**	**S**
-këxun	Previous	**O**	**A**
-këx=bi	Simultaneous	**O**	**S**
-këxun=bi	Simultaneous	**O**	**A**
-anan	Simultaneous	**Same subjects / (one) different object**	
-këbë(tan)	Simultaneous ('when')	**Different subjects/objects**	
-mainun	Simultaneous, durative ('while')	**Different subjects/objects**	
-an	Previous	**Different subjects/objects**	
-nun	Posterior	**Different subjects**	

We can clearly see, for instance, that the participant agreement forms *-xun* 'PA: A' and *-ax* 'PA: S' (see §14.4) function respectively as the 'S/A>A, previous/simultaneous event' and the 'S/A>S, previous/simultaneous event' switch-reference markers; and these markers are clearly involved in the origin of forms

like *-tankë**xun*** 'S/A>A, previous event' and *-tankë**x*** 'S/A>S, previous event'. In addition, the participant agreement marker *-a* 'PA: O' may be involved in the development of the form *-ia* 'S/A/O>O, simultaneous event'.[85] Notice that the participant agreement markers (plus the suffixes *-kin* 'S/A>A, simultaneous event' and *-i* 'S/A>S, simultaneous event') can be reconstructed for Proto-Pano (see Valenzuela 2003: Chapter 20). By contrast, we find differences among Pano languages with regard to the number, the form and the meaning of other switch-reference markers. This suggests that the Proto-Pano suffixes were combined with distinct forms in diverse ways in different Pano languages. For Kashibo-Kakataibo, such forms include, for instance, the nominaliser *-kë*, the formative *-tan* (which is similar to the synchronic Kashibo-Kakataibo suffix *-tan* 'go to'), and, probably, the 'locative' marker *=nu*. In addition, a marker for 'different subject/object' (perhaps **-(a)n*, as this form recurs in most of the relevant forms) must have played a role in the creation of this complex system.

The paradigm in Table 71 also includes forms that do not show any of the expected participant agreement markers and that seem to be nominalisations occurring in some sort of adverbial function. This is true for forms such as *-këbë(tan)* 'different subjects/objects, simultaneous event', where we find the nominaliser *-kë* and the case marker *=bë(tan)* 'comitative'; and *-këtian* 'S/A/O>O, previous event', where we find again the same nominaliser and the marker *-tian* (which is a case marker expressing a temporal meaning similar to 'live stage' in Shipibo-Konibo; see

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[85] In this dissertation, I use the label **participant agreement** for those cases where these forms are used in clause-internal function, and the label **switch-reference** for those cases where these forms (plus the many others presented in Table 71) are used to combine clauses (see §14.4 for a discussion on participant agreement).

Valenzuela 2003b: 233). These forms are difficult to analyse and their inclusion in Table 71 is open to debate. The form *-tian* is not a synchronic case marker in Kashibo-Kakataibo, and the whole structure seems to have lexicalised into a single marker that expresses a clear switch-reference meaning. Despite their clear nominal origin, *-këtian* seems to be a synchronic marker that derives dependent clauses that predicate about the O argument of the clause they are dependent on.

The case of *-këbë(tan)* is more complex. Forms with *-këbë(tan)* have clearly come from event nominalisations in the comitative case (similar to the English example 'with the arriving of Maria, I left the room'; see also Chapter 20 for more on nominalisations); but, in this case, *=bë(tan)* is still a synchronic comitative marker in the language and the whole form can be argued to be segmentable (*-kë=bë(tan)*). If we follow this analysis, constructions with *=bëtan* are still **nominalisations** and, therefore, they are not clauses (as discussed in Chapter 20, where nominalisations are argued to be denotations). According to this analysis, *-këbë(tan)* should not be included in the paradigm presented in Table 71, which lists a set of morphological elements which derive **dependent clauses** (see Chapter 17). These cases show that the distinction between nominalisations and switch-reference forms is not clear-cut and the inclusion of *-këbë(tan)* in this paradigm is certainly open to debate.

The paradigm in Table 71 is the result of different diachronic processes and includes forms that have different origins. Given their synchronic distribution and behaviour, I will treat all forms as monomorphemic suffixes forming a single paradigm, despite their morphologically complex diachronic origins. The switch-reference makers are mutually exclusive (i.e. they produce a culminative paradigm) and positionally-fixed (verb-final). The description of Kashibo-Kakataibo's switch-reference markers has been organised into four basic types of argument tracking:

same subjects (§18.3.1); subject/object > object (§18.3.2); object > subject (§18.3.3); and, finally, different subjects(/objects) (§18.3.4).

18.3.1 Same subjects

18.3.1.1 *-i* 'S/A>S, simultaneous event'

The form *-i* 'S/A>S, simultaneous event' is used to indicate that the S/A argument of the dependent clause is co-referential to the S argument of the matrix one and that both events are simultaneous. In the following example, *-i* 'S/A>S, simultaneous event' appears on the verb *buan-* 'to bring', which is modifying the main verb *kwan-* 'to go':

(745) C02B02-NA-2007.006

a	**buani**	ka	kwankëxa
a	buan-**i**	ka	kwan-akë-x-a
that.O	bring-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.3p	go-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'**Bringing that**, they went.'

[buani]~SRC~   <u>kaisa</u>   *kwankëxa*

18.3.1.2 *-ax* 'S/A>S, previous/simultaneous event'

The marker *-ax* has been already presented in §14.4, where the category of participant agreement was introduced. As part of the switch-reference system, this form is used to indicate that the S/A argument of the dependent clause is co-referential to the S argument of the matrix one. This form has a wider semantic range in that includes both previous and simultaneous dependent events and cause-effect conditionals. Due to its wide semantics, I gloss it simply as 'S/A>S'

(746) **piax**   kana   'abatin
       pi-ax   kana   'abat-i-n
       eat-S/A>S   NAR.1sg run-IMPF-1/2p

      '(After) eating, I run.'
       '**If I eat**, I drink.'

      [**piax**]_{SRC}   <u>kana</u>   *'abatin*

18.3.1.3 *-tankëx* 'S/A>S, previous event'

The form *-tankëx* 'S/A>S, previous event' is used to indicate that the S/A argument of the dependent clause is co-referential to the S argument of the matrix one, and that the dependent event is anterior to the matrix one. The following example includes three instances of *-tankëx* 'S/A>S, previous event' which are modifying the main verb *u-ru* 'to come-up' (in italics). Note the complexity of this example. Immediately after the first instance of *-tankëx*, there is a second position enclitic and thus the form *ënantankëx* is to be interpreted as a switch-reference clause. The second and the third instances of the marker appear on the same predicate, and are followed by one second position enclitic; again, they have to be interpreted as a switch-reference clause. All three switch-reference markers then modify the main intransitive predicate *u-ru* 'to come-up':

(747) C00A06-EE-2006.034

ënanantankëx		kaisa	achushi	tapan	anuishi
ënan-anan-tankëx		kaisa	achushi	tapan	anu=ishi
separate-REC-S/A>S(PE)		NAR.REP.3p	one	raft	there=only

auisa	kwankë		axëshi	anu
au-isa	kwan-kë		a-x=ishi	anu
there(NAR.LOC)-REP.3p	go.NON.PAST.1/2p-NOM		that-S=only	there

tsótankëx	Amazonas	saếkë	anu	**tsótankëx**	kaisa
tsót-tankëx	Amazona	saếkë	anu	tsót-tankëx	kaisa
live-S/A>S(PE)	Amazon	near.by.a.river	there	live-S/A>S(PE)	NAR.REP.3p

uruakëxa		paru	bërui
u-ru-akë-x-a		paru	bëru-i
come-up-REM.PAST-S-non.prox		big.river.ABS	follow-S/A>S(SE)

Pucallpami	kaisa	*uruakëxa*
Pucallpa=mi	kaisa	u-ru-akë-x-a
Pucallpa=IMPR.LOC	NAR.REP.3p	come-up-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, **after separating from each other and after living for a while in the place** that they arrived with one of the rafts, they came up following the river close to Pucallpa.'

[ënanantankëx]_{SRC}   kaisa   [tsótankëx   tsótankëx]_{SRC}   kaisa   *kwaruakëshín*

[ënanantankëx]_SRC   kaisa   [tsótankëx   tsótankëx]_SRC   kaisa   *kwaruakëshín*

18.3.1.4 *-nux* 'S/A>S, posterior event'

The form *-nux* 'S/A>S, posterior event' is used to indicate that the S/A argument of the dependent clause is co-referential to the S argument of the matrix one, and that the dependent event is posterior to the matrix one. This form usually receives a purpositive interpretation, as in the following example:

(748) C01A06-JE-2007.004

tsi	**mëkamanux**	kaisa	chërëkënën	rara
tsi	mëkama-nux	kaisa	chërëkën=n	rara
fire.ABS	steal-S/A>S(POE)	NAR.REP.3p	small.parrot=GEN	ancestor.ABS

tsóakëxa	tsi	kwëbí	utënbuax
tsót-akë-x-a	tsi	kwëbí	utënbu-ax
live-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	fire	near.by	be.pensative-S/A>S

'It is said that, **in order to steal the fire**, the parrot sat down close to it, sadly'

[mëkamanux]_{SRC} kaisa   *tsóakëxa*

18.3.1.5 *-kin* 'S/A>A, simultaneous event'

The form *-kin* 'S/A>A, simultaneous event' is used to indicate that the S/A argument of the dependent clause is co-referential to the A argument of the matrix one, and that the two events are simultaneous. This form is used twice in the

following example on the verbs *'a-pun-* 'to do-early the same day' and *'ux-* 'to sleep'.

The two forms are modifying the main verb *'a-* 'to do'. Note that the form *'apunkin* is

a switch-reference clause, according to the distinction proposed in this chapter and,

therefore, does not modify the dependent intransitive verb *'ux* 'to sleep'.

(749) C02A02-NA-2007.047

'apunkin	kaisa	bëtsi ñantan	**'uxkin**	'akëshín
'a-pun-**kin**	kaisa	bëtsi ñantan	'ux-**kin**	'a-akë-x-ín
do-same.day-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	other afternoon	sleep-S/A>A(SE)	do-REM.PAST-3p-prox

 'It is said that, **doing it early, sleeping for another afternoon**, he did it'

['apunkin]_{SRC} <u>kaisa</u>   ['uxkin]_{CV}   *'akëshín*
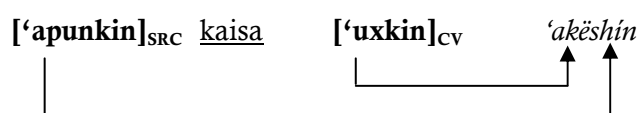
18.3.1.6 *-xun* 'S/A>A, previous/simultaneous event'

Like *-ax* 'S/A>S, previous/simultaneous event', the marker *-xun* has been already

presented in §14.4 as part of the participant agreement system. As a switch-reference

marker, this form is used to indicate that the S/A argument of the dependent clause

is the A argument of the matrix clause. This form is used for both previous and

simultaneous dependent events, but also for cause-effect conditionals. Here it is

simply glossed as 'S/A>A'.

(750) **pixun**	kana	xëain
pi-xun	kana	xëa-i-n
eat-S/A>A	NAR.1sg	drink-PERF-1/2p

'**(After) eating**, I drink.'
'**If I eat**, I drink'

[pixun]_{SRC} <u>kana</u>   *xeain*
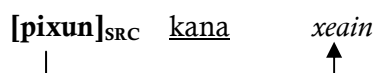
18.3.1.7 *-tankëxun* 'S/A>A, previous event'

The form *-tankëxun* 'S/A>A, previous event' indicates that the S/A argument of the

dependent clause is co-referential to the A argument of the matrix one, and that the

578

dependent event is anterior to the matrix one. In the following example, the
suffix *-tankëxun* 'S/A>A, previous event' occurs on the verb *bëba-* 'to arrive', which is
modifying the main predicate *'a-tëkën-* 'to do-again':

(751) C00A03-EE-2006.007
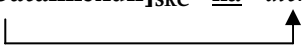
bëbatankëxun	ka	anuxun	hasta	Tingo Marianu
bëba-tankëxun	ka	anuxun	hasta	Tingo Maria=nu
arrive-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.3p	then(TRAN)	until	Tingo.Maria=LOC

'atëkëankëxa	amiribishi
'a-tëkën-akë-x-a	amiribishi
do-again-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	again

'**After arriving**, then, they built it again until Tingo Maria.'

[**bëbatankëxun**]_{SRC} ka *'atekëankëxa*

18.3.1.8 *-nuxun* 'S/A>A, posterior event'

The form *-nuxun* 'S/A>A, posterior event' indicates that the S/A argument of the
dependent clause is co-referential to the A argument of the matrix one, and that the
dependent event is posterior to the matrix one. The form *-nuxun* 'S/A>A, posterior
event', like *-nux* 'S/A>S, posterior event', usually receives a purpositive
interpretation, as is the case in the following example:

(752) C02B04-SE-2007.002

naë	**'anuxun**	kananuna	mepain	*barin*
naë	'a-nuxun	kananuna	me=pain	bari-i-n
garden.ABS	do-S/A>A(POE)	NAR.1pl	land.ABS=first	look.for-IMPF-1/2p

'**In order to make a garden**, first we look for a piece of land.'

['**anuxun**]_{SRC} kananuna *barin*

18.3.1.9 *-tanan* 'S/A>S/A, simultaneous event'

The form *-tanan* 'S/A>S/A, simultaneous event' is not very frequently used in discourse and is different from the other same subjects-markers since it does not distinguish between S and A in the matrix clause. This form indicates that the subject argument (as opposed to the object argument) is the same in both the dependent and the main clause and that both events are simultaneous. In that sense, *-tanan* 'S/A>S/A, simultaneous event' comprises the function of two other switch-reference markers: *-kin* 'S/A>A, simultaneous event' and *-i* 'S/A>S, simultaneous events'; however, a more careful study of the interaction between those different forms is still to be done. Two elicited examples of *-tanan* 'S/A>S/A, simultaneous event' follow (in the first one, the matrix verb is transitive and in the second, it is intransitive):

(753) **pitanan**   kana   **xëan**
     pi-tanan   kana   xëa-a-n
     eat-S/A>S/A(SE)   NAR.1sg   drink-PERF-1/2p
     '**Eating**, I drank.'
     [**pitanan**]_{SR}   <u>kana</u>   *xëan*
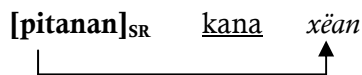
(754) **pitanan**   kana   **'aban**
     pi-tanan   kana   'abat-a-n
     eat-S/A>S/A(SE) NAR.1sg   run-PERF-1/2p
     '**Eating**, I ran.'
     [**piatanan**]_{SR}   <u>kana</u>   *'aban*
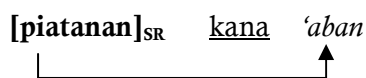
Note that this form and *-anan* 'same subjects; different object, simultaneous events' seems to be formally related. In fact, *-tanan* might have come from the combination of *-tan* plus *-anan*, where the first proposed formative is also attested in other same subject markers such as *-tankëxun* 'S/A>A, previous event' and *-tankëx* 'S/A>A, previous event'.

18.3.1.10 -*anan* 'same subjects, one different object, simultaneous event'

The form -*anan* 'same subjects, one different object, simultaneous event' is used when the two clauses of a chain express simultaneous events and have different objects but the same subject. As explained in §21.3.12, if two ditransitive predicates are combined by means of -*anan*, this restriction applies only over one of the objects. Thus, the two clauses need to have only one different object but can share the other one. In addition, if one predicate is ditransitive and the other is transitive, the only transitive object can also be one of the ditransitive arguments, since, by definition, one object of the ditransitive predicate will not be shared. Something similar happens if an intransitive predicate and a transitive one are combined by means of this form. All this is shown in the following elicited examples:

(755) Two transitive verbs

'atsa	**pianan**	kana	**'atapa**	'aruan
'atsa	pi-**anan**	kana	**'atapa**	'aru-a-n
manioc.ABS	eat-S/A>S/A(SE)	NAR.1sg	hen.ABS	cook-PERF-1/2p

'I cooked hen **while eating manioc**.'

*'atsa	pi**anan**	kana	**'atsa**	'aruan
'atsa	pi-**anan**	kana	**'atsa**	'aru-a-n
manioc.ABS	eat-S/A>S/A(SE)	NAR.1sg	manioc.ABS	cook-PERF-1/2p

('I cooked manioc **while eating it**')

[**pianan**]_{SR} <u>kana</u>   *'aruan*

(756) Two ditransitive verbs

'atsa	**uni**	**'inanan**	kana	**'atsa**	**xanu**	'pimian
'atsa	**uni**	'inan-**anan**	kana	**'atsa**	**xanu**	'pi-mi-a-n
manioc.ABS	man.ABS	give-S/A>S/A(SE)	NAR.1sg	manioc.ABS	woman.ABS	eat-CAUS-PERF-1/2p

'I gave manioc to the man **while feeding the women with it**.'

581

*'atsa	uni	'inannan	kana	'atsa	uni	'pimian
'atsa	uni	'inan-**anan**	kana	'atsa	uni	'pi-mi-a-n
manioc.ABS	man.ABS	give-S/A>S/A(SE)	NAR.1sg	manioc.ABS	man.ABS	eat-CAUS-PERF-1/2p

('I gave manioc to the man **while feeding him with it**')

['**inanan**]~SRC~ <u>kana</u> *'pimian*
|_____↑
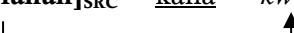
(757) <u>One ditransitive and one transitive verb</u>

'atsa	uni	'inanan	kana	uni	'kan
'atsa	uni	'inan-**anan**	kana	uni	'ka-a-n
manioc.ABS	man.ABS	give-S/A>S/A(SE)	NAR.1sg	man.ABS	say.TRAN-PERF-1/2p

'I gave manioc to the man **while talking to him**.'

['**inanan**]~SRC~ <u>kana</u> *kan*
|_____↑

(758) <u>One transitive and one intransitive verb</u>

'atsa	pianan	kana	kwan
'atsa	pi-**anan**	kana	kwan-a-n
manioc.ABS	eat-S/A>S/A(SE)	NAR.1sg	go-PERF-1/2p

'I went **while eating manioc**.'

[**pianan**]~SRC~ <u>kana</u> *kwan*
|_____↑
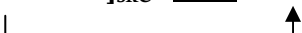
One text example of *-anan* follows:

(759) C01B02-JE-2007.063

ain	xon kari bata	a	**xëamianan**	[...]	kaisa
ain	xon kari bata	a	xëa-mi-**anan**	[...]	kaisa
his	mythical.drink	3sg.O	drink-CAUS-DO.SE		NAR.REP.3p

kakëxa	uni
ka-akë-x-a	uni
say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	person.ABS

'It is said that, **making the man drink the mythical drink**, (the condor) said to the man...'

[**xëamianan**]~SRC~ <u>kaisa</u> *kakëxa*
|_____↑

The marker *-anan* can be used in this example since the object argument of the

ditransitive predicate *xon kari bata* 'mythical drink' is not part of the argument

structure of the following transitive verb (even though the secondary object of the causative predicate is co-referential to the object of the transitive main predicate: *uni* 'man').

18.3.2 Subject/object > object

18.3.2.1 *-ia* 'S/A/O>O, simultaneous event'

The form *-ia* 'S/A/O>O, simultaneous event' indicates that one core argument of the dependent clause is co-referential to the O argument of the matrix one (see §9.3.1 for the distinction between core and oblique arguments), and that the two events are simultaneous. This suffix is presented in the following example. There we can see that the clause made up by the reduplicated verb *kwan-ru* 'to go-up' is modifying the main verb *ka-* 'to say':

(760) C01B02-JE-2007.020

kwaru	**kwaruia**	kaisa	*kakëshín*
kwan-ru	kwan-ru-**ia**	kaisa	ka-akë-x-ín
go- up	go-up-S/A/O>O(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	say-REM.PAST-3p-prox
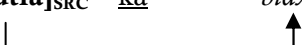
'It is said that, **when (he) was going up**, (the man) said (something) to him.' **(S>O)**

[kwaru kwaruia]_{SRC}   <u>kaisa</u> *kakëshín*

Even though it is not common in discourse, according to my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers, and as indicated in its gloss, the suffix *-ia* can also be used for 'O>O, simultaneous event' switch-reference tracking. See the following elicited example:

(761)

'ën	pia	**xutia**	ka	Robertonën	biaxa
'ë=n	pia	xut-**ia**	ka	Roberto-nën	bi-a-x-a
1sg=A	arrow.ABS	throw-S/A/O>O(SE)	NAR.3p	Roberto=ERG	grab-PERF-3p-non.prox

'**When I threw the arrow**, Roberto grabbed it' **(O>O)**

[xutia]_{SRC} <u>ka</u>   *biaxa*

18.3.2.2 *-këtian* 'S/A/O>O, previous event'

The form *-këtian* 'S/A/O>O, previous event' indicates that one core argument of the dependent clause is co-referential to the O argument of the matrix one, and that the dependent event is preceding the matrix one. The marker *-këtian* 'S/A/O>O, previous event' is exemplified by the following elicited paradigm:

(762) Pedro   **mëkëtian**   kana   Juan   Limanu   xuan

Pedro   më-**këtian**   kana   Juan   Lima=nu   xu-a-n

Pedro.ABS   beat.up-S/A/O>O(PE)   NAR.1sg   Juan.ABS   Lima=LOC   send-PERF-1/2p

'**After he$_j$ beat up Pedro**, I sent Juan$_j$ to Lima.' **(A>O)**

[**mëkëtian**]$_{SRC}$ <u>kana</u> *xuan*
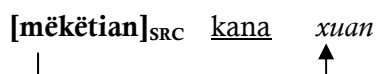
(763) Pedronën   **mëkëtian**   kana   Juan   Limanu   xuan

Pedro-nën   më-**këtian**   kana   Juan   Lima=nu   xu-a-n

Pedro.ABS   beat.up-S/A/O>O(PE)   NAR.1sg   Juan.ABS   Lima=LOC   send-PERF-1/2p

'**After Pedro beat him$_j$ up**, I sent Juan$_j$ to Lima.' **(O>O)**

[**mëkëtian**]$_{SRC}$ <u>kana</u> *xuan*
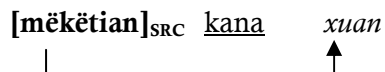
(764) '**isinkëtian**   kana   Juan   Limanu   xuan

'isin-**këtian**   kana   Juan   Lima=nu   xu-a-n

be.sick-S/A/O>O(PE)   NAR.1sg   Juan.ABS   Lima=LOC   send-PERF-1/2p

'**After he$_j$ was sick**, I sent Juan$_j$ to Lima' **(S>O)**

['**isinkëtian**]$_{SRC}$ <u>kana</u> *xuan*
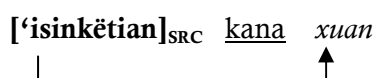
This form shares with nominalisations in attributive function (see §20.5) that the co-referential argument cannot be mentioned in the dependent element. This restriction, which is not found with any other form in the switch-reference paradigm, is a definitional feature of participant nominalisations (see §20.2.5) and could be evidence for analysing the constructions with *-këtian* as nominalisations. I tentatively analyse it as a switch-reference marker. One text example of *-këtian* follows:

(765) C02A02-NA-2007.059

kaikëtian		**kaikëtian**	kaisa	anua	baka
kai-**këtian**		kai-**këtian**	kaisa	anu-a	baka
reproduce-S/A/O>O(PE)		reproduce-S/A/O>O(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	there-PA:O	river

rërëkakë	kwëtú	rërëkakë	*buankëxa*		a
rërëka-kë	kwëtú	rërëka-kë	buan-akë-x-a		a
spill-NOM.ABS	mud	spill-NOM.ABS	bring-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox		that.O

'It is said that, **after they reproduced themselves**, (she) brought (the worms) that spilt over the mud and river'

[kaikëtian   kaikëtian]_{SRC}   <u>kaisa</u>   *buankëxa*

18.3.3 Object > subject

Two different forms are attested in this paradigm: *-këx* 'O > S, previous event' and *-këxun* 'O > A, previous event'. Both of them can be combined with the enclitic =*bi* 'same' in order to express simultaneous events. Notice that the presence of this enclitic in combination with these forms may trigger a 'though' interpretation, as shown in the following example:

(766) C01A06-JE-2007.012

kakëxunbi	kaisa	'ama	*'ikën*
ka-**këxun**=bi	kaisa	'a-a=ma	'ikën
say-O>A(PE)=same	NAR.REP.3p	do-NOM=NEG	be.3p

'It is said that, **even though they talked (to him)**, (he) did not do it'

[kakëxunbi]_{SRC}<u>kaisa</u>   *'ikën*

18.3.3.1 *-këx* 'O > S, previous event' and *-këx=bi* 'O > S, simultaneous event'

The forms *-këx* 'O > S, previous event' and *-këx=bi* 'O > S, simultaneous event' indicate that the O argument of the dependent clause is co-referential to the S argument of the matrix one. The former is used for dependent previous events and the latter for simultaneous ones (but also to express the meaning 'though'; see

example (766)). The form *-këx* 'O > S, previous event' is exemplified in the following

elicited sentence:

(767) Juanën   Pedro   **mëkëx**   ka   Limanu   kwanxa

Juan-nën   Pedro   më-**këx**   ka   Lima=nu   kwan-a-x-a

Juan=ERG   Pedro.ABS   beat.up-O>S(PE)   NAR.3p   Lima=LOC   go-PERF-3p-non.prox

'After Juan beat up Pedro, Pedro went to Lima.'

[mëkëx]_{SRC} <u>ka</u>   *kwanxa*

The form *-këx=bi* 'O > S, simultaneous event' is illustrated in the following

example, where this suffix and the verb *is-* 'to see' appear twice. In both cases, *is-këx=bi* is modifying the main intransitive periphrastic verbal form *bashanani 'iakëxa*

'were washing each other'. Note that each switch-reference clause carries a converb

and is followed by a second position enclitic. Since the two heads of the two switch-

reference clauses include the same predicate, it would not be obligatory to repeat the

second position enclitic (see §18.2.3), and this repetition seems to be motivated by

the additional presence of converbs:

(768) C01A09-SE-2007.008

"a ñu   kara   ën   xabionkë   basia   tain

a ñu   kara   ë=n   xabionkë   basi-i-a   tain

what.ABS   NAR.INT.3p   1sg=GEN   wife.ABS   be.slow-IMPF-non.prox   EXH

isnun"   kikin   **iskëxbi**   kaisa

is-nun   ki-kin   is-**këx**=bi   kaisa

see-DIFF.PURP   say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)   see-O>S(PE)=same   NAR.REP.3p

unëxun   **iskëxbi**   kaisa   'unpaxan   *bashanani*

unë-xun   is-**këx**=bi   kaisa   'unpax=n   bashan-anan-i

hide-S/A>A(SE)   see-O>S(PE)=same   NAR.REP.3p   water=INS   take.a.bath-REC-S/A>S(SE)

‘iakëxa		ain	mërati	ain	‘akë	unibë.
‘i-akë-x-a		ain	mërati	ain	‘a-kë	uni-bë.
be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox		3sg.GEN	partner	3sg.GEN	do-NOM	person-COM(S)

'It is said that, **at the exact moment when his husband was looking at her**, **saying "what is making my wife be late?, I will see" and hiding himself**, she was playing in the water with her lover.'

[[kikin]~CV~ iskëxbi]~SRC~ <u>kaisa</u> [[unëxun]~CV~ iskëxbi]~SRC~ <u>kaisa</u> *bashanani ‘iakëxa*

18.3.3.2 *-këxun* 'O >A, previous event' and *-këxun=bi* 'O >A, simultaneous event'

The forms *-këxun* 'O >A, previous event' and *-këxun=bi* 'O >A, simultaneous event' are used to indicate that the O argument of the dependent clause is co-referential to the A argument of the matrix one. The former is used for dependent previous events and the latter for simultaneous ones (but also to express the meaning 'though').

Examples of *-këxun* 'O >A, previous event' and *-këxun=bi* 'O >A, simultaneous event' follow:

(769) | Juanën | Pedro | **mëkëxun** | ka | policia | kwëanxa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Juan-nën | Pedro | më-**këxun** | ka | policia | kwën-a-x-a |
| Juan=ERG | Pedro.ABS | beat.up-O>A(PE) | NAR.3p | police.ABS | call-PERF-3p-non.prox |

'**After Juan beat up Pedro**~j~, he~j~ called the police.' **(O>A)**

[**mëkëxun**]~SRC~ <u>ka</u> *kwëanxa*

(770) | Juanën | Pedro | **mëkëxunbi** | ka | policia | kwëanxa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Juan-nën | Pedro | më-**këxun=bi** | ka | policia | kwën-a-x-a |
| Juan=ERG | Pedro.ABS | beat.up-O>A=same | NAR.3p | police.ABS | call-PERF-3p-non.prox |

'**At the same time that Juan beat up Pedro**~j~, he~j~ called the police.' **(O>A)**

[**mëkëxun**]~SRC~ <u>ka</u> *kwëanxa*

18.3.4 Different subjects(/objects)

18.3.4.1 *-këbë(tan)* 'different subjects/objects, simultaneous event'

The form *-këbë(tan)* 'simultaneous event, different subjects/objects' has originated in the nominaliser *-kë* plus the comitative marker *=bë(tan)*. As mentioned in the introduction, constructions with *-këbëtan* could alternatively be analysed as nominalisations in the comitative case, but I analyse *-këbë(tan)* as having developed into a switch-reference marker with the fixed meaning 'different subjects/objects, simultaneous event'. That is, it is used for clauses that do not share any core argument and that express simultaneous events. As it is the case for the comitative marker, the form *-këbë(tan)* 'different subjects/objects, simultaneous event' shows an allomorphic alternation: the form *-këbë* is only used with intransitive matrix predicates, while the form *-këbëtan* is used with transitive predicates (see §9.3.1.3 for the tripartite pattern followed by the comitative markers in Kashibo-Kakataibo).

Examples of this form modifying both transitive and intransitive predicates follow. In the first one, the form *sinan-këbëtan=bi* 'to think-different subjects/objects, simultaneous event, transitive=same' modifies the transitive predicate *sinan-* 'to think'. In the second example, the form *buan-këbë=bi* 'to bring-different subjects/objects, simultaneous event, intransitive=same' modifies the intransitive verb *kwan-* 'to go'. Note that *buan-këbë=bi* appears as a switch-reference clause and, therefore, it does not modify the dependent transitive predicate *ka-tika-bian-i* 'back-to follow-going, transitive-S/A>S, simultaneous event', which functions as a converb:

(771) C01A08-JE-2007.009

sinankëbëtanbi	kaisa	bëtsi	unin
sinan-këbëtan=bi	kaisa	bëtsi	uni=n
think-DS/A/O(SE.TRAN)=same	NAR.REP.3p	other	person=ERG

sinankëxa

sinan-akë-x-a

think-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, **at the same moment when they thought (something)**, other men thought (something else) as well.'

[sinankëbetanbi]_{SRC} <u>kaisa</u> *sinankëxa*
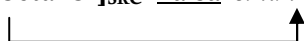
(772) C01B04-JE-2007.003

ain	xanu	**buankëbëbi**	kaisa	a
ain	xanu	buan-këbë=bi	kaisa	a
3sg.GEN	woman.ABS	bring-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)=same	NAR.REP.3p	that.O

katikabiani		uni	ax	*kwankëshín*
ka-tika-bian-i		uni	a=x	kwan-akë-x-ín
back-follow-going(TRA)-S/A>S(SE)		person	that=S	go-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, **when he brought his wife**, the other man went behind, following them.'

[buankëbëbi]_{SRC} <u>kaisa</u> **[katikabiani]**_{CV} *kwankëshín*

18.3.4.2 *-mainun* 'different subjects/objects, simultaneous event (durative)'

The forms *-këbë(tan)* and *-mainun* are both used for simultaneous events that do not share either subjects or objects. The difference is that while *-këbë(tan)* can be translated as 'when' (with the corresponding verb being presented as a punctual event), *-mainun* can be translated as 'while' (with the corresponding verb being presented as a durative event). One example of this form, which is also found in the coordinator *'imainun* 'and' (see §9.5.1), follows:

(773) C01B06-JE-2007.016

'atsa	**tamëniómainun**	xaikama	**tamëniómainun**
'atsa	ta-mënió-mainun	xai=kama	ta-mënió-mainun
manioc.ABS	foot-clean-DS/A/O(SE.DUR)	sugar.cane=PLU.ABS	foot-clean-DS/A/O(SE.DUR)

ka	ënu	tsó'
ka	ënu	tsót
NAR	here	seat.down.IMP

'Sit here, **while I clean the grass, clean the manioc and clean the sugar cane**.'

[tamëniómainun]_{SRC}   [tamëniómainun]_{SRC}   <u>ka</u>   *tsó'*
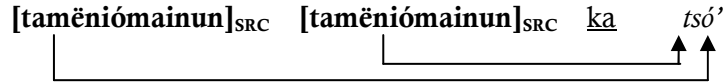
18.3.4.3 *-an* 'different subjects/objects, previous event'

The suffix *-an* 'different subjects/objects, previous event' is used when the switch-reference clause refers to a previous event and the two clauses in the chain do not share their subjects and objects. In the following example, it appears on the verb *tsót-* 'to sit down', which is the first constituent of the sentence, modifying the main verb *buan-* 'to bring'. Note that there is another predicate in the construction, *chuminbut-këbë=bi* 'to become thin-different subjects/objects, simultaneous event, intransitive=same', that occupies a clause-internal position and functions as a converb:

(774) C01B02-JE-2007.049

tsótanbi	kaisa	chuminbukëbëbi	ishmin
tsót-**an**=bi	kaisa	chuminbut-këbë=bi	ishmin
sit.down-PE.DS/A/O=same	NAR.REP.3p	become.thin-when(DS/A/O.INTR)=same	condor.ABS

buankëshín
buan-akë-x-ín
bring-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, **after he sat down**, getting very thin, the condor brought (the things he promised).'

[tsótanbi]_{SRC}   <u>kaisa</u>   [chuminbukëbëbi]_{CV}   *buankëshín*
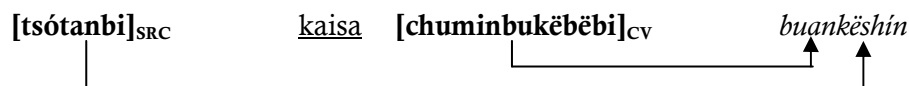
18.3.4.4 *-nun* 'different subjects, posterior event'

The suffix *-nun* 'different subjects, posterior event' is used to indicate that two clauses in a chain do not share the subject (S/A) and that the dependent clause expresses a

posterior event. However, differently from the other suffixes presented in this section, *-nun* can be used to express an argument tracking pattern according to which (1) the object of one of the clauses is the subject of the other; or (2) the two clauses share their object. Therefore, *-nun* codes 'different subjects' and not different subjects/objects'. The semantic difference found between this suffix and the other ones in this section may be related to the fact that there is no means to express this argument tracking pattern for posterior dependent events otherwise. Thus, while we find specialised forms for object to object, subject to object and object to subject argument-tracking in the case of simultaneous and previous events, this is not true in the case of posterior events. In this context, *-nun* has a wider semantic range than the corresponding forms for other temporal relations in the paradigm. Three examples illustrating the different types of argument tracking that can be expressed by *-nun* follow (notice that, as other forms marking posterior events, *-nun* usually receives a purpositive interpretation):

(775) C02A09-NA-2007.012

bëtsi	nëtën	mi	**kanun**	kamina	kwanti	'ain
bëtsi	nëtë=n	mi	ka-**nun**	kamina	kwan-ti	'ain
other	day=TEMP	you	say-DS/A(POE)NAR.2p		go-NOM	be.1/2p

'You will go **in order for (him) to talk to you on another day**.' **(O > S)**

[kanun]$_{SRC}$ kamina *kwanti 'ain*

(776) Elicited from C02A09-NA-2007.012

bëtsi	nëtën	mi	**kanun**	kana	mi	buanti	'ain
bëtsi	nëtë=n	mi	ka-**nun**	kana	mi	buan-ti	'ain
other	day=TEMP	2sg.O	say-DS/A(POE)	NAR.1sg	2sg.ABS	go-NOM	be.1/2p
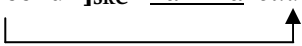
'I will take you **in order for (him) to talk to you on another day**.' **(O > O)**

[kanun]$_{SRC}$ kamina *buanti 'ain*

(777) Elicited from C02A09-NA-2007.012

bëtsi	nëtën	ax	**kwëënun**	kana	mi	buanti	'ain
bëtsi	nëtë=n	a=x	kwëën-**nun**	kana	mi	buan-ti	'ain
other	day=TEMP	3pl=S	say- DS/A.POE	NAR.1sg	2sg.ABS	go-NOM	be.1/2p

'I will take you **in order for him to be happy on another day**.' **(no shared core arguments)**

[kwëënun]_{SRC} <u>kamina</u> *buanti 'ain*

18.4   Marking indirect participation in switch-reference predicates

One interesting fact associated with switch-reference clauses is that they offer the possibility to indicate the indirect participation of the subject of the main clause in the dependent event. In other words, if we have a switch-reference clause and a main clause with different subjects/objects, but the subject of the latter clause is indirectly compromised or emotionally affected by the event presented in the former, Kashibo-Kakataibo has a specialised construction to express that semantic relation. In this case, the different subject/object marker is replaced by the marker *-ia* 'S/A/O>O, simultaneous event' and it is followed by the 'factitive' marker *-o* (also used to obtain transitive predicates from adjectives and nouns, see Chapter 7), which in turn carries a 'same subject' marker. In this construction, *-o* is clearly not prosodically attached to the preceding switch-reference predicate and functions as an independent verb. Let us compare the two following examples:

(778)
uni	**pakëkëbë**	kaisa	xanu	kwankëshín
uni	**pakët-këbë**	kaisa	xanu	kwan-akë-x-ín
man.ABS	fall.down-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)	NAR.REP.3p	woman.ABS	go-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, when the man fell down, the woman went'

(779)
uni	**pakëtia**	**oi**	kaisa	xanu
uni	**pakët-ia**	**o-i**	kaisa	xanu
man.ABS	fall.down-S/A/O>O(SE)	FACT-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	woman.ABS

592

kwankëshín
kwan-akë-x-ín
go-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, when the man fell down, the woman went (but she saw him or was in some way interested in or compromised with the event, because he was her husband, her enemy or something like this).'

In the example in (778), the switch-reference clause presents the two events as being in a temporal relationship (the woman went *when the man fell down*). By contrast, in (779), an additional indirect relationship between the subject of the main clause and the event presented in the switch-reference clause is indicated. Even though the introduction of the form *-o* 'factitive' plus a same subject marker suggests that, grammatically, the two clauses share their subjects, semantically this is not true. The construction only attributes an indirect participation in the dependent event to the subject of the main clause. In general, the subject of the main clause tends to be interpreted (1) as a perceiver and/or (2) as someone emotionally concerned with the event.

In the example in (780), this construction is illustrated with the verb *bëba-* 'to arrive'. According to my teachers, we find a perceiver interpretation (the father and the mother of the man saw him arriving after a long time). At the same time, however, they have been looking for him during his absence, and the parents are thus also emotionally affected by their son's arrival. Thus meanings (1) and (2) are both present in this example:

(780) C01B02-JE-2007.083

bëbaia	**oi**	kaisa	ain	tita
bëba-**ia**	o-**i**	kaisa	ain	tita
arrive-S/A/O>O(SE)	FACT-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	3sg.GEN	mother

ain	papa	kiakëshín
ain	papa	ki-akë-x-ín
his	father.ABS	say(INTR)-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, when (they saw him) arriving, his mother and his father said (very emotionally).'

Something similar occurs in the following example. This construction appears with the complex verbal form *ñu unani nits-* 'to walk knowing things' and the interpretation is, according to my teachers, that the Kashibo-Kakataibo ancestors started to treat the young people as men once they (proudly) realised that those young people were able to live by themselves. Again, both perception and emotional involvement seem to be attested in this example.

(781) C02B02-NA-2007.083

ñu	unani	**nitsia**	**oi**	ka	nukën
ñu	'unan-i	nits-**ia**	**o-i**	ka	nukën
thing.ABS	know-S/A>S(SE)	walk-S/A/O>O(SE)	FACT-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.3p	1pl.GEN

chaitinën	ënë	'akëxa
chaiti=n	ënë	'a-akë-x-a
ancestor=ERG	this.O	do-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'When (they proudly realised that we) were able to walk knowing things, our ancestors used to do this.'

18.5   Modality and aspect expressed by switch-reference

Switch-reference markers are used in a set of complex constructions expressing different types of modality and aspectual meanings. The constructions presented in this section are well-established and seem to be grammaticalised and not dependent on pragmatic inferences. That is, we are not dealing with forms that receive their different modality interpretations through the context, but rather with specialised constructions which express such meanings grammatically. Therefore, the constructions presented here, should be understood as being different from the

purposive interpretation that posterior event markers may receive (see §18.3) as well as from the conditional interpretation of the forms *-xun* 'S/A>A' and *-ax* 'S/A>S' in certain contexts (see §18.3.1). In addition, the constructions presented here are also different from the periphrastic verbal forms presented in §13.11, since they constitute multi-verb constructions containing switch-reference markers, while the latter constitute single (periphrastic) predicates. Many of the forms to be presented here follow a principle that has been called **transitivity harmony** in Pano studies (Valenzuela 2009). In order to present an integrated description of transitivity harmony in Kashibo-Kakataibo, I discuss all the constructions that follow this principle together in §18.5.1. The constructions that do not observe this principle are presented in §18.5.2.

18.5.1 Constructions that observe transitivity harmony

Transitivity harmony, also called **transitivity concord** by Loos (1999), is defined as: "a morphosyntactic process whereby a semantically modifying verb or verbal morpheme adjusts its valency to match the transitivity value of a semantically main verb with which it combines" (Valenzuela 2009: 1; see also Valenzuela 2011b). Like other Pano languages, Kashibo-Kakataibo exhibits a number of multi-verb-constructions that can be understood as operating under the principle of transitivity harmony. Such constructions are discussed in the following sections. Some verbal directional suffixes (particularly *-kwain* 'passing by, intransitive' and *-buin* 'passing by, intransitive') may be argued to have come from multi-verb constructions showing transitivity harmony (see §12.3.3). Adjectives used as predicate modifiers also follow this principle (see §10.3.3), and this is also true for the prohibitive construction (see §15.2.3.3).

In all the constructions to be presented in this section, we find a similar pattern: they include a lexical verb plus an auxiliary or modal verb. The transitivity value of the auxiliary or modal verb depends on the transitivity of the lexical verb (they need to match with each other), and the lexical verb then has a switch-reference marker agreeing in transitivity with the auxiliary / modal verb. Notice that only the mechanism that determines the form of the auxiliary / modal verb is to be considered transitivity harmony, as defined above. The form of the switch-reference marker is determined by a mechanism of agreement in transitivity (see §11.2 for more on transitivity agreement and encoding).

18.5.1.1 Frustrative

The category of frustrative expresses the non-accomplishment of an event due to reasons that are beyond the control of the agent. In Kashibo-Kakataibo, there are two different constructions that express frustrative-like meanings, and there is also a form *ñanká* 'in vain', which can be understood as a frustrative adverb. The two frustrative constructions use switch-reference markers, but only the one to be presented here follows the transitivity harmony principle (see §18.5.2.2 for the other).

The frustrative construction presented here consists of a lexical verb marked for switch-reference plus an auxiliary. The frustrative auxiliary shows a different form depending on the valency of the lexical verb: *ië* with intransitives and *iëtan* with transitives. Interestingly, the transitive version includes the additional form *-tan*, which also appears with the transitive allomorph of the comitative case marker *=bëtan*. In addition, the lexical verb carries a switch-reference marker which agrees with the type of subject of the frustrative auxiliary (*-i* 'S/A>S (SE)' if the auxiliary is

intransitive; and *-kin* 'S/A>A (SE)', if it is transitive). Examples of this construction follow. The first one illustrates an intransitive verb and the second a transitive verb:

(782) chupa   **marukinbi**   kana   'ën   **iëtan**
chupa   maru-**kin=bi**   kana   'ë=n   **iëtan**-a-n
clothes.ABS   buy-S/A>A(SE)=same   NAR.1sg   1sg=A   FRUST.TRAN-PERF-1/2p
'I almost bought some clothes.'

(783) **paënibi**   kana   'ëx   **iëan**
paën-**i=bi**   kana   'ë=x   **ië**-a-n
get.drunk-S/A>S(SE)=same   NAR.1sg   1sg=S   FRUST.INTR-PERF-1/2p
'I almost got drunk.'

The frustrative construction based on the frustrative auxiliary can only appear in the perfective aspect or the past tense, as in the examples above.

18.5.1.2 Inchoative

The inchoative construction consists of a lexical verb that combines with the predicate *pëu-* 'to begin'. If the dependent verb is intransitive, the predicate *pëu-* 'to begin' needs to carry the reflexive marker in order to become intransitive and match the transitivity value of the lexical verb. If the dependent verb is transitive, the reflexive marker cannot be included. The dependent verb, in turn, needs to carry the appropriate switch-reference marker depending on the valency of the matrix verb 'to begin (INTR)' or 'to begin (TRAN)' (thus agreeing in transitivity):

(784) 'ux**i**   kana   **pëukutin**
'ux-**i**   kana   pëu-**ukut**-i-n
sleep-S/A>S(SE)   NAR.1sg   begin-REF-IMPF-1/2p
'I begin to sleep.'

(785) **pikin**   kana   **pëuin**
pi-**kin**   kana   pëu-i-n
eat-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.1sg   begin-IMPF-1/2p
'I begin to eat.'

18.5.1.3 Completive

The completive construction includes a lexical verb combined with the predicate *sënën-* 'to finish' (which also seems to have given rise to the postposition *sënën* 'at the end of'). If the dependent verb is transitive, the predicate *sënën-* 'to finish' can be transitivised by means of the *factitive* marker *-o ~ -a*. According to my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers, it is also possible to use the intransitive version of *sënën-* with a transitive lexical verb, resulting in a slight semantic difference: the transitive version of *sënën-* is only used when other events have intervened between the finishing of the event and the current speech act. The transitivity harmony principle is seen, however, in the fact that intransitive lexical verbs do not admit the transitive version of *sënën-* under any circumstance. See the following examples:

(786) 'ux**i** kana sënë**a**n
    'ux-i kana sënë-a-n
    sleep-S/A>S(SE) NAR.1sg finish-PERF-1/2p

    *'ux**i** kana sënë**on**
    'ux-**i** kana sënë-**o-a**-n
    sleep-S/A>S(SE) NAR.1sg finish-FACT-PERF-1/2p

    ('I finished sleeping')

(787) **pi** kana sënëan
    pi-**i** kana sënë-a-n
    eat-S/A>A(SE) NAR.1sg finish-PERF-1/2p
    'I just finished eating.'

    pikin kana sënëon
    pi-**kin** kana sënë-o-a-n
    eat-S/A>A(SE) NAR.1sg finish-FACT-PERF-1/2p

    'I finished eating a long time ago.'

18.5.1.4 'Should not have'-constructions

Another construction showing transitivity harmony is a construction expressing the meaning 'should not have'. This construction consists of a periphrastic form (containing a lexical verb and an auxiliary), which appears as a switch-reference predicate in relation to the matrix predicate. If this matrix predicate is transitive, the auxiliary is transitive (*'a-*). If the matrix predicate is intransitive, the auxiliary is intransitive (*'i-*). The lexical verb within the periphrastic construction repeats the matrix predicate and carries the switch-reference markers *-ax* 'S/A>S' or *-xun* 'S/A>A', depending on the transitivity of the auxiliary. Both switch-reference markers are followed by *=mari* (*=ma* 'negator' plus *=ri* 'counterfactual'; see Chapter 16). The auxiliary is followed by the marker *-ti* 'nominaliser' and the adverbial enclitic *=bi* 'same, self'. Let us see some examples of the construction discussed here:

(788) a   piti   **pixunmari**   **'atibi**   kana   pian
        a   piti   **pi**-xun-ma-ri   **'a**-ti=bi   kana   pi-a-n
        that food eat-S/A>A-NEG-COUN do-NOM=same NAR.1sg eat-PERF-1/2p
        'I should not have eaten that food, but I did.'

(789) **'uxaxmari**   **'itibi**   kana   'uxan
        'ux-ax-ma-ri   **'i**-ti=bi   kana   'ux-a-n
        sleep-S/A>S-NEG-COUN be-NOM=same NAR.1sg sleep-PERF-1/2p
        'I should not have slept, but I did.'

18.5.2 Constructions that do not observe transitivity harmony

There are other five constructions that, similarly to the ones presented in the previous section, express modality, aspect and related meanings, but do not follow the transitivity harmony principle. Some of them do not include any of the switch-reference markers presented in this chapter, but I include them in this section due to their function and their properties: they are clause chaining constructions.

18.5.2.1 Presumptive constructions

Switch-reference may be used to express presumptions about the reasons why a particular event has happened. In order to express this presumptive meaning, we need to add the enclitic *-ri* 'counterfactual' (which gets a presumptive interpretation) after a 'same subject'-switch-reference marker (see §18.3.1 for the set of available markers). See the following examples:

(790) **tëëtankëxri**   ka   Andrea   'atsankë   'iaxa
      tëë-tankëx-ri   ka   Andrea   'atsan-kë   'i-a-x-a
      work-S/A>S(PE)-COUN   NAR.3p Andrea.ABS get.tired-NOM   be-PERF-3p-non.prox
      'Andrea was tired; probably because she finished working.'

(791) **tëëiri**   ka   Andrea   'atsankë   'iaxa
      tëë-i-ri   ka   Andrea   'atsan-kë   'i-a-x-a
      work-S/A>S(SE)-COUN NAR.3p   Andrea.ABS get.tired-NOM   be-PERF-3p-non.prox
      'Andrea was tired, probably because she was working.'

18.5.2.2 *-katsi ki-* constructions

In Kashibo-Kakataibo discourse it is very common to find clauses where a predicate is modified by the form *-kats* (historically related to the synchronic 'desiderative/abilitive' marker *-kas*) plus the switch-reference marker *-i* 'simultaneous event, S/A>S', and the verb *ki-* 'to say'. In addition, the verb *ki-* 'to say' carries either the form *-ax* 'S/A>S' or *-xun* 'S/A>A', according to the transitivity of the main clause. This construction may have (at least) three different readings depending on the context: 'weak desiderative/uncertain purpose'; 'fake action'; and 'frustrative'. All of these will be illustrated with text examples in this section.

i.   <u>Weak desire/uncertain purpose</u>

The *-katsi ki-* construction is used to indicate that the subject of a sentence would like to accomplish, or is interested in accomplishing, a specific event. When a desire is

expressed with this construction, it is understood either to be weaker than a desire expressed through the desiderative suffix *-kas* (see §12.5.1) or less possible (and thus interpreted as uncertain purpose). One example of this reading follows:

(792) C01A05-SE-2007.013

mibëtan	isi	**kwankatsi**	**kixun**	'ë	kaxa
mi=bëtan	is-i	kwan-**kats-i**	**ki**-xun	'ë	ka-a-x-a
you-COM(A)	see-S/A>S(SE)	go-DES-S/A>S(SE)	say(INTR)-S/A>A	1sg.O	say-PERF-3p-non.prox

'(He) talked to me, willing to go to see (the armadillos) with you (if you agree, if you would like to come).'

ii.   Fake action

The *-katsi ki-* construction is also used to express that the subject is not really carrying out the event, but only faking. That is, *-katsi ki-* may be interpreted as indicating that the predicate expresses a fake action, as illustrated in the following example. The armadillo that the woman "finds" was actually given to her by her lover; and she is thus lying to her husband, who is blind, when she says that a jaguar has left the meat there and that she will cut off the part that is still useful (the meat was already cleaned by the lover):

(793) C01B06-JE-2007.039

"ain	maxkámi	aishi	ka	pipunia"
ain	maxkat=mi	a=ishi	ka	pi-pun-i-a
3sg.GEN	head=IMPR.LOC	that.O=only	NAR.3p	eat-early.same.day-IMPF-non.prox

kixun	kaisa	**chankákatsi**	**kixun**
ki-xun	kaisa	chankat-**kats-i**	**ki**-xun
say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	cut.inpieces-DES-S/A>S(SE)	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)

'akëshín	këmëkin
'a-akë-x-ín	këmë-kin
do-REM.PAST-3p-prox	lie-S/A>A(SE)

'It is said that, saying "the jaguar ate it earlier this day only around its head", she pretended to cut the meat into pieces, lying.'

iii. <u>Frustrative</u>

The *-katsi ki-* construction receives a frustrative interpretation when it appears in a dependent clause that modifies another one that negates it. This can be seen in the following example, where the *-katsi ki-* construction is modifying the predicate *tatani-* 'to tie somebody else's feet' and is negated by the context: several predicates indicate that the person did not do the job carefully.

(794) C02A06-NA-2007.040

upíokin	mëëkima	kamina	upíokin	rëxun
upit-okin	mëë-kin=ma	kamina	upit-o-kin	rët-xun
good-TRAN-S/A>A(SE)	beat-S/A>A(SE)=NEG	NAR.2p	good-TRAN-S/A>A(SE)	kill-S/A>A(SE)

rakankima	kamina	'atima	ñu	masakin
rakan-kin=ma	kamina	'a-ti=ma	ñu	masa-kin
lay.down-S/A>A(SE)=NEG	NAR.2p	do-NOM=NEG	thing	do.something.badly-S/A>A(SE)

tatanikatsi	**kixun**	'an
ta-tani-**kats-i**	**ki**-xun	a-a-n
foot-tie-DES-S/A>S(SE)	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)	do-PERF-1/2p

'"Without beating him well, without laying him down after killing him well, doing the things badly, you failed in tying his feet."

18.5.2.3 Counterfactual constructions: V-*ti=bi* + be-past

The counterfactual construction in Kashibo-Kakataibo is formed by a lexical verb modified by the nominaliser *-ti* followed by the adverbial enclitic *=bi* 'same, self'. The predicate that carries these forms appears in a dependent clause modifying the auxiliary *'i-* 'to be' in the past tense. Two examples follow. Note that the first one also includes the form *-ri* on the subject of the first sentence and on the dependent verb in order to make the counterfactual meaning clearer or stronger:

(795) **'ëxri**   kana   Limanu   kwan
'ë=x**=ri**   kana   Lima=nu   kwan-a-n
1sg-S=COUN NAR.1sg   Lima=LOC   go-PERF-1/2p
'I went to Lima.'

'ë   **ñukatibiri**   ka   'iaxa
'ë   ñuka**-ti=bi=ri**   ka   'i-a-x-a
1sg.O   ask-NOM=same=COUN   NAR.3p   be-PERF-3p-non.prox
'He should have asked me about it (but he did not).'

(796) 'ën   piti   'axunun   **utibi**   ka   Juan   'iaxa
'ën   piti   'a-xun-nun   u**-ti=bi**   ka   Juan   'i-a-x-a
1sg=Afood   do-BEN-DS/A/O(POE)   come-NOM=same NAR.3p Juan   be-PERF-3p-non.prox
'In order for me to cook for him, Juan should have come (but he did not).'

18.5.2.4 'Instead of' constructions: Vᵢ-*ti=bi* + Vᵢ-past

The sequence -*ti* 'nominaliser' =*bi* 'same, self' also receives the reading 'instead of'
when it appears modifying a dependent predicate that repeats the verbs of the main
clause:

(797) tsata   **pi-ti=bi**   kana   'atsa=ishi   pi-a-n
tsata   pi**-ti=bi**   kana   'atsa=ishi   pi-a-n
fish.spe.ABS   eat-NOM=same   NAR.1sg   manioc=only   eat-PERF-1/2p
'Instead of eating fish, I ate only manioc.'

(798) Limanu   **kwantibi**   kana   Pucallpanu   kwan
Lima=nu   kwan**-ti=bi**   kana   Pucallpa=nu   kwan-a-n
Lima=LOC   go-NOM=same NAR.1sg   Pucallpa=LOC   go-PERF-1/2p
'Instead of goint to Lima, I only went to Pucallpa.'

In these constructions, the enclitic -*ri* 'conterfactual' can also be used. It is
usually interpreted as indicating that the speaker is lamenting about what has
happened. Therefore, we can have:

(799) **tsatari**   **pitibi**   kana   'atsaishi   pian

tsata**=ri**   pi-**ti=bi**   kana   'atsa=ishi   pi-a-n

fish.spe.ABS=COUN   eat-NOM=same   NAR.1sg   manioc=only   eat-PERF-1/2p

'Unfortunately, instead of eating fish, I ate only manioc.'

(800) **Limanuri**   **kwantibi**   kana   Pucallpanu   kwan

Lima=un=**ri**   kwan-**ti=bi**   kana   Pucallpa=nu   kwan-a-n

Lima=LOC-COUN   go-NOM=same   NAR.1sg   Pucallpa=LOC   eat-PERF-1/2p

'Unfortunately, instead of going to Lima, I only went to Pucallpa.'

18.5.2.5 *-akëma*-constructions 'like it used to be'

A final type of construction to be included here is the one with the marker *-akëma*. Clauses headed by a predicate with this form receive a comparative meaning, obligatorily have different subjects and express a habitual previous event. Predicates carrying this form behave similar to a different subject switch-reference construction. However, I have not included it in this chapter (see Table 71) because their exact grammatical nature is still unclear to me. In the only two instances of this form in my database, it appears with the verb *ki-* 'to say, intransitive', predicating about Kashibo-Kakataibo's ancestors (something like "as our ancestors used to say"). More research is needed in order to see if there are other possible contexts for this form or if *kiakëma* is a lexicalised form. One example of this construction follows:

(801) C02B04-SE-2007.013

asábi   'ikë   kananuna   nun   'anibu   **kiakëma**

asábi   'i-kë   kananuna   nu=n   'anibu   ki-**akëma**

good   be-NOM   NAR.1pl   1pl=GEN   ancestor.ABS   say(INTR)-used.to

maënkimaishi   'apatia…

maën-kin=ma=ishi   'apat-ia…

sweep-S/A>A(SE)=NEG=only   plant-S/A/O>O(SE)

'When it is ready, planting without sweeping the land, as our ancestor used to say, we...'

Chapter 19 Reported speech and elaborative clauses

19.1   Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce reported speech (§19.2) and evaluative clauses (§19.3), which constitute the two remaining types of dependent clauses in Kashibo-Kakataibo (see chapter 17). Being dependent elements, these clauses cannot be used on their own, without another (main) clause; and they are not marked for register and mood. However, evaluative clauses and one type of reported speech clause exhibit completely finite verbal forms. This chapter also includes information about a type of reported speech construction for direct speech, which functionally does not represent a dependent clause as such, since it is based on constructions that function as independent clauses in other contexts (when they were uttered by the original speaker).

A detailed study of reported speech only exists for one Pano language: Matses (see Munro *et al* to appear). As far as I know, constructions corresponding to Kashibo-Kakataibo's elaborative clauses have not been described as a special type of dependent clause for any other Pano language.

19.2   Reported speech

"Every language has some way of reporting what someone has said" (Aikhenvald 2008: 384). In the case of Kashibo-Kakataibo, this function can be accomplished by means of three different constructions. The first repeats as exactly as possible what the original speaker (i.e. the speaker of the original speech act) has said. The others

require some syntactic reconfiguration, but exhibit different degrees of *perspective persistence*, which is understood as the constraint of "maintaining the personal, temporal and spatial point-of-view of the source of some information" (Munro *et al* in press). Thus, in Kashibo-Kakataibo, we find:

(1)   **direct speech**: a type of reported speech that repeats as exactly as possible the original speech; it is used very often in traditional story-telling;

(2)   **modified direct speech**: a type of reported speech with rigid perspective persistence (no change in personal, locational/directional, and temporal perspective; see the discussion below), but with some important syntactic changes compared to the original utterance;

(3)   **indirect speech**: a type of reported speech where most components of the perspective of the original utterance are altered to reflect the reporter's perspective.

While direct speech clauses are independent clauses in the sense that they can be used by themselves as sentences (see Chapter 17), modified direct and indirect speech clauses lack register/mood enclitics, carry an obligatory reportative marker, and cannot function as independent clauses.

As we will see in the following examples, there are three verbs that are frequently used as quotatives in order to introduce speech reports: *ka-* 'to say, transitive', *ki-* 'to say, intransitive' and *sinan-* 'to think'. In reported speech clauses, *ka-* is usually used when the speaker who is reporting another person's speech wants to indicate that the original speaker told him or somebody else the information that he is now presenting. In turn, the intransitive verb *ki-* does not imply that the original speaker told the information specifically to someone else. Finally, *sinan-* is used for

reporting someone's thoughts (i.e. one's own thoughs or the imagined thoughts of someone else) in terms of what the thinker says (or would have said) to him/herself. In the following sections, I discuss the three types of reported speech in Kashibo-Kakataibo: §19.2.1 is on direct speech, §19.2.2 describes modified direct speech, and §19.2.3 presents indirect speech clauses.

19.2.1   Direct speech

In traditional tales, it is very common for the story-teller to introduce what the different characters of the tale said by means of reproducing as accurately as possible their words, and even attributing intonation contours and related features to them. This is part of the conventionalised practice of story-telling, according to which a good narrator is someone who remembers the characters' speech. Mythical characters, such as demons or talking animals, have their own characteristic words, and this is also true for Kashibo-Kakataibo ancestors in narratives about historical or mythical facts.

My database includes instances of the same tale told by different narrators, and the speech attributed to the different characters tends to be very similar, even in those cases where the story-teller changes the events considerably (perhaps, because he or she just does not remember the tale well). On those occasions when direct speech happened to be different, my teachers used to have arguments about which version was correct. Even children are able to identify whether specific words are fragments of the speech of a character taken from a traditional narrative, even if they are not able to understand them, e.g. because they include old forms that are no longer part of the every day-language. In many cases, those old forms were considered "untranslatable" by my teachers. In addition, direct speech includes

constructions that are attributed to special types of language, which are associated with mythical creatures. This is true regarding the following example, where *tsikiumano*, a demonic character who lives under the ground, uses the form *pi-mi-bun* 'eat-CAUS-IMP'. This form includes the morpheme *-bun*, which is not an imperative suffix in Kashibo-Kakataibo; and it is argued to be part of the language of this demon. Note also that instances of the verb *'aru* 'cook' without a nominaliser *-kë* cannot function as a nominal modifier (thus, those instances of *'aru* are unacceptable in Kashibo-Kakataibo, and that the names of animal species cannot refer to their meat and thus obligatorily require the presence of the noun *nami* 'meat' (therefore, *'o 'aru* 'cooked tapir' is not a possible construction, and one should rather say *'o nami 'arukë* 'cooked tapir meat'). Based on those features, my teachers told me that *tsikiumano* was not able to speak properly:

(802) C05A07-NA-2007.065

'"ën	kuku	**'ó**	**'aru**	**pimibun**
'ë=n	kuku	'ó	'aru	pi-mi-bun
1sg=ERG	father.in.law.ABS	tapir	cook.ABS	eat-CAUS-IMP

'ën	kuku	**ño**	**'aru**	**pimibun**"
'ë=n	kuku	ño	'aru	pi-mi-bun
1sg=ERG	father.in.law.ABS	peccary	cook.ABS	eat-CAUS-IMP

kaisa	kakëxa
kaisa	ka-akë-x-a
NAR.REP.3p	say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'"Make my father-in-law eat cooked peccary; make my father-in-law eat cooked tapir", it is said that (the *tsikiumano*) said a long time ago.'

While presenting what *tsikiumano* said, the story-teller is very likely to modify his or her voice in order to match his or her representation of the way in which this demonic creature used to speak. Thus, even though direct speech cannot be an exact reproduction of the original speech act, in the case of Kashibo-Kakataibo traditional

story-telling, there is a conscious and deliberate effort to imitate what the original speaker said or is thought to have said. For instance, in the following example, a man who was left on a very tall tree by his enemy uses figurative language to talk to a king vulture that showed up with the intention of eating him. What the man says represents a very marked way of speaking and it was very difficult for my teachers to translate to me what it means. For some of them, what he said was just untranslatable; but they knew that he said something like 'don't eat me!' and advised me to write this phrase down in my notebook. However, when I asked if it was possible to change the Kashibo-Kakataibo words in the narrative in order to make them more similar to the translation that they provided, they say that this was not possible and that we needed to leave things as they were. It took me a while before I was able to propose a more literal translation of this fragment of speech.

(803) C01B02-JE-2007.055

"'ëmi	**min**	**xëta**	**rabanxunma**	**ka**	**'a'**
'ë=mi	mi=n	xëta	raban-xun=ma	ka	'a'
1sg=IMPR.LOC	you=GEN	tooth.ABS	take.care.of-S/A>A(SE)=NEG	NAR	do.IMP

xabai"	kaisa	<u>kakëxa</u>
xabai	kaisa	ka-akë-x-a
friend	NAR.REP.3p	say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'"Don't take care of your teeth with me, my friend", it is said that (the man) said a long time ago.'

Direct speech report clauses are also used to report noises and interjections made by the original speaker. The following fragment shows such an example, which reproduces the noise that the character used to produce while he was fishing with excrement:

(804) C01A07-SE-2007.017-018

pui=n	'axankin	kaisa	ñuma
pui=n	'axan-kin	kaisa	ñuma
excrement=INS	fish.using.poison-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	fish.spe.

kakëxa	ësaokin
ka-akë-x-a	ësa-o-kin
say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	like.this-TRAN-S/A>A(SE)

"baranbanpanami	**baranbanpanami**	**baranbanpanami**	**sinupanapananin**
baranbanpanami	baranbanpanami	baranbanpanami	sinupanapananin
baranbanpanami	baranbanpanami	baranbanpanami	sinupanapananin

sinupanapananin	**xuans**	**xuans**	**xuans"**
sinupanapananin	xuans	xuans	xuans
sinupanapananin	xuans	xuans	xuans

'Fishing with excrement, it is said that he used to say like this a long time ago: "baranbanpanami baranbanpanami baranbanpanami sinupanapananin sinupanapananin xuans xuans xuans".'

Long fragments of speech can also be introduced by direct reported speech. In the following example the quote includes two independent clauses: the verb-less copula clauses *asábi ka* 'it is good' and the clause *bërí kana ain papa ain aintsi manoi kwanin* 'now, I am going to inform her father and her relatives'. In this particular case, the reported speech is introduced by the quotative *sinan* 'to think' since the man is talking to himself. He is planning to tell a woman's relatives that her husband has killed her.

(805) C01A09-SE-2007.026-028

kakëxun	kaisa	sinankëxa
ka-këxun	kaisa	sinan-akë-x-a
say-O>A(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	think-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

"asábi	**ka**	**bërí**	**kana**	**ain**	**papa**
[asábi	ka]	[bërí	kana	ain	papa
good	NAR.3p	now	NAR.1sg	her	father

ain	**aintsi**	**manoi**	**kwanin"**
ain	aintsi	mano-i	kwan-i-n]
her	relative.ABS	inform-S/A>S(SE)	go-IMPF-1/2p

'It is said that, when the other man said (what happened) to him, he thought: "It is good. Now, I am going to inform her father and her relatives".'

Direct reported speech clauses may also include vocatives, as it is shown in the following example, where we find the vocative form *tita=n* 'mother=vocative' (see also the example in (803), where *xabai* 'friend' appears as an unmarked vocative):

(806) C02A06-NA-2007.027-028

'itankëxun	kaisa	<u>kakëxa</u>
'i-tankëxun	kaisa	ka-akë-x-a
be-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

ain	tita	ñuxanrá
ain	tita	ñuxan-rá
her	mother	old(fem)-DIM

"titan,	**anu**	**uni**	**xëni**	**'ati**		**ën**	**kupë atsa**
tita=n,	anu	uni	xëni	'a-ti		ë=n	kupë atsa
mother=VOC	there	person	fat.ABS	do-NOM		I=GEN	manioc.spe.ABS

bitamainun		**ka**	**bëruan**	**titan"**
bits-tan-mainun		ka	bëruan	tita=n
pick.up-go.to- DS/A/O(SE.DUR)		NAR	take.care	mother=VOC

'It is said that, being like this this, she said to her mother: "mother, in order to cook the fat man there, I will go to pick up my special manioc. Look after the fat man, mother".'

19.2.2   Modified direct speech

Kashibo-Kakataibo's **modified direct speech** undergoes some grammatical changes that re-configure their syntactic structure compared to the original/reported utterance. Therefore, modified direct speech clauses are formally different from what was said by the original speaker. The reconfiguration of Kashibo-Kakataibo's modified direct speech clauses relates to three basic features: (1) the markers for register/mood in the second position enclitics are dropped in the reported speech clause; (2) a reportative marker, not attested in the original utterance (since the information is only hearsay from the perspective of the reporter), is added to the reported speech clause (replacing the original second position enclitics); and (3) the

verb appears with a tense/aspect marker but without a subject cross-reference specification (and is therefore not a completely finite form). Thus, differently from direct speech, modified direct speech does not accurately reproduce the original utterance. However, like direct speech, it exhibits strong perspective persistence, and the point of view of the original speaker is kept not only in relation to the temporal setting, but also in relation to person and spatial relationships.[86] Let us see some elicited examples:

(807) <u>Original utterance</u>

    Emilio: ʻëx   kana   Limanu   kwanin

             ʻë=x kana   Lima=nu kwan-i-n

             1sg=S NAR.1sg Lima=DIR go-IMPF-1/2p

             'I am going to Lima.'

(808) <u>Modified direct reported speech clause</u>

    Roberto: Emilio   ka   **ʻëx**   **isana**   **Limanu**   **kwani**

            Emilio   ka   [ʻë=x isana   Lima=nu kwan-i]

            Emilio.ABS NAR.3p 1sg=S   REP.1p   Lima=DIR go-NON.PAST

            <u>kiaxa</u>

            ki-a-x-a

            say(INTR)-PERF-3p-non.prox

            'Emilio said: "I am going to Lima".'

Something similar happens with the form of spatial indexicals, as shown in the following examples:

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[86] This fact suggests that they are a type of direct reported speech, rather than a type of indirect speech. However, a more restrictive definition of direct reported speech would not include this type of construction, due to the syntactic alternations it undergoes. Similar cases have been classified as *semi-direct reported speech*, by Aikhenvald (2008).

(809) Original utterance

Emilio: 'ëx   kana   ënu   'uxakën

        'ë=x   kana   ënu   'ux-akë-n

        1sg=S   NAR.1sg   here   sleep-REM.PAST-1/2p

        'I slept here a long time ago.'

(810) Modified direct reported speech clause

Roberto: Emilio   ka   **'ëx**   **isana**   **ënu**   **'uxakë**

            Emilio   ka   ['ë=x   isana   ënu   'ux-akë]

            Emilio.ABS   NAR.3p   1sg=S   REP.1p   here   sleep-REM.PAST

            kiaxa

            ki-a-x-a

            say(INTR)-PERF-3p-non.prox

            'Emilio said: "I slept here a long time ago".'

As I have mentioned above, direct speech is the most common speech report strategy in traditional tales. However, we also find some cases of modified direct speech clauses in them, as shown in the following example.

(811) C01B06-JE-2007.020

"'inuinsa   **'axa**

'inu=n=isa   'a-a-x-a

jaguar=ERG=REP.3p   kill-PERF-3p-non.prox

'inun   **'akë**   **ismina**   **bitsi"**   kixun

'inu=n   'a-kë   ismina   bits-i   ki-xun

jaguar=ERG   kill-NOM   REP.2p   pick.up-S/A>S(SE)   say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)

'Saying: "a tiger did it, you (can) pick up what the tiger killed"...'

19.2.3   Indirect speech

Like modified direct speech, indirect speech in Kashibo-Kakataibo also lacks markers for register/mood in the second position enclitics, and instead exhibits the reportative marker. However, indirect speech clauses contain a completely finite verbal form that includes a subject cross-reference marker. This represents one interesting formal difference between modified direct speech and indirect speech. But

the main difference between the two is that indirect speech keeps the original speaker's perspective to a lesser degree. Basically, it changes the personal and spatial perspective of the original speech act to the point-of-view of the reporting speech act; interestingly, it does not seem to change the temporal point-of-view, though.

Note that both types of reported speech clauses are used in discourse, and it is difficult to determine their triggering factors. Let us see some elicited examples of indirect speech clauses, based on the same original sentences presented in (807) and (809):

(812) <u>Original utterance</u>

  Emilio: 'ëx   kana   Limanu   kwanin

     'ë=x   kana   Lima=nu   kwan-i-n

     1sg=S   NAR.1sg   Lima=DIR   go-IMPF-1/2p

     'I am going to Lima.'

(813) <u>Indirect reported speech clause</u>

  Roberto: Emilio   ka   **Limanu**   **isa**   **kwania**

     Emilio   ka   [Lima=nu   isa   kwan-i-a]

     Emilio.ABS   NAR.3p   Lima=DIR   REP.3p   go-IMPF-non.prox

     <u>kiaxa</u>

     ki-a-x-a

     say(INTR)-PERF-3p-non.prox

     'Emilio said that he is going to Lima.'

(814) <u>Original utterance</u>

  Emilio: 'ëx   kana   ënu   'uxakën

     'ë=x   kana   ënu   'ux-akë-n

     1sg=S   NAR.1sg   here   sleep-REM.PAST-1/2p

     'I slept here a long time ago.'

(815) <u>Indirect reported speech clause</u>

  Roberto: Emilio   ka   **anu**   **isa**   **'uxakëxa**

     Emilio   ka   [anu   isa   'ux-akë-x-a]

     Emilio.ABS   NAR.3p   there   REP.3p   sleep-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

<u>kiaxa</u>

ki-a-x-a

say(INTR)-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Emilio said that he slept there a long time ago.'

One example of an indirect reported speech construction taken from a narrative follows. As I have mentioned, they are uncommon in traditional tales and narratives, where direct speech is pervasive:

(816) C01B06-JE-2007.026

këmëkin	**chuku**	**isa**	**'aia**	<u>kixun</u>
këmë-kin	chuku	isa	'a-i-a	ki-xun
lie-S/A>A(SE)	grass	REP.3p	do-IMPF-non.prox	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)

'Lying, saying that she is cleaning the grass...'

19.3   Elaborative clauses

Elaborative clauses are dependent clauses which appear after the main verb. Like reported speech clauses, they do not carry register/mood markers. In addition, they contain a finite verb form (as it was the case in indirect speech clauses). As we will see here (and I will comment on this in more detail in §22.2), they occur in a position in the sentence that is reserved for different types of elements that introduce new information or re-elaborate on what has been said before. Like any of those elements, I consider elaborative clauses to be focused clauses.

As their label indicates, their function is to elaborate on what has been presented in the main clause, usually by adding some additional details or new information. The following example is a very simple instance of such an elaborative clause. There, the elaborative clause adds details about the event introduced by the main predicate '(he) kill (her) with a bamboo spear', adding information on the location of the injury, in this case, the heart of the woman:

(817) C01A09-SE-2007.038

pakan	ka	'axa
paka=n	ka	'a-a-x-a
bamboo.spear=INS	NAR.3p	kill-PERF-3p-non.prox

ain	**nuitunu**	**'axa**
ain	nuitu=nu	'a-a-x-a
3p.GEN	heart=LOC	kill-PERF-3p-non.prox

'(He) killed (her) with a bamboo spear, (he) introduced (it) in her heart.'

In many cases, the elaborative clause contains a verb form that has a similar meaning to the one found in the main predicate. This can be seen in the following example, where *këka-* 'to shout, calling somebody' and *kwën-* 'to call' are both associated with the semantic field of 'calling':

(818) C01A05-SE-2007.023

naëbaikin	kaisa	rakanatankëxun	upíokin
naë-bait-kin	kaisa	rakanan-tankëxun	upit-o-kin
dig -DUR-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	level.the.ground.out -S/A>A(PE)	good-FACT-S/A>A(SE)

rakananxun	këkakëxa	**kwëankëxa**
rakanan-xun	këka-akë-x-a	**kwën-akë-x-a**
level.the.ground.out-S/A>A	shout.calling-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	call-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Digging for a while, after leveling the ground out very well, he shouted to call (his nephew), he called him.'

Even though elaborative clauses are dependent elements in the sense that they cannot be used by themselves and do not carry second position enclitics (see Chapter 17), they do not seem to be highly embedded in the matrix clause, as suggested by the presence of a finite verb and the absence of a marker of dependency.This is also suggested by the facts that elaborative clauses are always post-verbal and are preceded by a pause, and never appear within the main clause. In fact, the combination of a main and an elaborative clause might be seen as some sort of coordination.

Elaborative clauses can be modified by other clauses, as exemplified in the following fragment. The predicate of the elaborative clause *buan-* 'to bring' is being modified by two other predicates: *'i-kë=bi* 'to be-nominaliser=same' and *bëunan-xun* 'to know by seeing-S/A>A'. In this example, we can also see that, rather than introducing minor details, the elaborative clause is introducing a considerable amount of new information.

(819) C01A05-SE-2007.010

"mi mena	'a-kinun	buanti	'ain"	kakëxun	kaisa
mi me-ina	'a-kin-nun	buan-ti	'ain	ka-këxun	kaisa
you armadillo	kill-APPL-DS.POE	bring-NOM	be.1/2p	say-O>A(PE)	NAR.REP.3p

buankëxa	**ain piaka**	**'ikëbi**	**ain**	**xanu**	**këñun**
buan-akë-x-a	ain piaka	'i-kë=bi	ain	xanu	këñun
bring-REM.PAST-S-non.prox	his nephew.ABS	be-NOM=same	his	woman	with

bëunanxun	**buankëxa**
bë-'unan-xun	buan-akë-x-a
eyes-know-S/A>A	bring-REM.PAST-S-non.prox

'"You will bring (your nephew) to kill armadillos with him", she said to him and then he brought his nephew, the same one that he saw with his wife.'

Elaborative clauses are pervasive in discourse and can easily be obtained through elicitation. They are common and do not represent performance mistakes (e.g. a speaker forgetting to put the second position enclitic), as I thought when I encountered them for the first time in texts. They are a type of weakly embedded dependent clause, and this nature makes them extremely interesting, not only for the understanding of syntactic dependency in Kashibo-Kakataibo, but also from a cross-linguistic point of view.

Chapter 20 Grammatical nominalisations

20.1 Introduction

The process of nominalisation can apply to single verbal lexemes or whole clauses. Following Shibatani (2009), I use the terms **lexical nominalisation** and **grammatical nominalisation** to refer, respectively, to these two situations. In the case of lexical nominalisations, a verbal root is derived into a new lexical item, a noun (as discussed and exemplified in §8.4). In the case of grammatical nominalisations, a clause is derived into a nominal expression, whose internal structure is grammatically more complex than that of a lexeme.

This chapter is about grammatical nominalisations. As we will see, grammatical nominalisations are highly clausal in terms of their structure. However, they are non-clausal in terms of their function, which is nominal. According to Shibatani (2009), they are **denotative expressions** and, in Kashibo-Kakataibo, they can be used as **heads of NPs** in different syntactic positions and can be marked for **case** (but with some combinatorial restrictions to be described in this chapter) and **number**. NPs headed by them can be **focused, highlighted or topicalised**, just like NPs headed by nouns. However, differently from nouns, they **cannot be modified by typical noun-modifiers** like adjectives or genitive phrases.

In addition, grammatical nominalisations can appear in **appositional constructions**, in which they fulfill a relativising function. It is also possible to find grammatical nominalisations as complements of so-called **complement-taking verbs** (Dixon 2006) like *ñui-* 'to tell', *is-* 'to see', *sinan-* 'to think' or *kwëën-* 'to want'.

However, it should be kept in mind that grammatical nominalisations exhibit functions that go beyond relativisation or complementation. In fact, grammatical nominalisations are pervasive in Kashibo-Kakataibo discourse, but are only rarely used in prototypical relativising or complementation functions.

In §20.2, I offer a general characterisation of grammatical nominalisations in Kashibo-Kakataibo. Then, sections §20.3 and §20.4 present discussions of the relativising and complementation functions of grammatical nominalisations. In addition, an adverbial-like function of nominalisation, that I call **attributive**, is presented in §20.5. Finally, in §20.6, I discuss the distinction between grammatical and lexical nominalisations.

20.2 Grammatical nominalisations in Kashibo-Kakataibo

20.2.1 Introduction

A grammatical nominalisation is presented in the following example:

(820) C00A01-AE-2006.026

usa	'ain	kananuna	nux	**[an**	**Diosan**	**bana**	**ñuikë]**NOMLS
usa	'ain	kananuna	nu=x	a=n	Dios=n	bana	ñui-kë
like.that	be.DS	NAR.1pl	1pl=S	3sg=A	God=GEN	word.ABS	tell-NOM

uni	'ixun
uni	'i-xun
person	be-S/A>A(SE)

'Then, us, being people **who tell God's words**…'[87]

The nominalisation *[an Diosan bana ñuikë]* in (820) is very complex: in addition to the nominalised predicate, we have a subject argument expressed by the

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[87] Throughout this chapter, I use bold case whenever necessary to indicate the part of the free translation that corresponds to the nominalisation.

pronoun *a=n* '3sg-A' and an object argument, *Dios-an bana* 'God's words'. [88] This nominalisation is a participant nominalisation that denotes the A argument of the nominalised predicate: *[an Diosan bana ñuikë]* means 'the one(s) who tell(s) God's words'. Kashibo-Kakataibo also exhibits event nominalisations, which denote a state of affairs, and the distinction between these two types will be discussed in §20.2.5. The nominalisers used in grammatical nominalisations are presented in §20.2.2; §20.2.3 presents the formal properties of grammatical nominalisations; and §20.2.4 explores their functional properties.

20.2.2 Nominalisers in grammatical nominalisations

Grammatical nominalisations can be obtained in Kashibo-Kakataibo by means of five verbal suffixes that carry different tense/aspect values: *-ti* 'future nominaliser', *-kë* 'past/present nominaliser', *-a* 'remote past nominaliser', *-tibu* 'present habitual nominaliser' and *-ai* 'present non-habitual nominaliser'. The first two are also systematically used in lexical nominalisations, where they function as 'instrumental nominaliser' and 'patient nominaliser', respectively. The markers *-ai* and *-a* are also found as lexical nominalisers in very few examples, but they do not seem to be productive lexical nominalisers. According to my current knowledge of the language, the remaining marker, *-tibu*, is not used as a lexical nominaliser.

20.2.2.1 *-ti* 'future nominaliser'

The marker *-ti* 'future nominaliser' in a grammatical nominalisation is presented in the following example (see §8.4 for examples of this form in lexical nominalisations):

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[88] Notice that in this example the nominalisation appears in a relativisation function. For similar examples, see §20.3.

(821) Elicited from C00A05-EE-2007.001

bërí	kana	**['ën**	**bëchikë**	**'iti]**_{NOMLS}	kaisatanin
bërí	kana	'ë=n	son	'i-**ti**	kaisatanin
today	NAR.1sg	1sg=GEN	son.ABS	be-NOM	say-IRRE-go.to-IMPF-1/2p

'Today I want to tell **(what) our sons will be**.'

This marker can also receive a purposive interpretation, as shown in the following example:

(822) Elicited from C00A05-EE-2007.001

bërí	kana	**['ën**	**bëchikë**	**piti]**_{NOMLS}	tëëin
bërí	kana	'ë=n	son	'i-**ti**	tëë-i-n
today	NAR.1sg	1sg=GEN	son.ABS	be-NOM	work-IMPF-1/2p

'Today I work **in order for my children to eat**.'

20.2.2.2 *-kë* 'past/present nominaliser'

The nominaliser *-kë* is found in the following two examples. In both cases, it appears in a grammatical nominalisation: in the first example, it receives a past interpretation and, in the second one, it receives a present interpretation (see §8.4 for some examples of this form in lexical nominalisations):

(823) C01A01-MO-2007.030

ashi	ka	**['ën**	**ñuikaskë]**_{NOMLS}	'iashín
a=ishi	ka	'ë=n	ñui-kas-**kë**	'i-a-x-ín
that=only	NAR.3p	1sg=A	tell-DES-NOM	be-PERF-3p-prox

'Only that was **what I wanted to tell**.'

(824) Elicited from C01A01-MO-2007.030

['an	**ñuikë]**_{NOMLS}	ax	ka	'ën	xukën	'ikën
'a=n	ñui-**kë**	a=x	ka	'ë=n	xukën	'ikën
3sg=A	tell-NOM	3sg=S	NAR.3p	1sg=GEN	brother.ABS	be.3p

'**The one who is telling (something)** is my brother.'

20.2.2.3 *-a* 'remote past nominaliser'

The marker *-a* 'remote past nominaliser' is mostly used for grammatical nominalisations, but I have found one example in which this suffix appears in a construction that may be analysed as a lexical nominalisation (see the example (884)). It always expresses remote past meanings, as shown in the following example:

(825) C00A05-EE-2007.001

bërí	kana	**[nukën**	**rara**	**'ia]**_{NOMLS}	kaisatanin
bërí	kana	nukën	rara	'i-**a**	kaisatanin
today	NAR.1sg	1pl.GEN	ancestor.ABS	be-NOM	say-IRRE-go.to-IMPF-1/2p

'Today I want to tell **(what) our ancestors were**.'

20.2.2.4 *-tibu* 'present habitual nominaliser'

The nominaliser *-tibu* seems to be the result of combining the nominaliser *-ti* (see §20.2.2.1) plus the adverbial enclitic *=bu* 'imprecise reference' (see §16.2.10). The marker *-tibu* is used for present tense nominalisations with habitual aspect, which were always translated by my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers by means of the Spanish adverb *siempre* 'always'. As far as I know, this form is only used for grammatical nominalisations. One example of a grammatical nominalisation including this form follows:

(826)

[an	**enuxun**	**pitibu]**_{NOMLS}	ax	ka	Limanu	kwania
a=n	enu-xun	pi-tibu	a=x	ka	Lima=nu	kwan-i-a
3sg=A	here-PA:A	eat-NOM	3sg=S	NAR.3p	Lima=LOC	go-IMPF-non.prox

'**The one who always eats here** is going to Lima.'

20.2.2.5 *-ai* 'present non-habitual nominaliser'

Like *-tibu* 'present habitual nominaliser', *-ai* 'present non-habitual nominaliser' still requires more study. Semantically, it expresses present nominalisations with a non-

habitual aspectual meaning, which was systematically translated by my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers as 'occasionally'. One example of this form in a grammatical nominalisation follows:

(827) **[an   enuxun   piai]**_{NOMLS} ax   ka   Limanu   kwania
     a=n   enu-xun   pi-ai   a=x   ka   Lima=nu   kwan-i-a
     3sg=A   here-PA:A   eat-NOM   3sg=S   NAR.3p   Lima=LOC   go-IMPF-non.prox
     '**The one who eats here ocasionally** is going to Lima.'

Differently from *-tibu* 'present habitual nominaliser', *-ai* 'present non-habitual nominaliser' is found as a lexical nominaliser, at least, in a couple of (related) cases. As a lexical nominaliser, this marker is found the form *kakatai* (included in the name *kashibo-**kakataibo***) and in the potentially related form *kaatai* glossed by Shell (1986: 28) as 'the biggest and best bird that exists'. In these cases, the marker *-ai* seems to function as a subject nominaliser ('the one who is...'); but its scarcity in discourse makes its semantic interpretation difficult. Notice that in these cases the meaning of the root is unclear to me (see §2.2).

20.2.3   The form of grammatical nominalisations

Grammatical nominalisations are nominalisations of whole clauses and their original clausal nature is still transparent in their internal structure. Grammatical nominalisations (i) show a clause-like argument structure, which can include A, S or O arguments, as well as different obliques. In addition, (ii) they can be marked for tense, aspect and evidentiality; and (iii) they can include a dependent predicate in the form of a converb. All these features make them similar to clauses, as it can be seen in the two following elicited examples, where a grammatical nominalisation and an independent clause are compared:

(828) Elicited from C00A01-AE-2006.026: grammatical nominalisation

ainsa	'akinxun	Diosan	bana	ñuiëxankë
[a=n=**isa(A)**	**'akin-xun**	Dios=n	bana **(O)**	ñui-**ëxan**-kë]_{NOMLS}
3sg=A=REP.3p	help-S/A>A	God=GEN	word.ABS	tell-PAST.days.ago-NOM

'(The one) who it is said that told God's words (to other people), helping (them), a few days ago.'

(829) Elicited from C00A01-AE-2006.026: independent clause

an	kaisa	'akinxun	Diosan	bana	ñuiëxanxa
a=n **(A)**	**kaisa**	**'akin-xun**	Dios=n	bana **(O)**	ñui-**ëxan**-x-a
3sg=A	NAR.REP.3p	help-S/A>A	God=GEN	word.ABS	tell-PAST.days.ago-3p-non.prox

'It is said that (s)he told God's words (to other people), helping (them), a few days ago.'

As we can see in the examples above, the only formal difference between grammatical nominalisations and independent clauses is that the former (iv) do not include second position enclitic marking register/mood and (v) do not present a fully-inflected verb. In addition, in the case of nominalisations, (vi) the verbal form obligatorily appears at the end of the whole construction (see §22.2 for post-verbal constituents of independent clauses). Notice that switch-reference clauses (a type of dependent clause) do not exhibit a register marker or a fully-inflected verb either, and are also verb-final. This makes grammatical nominalisations and switch-reference clauses highly similar in terms of their form. Compare (828) with the following example:

(830) Elicited from C00A01-AE-2006.026: switch-reference clause

[ainsa	'akinxun	Diosan	bana	ñuiëxantankëx]_{SWITCH-REFERENCE CLAUSE}
a=n=**isa (A)**	**'akin-xun**	Dios=n	bana **(O)**	ñui-**ëxan**-tankëx
3sg=A=REP.3p	help-S/A>A	God=GEN	word.ABS	tell-PAST.days.ago-S/A>S(PE)

'It is said that having told God's words (to other people), helping (them), a few days ago, (S)he...'

The only formal difference between (828) and (830) has to do with verbal morphology: in the former, the verb carries a nominaliser and in the latter, a switch-reference marker.[89] However, what makes grammatical nominalisations different from both independent and dependent clauses is their function. As I have mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, grammatical nominalisations are **denotations** (they denote either a participant of an event or the event itself; see §20.2.5) and do not predicate. In turn, both switch-reference clauses and independent clauses are **predicative constructions** that predicate about one participant of the event. It is their denotative function that makes grammatical nominalisations different from dependent clauses, which are **predicative but not assertive**; and from independent clauses, which can also be sentences and, therefore, are **predicative and assertive** (see Chapter 17 for more on the distinction between dependent and independent clauses). Their denotative function makes grammatical nominalisations more similar to nouns than to clauses; however, their complex internal structure suggests that they are not equivalent to nouns, as we have seen in this section (see also §20.6.1.2 for a brief discussion of the modification restrictions found in grammatical nominalisations). In the following section, I discuss the function of grammatical nominalisations in more detail. The following table summarises their most salient formal features:

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[89] But notice that switch-reference markers have sometimes developed from nominalisers and that this fact makes it impossible to establish a clear-cut distinction between the two paradigms; see §18.1 for a brief discussion of this issue.

Table 72   Formal features of grammatical nominalisations

Formal features of grammatical nominalisations
They are verb-final.
Their verb exhibits a clausal argument structure.
They can be syntactically very complex (including a dependent predicate).
They may carry tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality markers.
Their verb carries a nominaliser.

20.2.4   The function of grammatical nominalisations

Despite their clausal structure, grammatical nominalisations are functionally denotative expressions and thus are closer to nouns than to clauses in terms of their function. Grammatical nominalisations (i) can head NPs and in that position they appear as core or oblique arguments of different predicates, including complement-taking predicates. Like other NPs, (ii) NPs headed by grammatical nominalisations can be marked for number and case. In addition, the different discourse mechanisms that apply to NPs (see §22.2 and §22.3) also apply to NPs headed by grammatical nominalisations. Thus, (iii) they can be topicalised (appearing as the first constituent of the sentence; see for instance example (834)); highlighted (being followed by a resumptive pronoun; see example (838)); and focused (appearing in a post-verbal position; see example (831)). Grammatical nominalisations (iv) can also appear in appositional constructions, where they accomplish a relativising function, that will be discussed in §20.3.

The following text example includes a pluralised grammatical nominalisation. We can see there that the plural marker appears directly on the NP headed by the nominalisation. The NP *[ain chaiti 'iakama]* is headed by the participant

nominalisation *[ain chaiti 'ia]* and has a plural referent: 'the ones who were their ancestors':

(831) C02B05-NA-2007.051

kamabi	non	ka	sinania	**ain**	**chaiti**	**'iakama**
kamabi	no=n	ka	sinan-i-a	[[ain	chaiti	'i-a]NOMLS]NP=kama
all	foreinger=ERG	NAR.3p	think-IMPF-non.prox	3sg.GEN	ancestor.ABS	be-NOM=PLU

'All the foreigners think about **the (ones) who were their ancestors a long time ago**.'

The grammatical nominalisation in the example above functions as the object of the verb *sinan-* 'to think'. Grammatical nominalisations can also appear as subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs and as different types of obliques. Case markers can only attach directly to grammatical nominalisations if they carry the plural marker (as in the examples in (832)-(834)). In the case of non-pluralised nominalisations, the case markers are obligatorily attached to a subsequent (resumptive) pronominal form *a* '3sg', which appears with a high pitch and following a pause (as in examples (835)-(837)). This behaviour represents a difference between nouns and grammatical nominalisations.

(832)
nukën	**chaiti**	**'iakama**	ka	Limanu	kwankëxa
[[nukën	**chaiti**	**'i-a]**NOMLS]NP=kama	ka	Lima=nu	kwan-akë-x-a
1pl-GEN	ancestor.ABS	be-NOM=PLU.ABS	NAR.3p	Lima=LOC	go-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'**The ones who were our ancestors** went to Lima a long time ago.'

(833)
nukën	**chaiti**	**'iakaman**	ka	Lima	isakëxa
[[nukën	**chaiti**	**'i-a]**NOMLS]NP=kama=n	ka	Lima	is-akë-x-a
1pl.GEN	ancestor.ABS	be-NOM=PLU=ERG	NAR.3p	Lima.ABS	see-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'**The ones who were our ancestors** saw (i.e. visit) Lima.'

(834)
[[nukën	**chaiti**	**'iakamabë**	ka	Bolívar	kwankëxa
[[nukën	**chaiti**	**'i-a]**NOMLS]NP=kama=bë	ka	Bolívar	kwan-akë-x-a
1pl.GEN	ancestor.ABS	be-NOM-PLU-COM	NAR.3p	Bolivar.ABS	see-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Bolivar went with **the ones who were our ancestors**.'

(835) **nukën   chaiti   'ia   ax   ka   Limanu   kwankëxa**
     [[nukën chaiti   'i-a]_{NOMLS}**]**_{NP} a=x   ka   Lima=nu   kwan-akë-x-a
     1pl.GEN ancestor.ABS be-NOM   3sg=S NAR.3p   Lima=LOC   go-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
     '**The one who was our ancestor** went to Lima a long time ago.'

(836) **nukën   chaiti   'ia   an   ka   Lima   isakëxa**
     [[nukën chaiti   'i-a]_{NOMLS}**]**_{NP} a=n   ka   Lima   is-akë-x-a
     1pl.GEN ancestor.ABS be-NOM=PLU   3sg=ERG NAR.3p   Lima.ABS   see-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
     '**The one who was our ancestor** saw (i.e. visit) Lima.'

(837) **nukën   chaiti   'ia   abë   ka   Lima   isakëxa**
     [[nukën chaiti   'i-a]_{NOMLS}**]**_{NP} a=bë   ka   Lima   is-akë-x-a
     1pl.GEN ancestor.ABS be-NOM=PLU   3sg=COM(S) NAR.3p   Lima.ABS   see-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
     'Bolivar went with **the one who was our ancestor**.'

     The function of the resumptive pronoun in the examples in (835)-(837) requires more study and I will only give a preliminary characterisation here. When such a pronoun appears after an NP, it is used to indicate that the participant referred to by the NP is or will be relevant for a subsequent portion of the discourse (I use the label **highlighting** for this discursive function; see §22.3). This pronoun seems to have a similar function when appearing with pluralised grammatical nominalisations, as shown in the following example. Pluralised grammatical nominalisations do not obligatorily require the resumptive pronoun and, in the example below, the pronoun seems to be accomplishing the discursive function of highlighting, exactly as it is the case with NPs. The referent of the nominalised form *[axa unpukëkama]* 'all the ones who are hidden' is followed by the pronominal form because it will continue to be the topic of the following portion of the narrative, since these hidden people will later show up and kill their common enemy.

(838) C01A09-SE-2007.065
bikin   kaisa   anuxun   **[[axa   unpukëkama]**_{NOMLS}**]**_{NP}   **a**
bits-kin   kaisa   anuxun   a-x-a   unpu-kë=kama   **a**
pick.up-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   then(TRA)   that-S-NON.REST   hide-NOM=PLU   **3sg.O**

kakëxa
ka-akë-x-a
say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
'Picking up (something), he said to **all the people who were hidden** …'

The same resumptive pronoun is **obligatory** with non-plural grammatical nominalisations in the examples in (835)-(837). This fact suggests that its function in that context is different from highlighting, which is an optional pragmatic mechanism. The resumptive pronoun in (835)-(837) seems to make the referent of the grammatical nominalisations discursively more transparent: those grammatical nominalisations refer to one of the participants of the nominalised event. This participant is, in turn, a participant in the event expressed by the main predicate and, therefore, needs to be case-marked accordingly. In the case of participant nominalisations, this pronoun is obligatory even for the unmarked absolutive case. However, in the case of event-nominalisations, which are mostly used in the absolutive case as complements of verbs like *is-* 'to see', *unan-* 'to know' or *kwëën-* 'to want' (see §20.4), this resumptive pronoun is not required. Therefore, in these specific contexts, this pronominal form distinguishes between participant and event nominalisations (see §20.2.5 for more on this distinction). This can be seen in the following examples, where the presence or absence of this pronoun triggers different interpretations: the nominalisation in (839), which is followed by the pronoun, is interpreted as a participant nominalisation; while the nominalisation in (840), which is not followed by the pronominal form, receives an event-interpretation:

(839) **nukën   chaiti   'ia**   a   kana   isakën
    [[nukën   chaiti   'i-a]_{NOMLS}]_{NP}   a   kana   is-akë-n
    1pl.GEN   ancestor.ABS be-NOM   3sg.O NAR.1sg see-REM.PAST-1/2p
    'I saw a long time ago **the one who was our ancestor**.'

(840) **nukën   chaiti   'ia**   kana   isakën
    [[nukën   chaiti   'i-a]_{NOMLS}]_{NP}   kana   is-akë-n
    1pl.GEN   ancestor.ABS be-NOM   NAR.1sg see-REM.PAST-1/2p
    'I saw a long time ago **how our ancestors were**.'

The event nominalisation in (840) does not require the resumptive pronoun in order to be interpreted as the absolutive argument of the verb *is-* 'to see'. Preliminary evidence suggests that, in general, the restriction against case markers to appear directly on nominalisations is less strong in the case of event nominalisations. In fact, there is one switch-reference marker *-këbë(tan)* 'different subject/object, simultaneous event' that clearly includes both the nominaliser *-kë* and the case marker *=bë(tan)* 'comitative' (see §18.3.4.1). This marker is difficult to analyse in terms of the distinction between switch-reference clauses and grammatical nominalisations, and constructions with *-këbë(tan)* 'different subject/object, simultaneous event' may alternatively be seen as event nominalisations in the comitative case. Even if we analyse *-këbëtan* as a lexicalised switch-reference marker in the synchronic language, the existence of such a switch-reference marker indicates that the combination *-kë=bë(tan)*, i.e. event nominalisation plus case marker, was not always impossible (consider also the case of event nominalisations functioning as the complement of the verb *sinan-* 'to think', which take the comparative case marker *=sa*; see §20.4).

Under certain conditions, a participant nominalisation can appear, at least in the absolutive, without a resumptive pronoun. The markers *-tibu* 'present habitual nominaliser' and *-ai* 'present non-habitual nominaliser' cannot be used as event

nominalisers and they do not require the resumptive pronoun in the absolute case

(and for some speakers not in the comitative either). See the following example:

(841) **asabi   uni   'iai**   kana   isakën
      [[asabi   uni   'i-ai]_{NOMLS}**]**_{NP}   kana   is-akë-n
      good   person.ABS be-NOM.ABS   NAR.1sg   see-REM.PAST-1/2p

      'I saw **the one who is ocasionally a good person**.'

In the following section, I discuss in more detail the distinction between event and participant nominalisations. The following table summarises the functional features of grammatical nominalisations:

Table 73   Nominal features of grammatical nominalisations

Nominal features of grammatical nominalisations
They can be heads of NPs and appear as core or oblique arguments of different predicates, including complement-taking predicates.
NPs headed by grammatical nominalisations can be marked for number and case, but there are some restrictions for case markers operating directly on singular grammatical nominalisations denoting participants.
They can be topicalised, highlighted and focused.
They can appear in appositional constructions, where they accomplish a relativising function.

20.2.5   Event and participant nominalisations

As we have seen in the previous section, grammatical nominalisations in Kashibo-Kakataibo can be of two semantic types: event-nominalisations and participant-nominalisations.[90] The former denote "a state of affairs characterized by an event

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[90] More recently, Shibatani has been using the term **argument nominalisation** to refer to what I call, following his 2009's paper, **participant nominalisation**.

denoted by the clause" (Shibatani 2009: 191), as in *my buying of that book*. The latter denote "an entity characterized in terms of the denoted event in which it has crucial relevance" (Shibatani 2009: 191), as in *the book which I bought* (which in Kashibo-Kakataibo would be expressed by a nominalisation).

These two different types of nominalisations can be distinguished according to their behaviour in relation to case markers: participant nominalisations cannot receive case markers directly and require a resumptive pronoun (but this pronoun is not required in the unmarked absolutive case for those nominalisations that cannot be interpreted as event nominalisations; see example (841)). In turn, event nominalisations do not require this presumptive pronoun, but can optionally be followed by it:[91]

(842) **Juan   hotelnu   tëëkë**   (a-x)   ka   asabi   'ikën
      [[Juan   hotel=nu   tëë-kë]NOMLS**]**NP (a-x)   ka   asabi   'ikën
      Juan.ABS   hotel=LOC work-NOM   3sg=S   NAR.3p   good   be.3p
      '**The fact that Juan works in the hotel** is good.'

Another criterion in order to distinguish between participant and event nominalisations is the use of **internal gaps**. While event nominalisations may or may not have a gap in their internal structure, participant nominalisations require such a gap. This gap corresponds to the participant that the nominalisation denotes. Let us look at the following examples, which illustrate this distinction:

(843) **nukën   raran   'a**   a   kana   isakën
      [nukën   rara=n   øⱼ   'a-a]NOMLSⱼ   a   kana   is-akë-n
      1pl.GEN   ancestor=ERG   do-NOM   3sg.O   NAR.1sg   see-REM.PAST-1/2p
      'I saw **(the things) that our ancestors did a long time ago**.'

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[91] Notice that in the example in (842), the pronoun may be accomplishing a highlighting function, equivalent to the one found in the example in (838).

(844) **nukën raran ñu 'a** kana isakën

    [nukën rara=n ñu 'a-a]_{NOMLS} kana is-akë-n

    1pl.GEN ancestor=ERG thing.ABS do-NOM.ABS NAR.1sg see-REM.PAST-1/2p

    'I saw **that/how our ancestors did the things a long time ago**.'

Participant nominalisations can apply to most internal arguments, including different types of oblique participants. If the nominalisation is of an oblique participant, the internal gap obligatorily needs to be expressed by a pronominal form. If the participant denoted by the nominalisation is a core argument (S, A and O) of the nominalised event, this internal pronominal form is not obligatory, but can occur optionally (for disambiguation or emphasis purposes). Examples of different types of participant nominalisations follow (note that all the examples presented below include nominalisations in a relativising function; see §20.3):

(845) <u>C01B03-SE-2007.015: S-nominalisation expressed with a gap</u>

chanku **raxukukë** […]

chanku_j **[ø_j raxu-akat-kë]**_{NOMLSj}

injury peel-REFL-NOM

'Injures **that peel themselves**.'

(846) <u>C01B03-SE-2007.015: S-nominalisation expressed with a pronoun</u>

[…] ku **ax raxukukë**

ku_j **[a=x_j raxu-akat-kë]**_{NOMLSj}

pimple that=S peel-REFL-NOM

'Pimples **that peel themselves**.'

(847) <u>A-nominalisation expressed with a gap</u>

    'atsa pikë uni

[ø_j 'atsa pi-kë]_{NOMLSj} uni_j

    manioc.ABS eat-NOM person

'The man **who ate/eats manioc**.'

(848) <u>C01B02-JE-2007.019: A-nominalisation expressed with a pronoun</u>

ainsa ain xanu 'akë uni

[a-n-isa_j ain xanu 'a-kë]_{NOMLSj} uni_j

3sg-A-REP.3p 3sg.GEN woman.ABS do-NOM person

'The man **who it is said that used to have sex with (other man's) wife**.'

(849) C02A09-NA-2007.019: O-nominalisation expressed with a gap

ain	bënën		'akë	buë
[ain	bënë=n	ø_j	'a-kë]_NOMLSj	buë_j
3sg.GEN	husband=ERG		do-NOM	fish.esp

'The fish **that her husband fished**.'

(850) C01B08-NA-2007.012: locative-nominalisation (it can only be expressed with a pronoun)

naë	anu	'ati	me
[naë	anu_j	'a-ti]_NOMLSj	me_j
garden.ABS	there	make-NOM	land

'Land **to make a garden in there.**'

(851) C01B05-SE-2007.023: instrumental-nominalisation (it can only be expressed with a pronoun)

bëtsi	tointi	**anun**	**'akananti**
bëtsi	tointi_j	[anun_j	'a-kan-anan-ti]_NOMLSj
other.one	gun	that.INS	kill-PLU-REC-NOM

'Another gun **to fight with that**.'

Even genitive arguments can be denoted by a participant nominalisation (see the example in (853)). The only oblique argument that cannot undergo participant nominalisation is the comparative object, as shown in the following example:[92]

(852)	***Juan**	**asa**	**'ikë**	uni	ka	'ën	xukën	'ikën
	[Juan	a-sa_j	'i-kë]_NOMLSj	uni_j	ka	'ë=n	xukën	'ikën
	Juan.ABS	that-COMP	be-NOM	man=S	NAR.3p	1sg=GEN	brother	be.3p

('the man like whom Juan looks is my brother')

Other criteria that can be used for distinguishing between these two types of nominalisations are the fact that only NPs headed by participant nominalisations can receive the plural marker =*kama* (as in the text example in (831)), and the fact that

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[92] Notice that the restrictions on nominalisation found in Kashibo-Kakataibo coincide with the accessibility hierarchy proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977) in their study of relative clauses (Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Object of preposition or postposition > Possessor > Object of Comparison). The relations between the restrictions on nominalisation in Kashibo-Kakataibo and the accessibility hierarchy require more study.

nominalisations derived by *-tibu* 'present habitual nominaliser' and *-ai* 'present non-habitual nominaliser' are exclusively interpreted as participant nominalisations (see the elicited example in (841)). Finally, only participant nominalisations show the relativising function to be described in §20.3. The following table summarises the different criteria discussed in this section:

Table 74   Grammatical differences between participant and event nominalisations

Participant nominalisations	Event nominalisations
(Almost) obligatory resumptive pronoun	Non obligatory resumptive pronoun
Obligatory gap	Non obligatory gap
Can be pluralised	Cannot be pluralised
Derived by *-tibu* and *–ai*	Not derived by *-tibu* and *-ai*
Relativising function	No relativising function

20.3   The relativisation function of grammatical nominalisations

20.3.1   Prototypical relativisation

Participant nominalisations can appear either after or before an NP in a construction which is functionally equivalent to relative clauses in other languages. In the previous sections, I have argued that grammatical nominalisations are not clausal in terms of their function, which has been discussed in §20.2.4. The first fact to recall is that they can be heads of NPs by themselves and do not need an external nominal head to appear in discourse. This fact strongly suggests that they are not equivalent to relative clauses, which at least in their prototypical cases are dependent elements that require such a nominal head.

In Kashibo-Kakataibo, grammatical nominalisations may appear with (but do not grammatically depend on) an NP in appositional constructions, which are to be

analysed as [NOMLS] [N]_{NP} constructions.[93] The appositional analysis is supported

by the fact that modifying nouns in [N N]_{NP} constructions are always pre-head (see

§9.2.4). If grammatical nominalisations were NP-internal modifiers, they would be

expected to appear exclusively before the head – but they can be either pre- or post-

nominal. This appositional analysis also finds support in prosodic facts, particularly

in the prosodic independence between the grammatical nominalisation and the NP,

which can be separated by a pause and even by other elements, such as a highlighting

pronoun. This is shown in the following example:

(853) C01B06-JE-2007.049

xanu	*ax*	**ain**	**bënë**	**iskëma**
[xanu]_{jNP}	a=x	**[ain**_j	**bënë**	**is-kë=ma]**_{j NOMLS}
woman	3sg=S	3p.GEN	husband.ABS	see-NOM=NEG

'The woman, she, **whose husband did not see (was blind)**.'

In the appositional construction proposed here, an NP happens to denote the

same entity as a participant nominalisation (which by definition denotes one of its

arguments or adjuncts). The result is a construction with a relativising function

according to which the grammatical nominalisation constrains the interpretation of

the NP it co-occurs with. For instance, in the example above the woman denoted by

the NP is meant to be the same woman denoted by the nominalisation: 'the one whose

husband did not see'. This is also what we find in the following example (note that

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[93] According to Shibatani (2010), grammatical nominalisations "differ from the well-recognized type of appositives in lacking NP status—hence in their referential status". Grammatical nominalisations in this function restrict the denotation of the nominal element they are combined with; but are not referential by themselves. This is different from prototypical appositional constructions, where both members are referential NPs. In this context, it may be important to mention that preliminary research indicate that it is not possible to use two nominalisations in these appositional constructions and this fact seems to give support to Shibatani's analysis.

these constructions have been analysed as relative clauses in the literature about

Kashibo-Kakataibo; see, particularly, Winstrand 1968):

(854) C01B04-JE-2007.002

ax	kaisa	**uni**	**ainsa**	**unin**	**xanu**	**'akë**
a=x	kaisa	[uni]_{jNP}	[a-n=isa_j	uni=n	xanu	'a-kë]_{j NOMLS}
3sg=S	NAR.REP.3p	person	that=A=REP.3p	person=GEN	woman.ABS	do-NOM

[…]	'iakëshín
[…]	'i-akë-x-ín
	be-REM.PAST-S-prox

'It is said that he was a man, **someone who was said to used to have sex with the wife of (another) man**.'

Summarising, in order to serve a relativising function, a grammatical nominalisation needs to be a participant nominalisation (never an event nominalisation), whose denotation constrains the semantic interpretation of an overtly expressed NP, with which the nominalisation creates an appositional construction. This NP can appear either after or before the nominalised construction.

It is interesting to note that, if a grammatical nominalisation appears in this relativising function and denotes its S-argument, there is an additional distinction available that is comparable to the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relativisation: If the S-argument of the nominalisation appears as a pronominal form, it can be followed by a marker *-a*, in which case a non-restrictive reading is obtained. See the following example (and compare it to the example in (838)):

(855) C01B07-JE-2007.014

cuestion	*de*	[runu]_j	[ënë	bina]_j	**[axa**	**'akananankë]**_{NOMLSj}
cuestion	*de*	runu	ënë	bina	a-x-**a**	'a-kan-anan-kë
issue	of	snake	this	wasp	that-S-**NON.REST**	kill-PLU-REC-NOM

'The things related to snakes and wasps, **which all of them are dangerous**' (non-restricted interpretation).

(*'the things related to (the) snakes and wasps that are dangerous') (restricted interpretation).

20.3.2 Nominalisations versus headless relative clauses

Grammatical nominalisations are pervasive in discourse but only rarely appear in the appositional construction that reminds us of a relative clause. Grammatical nominalisations can be heads of NPs and, therefore, are constituents by themselves and do not require an external nominal head. This section addresses the issue of whether or not it is possible to analyse those nominalisations as headless relative clauses (Keenan 1985b). In order to do so we will additionally need to postulate a non-overt and abstract relative head (PRO), as in the following example:

(856) C01A01-MO-2007.030

ashi	ka	['ën	ñuikaskë]**PRO**]	'iashín
a=ishi	ka	'ë=n	ñui-kas-kë	'i-a-x-ín
that=only	NAR.3p	1sg=A	tell-DES-NOM	be-PERF-3p-prox

'Only that was **(the tale_{PRO}) that I wanted to tell**.'

The main problem with such an analysis is that we would have to first look at these constructions as if they were relative clauses, and then have to assume that they are non-prototypical instances of this type of clause, since they do not show an overt external head. In addition, we will need to postulate an abstract head. By contrast, if we assumed that all these examples are nominalisations in the sense proposed by Shibatani (2009), we are able to avoid the unnecessary complexity of the relative-clause analysis. Shibatani explains this in the following way:

> Grammatical nominalisations, especially those that show a clausal character, have often been considered a type of relativisation and are called "headless relatives" or "free relatives" as if they were derivatives of relative clauses. There is no basis for this other than the fact that they show formal resemblances to relative clauses […] and the skewed perspective many linguists have had about grammatical nominalisations, namely viewing them from the perspective of relative clauses (Shibatani 2009:187)

This proposal is highly useful for the understanding and analysis of the Kashibo-Kakataibo data. In Kashibo-Kakataibo, the data suggest that we need to look at relativising constructions from the perspective of nominalisations, and not at nominalisations from the perspective of relative clauses. If we were to follow the latter analysis, we would have to conclude that the non-prototypical cases of relative clauses (i.e., the ones without an external head, analysed here simply as nominalisations) are much more frequent than the prototypical ones (i.e., the relative clause-like constructions with an external head, analysed here as cases of apposition). By contrast, the analysis proposed here enables us to give a satisfactory description, and to explain the formal resemblance between nominalisations and relative-clause-like constituents. Finally, it explains why prototypical relative-clause-like constructions are less common than non-prototypical ones in discourse: because they are not relative clauses, and we are dealing with grammatical nominalisations in both cases. The constructions that resemble relative clauses are only associated with one specific function of these nominalisations: where they appear in combination with an NP in an appositional construction. Appositions can be expected to be less frequent than single NPs in discourse, and this fact further supports the analysis described in this chapter.

20.3.3 The noun *ñu* 'thing' as a nominalising device

One additional interesting construction combines a nominalisation with the noun *ñu* 'thing', which seems to be turning into a functional noun. In the following example, the nominalisation *[nukën rara 'i-a]* 'our ancestors.ABS to be-nominaliser, remote past' precedes *ñu* 'thing':

(857) C01B05-SE-2007.061

kananuna	**nukën**	**rara**	**'ia**	**ñu**
kananuna	**[nukën**	**rara**	**'i-a]**_{NOMLS}	**ñu**
NAR.1pl	1pl-GEN	ancestor.ABS	be-NOM	thing.ABS

ëntima	'ain
ën-ti=ma	'ain
leave-NOM=NEG	be.1/2p

'But we will not forget [lit. 'leave'] **how/what our ancestors were**.'

The example in (857) is similar to the ones discussed throughout this section, where the relativising function of nominalisations has been presented. However, the function of *ñu* 'thing' seems to be slightly different. It is interesting to note that the form *ñu* in examples like the one in (857) is not obligatory and that its absence does not change the meaning of the construction. See the following example:

(858) Elicited from C01B05-SE-2007.061

kananuna	**nukën**	**rara**	**'ia**
kananuna	**[nukën**	**rara**	**'i-a]**_{NOMLS}
NAR.1pl	1pl.GEN	ancestor.ABS	be-NOM.ABS

ëntima	'ain
ën-ti=ma	'ain
leave-NOM=NEG	be.1/2p

'But we will not forget [lit. 'leave'] **what/how our ancestors were**.'

The fact that the sentences in (857) and (858) are semantically equivalent suggests that, in the former example, the nominalisation *[nukën rara 'ia]* is not necessarily a participant nominalisation in an appositional relation to *ñu* 'thing' and that the whole structure *[nukën rara 'ia] ñu* is functioning as an event nominalisation. This suggests that *ñu* does not have a referential meaning in this context and is turning into some sort of –non-obligatory– functional word, with a nominalising function.

20.4   The complementation function of grammatical nominalisations

As we have seen in §20.2.4, grammatical nominalisations usually function as core arguments of clauses. They appear as subjects, objects or adjuncts of different verbs. In a good number of those cases, it is possible to argue that we find grammatical nominalisations accomplishing a complementation function, defined as: "the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate" (Noonan 1985: 42).

Since nominalisations in this specific position serve a complementation function, the question arises whether they can be considered complement clauses. As I have mentioned before in this chapter, the structures discussed here are not clauses but nominal expressions. This argument will also be defended here. The conclusion of this section, therefore, is that complementation is achieved by means of nominalisations. After discussing the use of grammatical nominalisations in prototypical complementation constructions (see §20.4.1), this section presents other constructions that serve a similar function (see §20.4.2).

20.4.1   Nominalisations and complementation

It is cross-linguistically common that not all the verbs of a given language can take (all types of) complement clauses. Usually, only a subset of them triggers complementation, and complement clauses are thus prototypically associated with certain types of verbs (see Dixon 2006 for a summary of these classes). This is not the case in Kashibo-Kakataibo: given the right pragmatic context, any verb can potentially occur with a grammatical nominalisation as one of its core arguments or adjuncts. This distribution shows that the process discussed here goes beyond what is usually defined as prototypical complementation. I will exemplify this fact by

presenting four verbs that are not included among the types of complement-taking

verbs listed by Dixon, but which can take nominalisations as one of their arguments

in Kashibo-Kakataibo:

(859) **Marianën** **'arukë** a kana pian
   [[Maria-nën **'aru-kë]**_{NOMLS}**]**_{NP} a kana pi-a-n
   Maria=ERG cook-NOM 3sg.O NAR.1sg eat-PERF-1/2p
   'I ate **what Maria cooked**.'

(860) **Marianën** **'arukë** a kana nipan
   [[Maria-nën **'aru-kë]**_{NOMLS}**]**_{NP} a kana ni-pat-a-n
   Maria=ERG cook-NOM 3sg.O NAR.1sg throw-down.TRAN-PERF-1/2p
   'I threw down **what Maria cooked**.'

(861) **Marianën** **'arukë** ax ka anëaxa
   [[Maria-nën **'aru-kë]**_{NOMLS}**]**_{NP} a=x ka anë-a-x-a
   Maria=ERG cook-NOM 3sg=S NAR.3p get.rotten-PERF-3p-non.prox
   '**What Maria cooked** got rotten.'

(862) **Marianën** **'arukë** ax ka anpënkiaxa
   [[Maria-nën **'aru-kë]**_{NOMLS}**]**_{NP} a=x ka anpënki-a-x-a
   Maria=ERG cook-NOM 3sg=S NAR.3p spill.over-PERF-3p-non.prox
   '**What Maria cooked** spilt over.'

    None of the verbs in the preceding examples features a prototypical

complement-taking verb, but all of them take a grammatical nominalisation as one of

their arguments (or as their only argument). Similar grammatical nominalisations are

used with verbs that are considered prototypical complement-taking verbs, such as

verbs of perception (example (863)), desire (example (864)) or speaking (example

(865)):

(863) **Marianën   nami   'arukë**   a   kana   isan
    [[Maria=n   nami   'aru-kë]_{NOMLS}**]**_{NP} a   kana   is-a-n
    Maria=ERG   meat.ABS cook-NOM   3sg.O   NAR.1sg   see-PERF-1/2p

    'I saw **that Maria cooked meat**.'

(864) **Marianën   'aruti**   kana   kweenin
    [[Maria=n   'aru-ti]_{NOMLS}**]**_{NP}   kana   kwëën-i-n
    Maria=ERG   cook-NOM   NAR.1sg   want-IMPF-1/2p

    'I want **Maria to cook**.'

(865) **Marianën   nun   piti   'arukë**   a   kana   ñuin
    [[Maria=n   nu=n   piti   'aru-kë]_{NOMLS}**]**_{NP} a   kana   ñui-i-n
    Maria=ERG   1pl=GEN   food.ABS   cook-NOM   3sg.O NAR.1sg tell-IMPF-1/2p

    'I tell **that Maria cooked our food**.'

Note that equivalent constructions with the verb *sinan-* 'to think', another prototypical complement-taking verb according to Dixon (2006), require the grammatical nominalisation to carry the oblique 'comparative' marker *=sa*:

(866) **Marianën   'arukësa**   kana   sinanin
    [[Maria=n   'aru-kë]_{NOMLS}**]**_{NP}**=sa**   kana   sinan-i-n
    Maria=ERG   cook-NOM=COMP   NAR.1sg   think-PERF-1/2p

    'I think **that Maria cooked**.'

These examples show that, as it was the case for relativisation, prototypical complementation is just one of the functions of grammatical nominalisations, which, as I have said, can head NPs and appear as oblique or core arguments of different predicates, including those that are prototypically complement-taking verbs.

20.4.2   Other complementation strategies

In Kashibo-Kakataibo, complementation is not only achieved through recruiting grammatical nominalisations. There are at least two other ways to express this function. I will comment on these complementation strategies in the following subsections:

20.4.2.1 Switch-reference clauses

Switch-reference clauses can be used for complementation purposes. This happens in two different contexts. First, the complement of the verbs *ñui-* 'to tell' and *sinan-* 'to think' can be expressed by a switch-reference clause headed by the verb 'to say', which is marked with the switch-reference suffix *-xun* 'S/A>A':

(867) C01A05-SE-2007.002

unitabakë		**bëtasanankëxa**	
[uni-taba-kë		bëtas-anan-akë-x-a	
create-for.the.first.time-NOM		obstruct-REC-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	

kixun	kana	ñuiti	'ain
ki-**xun]**	kana	ñui-ti	'ain
say(INTR)-S/A>A	NAR.1sg	tell-NOM	be.1/2p

'Saying the first men used to bury each other, I will tell (it).'

In addition to that, the switch-reference form *-ia* 'S/A>O, simultaneous event' can be used in clauses which appear as complements of prototypical complement-taking verbs. In this case, we can argue that the subject of the complement clause construction is the object of the matrix verb. That is, we have something like "I saw him eating the meat" instead of "I saw that he ate the meat" (see §18.3.2.1 for more on this marker):

(868) C01A09-SE-2007.006

[uni	**itsin**	**'aia]**	'unanxunbi
uni	itsi=n	'a-**ia**	'unan-xun=bi
person	other=ERG	do-S/A>O(SE)	know-S/A>A(SE)-although

'Although knowing that other man used to have sex (with her) / although knowing other man to have sex (with her).'

20.4.2.2 Interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses can also appear as complements of prototypical complement-taking verbs. This is exemplified in (617), where the interrogative clause [*uin kara*

carretera *'akëxa*] 'who made the highway a long time ago?' is functioning as the

complement of the verb *ñui-* 'to tell':

(869) C00A03-EE-2006.001

'ën	kana	ñuitisatanin	**uin**	**kara**
'ë=n	kana	ñui-t-isa-tan-i-n	**[ui=n**	**kara**
1sg=GEN	NAR.1sg	tell-HAR-IRRE-GO.TO-IMPF-1/2p	who=A	NAR.INT.3p

carretera	**'akëxa**
carretera	**'a-akë-x-a]**
highway.ABS	do-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'I want to tell who made the highway.'

The clause [*uin kara* carretera *akëxa*] 'who did the road a long time ago?' can

be used as a main clause without any difference. That is, this clause carries register

and mood markers and a fully inflected verb. Based on this evidence, the example in

(617) could be considered the only true instance of a complement **clause** in Kashibo-

Kakataibo.

20.5   The attributive function of nominalisations

It is unusual but possible to find constructions where a grammatical nominalisation

is used in an adverbial function that is labelled here as **attributive**. The reason for

this labelling is that, in this context, the nominalisation attributes an event to one of

the arguments of the clause. Therefore, it can be seen as a depictive or a secondary

predicate (see Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005). If the matrix clause is

intransitive, the nominalised construction predicates over the S-argument (as in

example (870)). If the clause is transitive, the nominalised element predicates over

the O argument (and never over the A argument) (as in example (871)). This is

presented as a case of ergative alignment in §21.2.2.3.

(870) **xu**   **'ikë**   kana   **'ëx**   Limanu   kwankën
      [xu   **'i-kë]**   kana   **'ë=x**   Lima=nu   kwan-akë-n
      small   be-NOM   NAR.1sg   1sg=S   Lima=LOC   go-REM.PAST-1/2p

      'I went to Lima when **I** (S) was a baby.'

(871) **xu**   **'i-kë**   kana   **'ë=n**   **Maria**   'unankën
      [xu   **'i-kë]**   kana   **'ë=n**   **Maria**   'unan-akë-n
      small   be-NOM   NAR.1sg   1sg=A   Maria.ABS   know-REM.PAST-1/2p

      'I met Maria when **she** (O) was a baby.'

      (*'I met Maria when **I** (A) was a baby')

Nominalisations with this attributive function can appear in different positions in the clause and, regardless of their position, always follow the ergative (S/O) pattern just exemplified.

(872) **xu**   **'ikë**   kana   **'ën**   **Maria**   'unankën
      [xu   **'i-kë]**   kana   **'ën**   **Maria**   'unan-akë-n
      small   be-NOM   NAR.1sg   1sg=A   Maria.ABS   know-REM.PAST-1/2p

      'ën   kana   **xu**   **'ikë**   **Maria**   'unankën
      'ë=n   kana   **[xu**   **'i-kë]**   **Maria**   'unan-akë-n
      1sg=A   NAR.1sg   small   be-NOM   Maria.ABS   know-REM.PAST-1/2p

      Maria   kana   **'ën**   **xu**   **'ikë**   'unankën
      Maria   kana   **'ën**   **[xu**   **'i-kë]**   'unan-akë-n
      Maria.ABS   NAR.1sg   1sg=A   small   be-NOM   know-REM.PAST-1/2p

      Maria   kana   **'ën**   'unankën   **xu**   **'ikë**
      Maria   kana   **'ën**   'unan-akë-n   **[xu**   **'i-kë]**
      Maria.ABS   NAR.1sg   1sg=A   know-REM.PAST-1/2p   small   be-NOM

      'I met Maria when **she** (O) was a baby.'
      (*'I met Maria when **I** (A) was a baby')

20.6   Lexical vs. grammatical nominalisations

20.6.1   Distinguishing between lexical and grammatical nominalisations

As summarised in the following table, there are at least three differences between lexical and grammatical nominalisations (lexical nominalisations were discussed in §8.4).

Table 75   Differences between lexical and grammatical nominalisations

Criteria	Lexical nominalisations	Grammatical nominalisations
Structural complexity	are structurally lexical	can be structurally clausal
Modification/possession	can be modified/possessed	cannot be modified/possessed
Semantics/morphological differences in the nominalisers	*-ti* 'instrument nominaliser' *-kë* 'patient nominaliser' *-katsá* 'subject nominaliser, desiderative' *tapun* 'subject nominaliser, habitual' *baë* 'subject nominaliser, iterative' (Only in very few cases: *-ai* 'subject nominaliser' and *-a* 'remote nominaliser')	*-ti* 'future/purpositive nominaliser' *-kë* 'past/present nominaliser' *-a* 'remote nominaliser' *-tibu* 'present habitual nominaliser' *-ai* 'present non-habitual nominaliser'

These three differences will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

20.6.1.1 Structural complexity

Lexical nominalisations are derived nouns, as illustrated below (see also §8.4):

(873) <u>Derived nouns with *-kë*</u>

'i-	'to be'	>	*'ikë*	'house'
bëchi-	'to father'	>	*bëchikë*	'son of a man'
mapun-	to cover'	>	*mapunkë*	'house'
tua-	to give birth'	>	*tuakë*	'son of a woman'

(874) <u>Derived nouns with *-ti*</u>

maën-	'to sweep'	>	*maënti*	'broom'
kwënu-	'to sharpen'	>	*kwënuti*	'sharpener'
maput-	'to cover oneself'	>	*maputi*	'quilt'
mishki-	'to fish with a hook'	>	*mishkiti*	'fishing hook'

Examples including the derived nouns *mishkiti* 'fishing hook' and *mapunkë* 'house' follow:

(875) **mishkiti**nën ka Marianën 'axa
mishki**ti**=n ka Maria=n 'a-a-x-a
fishing.hook=INS NAR.3p Maria=ERG do-PERF-3p-non.prox
'Maria did it with a fishhook.'

(876) **mapunkë**nu ka Maria 'ikën
mapun**kë**=nu ka Maria 'ikën
house=LOC NAR.3p Maria.ABS be.3p
'Maria is in the house.'

The same verbs *mishki-* 'to fish with a hook' and *mapun-* 'to cover' can be used in grammatical nominalisations. In that case, the nominalised verb retains its argument structure and, in the examples that follow, we also find, respectively, a second position enclitic within the nominalisation and an aspectual marker on the nominalised verb. Such level of complexity is not shown by lexical nominalisations, which are simply derived nouns:

(877) uni **ax   isa   mishkiti**   ka   uaxa

uni **[a=x   isa   mishki-ti]**   ka   u-a-x-a

man 3sg=S REP.3p fish.with.hook-NOM.ABS NAR.3p come-PERF-3p-non.prox

'The man who it is said that he will fish with a hook has come.'

(878) **Juanën   min   'atapa   mapunbaikë**   kana   is-a-n

[Juan=n   mi=n   'atapa   mapun-bai-kë]   kana   is-a-n

Juan=ERG   2sg=GEN   hen.ABS cover-DUR.same.day-NOM NAR.1sg see-PERF-1/2p

'I saw that Juan was covering your hens for a long time early.'

20.6.1.2 Modification/possession

Grammatical nominalisations can neither be modified by, for instance, an adjective or a demonstrative nor possessed by genitive pronouns or NPs. Lexical nominalisations, by contrast, are derived nouns and, therefore, can be modified by adjectives or genitive phrases without restrictions. This is exemplified in the following sentences:

(879) **anun   no   'ati**   ñu

[[**anun   no   'a-ti**]GRAM.NOMLS   ñu]NP

that.INS   enemy.ABS do-NOM   thing

'the things to kill enemies with'

*ain   **anun   no   'ati**   ñuNP

[ain   [**anun   no   'a-ti**]GRAM.NOMLS   ñu]NP

3sg.GEN that.INS   enemy.ABS do-NOM   thing

('his/her things to kill enemies with')

*upí   **anun   no   'ati**   ñu]NP

[upí   [**anun   no   'a-ti**]GRAM.NOMLS   ñu]NP

beautiful that.INS   enemy.ABS do-NOM   thing

('the beautiful things to kill enemies with')

(880) **tointi**

[[**toin-ti**]LEX.NOMLS]NP

grab-NOM

'the gun'

ain   **tointi**
[ain   **[toin-ti]**_{LEX.NOMLS}]_{NP}
3sg.GEN   grab-NOM
'his/her gun'

upí   **tointi**
[upí   **[toin-ti]**_{LEX.NOMLS}]_{NP}
beautiful   grab-NOM
'the beautiful gun'

20.6.1.3 Grammatical and lexical nominalisers

Grammatical and lexical nominalisations use partially the same morphological material. The forms *-kë* and *-ti* (and also *-ai* and *-a*, but only in very few cases) are used in both types of constructions, but these forms show a different semantics depending on the type of construction. In lexical nominalisations, the suffix *-ti* is mostly used for instruments (with a few probably lexicalised exceptions; see §8.4.1); while in grammatical nominalisation, the semantic content of this suffix conveys a future interpretation. In turn, the suffix *-kë* is a patient lexical nominaliser (again with a few exceptions; see §8.4.2), but is a non-future nominaliser in grammatical nominalisations. Therefore, as grammatical nominalisers, the markers just mentioned are only sensitive to tense/aspectual distinctions and can be used to derive any kind of participant and not only patients or instruments. This is exemplified by the following sentences, where *-kë* is used in two grammatical nominalisations that denote, respectively, an instrument participant and an agent participant. As a lexical nominaliser, *-kë* only derives patient-like entities:

(881) **min   anun   'arukë**   ax   ka   'ënan   'ikën
     [mi=n   anun   'aru-kë]_{GRAM.NOMLS} a=x   ka   'ë-nan   'ikën
     2sg.A   3sg.INS cook-NOM   3sg=S   NAR.3p 1sg-POS   be.3p

     'What you cooked with is mine.' (instrument-nominalisation)

(882) **an   pikë**   ax   ka   'ën   xukën   'ikën
      [a=n   pi-kë]GRAM.NOMLS   a=x   ka   'ë=n   xukën   'ikën
      3sg=A   eat-NOM   3sg=S   NAR.3p 1sg=GEN brother be.3p

'The one who eats/ate is my brother.' (A-nominalisation)

Other important facts are to be mentioned in relation to this issue. As shown in Table 75, the nominaliser *-tibu* 'present habitual nominaliser' is exclusively used for grammatical nominalisations (see §20.2.2). In turn, the nominalisers *-katsá* 'subject nominaliser, desiderative' (see §8.4.3), *tapun* 'subject nominaliser, habitual' (see §8.4.4) and *bäe* 'subject nominaliser, iterative' (see §8.4.5) are, as far as I understand, only used for lexical nominalisations. This distribution represents a morphological difference between the two types of nominalisations.

20.6.1.4 Intermediate cases

I have demonstrated that lexical nominalisations and grammatical nominalisations can be distinguished in Kashibo-Kakataibo, even though they use partially the same morphology. I have listed in Table 75, and exemplified in the preceding sections, three criteria that reveal differences between the two.

However, it should also be said that not all examples are easily identifiable as either lexical or grammatical nominalisations. This is particularly true in relation to the nominalisations derived by *-kë* from the extended intransitive use of the emotion predicates presented in §11.3.2.2. In their extended intransitive use, these emotion predicates exhibit an object-like argument marked by the indirect locative *=mi*. The nominalisations obtained from some of these forms obligatorily keep the object marked with *=mi*, producing a complex structure that remind us of grammatical nominalisations. However, the problem is that these nominalisations can be possessed and this is a property of lexical nominalisations. One example follows.

There we find the nominalisation *[a=mi nish-kë]* '3sg=IMPR.LOC hate-NOM', which shows a complex structure and semantically modifies *uni* 'man', in a similar way to what we have seen in §20.3. Formally, it is very similar to a grammatical nominalisation. But, as we can see in the example, the form *[ami nishkë] [uni]* can be possessed – and this is only attested with lexical nominalisations:

(883) C03A03-EE-2007.012

usaoxun	kaisa	kakëxa
usa-o-xun	kaisa	ka-ake-x-a
like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

ain	**ami nishkë uni**		**a**
[ain	**[[ami nishkë]**_{NOMLS} **uni]]**_{NP}	**a**	
3sg.GEN	enemy		3sg.O

'Then, it is said that he said to his enemy…'

Examples like (883) are difficult to analyse in terms of the distinction proposed here. It seems that forms like *[ami nishkë] uni* have lexicalised into forms which are equivalent to nouns and, therefore, can be modified by a genitive modifier as it is the case of lexical nominalisations (or, more generally, any noun). The existence of these examples may be suggesting that the distinction between grammatical and lexical nominalisations in Kashibo-Kakataibo needs to be understood in terms of a continuum. In my corpus, there is only one similar example that does not come from an emotion predicate in an extended intransitive use: *[an 'akë] uni* 'lover', in which *[a=n 'a-kë]* '3sg-A do-NOM' is structurally a grammatical nominalisation; but can nevertheless be possessed and is used in that way in naturalistic speech. Thus, we find forms like ***ain** [an 'akë] uni* '**her** lover' naturally appearing in discourse. Cases like *[ami nishkë] uni* 'enemy' and *[an 'akë] uni* 'lover' deserve a more careful study which is yet to be done.

An additional problematic case is shown in the following example. There, we find the nominaliser *-a* 'remote past', almost exclusively used for grammatical nominalisations, in a construction that may be seen as lexical. The nominalisation *'i-a* 'to be-nominaliser, remote past' appears with the NP *ñu* 'thing' but, very unsually, is also possessed by the genitive pronoun *ain* '3p, genitive'. Therefore, the following example represents an exceptional case that still needs to be appropriately accounted for. One possible explanation might be that the whole structure *'ia ñu* 'the thing(s) that (one) was' has lexicalised.

(884)   C02B01-NA-2007.001

anu	ka	'ikën	achushi	xanuribi	ain	*historia*
anu	ka	'ikën	achushi	xanu-ribi	ain	*historia*-ø
there	NAR.3p	be.3p	one	woman-also	3sg.GEN	story-ABS

ain	**'ia**	**ñu**	a	ñuiti
[ain	[['i-a]~NOMLS~	ñu]]~NP~	a-ø	ñui-ti
3sg.GEN	be-NOM	thing	that-O	tell-NOM

'There is also the story of one woman, **the things that she was**, for telling.'

Chapter 21 Further reflections on transitivity

21.1   Introduction

Lexical transitivity was presented in Chapter 11, where I have discussed verb classes. In this chapter, I will look at how transitivity and grammatical relations are manifested at the level of the clause. I start this chapter with the discussion in §21.2 about ways in which various grammatical relations play a role in Kashibo-Kakataibo syntax, paying special attention to different types of associations among the grammatical functions of S, A and O attested in different grammatical mechanisms (including different means for combining clauses). Section §21.3 explores the nature of the two objects of ditransitive clauses. Finally, section §21.4 discusses the syntax and semantics of the different valency-changing suffixes presented in §12.2 and includes some comments on the interaction between verbal prefixation and valency.

21.2   Grammatical relations in Kashibo-Kakataibo

21.2.1   Grammatical relations at the morphological level

The distinction between grammatical functions and grammatical relations (see Andrews 1985) is useful for describing Kashibo-Kakataibo syntax. Three basic grammatical functions are to be identified in Kashibo-Kakataibo: A, S and O (see §21.3 for a discussion of ditransitive clauses and §11.3.2 for a description of extended intransitive clauses). The association of the functions S and O, as found in the case marking of Kashibo-Kakataibo nouns, constitutes the grammatical relation of **absolutive**, as opposed to the grammatical relation of **ergative** (marking A

differently). By contrast, the association of S and A, as found in the subject cross-reference system in both the verbal morphology and the second position enclitics in Kashibo-Kakataibo, creates the grammatical relation of **nominative**, which can also be called **subject**, and which is opposed to the grammatical relation of **accusative**, also called **object**, which includes exclusively the grammatical function of O and is not overtly marked either in the verb or in the second positions enclitics. All this is shown in the following examples:

ergative   absolutive

(885) **Emilio=nën**   ka   **'ó**   'a-a-x-a
Emilio=ERG   NAR.3p   tapir.ABS   kill-PERF-3p-non.prox
'Emilio killed the tapir.'

                Emilio   ka   'ux-a-x-a
                Emilio.ABS   NAR.3p   sleep-PERF-3p-non.prox
                'Emilio slept.'

nominative   nominative

(886) **Emilio=nën**   ka   'ë   më-a-**x**-a
Emilio=ERG   NAR.3p   1sg.O   beat-PERF-3p-non.prox
'Emilio beat me up.'

Emilio   ka   'ux-a-**x**-a
Emilio.ABS   NAR.3p   sleep-PERF-3p-non.prox
'Emilio slept.'
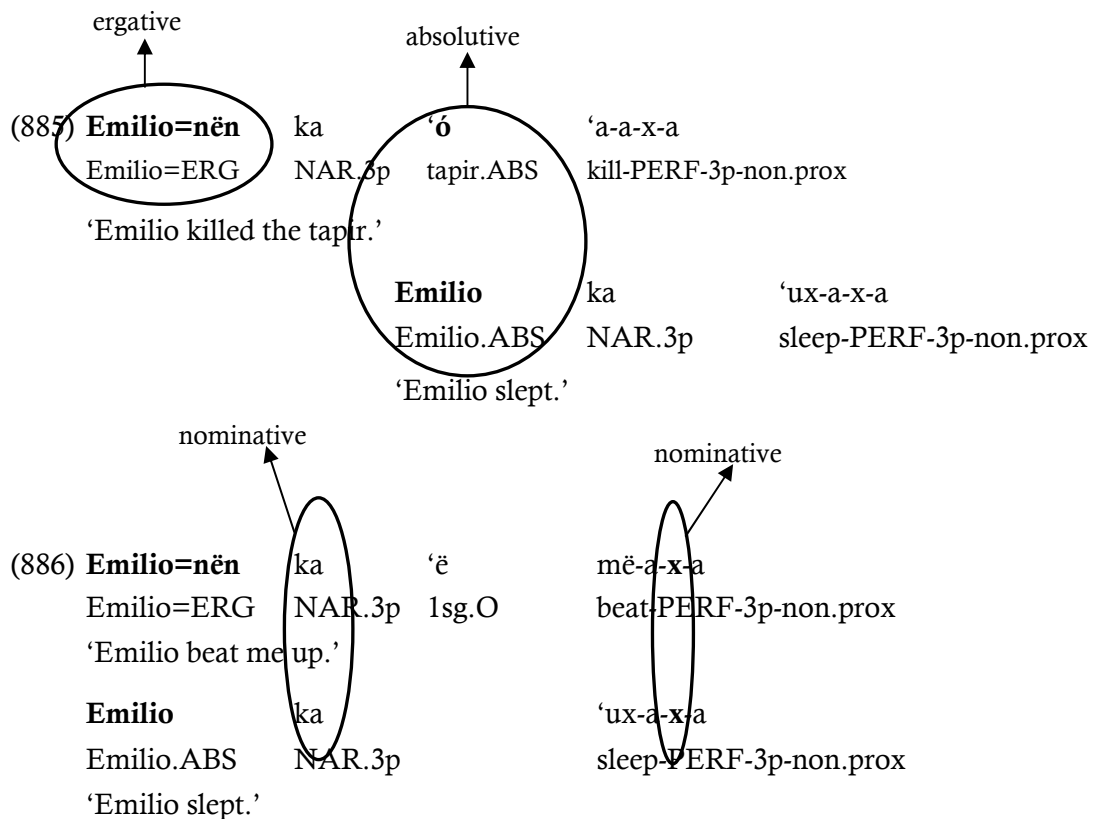
There is also a tripartite case marking alignment in Kashibo-Kakataibo pronouns (and in some nouns expressing anaphoric topics; see §22.5.2), as well as in other areas of the grammar. See the following examples:

(887) **a=n**   ka   **'ë**   mëë-a-x-a
       3sg=A   NAR.3p   1sg.O   hit-PERF-3p-non.prox
       'He hit me.'

       a=x   ka   'ux-a-x-a
       3sg=S   NAR.3p   sleep-PERF-3p-non.prox
       'He slept.'
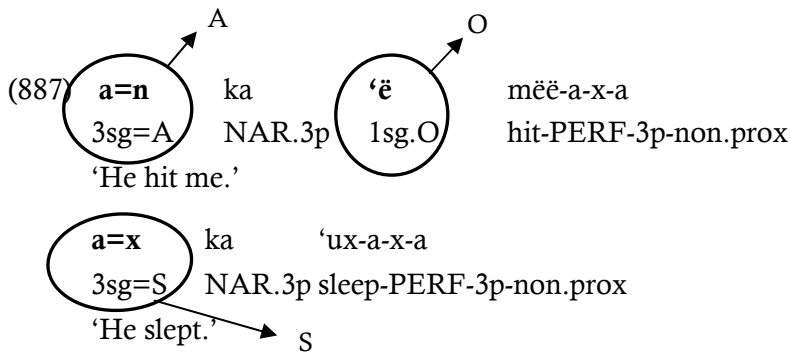
In addition, there is a set of emphatic/reflexive pronouns created by the combination of some of the personal pronouns plus the adverbial enclitic =*bi* 'same, self'. These pronominal elements remain unmarked in different grammatical functions and, therefore, may be argued to follow a neutral alignment (but they can optionally receive the case marker -*x* 'S'). These forms, which still require more study, are presented in the following examples (see also §6.2.1 and §21.4.4.1 for more on these pronominal forms):

(888) **abi**   ka   'ë   mëë-a-x-a
       3sg.EMP   NAR.3p   1sg.O   hit-PERF-3p-non.prox
       '**He** himself hit me.'

       abi   ka   'ux-a-x-a
       3sg.EMP   NAR.3p   sleep-PERF-3p-non.prox
       '**He** himself slept.'

       abi   kana   'ë=n   mëë-a-x-a
       3sg.EMP   NAR.1sg   1sg=A   hit-PERF-3p-non.prox
       'I hit exactly **him**.'
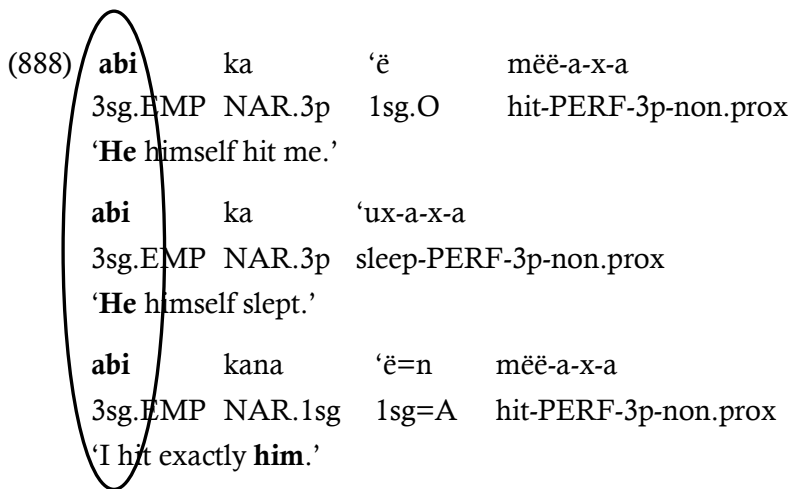
Thus, in the Kashibo-Kakataibo data presented so far, we find the following alignments: (i) ergative-absolutive (case marking of NPs); (ii) nominative-accusative (subject cross-reference on the verb and on the second position enclitics); (iii) tripartite (case marking of pronouns); and (iv) neutral (on emphatic/reflexive pronouns). In the following sections, I explore how these alignments manifest themselves in different areas of the grammar. Section §21.2.2 discusses clause

combining and syntactic pivots, section §21.2.3 discusses other mechanisms that are sensitive to grammatical relations, and section §21.2.4 draws conclusions based on the data presented here.

21.2.2   Clause combining and syntactic pivots

Mechanisms such as case marking and subject cross-reference have been labelled **morphological**, as opposed to **syntactic** processes and, particularly, as opposed to syntactic pivots (Dixon 1994). According to Dixon (1994), the existence and behaviour of a syntactic pivot is the best criterion for determining whether a language has syntactic (i.e. interclausal) ergativity or accusativity. A pivot represents an interpretation constraint found in clause-chaining, which involves "conditions on the syntactic functions of an NP that is common to the two clauses (that is, an NP in one clause that is co-referential with an NP in the other clause)" (Dixon 1994: 157).

Pivot constraints can establish relationships between S and A as opposed to O; or between S and O as opposed to A. If we find a relationship between S/A as opposed to O, the language has an "accusative pivot", as in English. If we find a relationship between S/O, as opposed to A, we can analyse it as an ergative pivot, as in Dyirbal (see Dixon 1994: 160-172 for examples and discussions about those two different types of pivots).

Languages have different strategies for combining clauses in complex sentences. Some of them may use switch-reference marking (which indicates the correspondences between co-referential arguments); others use pivot constraints (which simply disallow certain interpretations); and, finally, other languages may use coordination or juxtaposition without any such constraints (see Dixon 1994: 153-155).

The most common constructions for combining clauses in Kashibo-Kakataibo are (1) switch-reference clauses (see Chapter 18); (2) elaborative clauses (see §19.3); (3) grammatical nominalisations in an attributive function (see §20.5); and (4) clauses joined by a clause connector. In addition, (5) it is possible to combine two independent clauses without any overtly expressed conjunction in certain types of imperative constructions; and (6) it is also possible to find the Spanish coordinator *y* in discourse. Among those different mechanisms, (1) and to some extent (2) are the most commonly used in Kashibo-Kakataibo discourse. I will explore all these strategies in the following subsections, in order to see if they follow any constraint analysable as a syntactic pivot or if they operate under a particular alignment of grammatical relations.

21.2.2.1 Switch-reference clauses

In most cases, Kashibo-Kakataibo clauses are combined by means of the switch-reference system of the language. The switch-reference markers operate on the basis of different grammatical relations. In the matrix clause, the three core arguments (S, A and O) are distinguished by a **tripartite** alignment system; with one of the few exceptions being the form *-tanan* 'S/A>S/A', which follows an **accusative** alignment in both the dependent and the matrix clause (see §18.3.1.9). In turn, in the dependent clause, the system establishes an alignment between A and S as opposed to O, thus creating a nominative-accusative pattern. However, the switch-reference markers that indicate that one of the arguments of the dependent clause is co-referential to the O of the matrix clause exhibit a **neutral** alignment and can refer equally to the A, S or O of the dependent clause (see §18.3.2). The following table shows a simplified

version of the switch-reference system, including only a few forms for illustration

purposes (for a complete table, see §18.3):

Table 76 Switch-reference and alignments between S, A and O

Dependent clause	Matrix clause	Exemplifying form	Temporal value
S/A	S	*-i*	Simultaneous event
O		*-këx*	Previous event
S/A	A	*-kin*	Simultaneous event
O		*-këxun*	Previous event
S/A /O	O	*-ia*	Simultaneous event
		-këtian	Previous event
S/A	S/A	*-tanan*	Simultaneous event

Some of these forms are exemplified in the following sentences:

(889) pi-**tankëx (S/A>S)** ka Juan kwanxa
‘**After eating**, Juan was gone.’

(890) pi-**tankëxun (S/A>A)** ka Juanën ‘unpax xëaxa
‘**After eating**, Juan drunk water.’

(891) **Juanën** pi-**ia (S/A/O>O)** ka Pedronën isaxa
‘Pedro saw **Juan while he was eating.**’

(892) ka-**këx (O>S)** ka Juan kwanxa
‘**After (somebody) else talked to him**, Juan was gone.’

(893) ka-**këxun (O>A)** ka Juanën ‘unpax xëaxa
‘**After (somebody) else talked to him**, Juan drunk water.’

21.2.2.2 Elaborative clauses

Elaborative clauses are post-verbal elements that add or complete the information

presented in the matrix clause and exhibit a clausal structure with a finite verb (but

without second position enclitics indicating register/mood). In the case of

elaborative clauses, there are no switch-reference markers and there **are no pivot constraints**, as defined by Dixon (1994). See the examples in (894) and (895)).

(894) Nukën chaitinën kaisa ain **nokama**ⱼ 'akëxa;   øⱼ me chaira bikaskëshín
'Our ancestors killed **their enemies**; **(their enemies)** wanted to take over a big piece of land.'

(895) **Nukën chaiti-nën**ⱼ kaisa ain nokama 'akëxa;   øⱼ shipibokama 'akëshín
'**Our ancestors** killed their enemies; **(our ancestors)** killed the Shipibo.'

Even though there are no pivot constraints that operate in this kind of construction, there is a strong tendency for the subject to be shared across clauses when this type of construction is found in narratives. Thus, in discourse, there appears to be a preference for an S/A pivot, and cases like (894) are very unusual.

21.2.2.3 Nominalisations in an attributive function

Nominalisations in an attributive function may be considered as following an **ergative** pivot in the sense that if the matrix clause is intransitive, the nominalised construction modifies the S-argument (as in example (896)). If the clause is transitive, the nominalised element modifies the O argument (and never the A argument) (as in example (897)).

(896) **xu**   **'ikë**   kana   **'ëx**   Limanu   kwankën
       [xu   'i-kë]   kana   'ë=x   Lima=nu   kwan-akë-n
       small   be-NOM   NAR.1sg   1sg=S   Lima=LOC   go-REM.PAST-1/2p
       'I went to Lima when **I** (S) was a baby.'

(897) [xu   'i-kë]   kana   'ë=n   **Maria**   'unankën
       [xu   'i-kë]   kana   'ë=n   **Maria**   'unan-akë-n
       small   be-NOM   NAR.1sg   1sg=A   Maria.ABS   know-REM.PAST-1/2p
       'I met Maria when **she** (O) was a baby.'

21.2.2.4 Clause connectors

Clause connectors exhibit switch-reference markers that indicate which argument is the common participant across the two clauses (or, alternatively, that indicate that the two clauses do not share any core argument). Thus, instead of using interpretation constraints (that is, a syntactic pivot), the shared argument has to be overtly indicated by the appropriate switch-reference marker. Therefore, what has been said for switch-reference markers also applies for clause connectors. Some examples of this follow:

(898) Juan-nën$_j$ ka Pedro mëaxa. **Usa aixbi (S/A>S)** ka ø$_j$ kwanxa
      'Juan beat Pedro up. Then, he (Juan) went later.'

(899) Juan-nën$_j$ ka Pedro mëaxa. **Usa 'ixunbi (S/A>A)** ka ø$_j$ piaxa
      'Juan beat Pedro up. Then, he (Juan) ate later.'

(900) Juan-nën ka Pedro$_j$ mëëaxa. **Usa 'akëxbi (O>S)** ka ø$_j$ kwanxa
      'Juan beat Pedro up. Then, he (Pedro) went later.'

(901) Juan-nën ka Pedro$_j$ mëëaxa. **Usa 'akëxunbi (O>A)** ka ø$_j$ piaxa
      'Juan beat Pedro up. Then, he (Pedro) ate later.'

(902) Juan$_j$-nën ka Pedro mëëaxa. **Usa 'aia (A/S>O)** ka Marianën ø$_j$ isaxa
      ' Juan beat Pedro up. Then, Maria saw him (Juan).'

21.2.2.5 Coordinated clauses in complex imperative constructions

Clause coordination is almost non-existent in the language. The only case where coordination is found involves complex commands, which may include a declarative clause followed by an imperative one (notice that future verbal forms with first person plural and second person subjects can be used for commands and for exhortative functions, and, therefore, they can also appear in this construction). The first declarative clause is usually a verbless copula that expresses the reasons why the

command is presented (like in the English form "it is nice, try it!"). As shown in the following examples, **no pivot constraint** is found in this type of complex construction:

(903) nëish   ka   /   ka   pi'   (S > O)
      nëish   ka   /   ka   pi'
      delicious NAR.3p   /   NAR   eat.IMP
      'it is delicious, eat it!'

(904) këras kamina   'ai   /   ka   nashi'   (S > S)
      këras kamina   'ai   /   ka   nashi'
      dirty NAR.2p   be.IMPF   /   NAR   take.bath.IMP
      'You are dirty, take a bath!'

(905) këras kamina   'ai   /   ka   chupa   chuka'   (S > A)
      këras kamina   'ai   /   ka   chupa   chuka'
      dirty NAR.2p   be.IMPF   /   NAR   clothes.ABS   wash.IMP
      'You are dirty, wash (your) clothes!'

21.2.2.6 Coordinated clauses with the Spanish coordinator *y*

The Spanish coordinator *y* 'and' can also be used for combining clauses. In those instances, **no pivot** or equivalent constraint is attested. See the following example:

(906) **Juan-nën**ⱼ ka Pedroₖ mëëaxa   *y*   [pause] **ø**ⱼ/ₖ ka kwanxa
      'Juan beat Pedro up and (Juan/Pedro) went.'

21.2.3   Grammatical relations as exhibited in other mechanisms

21.2.3.1 The plural marker on the verb

The plural marker on verbs, *-kan* (see section §13.4), always indicates the number of the S or the A argument, but never of the O argument. Therefore, it follows an S/A pattern, as it is shown in the following examples (the same distribution has been described for Shipibo-Konibo, by Valenzuela 2010b):

662

(907) **akamax**   ka   'ux**kan**ia
　　　a=kama=x   ka   'ux-**kan**-i-a
　　　3sg=PLU=S   NAR.3p   sleep-**PLU**-IMPF-non.prox
　　　'They are sleeping.'

(908) **akaman**   ka   'atsa   pi**kan**in
　　　a=kama=n   ka   'atsa   pi-**kan**-i-n
　　　3sg=PLU=A   NAR.3p   manioc.ABS   eat-**PLU**-IMPF-non.prox
　　　'They are eating manioc.'

(909) *an   ka   'atsakama   pi-**kan**ia
　　　a=n   ka   'atsa=kama   pi-**kan**-i-a
　　　3sg=A   NAR.3p   manioc=PLU.ABS eat-PLU-IMPF-non.prox
　　　('he is are eating many maniocs.')

Lexically plural verbs, in turn, seem to follow an ergative pattern, according to which plurality is always associated with the S of intransitive verbs or the O of transitive ones. In the case of Kashibo-Kakataibo, we can see this in the following verb pairs: *nits-* 'to walk (singular S)' and *ri-* 'to walk (plural S)' and *ni-* 'to throw (singular O)' and *put-* 'to throw (plural O)'. Equivalent examples are abundant in Matses (see Fleck 2003: 338-340) and the same ergative pattern is attested in this language.

21.2.3.2 Participant agreement on adjuncts

Participant agreement on adjuncts follows a tripartite pattern, as illustrated in the examples below, where adjuncts agree with the S, A and O arguments of a clause respectively:

(910) **Juan**   ka   **ninuax**   'uxaxa
　　　Juan   ka   ni=nu=**ax**   'ux-a-x-a
　　　Juan.ABS   NAR.3p   jungle=LOC=PA:S   sleep-PERF-3p-non.prox
　　　'Juan slept in the jungle.'

Juanën	ka	**ninua**	**ño**	mëraxa
Juan=n	ka	ni=nu=**a**	**ño**	mëra-a-x-a
Juan=ERG	NAR.3p	jungle=LOC=PA:O	peccary.ABS	find-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Juan found a peccary in the jungle (where it was before).'

Juanën	ka	ninu**xun**	ño	mëraxa
Juan-nën	ka	ni=nu=xun	ño	mëra-a-x-a
Juan=ERG	NAR.3p	jungle=LOC=PA:A	peccary.ABS	find-PAS-3p-no.prox

'Juan found a peccary in the jungle (where he was before).'

21.2.3.3 Verbal prefixation

Kashibo-Kakataibo, like other Pano languages, has a closed set of prefixes that primarily refer to body parts and that have a locative function (see §5.6 for a general characterisation of these forms). When they appear on an intransitive verb, the body part is directly associated with the S-argument; while, when they occur with a transitive verb, the body part is directly associated with the O argument. This can be interpreted as a case of an ergative alignment, as we find an association between S and O (as opposed to A).

(911) 'ën	kana	**Pedro**	**më**taxkan
'ë=n	kana	**Pedro**	**më**-taxka-a-n
1sg=A	NAR.1sg	Pedro.ABS	hand-hit.TRAN-PERF-1/2p

'I hit Pedro on **his hand**.'

(912) **'ëx**	kana	**më**taxkian
'ë=x	kana	**më**-taxki-a-n
1sg-S	NAR.1sg	hand-hit.INTR-PAS-1/2p

'I hit myself on **my hand**.'

21.2.4 Summary

Kashibo-Kakataibo combines tripartite, ergative, accusative and neutral alignments in different parts of its grammar. Calling Kashibo-Kakataibo an *ergative* or a *split ergative language* misses the point that large parts of its grammar follow a non-ergative

alignment. Kashibo-Kakataibo is **accusative**, **ergative**, **tripartite** or **neutral**, according to the specific grammatical mechanism that we look at (and switch-reference revolves around more than one alignment). A summary of the different mechanisms discussed in this section is presented in the following table:

Table 77 Ergative, accusative, tripartite and neutral alignments in Kashibo-Kakataibo

morphosyntactic mechanism	ergative	accusative	tripartite	neutral	N/A
Case marking on non-anaphoric nouns	√				
Case marking on non-emphatic pronouns (and nouns referring to an anaphoric topic)			√		
Case marking on anaphoric nouns			√		
Case marking on emphatic pronouns				√	
Subject cross-reference on the verb		√			
Subject cross-reference on the second position enclitics		√			
Clause connectors: the preceding clause		√			
Clause connectors: the following clause			√		
Switch-reference markers: the dependent clause		√		√	
Switch-reference markers: the matrix clause		√ (one case)	√		
Elaborative clauses					√
Grammatical nominalisations in an adverbial function	√				
Co-referential argument in coordinated clauses in complex imperative constructions					√
Co-referential argument in coordinated clauses with the Spanish coordinator *y*					√
Plural marker		√			
Lexically plural verbs	√				
Verbal prefixation	√				
Participant agreement in adjuncts			√		

21.3   Ditransitive constructions in Kashibo-Kakataibo

I have been able to identify four basic ditransitive verbs in Kashibo-Kakataibo: *'inan* 'to give', *ñon-* 'not to share something with someone', *ribin-* 'to owe something to someone' and *mëtika-* 'to give the same amount to various people' (see §11.4.2). However, valency-increasing suffixes, such as the different applicatives and the causative *-mi* can create ditransitive stems when they modify a verb which is already transitive (see §21.4.1 and, particularly, (959)). The most salient feature of clauses headed by either a basic or a derived ditransitive verb is their capability of appearing with two overtly expressed unmarked objects. In Kashibo-Kakataibo, as in other Pano languages like Matses (see Fleck 2003: Chapter 11) and Shipibo-Konibo (see Valenzuela 2003b: 527-532), these two objects are not only case-marked in the same way but also share an overwhelming number of behavioural properties. However, slight differences between the two objects are found regarding the reflexive constructions and, therefore, the claim that they are non-distinguishable becomes problematic in Kashibo-Kakatatibo. Similar issues have been discussed for Bantu languages by Gary and Keenan (1977; criticised in Perlmutter and Postal 1983 and Dryer 1983, among others). In this context, Bresnan and Moshi (1990/1993) have introduced a typology based on how the two objects of ditransitive constructions behave in different languages, and have proposed the labels **symmetric** and **asymmetric** languages in order to characterise the different possibilities.[94]

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[94] Despite the significant similarities between indirect and direct objects in Kashibo-Kakataibo, my preliminary research suggests that this language does not completely fit in with the definition of a symmetric language, as proposed by Bresnan and Moshi (1990) and should perhaps be analysed as an asymmetric one. This is a fascinating topic that requires more study.

In this section, I list 13 different morphosyntactic mechanisms, and explain how the two objects of ditransitive clauses behave with respect to them. These processes include those that are used in the relevant literature (such as object marking, reflexives, reciprocals, and so on), but also others that are relevant from a language-specific perspective (such as the use of some switch-reference markers).

One important fact is that the objects of both basic and derived ditransitive clauses are identical with regard to all the processes discussed here. Thus, all claims concerning the basic ditransitive construction are also applicable to the many derived ditransitive predicates found in the language. In addition, it is important to mention that, in the following discussion, I also include three object-constructions (e.g. causativised ditransitive verbs), when they help to clarify one particular issue. All the claims presented here in relation to constructions with two objects are also applicable to constructions with three; but the latter are highly unusual in discourse.

21.3.1 Case marking

The two objects of a ditransitive clause (THEM-O 'theme object' and REC-O 'recipient object') show the same case marking: both appear in the unmarked absolutive case (or O-marking, in the case of the tripartite paradigm).

(913) 'ën   kana   Maria   'atsa   'inanin
      'ë=n   kana   [Maria]_(REC-O)   ['atsa]_(THEM-O)   'inan-i-n
      1.sg=A   NAR.1sg Maria.ABS   manioc.ABS   give-IMPF-1/2p
      'I give manioc to Maria.'

21.3.2 Constituent order

The relative order of the two objects is not grammatically constrained (see §22.2). This is exemplified by the following elicited examples, where the two objects of the

two causative predicates *is-mi* 'to show' and *'unan-mi* 'to teach' appear in different positions: in the first example, the theme-like object precedes the recipient-like object, and in the second, the recipient-like object precedes the theme-like object.

(914) nortenu   kaisa   'inkan   **kuriki**   **nukën**

norte=nu   kaisa   'inka=n   **[kuriki]**(THEM-O)   **[nukën**

North=LOC   NAR.REP.3p   Inca=ERG   money.ABS   1pl=GEN

chaiti   ismiakëxa

chaiti](REC-O)   is-mi-akë-x-a

ancestor.ABS   see-CAUS-REM.PAS-3p-non.prox

'It is said that in the Northside, the Inca showed treasures to our ancestors.'

(915) Puerto Nuevonu   kwantankëxun   kana   **atu**

Puerto Nuevo=nu   kwan-tankëxun   kana   **[atu]**(REC-O)

Puerto Nuevo=LOC   go-S/A>A(PE)   NAR.1sg   3pl.O

nukën   **'ibu**   **dios-an**   **bana**   'unámiti   'ain

[nukën   **'ibu**   **dios-an**   **bana]**(THEM-O)   'unan-mi-ti   'ain

1pl=GEN   owner   God=GEN   word.ABS   know-CAUS-INF   be.1/2p

'After going to Puerto Nuevo, I will teach them our God's words.'

Given that the case marking is identical and that the constituent order is free, there is the potential for ambiguity. Thus, in many cases we have to resort to contextual information in order to determine the semantic role of an object argument, often aided by animacy. For example, it is semantically very likely that the Incas showed the money to the Kashibo-Kakataibo ancestors, instead of the Incas showing the Kashibo-Kakataibo ancestors to the money. However, when both arguments are animate, it is difficult to determine their semantic roles, and no grammatical constraint is found (a similar situation is found in Matses and Shipibo-Konibo; see Fleck 2003: 867; and Valenzuela 2003b: 527-528, respectively). For example, the following case of a three object-construction is clearly ambiguous in Kashibo-Kakataibo. The first interpretation was preferred in the hypothetical situation of *Maria* being a widow and other people helping her; while the second

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interpretation was preferred if, for example, *Maria* was the speaker's wife and *Juan* was sick and cannot work:

(916) 'ën   kana   **Juan**   **Maria**   **'atsa**   'inanmian
      'ën   kana   **Maria**   **Juan**   **'atsa**   'inanmian
      'ën   kana   **'atsa**   **Maria**   **Juan**   'inanmian
      'ën   kana   **Maria**   **'atsa**   **Juan**   'inanmian

'I made Juan give manioc to Maria.'
'I made Maria give manioc to Juan.'

21.3.3   Dropping

Any object-like argument can be dropped without any restriction, as we can see in the following examples:

(917) 'ën kana **'atsa** 'inanin
      'I give manioc (to **somebody else**).'

(918) 'ën kana **Juan** 'inanin
      'I give (**something)** to Juan.'

21.3.4   Denotation by means of a participant nominalisation

The two objects of a ditransitive construction can both be denoted by a grammatical nominalisation. This is exemplified with the following sentences. In the first one, the theme-like object is denoted by the grammatical nominalisation, and in the second, it is the recipient-like object that is being denoted by the nominalisation.

(919) 'ën   mi   'inan-kë   ax   ka   'aisama   'iaxa
      ['ë=n   mi   'inan-kë]   a=x   ka   'aisama   'i-a-x-a
      1sg=ERG   2sg.O   give-NOM   that=S   NAR.3p   bad   be-PERF-3p-non.prox
      'What I gave to you was rotten.'

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(920) 'ën   nami   'inankë   ax   ka   'aisama   'iaxa
     ['ë=n   nami   'inan-kë]   a=x   ka   'aisama   'iaxa
     1sg=ERG   meat.ABS give-NOM   that=S   NAR.3p   bad   be-PERF-3p-non.prox
     'The one who I gave the meat to was bad.'

21.3.5 Fronting/topicalisation

Fronting is a very common strategy in Kashibo-Kakataibo discourse and is used to mark anaphoric topics or information previously presented (see §22.2). As such, the first position of the clause can also be filled by objects, including either of the two objects of ditransitive clauses, as shown in the following examples, which are the complete versions of the elicited examples in (914) and (915):

(921) Nortenu   kaisa   'inkan   nukën
     Norte=nu   kaisa   'inka=n   [nukën
     North=LOC   NAR.REP.3p   Inca=ERG   1pl.GEN

     chaiti   **kuriki**   ismiakëxa
     chaiti]_(REC-O) [kuriki]_(THEM-O)   is-mi-akë-x-a
     ancestor.ABS   money.ABS   see-CAUS-REM.PAS-3p-non.prox

     kuriki   kaisa   ismiakëxa
     [kuriki]_(THEM-O) kaisa   is-mi-akë-x-a
     money.ABS   NAR.REP.3p   see-CAUS-REM.PAS-3p-non.prox
     'It is said that in the Northside, the Inca showed treasures to our ancestor. Treasures, they showed.'

(922) Puerto Nuevonu   kwantankëxun   kana   **atu**
     Puerto Nuevo=nu   kwan-tankëxun   kana   [atu]_(REC-O)
     Puerto Nuevo=LOC   go-S/A>A(PE)   NAR.1sg   3pl.ABS

     nukën   'ibu   dios-an   bana   'unámiti   'ain
     [nukën   'ibu   dios-an   bana]_(THEM-O)   'unan-mi-ti   'ain
     1pl=GEN   ower   God=GEN   word.ABS   know-CAUS-INF be.1/2p

atu	kana	'unámiti	'ain
[atu](REC-O)	kana	'unan-mi-ti	'ain
3pl.ABS	NAR.1sg	know-CAUS-INF	be.1/2p

'After going to Puerto Nuevo, I will teach them our God's words. To them, I will teach.'

21.3.6 Highlighting construction

Kashibo-Kakataibo discourse has many cases where one argument is followed by a third person pronoun which surfaces with a high pitch. I refer to this kind of construction as a *highlighting construction* (see §22.3). Either of the two objects of a ditransitive clause can be highlighted:

(923) 'ën	kana	**Maria**	**á**	'atsa	'inanti	'ain
'ë=n	kana	**Maria**	**á**(REC-O)	'atsa	'inan-ti	'ain
1sg=A	NAR.1sg	Maria	3sg.O	manioc.ABS	give-NOM	be-1/2p

'I will give manioc to Maria, to her.'

(924) 'ën	kana	Maria	**'atsa**	**á**	'inanti	'ain
'ë=n	kana	Maria	**'atsa**	**á**(THEM-O)	'inan-ti	'ain
1.sg=A	NAR.1sg	Maria.ABS	manioc	3sg.O	give-NOM	be-1/2p

'I will give the manioc, it, to Maria.'

21.3.7 Post-verbal focus position

Different types of constituents can appear in a post-verbal position if they refer to new information or re-elaborate on information previously introduced (see §22.2). This position, which I call **focus**, is available for both objects of a ditransitive construction:

(925) 'ën	kana	Maria	'inanin	**'atsa**
'ë=n	kana	Maria	'inan-i-n	**'atsa**(THEM-O)
1.sg=A	NAR.1sg	Maria.ABS	give-IMPF-1/2p	manioc.ABS

'I give Maria <u>manioc.</u>'

(926) 'ë=n   kana   'atsa   'inan-i-n   **Maria**

'ë=n   kana   'atsa   'inan-i-n   **Maria**(REC-O)

1.sg=A NAR.1sg manioc.ABS   give-IMPF-1/2p   Maria.ABS

'I give manioc <u>to Maria.</u>'

21.3.8   Reflexives

The reflexive construction will be presented in §21.4.3, where I will pay attention to its distribution with transitive predicates containing one object. The reflexive construction is also available for both objects of a ditransitive construction, but they show a slightly different behaviour: the reflexive verbal suffix is needed for the theme-like object (as in example (927)), while the reflexive construction for the recipient-like object requires both the reflexive suffix and an obligatory reflexive/emphatic pronoun. This can be seen in the following examples:

(927) 'ëx   kana   **'inamëtin**

'ë=x   kana   'inan-**mët**-i-n

1sg=S   NAR.1sg   give-REF-IMPF-1/2p

'I will give myself (to someone else)'

(*'I will give (something) to myself')

(928) 'ëbix   kana   bata   **'inamëtin**

'ëbi=x   kana   bata   'inan-**mët**-i-n

1sg.REF=S   NAR.1sg   candy   give-REF-IMPF-1/2p

'I will give candy to myself.'

Interestingly, the beneficiary object may be overtly expressed in the reflexivised version of *'inan-* in (927), but in that case it appears as a locative adjunct. A comparable derivation is not possible for the patient object of this verb:

(929) 'ëx   kana   **policianu**   'inamëtin

'ë=x   kana   policia=**nu**   'inan-mët-i-n

1sg=S   NAR.1sg   police=LOC   give-REF-IMPF-1/2p

'I will give myself to the police.'

(930) *'ëx   kana   **batanu**   'inamëtin

    'ë=x   kana   bata**=nu**   'inan-mët-i-n

    1sg=S   NAR.1sg   candy=LOC give-REF-IMPF-1/2p

    ('I will give candy to myself')

21.3.9   Reciprocals

The reciprocal marker is presented in detail in §21.4.3. In the following examples, we can see that both the recipient-like and the theme-like objects of a ditransitive construction can be reciprocal:

(931) 'ëx   kana   **Mariabë**   bata   'inanan

    'ë=x   kana   Maria=**bë**   bata   'inan-anan-a-n

    1sg=S   NAR.1sg   Maria-COM(S)   candy   give-REC-PERF-1/2p

    'Maria and I gave candy to each other.'

(932) 'ëx   kana   **Mariabë**   'inanan

    'ë=x   kana   Maria=**bë**   'inan-anan-a-n

    1sg=S   NAR.1sg   Maria-COM   give-REC-PERF-1/2p

    ' Maria and I gave each other to somebody else (e.g. to the police or the chief of the village).'

21.3.10 'O>S' and 'O>A' switch-reference markers

The markers *-këx* 'O>S, previous event' and *-këxun* 'O>A, previous event' treat recipient-like and theme-like objects of ditransitive clauses in the same way (the same happens in Shipibo-Konibo; see Valenzuela 2003b: 530). Some examples follow:

(933) C02A07-JE-2007.005

'inankëxun   kaisa   ain   chira bakë   an   kakëshín [...]

'inan-**këxun**   kaisa   ain   chira bakë   a=n   ka-akë-x-ín […]

give-O>A(PE)   NAR.REP.3p   3sg.GEN   sister   3sg=A   say-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, after he gave **her sister** (to the man), **she** said…' **(THEM-O>S)**

(934) C01B06-JE-2007.040

'abiankin	kaisa	ain	inamia	isa
'a-bian-kin	kaisa	ain	ina-mi-a	isa
do-going(TRA)-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	3sg.GEN	tail=IMPR.LOC-PA:O	REP.3p

'inankëxun	buankëshín
'inan-**këxun**	buan-akë-x-ín
give-O>A(PE)	bring-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'Going after doing, it is said that after (the man) gave the part of the tail (of the animal) to **her**, **she** brought it.' **(REC-O>A)**

21.3.11 'S/A/O> O' switch-reference marker

The switch-reference marker *-ia* 'S/A/O> O' is used to indicate that any of the core arguments of the dependent clause is co-referential to the object of the matrix one (including both the recipient-like and the theme-like object of a ditransitive predicate). The following examples are two elicited sentences using this form:

(935) **aia**	kana	**Maria**	'inanin
aia	kana	**Maria**	'inan-i-n
come.**S/A/O> O**(SE)	NAR.1sg	Maria.ABS	give-IMPF-1/2p

'When Maria comes, I will give her (to her future husband).' **(S/A/O>THEM-O)**

(936) **aia**	kana	**Maria**	'atsa	'inanin
aia	kana	**Maria**	'atsa	'inan-i-n
come.**S/A/O>O**(SE)	NAR.1sg	Maria.ABS	manioc.ABS	give-IMPF-1/2p

'When Maria comes, I will give manioc to her.' **(S/A/O>REC-O)**

21.3.12 'Different objects' switch-reference marker

One of the most enigmatic switch-reference markers in Kashibo-Kakataibo is *-anan*, which is used to express that the two events are simultaneous and that, if they are transitive, their objects are not co-referential. Interestingly, if the predicates linked with this switch-reference marker are ditransitive, they can have different recipient-like objects but the same theme-like objects (or vice-versa). This fact suggests

that *-anan* marks that at least one of the objects in the linked clauses is not co-referential (for a more detailed description of this form; see §18.3.1.10). Both objects are treated in the same way, as shown in the following examples, where it is demonstrated that the O argument of a transitive predicate cannot be co-referential with anyone of the objects, either the patient object or the beneficiary object, of a ditransitive verb:

(937) ***Maria**   isanan   kana   **'atsa**   **Maria**   'inanin
      Maria_(O)   is-anan   kana   **'atsa**   **Maria**_(REC-O)   'inan-i-n
      Maria.ABS   see-DO(SE)   NAR.1sgmanioc.ABS   Maria.ABS   give-IMPF-1/2p
      ('as soon as I see Maria, I will give manioc to her') **(O = REC-O)**

(938) ***Maria**   isanan   kana   **Maria**   ain   bënë   'inanin
      Maria_(O)   is-anan   kana   **Maria**_(THEM-O)   ain   bënë   'inan-i-n
      Maria.ABS   see-DO(SE)   NAR.1sg   Maria.ABS   3sg.GEN   husband.ABS   give-IMPF-1/2p
      ('as soon as I see Maria, I will give her (to her future husband)' **(O = THEM-O)**

21.3.13 *-pat* 'plural objects'

As we have seen in §12.3.2.2.1, the directional verbal suffix *-pat* 'downward, transitive' can be used to indicate that the object is plural (this suffix is similar to the morpheme *-pake* in Shipibo-Konibo, which is described as having a distributive function similar to the one described here; Valenzuela 2010b). Used with a ditransitive predicate, this suffix can be used to express that any of its objects is plural. This is shown in the following examples:

(939) 'ën   kana   **'atsa**   **Maria**   **'inanpatin**
      'ë=n   kana   **'atsa**   **Maria**   'inan-**pat**-i-n
      1sg=A   NAR.1sg   manioc.ABS   Maria.ABS   give-PLU.OBJ-IMPF-1/2p
      'I will give **many maniocs** to Maria (one per day, for instance).'

(940) 'ën   kana   **'nami**   **uni**   **'inanpatin**

     'ë=n   kana   **'nami**   **uni**   'inan-**pat**-i-n

     1sg=A   NAR.1sg meat.ABS   people.ABS   give-PLU.OBJ-IMPF-1/2p

     'I will give meat to **many people**.'

21.3.14 Summary

In this subsection, I have shown extensive similarities between the two objects of ditransitive clauses. The results were overwhelming: out of 13 tests, the two objects of ditransitive constructions are treated identically by basically all of them (with only slight differences with respect to the reflexive mechanism). The two objects of ditransitive constructions in Kashibo-Kakataibo are not only case-marked in the same way (i.e. with the absolutive), but are also equivalent with regard to a number of morphosyntactic mechanisms, being the only exception the reflexive construction. This fact may be interpreted as suggesting that in Kashibo-Kakataibo, although the two objects of ditransitive clauses are very similar in terms of their morphosyntax, they are not completely non-distinguishable, as has been argued for other Pano languages (see Valenzuela 2003: 527-532, on Shipibo-Konibo; and Fleck 2003: 864-874, on Matses). Table 78 summarises the results of all the tests presented in this section:

Table 78   Morphosyntax of the two objects of ditransitive constructions

Morphosyntactic feature	patient-object	beneficiary-object
Absolutive case	YES	YES
Free position relative to the other object	YES	YES
Dropping	YES	YES
Relativisation	YES	YES
Fronting/topicalization	YES	YES
highlighting constructions	YES	YES
Post-verbal focus position	YES	YES
Reflexive	YES	YES (but with an additional

		obligatory reflexive pronoun)
Reciprocals	YES	YES
'O>S' and 'O>A' switch-reference markers	YES	YES
'S/A/O>O' switch-reference marker	YES	YES
'different objects' switch-reference marker	YES	YES
-pat 'plural objects'	YES	YES

21.4 Syntax and semantics of valency-changing devices

Valency-changing morphemes were presented in §12.2, where their position and morphological nature were commented on and exemplified. In this section, I pay more attention to the syntactic processes associated with the use of these forms and to the different semantic contents that these forms express in the clause.

In the following subsections, I discuss applicatives (§21.4.1), causatives (§21.4.2) and reflexives and reciprocals (§21.4.4), highlighting some of their more salient syntactic features and semantic distinctions. In addition, in §21.4.3, I describe constructions where the prefixation of verbs seems to increase their valency.

21.4.1 Applicatives

Applicative constructions have overt verbal morphology which allows the promotion of a peripheral argument to the status of a core object of the predicate (see Peterson 2007). Important cross-linguistic variation is found as to which and how many adjuncts can be promoted to applicative objects in a specific language (the most detailed study of applicative constructions in a Pano language has been offered by Valenzuela 2010a on Shipibo-Konibo). In Kashibo-Kakataibo, there are two morphological elements that completely satisfy the definition given above and which therefore may be called applicatives: *-kin* 'associative' and *-xun* 'benefactive' (see also

§12.2.1.2 and §12.2.1.3). In addition, there is one form, *-anan* 'malefactive', which, due to its special properties has not been previously discussed and which seems to be the counterpart of the 'benefactive' *-xun*, but it does not increase the valency of the verb and, therefore, it is not a prototypical applicative marker.[95] The three suffixes to be presented in this section surface with a long vowel when they appear in an odd position within a verbal form with four or more syllable. In this context, they create their own metrical foot (see §4.3.6). In addition to the vowel lengthening, the malefactive *-anan* drops its first vowel in this position and surfaces as *-naan*.

21.4.1.1 *-xun* 'benefactive applicative'

The suffix *-xun* (*-xuun*) indicates that the event is conducted to the benefit of the applicative object; the same form in Shipibo-Konibo is used for both benefactive and malefactive meanings according to the context, the semantics and the transitivity of the verb. In Kashibo-Kakataibo, *-xun* loses its benefactive meaning only if it is combined with the malefactive *-anan* (*-anan-xun*; see §21.4.1.4).

In terms of its syntax, *-xun* increases the valency of the verb by introducing an object (to an intransitive verb) and a second object (to a transitive verb); but, as is true for any other object in the language, this benefactive object does not need to be overtly expressed. We can see this in the following Kashibo-Kakataibo example:

(941) 'ën   kana   Maria   **bëtsukukaxunti**   'ain
     'ë=n   kana   Maria   bëtsukuka-**xun**-ti   'ain
     1sg=A   NAR.1sg   Maria.ABS   kiss-**BEN**-NOM   be.1/2p
     'I will kiss somebody else for Maria's benefit.'
     'I will kiss Maria for somebody else's benefit.'

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[95] Note that the cognate form in Shipibo-Konibo, *-(V)naan ~ (V)n*, does increase the valency of the verb and is an applicative marker (see Valenzuela 2010b).

There is no a benefactive case marker in Kashibo-Kakataibo and, like in Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2010), the verbal suffix presented here is the commonest way to express benefaction in Kashibo-Kakataibo. However, in certain contexts, it is possible to use =*nan* 'possessive' and =*kupí* 'cause' to indicate similar meanings. In the following examples, I present two sentences that were given to me as synonymous. The first one includes the 'possessive' marker -*nan* and literally means 'I will bring the candies, the Maria's ones':

(942) 'ën   kana   bata   **Marianan**   biti   'ain
      'ë=n   kana   bata   Maria**=nan**   bits-ti   'ain
      1sg=A   NAR.1sg candy.ABS Maria=POS   pick.up-NOM   be.1/2p
      'I will pick up candy for Maria (lit. 'I will bring the candies, the Maria's ones').'

(943) 'ën   kana   bata   **Maria**   **bixunti**   'ain
      'ë=n   kana   bata   Maria   bits-**xun**-ti   'ain
      1sg=A   NAR.1sg candy.ABS Maria.ABS   pick.up-BEN-NOM   be.1/2p
      'I will pick up candy for Maria.'

In the following examples, we find again two sentences that were given to me as synonymous. In this case, we do not find 'possessive' =*nan*; but the enclitic =*kupí* 'cause' (in fact, the form =*nan* is ungrammatical in this context). A literal translation of the first example below is 'I will look after the baby because of Maria':

(944) 'ën   kana   **Mariakupí**   tuá   bëruanti   'ain
      'ë=n   kana   Maria**=kupí** ***(=nan)*** tuá   bëruan-ti   'ain
      1sg=A   NAR.1sg Maria=REAS   boy.ABS look.after-NOM   be.1/2p
      'I will look after the baby for Maria.' (lit. 'I will look after the baby because of Maria').

(945) 'ën   kana   Maria   tuá   **bëruanxunti**   'ain
      'ë=n   kana   Maria   tuá   bëruan-xun-ti   'ain
      1sg=A   NAR.1sg Maria.ABS   boy.ABS look.after-BEN-NOM   be.1/2p
      'I will look after the baby for Maria.'

The suffix *-xun* 'benefactive' can be used with any type of verb, including intransitive, transitive and even ditransitive verbs, as exemplified in the following examples:

(946) 'ën   kana   Maria   **ransaxunti**   'ain
      'ë=n   kana   Maria   ransa-**xun**-ti   'ain
      1sg=A   NAR.1sg   Maria.ABS dance-BEN-NOM   be.1/2p
      'I will dance for Maria.'

(947) 'ën   kana   bata   Maria   **bixunti**   'ain
      'ë=n   kana   bata   Maria   bits-**xun**-ti   'ain
      1sg=A   NAR.1sg   candy.ABS Maria.ABS pick.up-BEN-NOM be.1/2p
      'I will pick up candy for Maria'

(948) 'ën   kana   bata   Maria   Juan   **'inanxunti**   'ain
      'ë=n   kana   bata   Maria   Juan   'inan-**xun**-ti   'ain
      1sg=A   NAR.1sg   candy.ABS Maria.ABS Jonh.ABS give-BEN-NOM   be.1/2p
      'I will give candy to Maria for Juan's benefit.'
      'I will give candy to Juan for Maria's benefit.'

All these examples come from elicitation sessions. In natural discourse there is a strong tendency for *-xun* to appear only with transitive verbs (the same has been documented for Shipibo-Konibo by Valenzuela 2010b). Even though (946) and (948) are grammatical clauses, comparable examples are not attested in my text database. As Valenzuela (2010b) argues, the correlation between the use of *-xun* and transitive verbs supports Shibatani's (1996) proposal that the benefactive applicative construction in many languages is based on what he calls a *give*-schema that requires three participants.

21.4.1.2 *-kin* 'associative applicative'

The associative applicative *-kin* (~ *-kiin*) is also a valency-increasing device; that is, it adds a new argument (i.e. an applicative object) to an intransitive, transitive or ditransitive predicate, as shown by the following elicited examples:

(949) 'ën   kana   Maria   **ransakinti**   'ain
      'ë=n   kana   Maria   ransa-**kin**-ti   'ain
      1sg=A NAR.1sg   Maria.ABS   dance-ASSO-NOM   be.1/2p
      'I will dance with Maria.'

(950) 'ën   kana   bata   Maria   **bikinti**   'ain
      'ë=n   kana   bata   Maria   bits-**kin**-ti   'ain
      1sg=A NAR.1sg   candy.ABS   Maria.ABS pick.up-ASSO-NOM be.1/2p
      'I will pick up candy with Maria.'

(951) 'ën   kana   bata   Maria   Juan   **'inankinti**   'ain
      'ë=n   kana   bata   Maria   Juan   'inan-**kin**-ti   'ain
      1sg=A NAR.1sg candy.ABS Maria.ABS Juan.ABS   give-ASSO-NOM be.1/2p
      'I will give candy to Maria with Juan.' / 'I will give candy to Juan with Maria.'

In the case of *-kin*, the introduced applicative object refers to a participant with whose association the event is carried out. The semantics of the associative applicative is similar to the semantics of the markers *=bë* 'comitative (S)' and *=bëtan* 'comitative (A)'; but they are not completely equivalent.

In fact, one of the most interesting semantic observations in relation to the 'associative applicative' *-kin* and the markers *=bë* 'comitative (S)' and *=bëtan* 'comitative (A)' is that they seem to express different types of associations. The associative applicative *-kin* is used to express that one of the participants is the main participant: either the subject (and the participant expressed in the applicative object is only "helping" or is assuming a secondary role, as in example (954)); or the applicative object (and the subject only has a secondary role, as in example (952)).

Conversely, the markers =*bë* 'comitative (S)' and =*bëtan* 'comitative (A)'
prototypically express that the event is carried out by both the subject of the predicate
and the comitative object to more or less the same degree. This can be seen if we
compare the meaning of examples (952) and (953), and examples (955) and (954)).
Notice that the semantic difference is more transparent in the latter case.

(952) C00A01-AE-2006.010

ñuixuanan	kana	atun	ñu	mëëtiribi
ñui-xun-anan	kana	atu=n	ñu	mëë-ti=ribi
tell-BEN-DO.SE	NAR.1sg	3pl=GEN	thing	work-NOM=also

'akin
'a-**kin**-i-n
do-ASSO-IMPF-1/2p
'While telling (God's words), **I will help them** in their work as well.'

(953)
'ën	kana	**Mariabëtan**	ain	naë	'ati	'ain
'ë=n	kana	Maria=bëtan	ain	naë	'a-ti	'ain
1sg=A	NAR.1sg	Maria-COM(A)	3sg.GEN	garden.ABS	do-NOM	be.1/2p

'**I will make Maria's garden with her** (we will do it together, working equally).'

(954) C00A01-AE-2006.023

usa	'ain	kana	'ën	ñu mëëti	'ananbi	kana
usa	'ain	kana	'ë=n	ñu mëëti	'a-anan=bi	kana
like.that	be(DS/A/O)	NAR.1sg	1sg=GEN	work	do-DO(SE)=same	NAR.1sg

nukën	papa	Diosan	bana	'ë=n	aintsikama	**'akinti**	'ain
nu	papa	Dios=n	bana	'ë=n	aintsi=kama	'a-**kin**-ti	'ain
our	father	God=GEN	word	1sg=GEN	relative=PLU	do-APPL-NOM	be.1/2p

'Being like that, doing my work at the same time, **I will preach God's word to my relatives**
(lit. I will do God's word with my relatives).'

(955)
'ën	kana	**Mariabëtan**	Diosan	bana	'ati	'ain
'ë=n	kana	Maria=bëtan	Dios-an	bana	'a-ti	'ain
1sg=A	NAR.1sg	Maria-COM(A)	God=GEN	garden.ABS	do-NOM	be.1/2p

'**I will preach God's word with Maria** (we both are pastors).'

Thus, it seems to be the case that *-kin* 'associative applicative' and *=bëtan* 'comitative' are not completely equivalent in terms of their semantics. The latter always presents the event as being developed equally by the two participants (the subject and the comitative adjunct); while the former always implies that one of the participant (the subject or the applicative object) is responsible for the event and has a more prominent role (a similar asymmetry has been documented for Shipibo-Konibo, by Valenzuela 2010b). The subject can be interpreted as a helper (and therefore the event is assumed to be the responsibility of the object) or the subject can be interpreted as triggering the event. In this latter case, the semantics of the construction is equivalent to what Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002) call **associative causation**.

21.4.1.3 *-anan* 'malefactive'

Differently from the other two suffixes discussed in this section, the form *-anan* (~ *-naan*) 'malefactive' appeared only twice in my whole text database. However, I have heard this form in conversations and I have been able to elicit several sentences in order to better understand its syntactic nature. Notice that, despite their identical phonological form, *-anan* 'malefactive' and *-anan* 'reciprocal' (see §21.4.4.2) are not to be analysed as the same suffix. They do not only have different semantics, but also different morphophonemics: only *-anan* 'malefactive' shows the alternative form *-naan*.

Semantically, the suffix described here is clearly a 'malefactive' and indicates that the event is carried out to the detriment of one participant. However, the argument that refers to this participant is not introduced as an applicative object and this unusual syntactic behavior makes this suffix different from *-xun* 'benefactive

applicative' and *-kin* 'associative applicative'. In other words, *-anan* 'malefactive' does not increase the valency of the verb and, in this sense, it is not truly an applicative marker. The participant to whose detriment the event is carried out is already the object of the predicate (as in (956)) or its possessor (as in (957)), as shown in the following examples. Notice that a reading in which the malefaction is associated with the subject was systematically rejected by my Kashibo-Kakataibo teachers, but the possibility of attributing the malefactive meaning to other types of participants, such as comitative adjuncts, needs to be carefully studied yet.

(956) Juanën   ka   Maria   **nipanaanxa**
      Juan=n   ka   Maria   nipat-**anan**-a-x-a
      Juan=ERG   NAR.3p   Maria .ABS throw.down-MAL-PERF-3p-non.prox
      'Juan threw Maria down to her detriment.'

(957) Juanën   ka   Marianën   tuá   **unënaanxa**
      Juan=n   ka   Maria=n   tuá   unën-**anan**-a-x-a
      Juan=ERG   NAR.3p   Maria=GEN son.ABS hide-MAL-PERF-3p-non.prox
      'Juan hid Maria's son to her detriment.'

Due to its particular morphosyntactic properties, the form *-anan* 'malefactive' can only appear on transitive predicates (see also Valenzuela 2010b for a similar situation in Shipibo-Konibo). If we would like to combine *-anan* 'malefactive' with an intransitive verb, this form needs to be obligatorily followed by the 'benefactive' marker *-xun* (see §21.4.1.4).

One naturalistic example of *-anan* 'malefactive' follows. Note that the suffix surfaces with the allmorph *-anan* even though it has been attached to the verb stem *nipakët-mi* 'to fall down-CAUS', which has four syllables. The explanation for this is diachronic: *pakët* was an independent verb in a previous stage of the language and it is still treated like this by the morphophonemic rule associated with the suffix presented here.

(958) C03A03-EE-2007.020

uisa otisu	**nipakémiananin**
ui-sa otisu	nipakët-mi-**anan**-i-n
why	fall.down-CAUS-MALEF-IMPF-1/2p

usaoxunma	ka	'a'
usa-o-xun=ma	ka	'a'
like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)=NEG	NAR	do.IMP

'Why are you making me fall down? Don't do that!'

21.4.1.4 More than one applicative on the same verb

Like in other Pano languages (see, for instance, Valenzuela 2010 on Shipibo-Konibo), Kashibo-Kakataibo can exhibit more than one applicative marker on the same verbal form. In this case, there are some combinatory restrictions. The maximum number of applicatives per verb stem is two, and the 'malefactive' *-anan* cannot be combined with the associative *-kin*. In addition, when any of those two applicatives is combined with the 'benefactive' *-xun*, the available data suggest that there is a fixed order: *-xun* 'benefactive applicative' always appears after the other applicative. One example of the combination *-kin* 'associative' and *-xun* 'benefactive' follows:

(959) 'ën	kana	Wilton	ain	bëchikë	**tëkinxunti**	'ain
'ë=n	kana	Wilton	ain	bëchikë	të-**kin**-**xun**-ti	'ain
1sg=A	NAR.1sg	Wilton.ABS	3sg.GEN	son.ABS	work-ASSOC-BEN-NOM	be.1/2p

'I will work with his son for Wilton.'

As previously mentioned, the combination of *-anan* 'malefactive' and *-xun* 'benefactive' is used in order to express a malefactive meaning in association with an intransitive predicate. That is, without *-xun* 'benefactive', *-anan* 'malefactive' cannot appear on an intransitive predicate. One example follows:

(960) Emilionën   ka   Wilton   **bananaanxuanxa**

Emilio=n   ka   Wilton   bana-**anan**-**xun**-a-x-a

Emilio=ERG   NAR.3p   Wilton.ABS   speak-MAL-BEN-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Emilio spoke against Wilton.'

21.4.2   Causatives

The suffix *-mi* is the general causative marker in Kashibo-Kakataibo (see also §12.2.1.1). This form can be attached to intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs without any syntactic restriction, as shown in the following examples (but note that examples with a ditransitive verb, as in (963), were only found in elicitation):

(961) 'ën   kana   Maria   ransamiti   'ain

'ë=n   kana   Maria   ransa-mi-ti   'ain

1sg=A   NAR.1sg   Maria.ABS   dance-CAUS-NOM   be.1/2p

'I will make Maria dance.'

(962) 'ën   kana   bata   Maria   bimiti   'ain

'ë=n   kana   bata   Maria   bits-mi-ti   'ain

1sg=A   NAR.1sg   candy.ABS   Maria.ABS   pick.up-CAUS-NOM   be.1/2p

'I will make Maria pick up (i.e. buy) candy.'

(963) 'ën   kana   bata   Maria   Juan   'inanmiti   'ain

'ë=n   kana   bata   Maria   Juan   'inan-mi-ti   'ain

1sg=A   NAR.1sg   candy.ABS   Maria.ABS   Juan.ABS   give-CAUS-NOM   be.1/2p

'I will make Juan give candy to Maria.'

'I will make Maria give candy to Juan.'

The suffix *-mi* is the general causative marker, and for most verbs (for example, for all the transitive verbs) it is the only available causative form. As expected, for these verbs *-mi* "has a wide semantic range" (Dixon 2000: 61). For example, the causee can either have or not have control over the event; be more or less volitional; or more or less affected by the activity. In addition, the causer can act either directly or indirectly over the causee; show more or less intention; or be more or less involved (see Dixon 2000: 61-74 for an exposition of the main semantic

parameters with regard to causatives; see Fleck 2002 and Valenzuela 2002a and 2003b: Chapter 16, for detailed descriptions of the semantics and morphosyntax of causation in Matses and Shipibo-Konibo, respectively).

As a brief exemplification, let us look at the examples in (964) and in (965). There, we find a difference with respect to the causee and the causer. In (964), *pi-mi-* 'to eat-causative' has the NP *'ën 'aintsi* 'my relative' as its object, and the idea is that the speaker will invite or give food to her relatives, who will, of course, eat by themselves (the associative applicative *-kin* can also be used under those circumstances). However, in (965), the object of *pi-mi-* 'to eat-causative' is *'ën tua* 'my child', and the idea is that the speaker will feed her little baby, who may not be able to eat by himself yet (the associative applicative cannot be used in this case):

(964) 'ën   kana   'ën   'aintsi   **pimiti**   'ain
      'ë=n   kana   'ë=n   'aintsi   pi-mi-ti   'ain
      1sg=A   NAR.1sg   1sg=GEN relative.ABS eat-CAUS-NOM be.1/2p
      'I will feed my relative (I will provide food to them).'

(965) 'ën   kana   ën   tua   **pimiti**   'ain
      'ë=n   kana   ë=n   tua   pi-mi-ti   'ain
      1sg=A   NAR.1sg   1sg=GEN child.ABS eat-CAUS-NOM be.1/2p
      'I will feed my baby (I will put the food into his mouth).'

The causation in the first example is less direct than the causation in the second one, but both situations are equally expressed with *-mi*. In addition, if it were the case that the causer produces the event accidentally, without volition, we would still find *-mi*, as shown with the following intransitive verb *nipakët-* 'to fall down'.

(966) 'ën   kana   'ën   tua   **nipakëmian**
      'ë=n   kana   'ë=n   tua   nipakët-mi-a-n
      1sg=A   NAR.1sg   1sg=GEN child.ABS fall.down-CAUS-PERF-1/2p
      'I made my baby fall down, by accident.'

Looking at the above examples, it is clear that *-mi* 'causative' has a wide semantic range, and can be used to express different types of causation. This is true for all cases that do not allow for another competing causative-like form (i.e. for all transitive verbs and for a good number of intransitive ones).

However, if there exist at least two competing causative-like forms for the same predicate, we find that the different types of causation are systematically distributed across these different causative constructions. This is the case for some intransitive verbs (including intransitive predicates formed from adjectives and, in some cases, also from nouns) and for verbs belonging to the *-t* 'intransitive'/*-n* 'transitive' and *-ki* 'intransitive'/*-ka* 'transitive' pairs (see §11.5 and §11.6). For these verbs, the causative variant with *-mi* always expresses indirect causation, with a less involved causer and with a causee having more control over the caused event (the same has been described for Shipibo-Konibo by Valenzuela 2002b).

Thus, compare the example in (966) with the following one in (967). In both examples we have the root *ni-* 'to throw'. In (966), this form was modified by the directional *-pakët* 'down, transitive > intransitive'. Then, the resulting intransitive stem *nipakët-* was modified by the causative morpheme *-mi*, to form the transitive stem *ni-pakët-mi* 'to make (somebody) fall down'. The resulting causer is interpreted as lacking control over the caused event, which is seen as being under the responsibility of the causee. In the following example, however, the transitive root *ni-* 'to throw' is modified by the directional *-pat* 'down, transitive' and the resulting stem, *nipat-* 'to throw down', is also transitive (just like *ni-pakët-mi* 'to make (somebody) fall down' in (966)). The difference, however, is that in the case of *nipat-* 'to throw down' (i.e. the causative-like form without *-mi*), the agent is interpreted as volitional, involved and directly responsible for the event. If we intrepret the predicate to *throw*

down as 'to cause to fall down', the causation expressed in that predicate involves a volitional and controlling causer.

(967) 'ën   kana   'ën   tua   **nipaan**
       ë=n   kana   'ë=n   tua   **nipat**-a-n
       1sg=A NAR.1sg 1sg=GEN child.ABS throw.down-PERF-1/2p
       'I threw my baby down (on purpose).'

In the following subsections, I will briefly explore some cases like the ones found in the above examples, where there is more than one strategy available to produce a transitive (causative-like) stem. All the cases to be discussed here point to the same generalisation: even though the more lexicalised forms may differ formally from each other, there is a general distinction in Kashibo-Kakataibo between a more lexical/lexicalised causative vs. the more productive morphological causative *-mi*. We will see that, systematically, the morphological causative *-mi* receives an indirect causation reading, when contrasting with any other kind of causative construction.

21.4.2.1 Suppletive lexical causatives

There are a few cases of verbs for which there are suppletive intransitive and transitive verbs pairs. This is true, for example, for the verbs *bama-* 'to die' and *rëtë-* 'to kill'; *kwan-* 'to go' and *buan-* 'to take'; *u-* 'to come' and *bë-* 'to bring'; and *kwain-* 'to move over' and *buin-* 'to move'.[96]

Assuming causative interpretation for the transitive versions of pairs like the ones presented above, we can compare their meanings to the interpretations of the

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[96] Notice that cognate forms in Shipibo-Konibo make a distinction between plural and singular subjects in the intransitive version of the predicate. For instance, as described by Valenzuela (2003b: 595-560), in this language, *bë-* means 'to come (non-singular), to bring' and is opposed to *ju* 'to come (singular)'; and *bu-* means 'to go (non-singular), to take' and is opposed to *ka-* 'to go (singular)'. This is not found in Kashibo-Kakataibo, where the verbs roots appear as intransive vs. transitive pairs.

corresponding intransitive forms combined with the causative marker *-mi*. In all cases, an indirect causation reading is preferred for the forms including the intransitive stem plus causative *-mi*. These forms are used when the speaker wants to make it clear that the causer is less involved and that the causee has more control over the event (and, then, is usually expected to be animate). This is presented in the following table:

Table 79   Transitive stems versus intransitive stems with the causative

Intransitive form	Transitive form	
	Transitive root	Intransitive root plus causative
bama- 'to die'	*rë-* 'to kill'	*bama-mi-* 'to let somebody die'
kwan- 'to go'	*buan-* 'to take'	*kwan-mi-* 'to let somebody go'
u- 'to come'	*bë-* 'to bring'	*u-mi-* 'to let somebody come'
kwain- 'to move over'	*buin-* 'to move'	*kwain-mi-* 'to let somebody move over'

As highlighted by Shibatani (1973), there is a strong tendency for lexical causatives to express direct causation and for morphological causatives to express indirect causation in those cases where both forms are available, as is the case in Kashibo-Kakataibo.

21.4.2.2 *-mi* 'causative' in verb pairs with *-t* and *-n*

A group of verb pairs is distinguished on the basis of *-n* 'transitive' and *-t* 'intransitive' (see §11.5). It is possible to add the causative marker *-mi* to the intransitive form, which carries *-t* 'intransitive', in order to obtain another transitive stem. The difference between the transitive version with *-n,* on the one hand, and the transitive version with *-t* 'intransitive' plus the causative morpheme *-mi*, on the other, is that the latter form receives an indirect causation-reading. This is exemplified in the following table:

Table 80 *-mi* 'causative' vs. *-n* 'transitive'

Intransitive form with –*t*	Transitive form	
	Transitive with *-n*	Intransitive stem plus causative –*mi*
tsó-t- 'to sit down, to live'	*tsó-n-* 'to seat'	*tsó-t-mi-* 'to invite somebody to sit down'
ërë-t- 'to burn'	*ërë-n-* 'to light'	*ërë-t-mi-* 'to let something get burned'
niri-t- 'to crawl'	*niri-n-* 'to drag'	*niri-t-mi-* 'to let a baby crawl'

21.4.2.3 *-n* as a 'direct causative in other cases'

In addition, it is also important to note that there are a few intransitive verbs that do not carry a root-final *-t*, but which nevertheless can use both *-n* and *-mi* in order to obtain transitive stems with causative meanings. In these cases, both forms can be seen as morphological causatives. However, even though it is clearly segmentable in the examples below, *-n* is not as productive as the causative *-mi*. In fact, *-n* is restricted to a few intransitive verbs and is highly idiosyncratic in its distribution (in the sense that the verbs that can carry it do not seem to represent a well-defined class). In this sense, even in the cases presented here, *-mi* remains the more productive and the more general morphological causative attested in the language. Consequently, again, the form *-n* is used for direct causation, while *-mi* is used for indirect causation:

Table 81 *-n* and *-mi* on intransitive verb roots

Intransitive form	Transitive form with –*n*	Transitive form with *-mi*
bëna- 'to lie down'	*bëna-n-* 'to extinguish'	*bëna-mi-* 'to let the fire die down'
bësu- 'to wake up'	*bësu-n-* 'to wake somebody'	*bësu-mi-* 'to wake somebody accidentally'
buku- 'to be, to live together'	*buku-n-* 'to put things together'	*buku-mi-* 'to ask people to get together'

21.4.2.4 *-ki*-verbs versus *-ka*-verbs

As mentioned in §11.6, there is a set of verbs that, similarly to the ones presented in §21.4.2.2, form pairs based on a transitivity distinction, carrying *-ki* 'intransitive' and *-ka* 'transitive'. In the case of these verbs, it is also possible to obtain another transitive stem by adding the causative morpheme *-mi* to the intransitive stem with *-ki*. These forms are again interpreted as triggering less involved causers, which act only indirectly on the causees. This can be seen from the following examples:

Table 82   *-ka* 'transitive' versus *-ki* intransitive plus *-mi* 'causative'

Intransitive form with *-ki*	Transitive form	
	Transitive with *-ka*	Intransitive stem plus causative *–mi*
bërë-ki- 'to be rubbed with tar'	*bërë-ka-* 'to rub with tar'	*bërë-ki-mi-* 'to let something be rubbed with tar'
buá-ki- 'to become full'	*buá-ka-* 'to fill'	*buá-ki-mi-* 'to wait until something becomes full'
ës-ki- 'to get dry'	*ës-ka-* 'to dry'	*ës-ki-mi-* 'to wait until something gets dry'

21.4.2.5 Adjectival and nominal predicates

As we have seen in Chapter 7, adjectives and nouns can function as intransitive predicates with an inchoative meaning (translatable as 'to become X', where X is the nominal or adjectival meaning of the forms), without any overt derivation. When used as predicates, they show almost the same combinatory possibilities as attested in words that are primarily verbs. But they show one difference that is relevant to the discussion here: they can carry the 'factitive' suffix *-o ~ -a*, which receives a causative interpretation and which is not available for forms that are primarily verbs. In some cases, the causative *-mi* is also available for adjectives and nouns (but less often for nouns than for adjectives), and, then, we find two causative-like constructions

associated with the same lexical form. In such cases, *-o ~ -a* is used for 'direct causation' and *-mi* for 'indirect causation'.

In order to be able to use *-mi* to derive a causative nominal or adjectival predicate, the causee needs to have the potential to undergo the change of state without the direct participation of an external causer. This potential is primarily found in animate participants (but also depends on the type of state expressed); some inanimate referents are also conceptualised as being able to undergo changes of state without the direct participation of an external agent (see a detailed discussion of this in §7.2 and §7.3). One example is presented in the following table with the noun *kini* 'hole' (wood and fabrics, for example, can get holes without direct external participation).

Table 83   *-mi* and *-o* in one noun and one adjective

non-predicative form	intransitive predicate	direct causative predicate	indirect causative predicate
kini 'hole' (noun)	*kini-* 'to get a hole'	*kinio-* 'to make a hole on something'	*kinimi-* 'to be careless and let something get holes'
chaxkë́ 'long' (adjective)	*chaxkë́-* 'to become long'	*chaxkë́o-* 'to make something long (by adding an extension, for instance)'	*chaxkë́mi-* 'to let something become long (i.e. to let a tree grow)'

21.4.2.6 Indirect versus direct causation in Kashibo-Kakataibo

The examples above demonstrate that whenever there is more than one causative-like construction for a specific predicate, the one with *-mi* is always interpreted as expressing indirect causation, i.e., the causee is directly involved and responsible for the caused event. The control of the causer over the event, by contrast, is reduced and, in some cases, this argument only indirectly induces the event to happen. In

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turn, in those cases in which it is the only causative mechanism available, the marker *-mi* exhibits a wide semantic range.

Shibatani and Pardeshi's (2002: 89) argue that: "[...] it is a good first approximation to define direct causation as a situation involving an agentive causer and a patientive causee and indirect causation as one involving two agentive participants, one an agentive causer and the other an agentive causee." This seems to apply to Kashibo-Kakataibo: my teachers always explained and translated for me the difference between the forms labelled here as **indirect causative** and **direct causative** by paying particular attention to the agency of the causee. This becomes even clearer if we look at causative nominal/adjectival predicates: causatives with *-mi* are only grammatical in those cases where the causee is understood as capable of undergoing the change of state by itself. Otherwise, the 'factitive' *-o* is the only causative strategy accessible.

According to Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002), the differences in the agency of the causee may trigger different conceptualisations which are the basis for the distinction discussed here: "when the causee is an agent with its own volition, a degree of autonomy is accorded to the caused event" (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002: 89). Thus, while direct causative events are conceptualised as single events, indirect causative events are conceptualised as complex events that include two relatively autonomous parts: a causing sub-event and a caused sub-event. When the causee is patientive, the caused event depends on the causer and "this dependence entails a spatiotemporal overlap of the causer's activity and the caused event, to the extent that the two relevant events are not clearly distinguishable" (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002: 89). The lacking of a spatiotemporal overlap seems to be clearly important at least in some of the cases discussed in this section, for instance, in the distinction

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between the form *bësu-n-* 'to wake somebody' and *bësu=mi* 'to wake somebody indirectly'. While the former verb refers to a situation where the caused event is wholly dependent on the causer; the latter is used to describe a situation in which the causer does not act directly on the causee and, prototypically, **is not even in the same room**.

Therefore, the distinction between indirect and direct causation in Kashibo-Kakataibo has to do primarily with the agency of the causee, which triggers, in the case of indirect causation, a conceptualisation of the causative event as based on two sub-events. This is also possible due to the lack of spatiotemporal overlapping between these two events that is usually associated with indirect causation. Note that the agency of the causee relates to the caused event only: the causer is by definition the ultimate cause of the entire event (see Valenzuela 2002a and 2003b: Chapter 16, for similar facts in Shipibo-Konibo; and Fleck 2002, for causation in Matses).

21.4.3   Prefixation and valency increase

In some cases, body part prefixation seems to increase the valency of the verb. In example (968), *tsoo-n-* 'to seat' is a bivalent transitive verb that cannot normally have two absolutive arguments. However, as can be seen in (970), when this verb is prefixed, an additional zero-marked participant can occur in the clause, in this case, *Roberto*, the possessor of the neck.

(968) Davitan   ka   Dunú   tsónxa
      David=n   ka   Dunú   tsón-a-x-a
      David=ERG   NAR.3p   Dunú.ABS   seat-PERF-3p-non.prox
      'David sat Dunú down.'

(969) Davitan   ka   Dunú   Robertonën   tëxanu   tsónxa
      David=n   ka   Dunú   Roberto=n   tëxa=nu   tsoon-a-x-a
      David=ERG   NAR.3p   Dunú.ABS Roberto=GEN neck=LOC   seat-PERF-3p-non.prox

  'David sat Dunú on Roberto's neck.'

(970) Davitan   ka   Dunú   Roberto   **të**-tsónxa
      David=a   ka   Dunú   Roberto   **të**-tsón-a-x-a
      David=ERG   NAR.3p   Dunú.ABS   Roberto   **neck**-seat-PERF-3p-non.prox

  'David sat Dunú on Roberto's neck' (lit. 'David neck-sat Dunu on Roberto).'

The question at hand is: is *Roberto* in (970) an additional absolutive argument of equal syntactic status to *Dunú*? If this is the case, we may conclude that prefixation is an additional valency-increasing mechanism in Kashibo-Kakataibo; but if not, we are dealing with a very interesting grammatical construction that introduces a participant without any grammatical consequence. Although more research needs to be carried out, it can already be stated that, crucially, the switch-reference system does not recognise this participant as a core argument. Kashibo-Kakataibo has a switch-reference marker *-këx,* which is used to indicate that the O (including either of the two objects of ditransitive predicates; see §21.3.10) of the dependent clause is co-referential with the S of the matrix clause. As we can see in the following example, this marker cannot be used to refer to *Roberto* in (970); instead, we would have to use the marker *-këbë*, which is used to indicate that the two clauses in the chain have different subjects and different objects and that the matrix clause is intransitive:

(971) Davitan   ka   Dunú   Roberto   **të**tsón**këxbi**
      David=n   ka   Dunú   Roberto   **të**tsón**këxbi**
      David=ERG   NAR.3p   Dunú.ABS   Roberto   **neck**-seat-**O>S(SE)**

  pakëaxa
  pakët-a-x-a
  fall-PERF-3p-non.prox

  'When David$_i$ sat Dunú$_j$ on Roberto$_k$'s neck, he$_j$ (Dunú/*Roberto) fell down.'

(972) Davitan   ka   Dunú   Roberto   **tëtsónkëbë**

       David=n   ka   Dunú   Roberto   **të**-tsón-**këbë**

       David=ERG NAR.3p Dunú.ABS Roberto **neck**-seat-**DS/A/O(SE.INTR)**

       pakëaxa

       pakët-a-x-a

       fall-PERF-3p-non.prox

       'When David$_i$ sat Dunú$_j$ on Roberto$_k$'s neck, he$_k$ (*Dunú/Roberto) fell down.'

In addition, the following examples illustrate that an intransitive clause containing this additional participant (in this case, *i* 'tree') remains intransitive (we would expect the 'A' marker =n rather than the 'S' marker =*x*, if the clause were transitive); that is, it does not trigger a change in the transitivity class of the verb, as it would be the case with the causative or the applicative markers:

(973) kashi a**x**   ka   **inu**   paniaxa

       kashi a**=x**   ka   **i=nu**   pani-a-x-a

       bat   that=S NAR.3p tree=LOC hang-PERF-3p-non.prox

       'The bat was hanging on the tree.'

(974) kashi a**x**   ka   **i**   **ra**paniaxa

       kashi a**=x**   ka   **i**   **ra**=pani-a-x-a

       bat   that=S NAR.3p tree   **trunk**-hang-PERF-3p-non.prox

       'The bat was hanging on the trunk of the tree.'

Thus, the additional argument found in some examples of prefixed verbs does not seem to be a grammatical object and, therefore, prefixation is different from the other mechanisms presented in this section (i.e. applicatives and causatives), which change intransitive verbs into transitive ones (see the special behaviour of prefixation on the verb *atsin-* 'to enter' in §5.6.2.3.2).

21.4.4   Reflexive and reciprocal

The reflexive marker *-akat* (and its allomorphs) and the reciprocal marker *-anan* were presented in §12.2.2.2 and §12.2.2.1, respectively. Both forms are valency-decreasing

suffixes; that is, they take a transitive verb and convert it into an intransitive one. In this section, I offer further insights into their more salient semantic and syntactic properties.

21.4.4.1 Reflexive constructions

With the exception of one particular construction presented below, the reflexive marker *-akat* (and its allomorphs) is used when the A and the O arguments of the predicate are co-referential (see examples of this form and its complex morphophonemic pattern in §12.2.2.2).

The reflexive suffix can only be combined with transitive verbs, which are derived into intransitive ones by means of this suffix. In this section, I will pay special attention to the use of empathic/reflexive pronouns as a device to obtain reflexive constructions in order to complement the information about the reflexive marker presented in §12.2.2.2. These pronouns are of particular interest for intransitive predicates, for which they are the only reflexive strategy available. Emphatic/reflexive pronouns are obtained by means of combining the pronominal forms *'ë* '1sg', *mi* '2sg', *a* '3sg' and *nu* '1pl' with the adverbial enclitic =*bi* 'same, self'. However, there is evidence to analyse the forms *'ëbi* '1sg, emphatic/reflexive', *mibi* '2sg, emphatic/reflexive', *abi* '3sg, emphatic/reflexive' and *nubi* '1pl, emphatic/reflexive' as lexicalised elements, not synchronically segmentable. This evidence comes from the relative position of the enclitic in relation to the case marker =*x*. As we have seen in §21.2.1, emphatic/reflexive pronouns follow a neutral case alignment with the functions of S, A and O equally unmarked. However, in the S function, this pronominal form can optionally receive the case marker *-x* 'S'. When this happens, the adverbial enclitic appears before the case

maker and this is unexpected for adverbial enclitics (see §6.2.1). This fact strongly suggests that emphatic/reflexive pronouns have lexicalised. In accordance with this, Valenzuela (2003: 188-191) reports for Shipibo-Konibo that these emphatic pronouns can be modified (again) by the enclitic =bi producing forms like ebi-x=bi '1sg.EMP-S=self', but so far I have not found equivalent examples in Kashibo-Kakataibo. See the following example, and notice that the case marker is optional:

(975) **'ëbi**x   kana   banain
       'ëbi=x   kana   bana-i-n
       1sg.EMP=S   NAR.1sg   speak-IMPF-1/2p
       'I speak to myself.'

In the following example we find the adverbial enclitic =bi after the case marker -x (i.e. in its expected position) and therefore the different morphological elements can be segmented out. As we can see from the glosses, in this second case, a reflexive reading is not possible and this fact shows that the structures in (975) and (976) are different:

(976) 'ë-xbi   kana   banain
       'ë=x=bi   kana   bana-i-n
       1sg=S=same NAR.1sg   speak-IMPF-1/2p
        'I myself speak (to somebody else)'
       *'I speak to myself.'

In the following examples, I present a small set of sentences in order to show the different emphatic/reflexive pronouns in use. Note that in combination with a verb like kwan- 'to go', these pronominal forms express high levels of volition and responsibility of the subject (recall that the case-marker is optional in all instances):

(977) **'ëbi**x   kana   kwanin
       'ëbi=x   kana   kwan-i-n
       1sg.EMP=S   NAR.1sg   go-IMPF-1/2p
       'I am going because I want to.'

(978) **mibi**x   kamina   kwanin

      mibi=x   kamina   kwan-i-n

      2sg.EMP=S   NAR.2p   go-IMPF-1/2p

      'You are going because you want to.'

(979) **abi**x   ka   kwania

      abi=x   ka   kwan-i-a

      3sg.EMP=S   NAR.3p   go-IMPF-non.prox

      '(S)he is going because (s)he wants to.'

(980) **nubi**=x   kananuna   kwan-i-n

      nubi=x   kananuna   kwan-i-n

      1pl.EMP=S   NAR.1pl   go-IMPF-1/2p

      'We are going because we want to.'

As show in the following examples, emphatic/reflexive pronouns can also be used in combination with the reflexive marker on a transitive verb. Differently from what we have seen above, in this type of reflexive construction, the use of the emphatic/reflexive pronoun is not obligatory:

(981) 'ëx   kana   **isakatin**

      'ë=x   kana   is-**akat**-i-n

      1sg =S   NAR.1sg   see-REF-IMPF-1/2p

      'ëbix   kana   **isakatin**

      'ëbi=x   kana   is-akat-i-n

      1sg.EMP=S   NAR.1sg   see-REF-IMPF-1/2p

      'I look at myself.'

In the case of reflexive constructions derived from transitive verbs, the emphatic/reflexive pronoun can also occur as a reflexive object (see example in (982)). This is also possible for a few intransitive verbs, like *bana-* 'to speak' (see example in (983)). It is not possible in either case to have an emphatic/reflexive pronoun twice in the clause:

(982) 'ëx   kana   **'ëbi**   isakatin
       'ë=x   kana   **'ëbi**   is-akat-i-n
       1sg =S   NAR.1sg   1sg.REF   see-REF-IMPF-1/2p
       'I look at myself.'

       ***'ëbix**   kana   **'ëbi**   isakatin
       'ëbi=x   kana   **'ëbi**   is-akat-i-n
       1sg.EMP=S   NAR.1sg   1sg.REF   see-REF-IMPF-1/2p

(983) 'ëx   kana   **'ëbi**   banain
       'ë=x   kana   **'ëbi**   bana-i-n
       1sg =S   NAR.1sg   1sg.REF   speak-IMPF-1/2p
       'I speak to myself.'

       ***'ëbix**   kana   **'ëbi**   bana-i-n
       'ëbi=x   kana   **'ëbi**   bana-i-n
       1sg.EMP=S   NAR.1sg   1sg.REF   speak-IMPF-1/2p

Ditransitive predicates can also be derived into reflexive predicates. As we have seen in §21.3.8, this type of predicate uses two different reflexive strategies depending on the object that is co-referential with the subject. If the theme-like object is co-referential with the subject, only the reflexive marker is required. If the recipient-like object is co-referential with the subject, in addition to the reflexive marker, an emphatic/reflexive pronoun is required and an NP referring to the patient can also appear. This NP surfaces unmarked and is similar to a grammatical object. However, using the same type of evidence presented in the discussion about prefixed verbs (subject marking and switch-reference), I preliminary consider those arguments not to be grammatical objects. See the following examples:

(984) *'ëx   'ëbi   bata   **'inámëkëx**   ka   ramiaxa
       *'ë=x   'ëbi   bata   'inan-mët-**këx**   ka   rami-a-x-a
       1sg =S   1sg.REF   candy   give-REF-O>S(PE)   NAR.3p   get.rotten-PERF-3p-non.prox

       'ëx   'ëbi   bata   **'inámëan**   ka   ramiaxa
       'ë=x   'ëbi   bata   'inan-mët-**an**   ka   rami-a-x-a
       1sg =S   1sg.REF   candy   give-REF-DS/A/O(PE)   NAR.3p   get.rotten-PERF-3p-non.prox
       'After I gave the cadies to myself, they got rotten.'

With a few transitive verbs, the reflexive marker is used to form a passive-like construction, where the S argument is linked to the patient of the event, and the agent is not overtly mentioned. This construction is primarily attested with the verb *më-* 'to beat up', but for some speakers, it was also possible with verbs like *bits-* 'to pick up' and *mëra-* 'to find' (this passive interpretation is more widely found in Shipibo-Konibo reflexive constructions; see Valenzuela 2003b: 775-800). My teachers systematically rejected a passive-like interpretation for other transitive verbs marked with the reflexive. Interestingly, for many speakers the passive-like use of the reflexive implies that there is some sort of kinship relationship between the two participants (and might be appropriately described as an indirect reflexive). For instance, the following example was usually interpreted with the father of the S argument being the non-overtly expressed agent.

(985) mix   kamina   mëakan
       mi=x   kamina   më-akat-a-n
       1sg=S   NAR.2p   beat.up-REF-PERF-1/2p
       'You were beaten up (by your father).'

It would be problematic to analyse this construction as a passive, because its distribution is too limited. However, it could grammaticalise into a passive, since the reflexive marker is a very common source for passives cross-linguistically (Keenan 1985). Note that in this kind of construction, the agent phrase cannot be overtly expressed and is always inferred.

21.4.4.2 Reciprocal constructions

The reciprocal marker *-anan* is used to indicate that two different arguments are doing something to each other and, thus, the reciprocal conveys that there are at least two different participants in the event, which simultaneously or in turns have agent

and patient roles. In principle, the reciprocal marker *-anan* can only modify transitive verbs, which are derived into intransitive ones by means of this suffix (but see below for some cases of this suffix with extended intransitive predicates). If overtly expressed in the reciprocal construction, the object of the original transitive predicate is expressed as a comitative adjunct.

There are different types of reciprocal events, which can be classified based on a set of parameters (see Evans et al 2004). Those parameters are the basis for the Reciprocals Videos, developed by Evans et al (2004). During my last fieldwork season, I have used the short set of those videos in order to identify which semantic distinctions are marked by Kashibo-Kakataibo morphosyntax.

There is only one distinction in the domain of reciprocity that has grammatical consequences in Kashibo-Kakataibo: if the reciprocal event is carried out by the participants at the same time vs. in turns. If the former is the case, the reciprocal marker is preceded by the plural marker *-kan* (and we find the sequence *-kan-anan* [kanan]. In turn, if we have a reciprocal event of the latter type, this preceding plural marker is not required. In fact, reciprocal forms without this plural marker can be interpreted as either simultaneous or in turns. In order to illustrate this basic distinction, let us see the following examples:

(986) Reciprocals video 33 (Evans et al 2004): 'looking at'
    a   uni   rabë́   ka   **bëiskanania**
    a   uni   rabë́   ka   bë-is-**kan-anan**-i-a
    that man.ABS two.ABS NAR.3p face-see-PLU-REC-IMPF-non.prox
    'Those two men are looking at each other **simultaneously**.'

    a   uni rabë́   ka   **bëisanania**
    a   uni rabë́   ka   bë-is-**anan**-i-a
    that man two.ABS NAR.3p face-see-REC-IMPF-non.prox
    'Those two men are looking at each other **(in turns or simultaneously)**.'

In accordance with this, some reciprocal events seem to be conceptualised as inherently simultaneous and obligatorily require the plural marker. This is true for example for the next example, where the reciprocal version of the verb *'ikut-* 'to hug' is given and we can see that it requires the plural marker:

(987)   Reciprocals video 7 (Evans et al 2004): 'hugging'

xanu	rabẽ	ka	**'ikukanania**
xanu	rabẽ	ka	'ikut-**kan-anan**-i-a
woman	two.ABS	NAR.3p	hug-PLU-REC-IMPF-non.prox

*xanu	rabẽ	ka	**'ikuanania**
*xanu	rabẽ	ka	'ikut-**anan**-i-a
woman	two.ABS	NAR.3p	hug-REC-IMPF-non.prox

('the two women are hugging each other')

This is also true for 'fight'. As shown in the following text example, the predicate *'akanan-* 'to fight' is produced by the combination of the verb *'a-* 'to do', the 'plural' marker *-kan*, and the 'reciprocal' marker *-anan*. The form *'a-anan-* 'to do-reciprocal' is not ungrammatical but cannot mean 'to fight'. It has a more general meaning of 'to do something to each other'.

(988)   C02B05-NA-2007.012

usa	'ain	ka	nukën	chaitikama	**'akanankë**
usa	'ain	ka	nukën	chaiti=kama	'a-**kan**-anan-kë
like.that	being(DS/A/O)	NAR.3p	1pl.GEN	ancestor=PLU.ABS	kill-PLU-REC-NOM

'ixun [...]
'i-xun [...]
be-S/A>A(SE)

'Being like this, having our ancestors fought…'

The position of the plural marker in this type of reciprocal construction is highly unusual (since the plural marker normally appears after all the derivative markers). This fact may be indicating that the forms discussed here are, at least to some degree, lexicalised elements.

The plural marker can also appear after the reciprocal marker (which would be its more prototypical position; see §13.4), as on the predicates *'ia bari-xun-anan-kan-* 'to delouse each other (more than two people)' and *'ikut-kan-anan-kan* 'to hug each other (more than two people)'. Note that in the second case the plural marker is repeated twice in the same predicate. Also note that in both cases the suffix *-(r)abat* 'distributive' can be used. This suffix explicitly indicates that each person is acting individually.

(989)   Reciprocals video 56 (Evans et al 2004): 'delousing'
   xanukamax   ka   'ia   **barixuanankania**
   xanu=kama=x ka   'ia   bari-xun-**anan-kan-**i-a
   woman=PLU=S NAR.3p louse.ABS look.for-BEN-REC-PLU-IMPF-non.prox

   xanukamax   ka   'ia   bari-xun-**anan-abat**ia
   xanu=kama=x ka   'ia   bari-xun-**anan-abat-**i-a
   woman=PLU=S NAR.3p   louse.ABS   look.for-BEN-REC-DIST-IMPF-non.prox
   'The women and the men are delousing each other.'

(990)   Reciprocals video 29 (Evans et al 2004): 'hugging'
   xanu   'imainun bëbukamax   ka   **'ikukanankania**
   xanu   'imainun bëbu=kama=x   ka   'ikut-**kan-anan-kan-**i-a
   woman and   man=PLU=S   NAR.3p   hug-PLU-REC-PLU-IMPF-non.prox

   xanu   'imainun bëbukamax   ka   **'ikukananbatia**
   xanu   'imainun bëbu=kama=x   ka   'ikut-**kan-anan-abat-**i-a
   woman and   man=PLU=S   NAR.3p   hug-PLU-REC-DIST-IMPF-non.prox
   'The women and the men are hugging each other (there are more than two people).'

As we have seen in §21.3.9, ditransitive predicates can also be derived into reciprocal predicates and either the beneficiary and the patient objects can give rise to a reciprocal object. The remaining object can be expressed as an unmarked NP that, as in the case of reflexive ditransitive predicates, seems to differ grammatically from objects. This preliminary analysis is based on the same type of evidence as in previous cases: subject marking and switch-reference. See the following examples:

(991) *nux   bata   **'inanankëx**   ka   ramiaxa
      nu=x   bata   'inan-anan-**këx**   ka   rami-a-x-a
      1pl =S candy   give-REC-O>S(PE)   NAR.3p   get.rotten-PERF-3p-non.prox

      nux   bata   **'inanan**   ka   ramiaxa
      nu=x   bata   'inan-anan-**an**   ka   rami-a-x-a
      1pl =S candy   give-REC-DS/A/O(PE)   NAR.3p   get.rotten-PERF-3p-non.prox

      'After we gave the candies to each other, they got rotten.'

Reciprocals can also occur with the emotion predicate *nish-* 'to hate', which, used in an extended intransitive construction, takes an object-like argument marked by *=mi* 'imprecise location' (see §11.3.2.2). According to my data, other grammatically similar emotion predicates cannot be modified by the reciprocal marker, but this still needs to be checked. For instance, in Shipibo-Konibo, the extended intransitive verb *raket-* 'to be afraid of' (Kashibo-Kakataibo *rakwët-*) can be reciprocalised (see Valenzuela 2003b: 808-809). In the following example, the reciprocal version of the verb 'to hate' is presented. Note that the object of the emotion predicate, *nu* '1pl.', appears with the comitative marker *=bë*, as it is the case for prototypical objects that get demoted in reciprocal constructions.

(992) C02B05-NA-2007.011
      anun   nu   bërí   ka   no   'ikë   **nubë**
      anun   nu   bërí   ka   no   'i-kë   un=**bë**
      that.INS   1pl.ABS today   NAR.3p   foreinger be-NOM   1pl=COM(S)

      nishanania   nokamax
      nish-**anan**-i-a   no=**kama**=x
      hate-REC-IMPF-non.prox   foreinger=PLU=S

      'Thus, we are those ones with which the foreigners hate each other.'

Chapter 22 Sentences in discourse

22.1   Introduction

This chapter offers a discussion of some salient discourse principles found in Kashibo-Kakataibo, paying attention to those cases where some morphosyntactic features of a sentence or an argument are sensitive to their function in discourse. It is important to mention that we will look exclusively at examples taken from narratives and not from conversations. In principle, narratives imply a single speech act-participant holding the floor for long periods of time, stretching over several sentences. In that sense, narratives are different from conversations, where turns are constantly negotiated. Therefore, different discourse configurations are very likely to be found in the latter, and I do not expect the discussion in this chapter to be also applicable to conversations. Conversations have not been studied in detail in this thesis, but some examples were given in Chapter 15, where I discussed the category of register in Kashibo-Kakataibo.

I begin this chapter with an introduction to constituent order in Kashibo-Kakataibo. I argue that, even though Kashibo-Kakataibo is mainly a verb-final language, the position of the different constituents in the sentence is strongly determined by the type of information that they express (see §22.2). In addition, there is a **highlighting** mechanism to indicate NPs that are important for a consequent part of the discourse. This mechanism, which includes a resumptive third person pronoun carrying the highest pitch in the utterance, will be presented in §22.3. In §22.4, I discuss one very interesting interaction between case marking and discourse, where

lexical NPs that introduce an anaphoric topic follow the tripartite case alignment system, which is otherwise only attested for pronominal elements. A brief discussion of definiteness is offered in §22.5, exemplifying how the demonstrative *a* 'proximal to the addressee' and the numeral *achushi* 'one' are used, in the pre-head position, to indicate the definiteness status of NPs. Section §22.6 describes how the category of addressee's perspective is used as a discourse cohesion marker. Finally, section §22.7 presents the use of tail-head linkage in narratives.

22.2   The discourse basis of constituent order

Based on isolated sentences out of context and with all their arguments overtly expressed, one could say that AOV and SV are the least marked constituent orders of Kashibo-Kakataibo sentences. A/S arguments are followed by the obligatory second position enclitics, and the O arguments (in transitive and ditransitive clauses) or any kind of adjunct appear between these enclitics and the verb. Thus, the following template could be used to describe constituent order in Kashibo-Kakataibo:

(993)   A/S – second position enclitics – O/adjuncts – verb

        This is exemplified with the following elicited sentences:

(994)   'ën   kana   Maria   'atsa   'inanin
        'ë=n   kana   Maria   'atsa   'inan-i-n
        1sg=A   NAR.1sg   Maria.ABS manioc.ABS   give-IMPF-1/2p
        A   **ENCL** **Rec-O** **The-O**   **V**
        'I give manioc to Maria.'

(995)   'ëx   kana   **Limanu**   **Juanbë**   kwanin
        'ë-x   kana   Lima**=nu** Juan-**bë** kwan-i-n
        1sg=S   NAR.1sg   Lima=LOC   Juan-COM(S) go-IMPF-1/2p
        S   **ENCL** **OBL**   **OBL**   **V**
        'I will go to Lima with Juan.'

The first interesting point to note is that the position of the different types of adjuncts and complements is not fixed in relation to each other, and many different orders are attested and common in Kashibo-Kakataibo, even in elicited and context-free clauses. Thus, any proposal that Kashibo-Kakataibo has fixed constituent order has to include the qualification that this is not true for any constituent occuring between the two main landmarks of the sentence, i.e. between the second position enclitics and the verb.

It is also important to note that the only obligatory constituent of an independent clause is the constituent created by the second position enclitics (in fact, second position enclitics represent the best criterion for distinguishing between independent and dependent clauses; see Chapter 17); but they cannot create clauses by themselves. Any argument can be omitted in the appropriate context, and even verbs can be omitted in verb-less copula clauses (see §17.3). Thus, a second issue with regard to the above template is that it does not represent the fact that it is uncommon in discourse to find clauses with all their arguments overtly expressed.[97] Based on all this information, we can argue that the basic template needs to be reformulated in the following way:

(996)   (A/S) – second position enclitics – (complements/adjuncts in free order) – verb[98]

However, there are other factors that further complicate the analysis of constituent order. The first observation is that the first constituent of a sentence is not

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[97] I cannot present a quantitative analysis of the distribution of overt and dropped arguments, but it is not unusual to find that arguments are dropped in narratives. In conversations, the number of dropped arguments seems to be even higher.

[98] This template is for independent clauses. Dependent clauses, by contrast, do not carry second position enclitics, and can consist of only a verb. In addition, verbless copula clauses do not require an overtly expressed verb, but do need second position clitics (see Chapter 17).

very often the A or the S argument. In fact, in connected discourse, we are very likely to find complex sentences where a dependent switch-reference clause appears as the first constituent. This clause usually repeats the predicate of the previous sentence, forming pervasive tail-head linkage structures (see §22.7). If we find an argument or an adjunct (and not a switch-reference construction) as the first constituent of a sentence, it is not necessarily the subject: instead, it is very likely that this argument or adjunct refers to a referent that has been previously introduced into the narrative (especially in the immediately preceding sentence).

Thus, if we look beyond elicited sentences, and take narratives into account, the first constituent tends to express given/old/presupposed information: either arguments/adjuncts that refer to a previously mentioned participant, or a dependent clause repeating the matrix predicate of the preceding sentence. This is the key factor that determines which constituent will appear before the second position enclitics in connected discourse. Following Givón (2001, II: 254), one may say that the first position of the sentence, before the second position enclitics, is occupied by **anaphoric topics**. According to Givón: "By 'anaphoric' one means the accessibility of the **referent** in **mental representation** ('map', 'model') of the preceding discourse."

Tail-head linkage structures are exemplified in §22.7 and will not be presented here. In the following example, the referent of the first argument of the second sentence was mentioned in the previous sentence: *achushi xanu* 'one woman'. Note that this argument is the O argument of the second sentence, but nevertheless appears as its first constituent:

(997)   C02B01-NA-2007.001-002

anu	ka	'ikën	**achushi**	**xanu**ribi	ain	*historia*
anu	ka	'ikën	achushi	xanu=ribi	ain	*historia*
there	NAR.3p	be.3p	one	woman=also	3sg.GEN	story.ABS

ain	'ia	ñu	a	ñuiti
ain	'i-a	ñu	a	ñui-ti
3sg.GEN	be-NOM	thing	that.O	tell-NOM

achushi	**xanu**	kaisa	unin	'axun	'inankëxa
achushi	xanu	kaisa	uni=n	'a-xun	'inan-akë-x-a
one	woman.ABS	NAR.REP.3p	person=ERG	do-S/A>A(SE)	give-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

como	uitibira	tsatsa
como	uiti=bi=ira	tsatsa
like	how.much/many=same-INT	fish.sp.ABS

'There is also a story of **one woman**, of the thing that she was, to tell. **To one woman**, a man used to give a lot of fish, fishing them.'

Examples like the one presented above show that Kashibo-Kakataibo's constituent order does not always follow the basic AOV or SV orders. Rather, the constituent order reflects pragmatic and discourse principles. A better generalisation would thus be to say that the first constituent refers to anaphoric topics or, more generally, to given information.

Another important observation is that verbs are not necessarily sentence-final, and that there are different types of post-verbal arguments in discourse. In the following example, the O argument *achushi gringo* appears after the verb *is-* 'to see' (see also the previous example, where *como uitibira tsatsa* 'like a lot of fish' is a post-verbal argument):

(998)   C02A02-NA-2007.005

bëbaia	kaisa	isakëxa	**achushi**	**gringo**
bëba-ia	kaisa	is-akë-x-a	**achushi**	**gringo**
arrive-S/A>O(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	see-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	one	white.person.ABS

'It is said that they (just) saw him when he arrived, **one gringo**.'

Post-verbal constituents are quite common in Kashibo-Kakataibo connected speech. They usually refer to new, surprising or emphatic information, or they elaborate on information which was previously introduced into the clause. This type of information is often called **asserted information** in the literature, and is characterised as less predictable, non-presupposed or non-identifiable information (but see Givón 2001: 221-224 for important arguments as to why those different categories are not interchangeable). Such constituents are usually called **focus** and, therefore, it is possible to argue that post-verbal elements in Kashibo-Kakataibo discourse are focused elements. However, it is important to recall that this survey is based on narratives and not on conversations, and that other typical functions of focused elements (such as answers to information questions; see Lambrecht 1994: 282-286) still remain to be studied.

The information that is presupposed or given and the information that is new, unexpected or surprising are defined in discourse-internal terms. That is, the Kashibo-Kakataibo narrative creates a world that is considered unknown to the addressee (even if the addressee already knows the narrative) and, thus, old information is information that has been previously introduced and is identifiable within the narrative, while new information is information that has not yet been introduced.

As Lambrecht (1994: 45) explains: "It is a fundamental property of information in natural language that whatever is assumed by a speaker to be NEW to a addressee is information which is ADDED to an already existing stock of knowledge in the addressee's mind." In the context of Kashibo-Kakataibo story-telling (but perhaps not Kashibo-Kakataibo conversations), the knowledge in the **addressee's mind** refers only to information that has been introduced in the course of the

narrative itself. I have witnessed many situations where a narrator tells a known tale to the addressees, and nevertheless follows the principles just explained. For example, one of my teachers was once telling the story about how the Kashibo-Kakataibo used to live to the North, and not where they live today. This information was already known by the audience, because it is usually repeated by different people in the village. Nevertheless, the narrator treated that information as new information when he introduced it for the first time into the context of the narrative. This example follows. There we can see that the constituents *Rima kaxu* 'behind Lima' and *nortenu* 'to the North' are treated as asserted information and appear after the verb. However, as soon as they are introduced into discourse, they become given, and the next sentence thus has *nortenu* as its first constituent. The example nicely shows how the interaction between old and new information is manipulated by the speaker. Thus, it seems that in the context of Kashibo-Kakataibo story-telling, the universe of discourse is primarily defined by what Lambrecht (1994: 37) calls the text-internal world, "which comprises LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS (words, phrases, sentences) and their meaning".

(999)   C00A06-EE-2006.001-002

nukën	chaiti	kaisa	ënu	tsóma	'ikën	*sino*	nukën	chaiti
nukën	chaiti	kaisa	ënu	tsót-a=ma	'ikën	*sino*	nukën	chaiti
1pl.GEN	ancestor.ABS	NAR.REP.3p	here	live-NOM=NEG	be.3p	but	1pl.GEN	ancestor.ABS

kaisa	tsókëxa	**rima**	**kaxu**	**nortenu**
kaisa	tsót-akë-x-a	**rima**	**kaxu**	**norte=nu**
NAR.REP.3p	live-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	Lima	behind	North=LOC

'It is said that our ancestors did not live here, they lived **behind Lima, to the North**.'

nortenu	kaisa	nukën	chaiti	tsókëxa
norte=nu	kaisa	nukën	chaiti	tsót-akë-x-a
North=LOC	NAR.REP.3p	1pl.GEN	ancestor.ABS	live-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'**To the north** it is said that our ancestors lived.'

Narratives very often include what Labov (1972) called **evaluative** elements (see §22.6 for details on how Labov's narrative structure helps us understand event cohesion). Evaluative elements do not introduce information about the narrative itself, but offer a personal statement, comment or explanation by the speaker. Thus, the decision about what counts as old or new information follows different principles: in the case of evaluative clauses, the **addressee's mind** is not restricted to what has been presented in the narrative, but to what the speaker assumes that the addressee knows about the world. Notice, however, that, as shown in the following example, the position of old and new information is the same as the one previously illustrated. The speaker said before that one of the characters of the narrative drank something and he used the word *xëa-kë* 'drink-nominaliser' to refer to this drink. However, he suddenly realised that this word, which is the common word to refer to drinks in the synchronic language, is in fact a Shipibo-Konibo loan. Thus, he added the next sentence. In the first sentence, the word *xëa-kë* 'drink-nominaliser' represents "old information" and, therefore, appears as the first constituent. By contrast, the original Kashibo-Kakataibo word is unknown to most people and, therefore, counts as "new information". Thus, it is introduced in a post-verbal position:

(1000) C03A03-EE-2007.040-041

xëakë	**ax**	ka	'ikën	shipibo	bana
xëa-kë	a=x	ka	'ikën	shipibo	bana
drink-NOM	that=S	NAR.3p	be.3p	shipibo	word.ABS

nun	bana	ka	'ikën	**kwáxkakë**
nu=n	bana	ka	'ikën	kwáxka-kë
1pl=GEN	word.ABS	NAR.3p	be.3p	drink-NOM

'*Xëakë* is a Shipibo-Konibo word. Our word is *kwáxkakë* (referring to a type of drink).'

The post-verbal focus position is available for very complex constituents. For instance, in §19.3, I have presented **elaborative clauses**, which constitute a special

type of dependent clause that carries a finite verb and occupies a post-verbal position relative to its matrix clause.

Based on all the facts presented in this section, I consider the following template to reflect more appropriately the order of constituents in Kashibo-Kakataibo's connected discourse:

(1001) old information/anaphoric topics – **second position enclitics** – arguments/adjuncts – **verb** – new/emphatic/elaborative information/focus.

Such a template explains satisfyingly the data attested in narratives and connected speech. We can clearly see that there are two important landmarks in Kashibo-Kakataibo sentences, which are in bold: the **second position enclitics** (everything before them is given/identifiable information) and the **verb** (everything after them is asserted information). Given the importance of pragmatic and discourse factors, it seems that postulating a "grammatical" constituent order is not necessarily very useful for Kashibo-Kakataibo. One additional argument that supports this claim has to do with the second position enclitics.

As I have mentioned before (see §15.1), second-position enclitics can sometimes appear as the first element of the clause. Originally, I thought that such a clause has a non-overtly expressed subject argument:

(1002) **ka**   'ó   'a-on-x-a
        ka   'ó   'a-on-x-a
        NAR.3p   tapir.ABS kill-PAST.yesterday-3p-non.prox
        '(S)he killed the tapir yesterday.'

(1003) ***ka**   Emilio-nën   'ó   'a-on-x-a
        *ka   Emilio-nën   'ó   'a-on-x-a
        NAR.3p   Emilio=ERG   tapir.ABS   kill-PAST.yesterday-3p-non.prox
        ('Emilio killed the tapir yesterday')

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However, after a careful study of my database, I found a few cases where the grammatical subject appeared after the second position enclitics, which themselves appeared in the first position of the sentence. One such example of a yes/no question taken from a narrative follows:

(1004) C02B04-SE-2007.004-005

kara	**ain**	**bashi**	'ikën
kara	**ain**	**bashi**	'ikën
NAR.INT.3p	3sg.GEN	mountain.ABS	be.3p

 'Does it have mountains? (lit. are its mountains there?).'

The speaker was talking about how to find a good piece of land to make a garden and he was explaining that it must not have a hill or a mountain: it needs to be plain. Therefore, the anaphoric topic is this piece of land, and this topic has been dropped. Normally, it would have appeared before the second position enclitics – and note that the pronoun *ain* '3sg.GEN' in the subject overtly refers to it. Based on this example, it is possible to argue that the elicited example in (1003) is ungrammatical not because *Emilio* is the subject, but because *Emilio* is the topic – and thus cannot appear after the enclitic.

The evidence presented here shows that pragmatic factors are relevant for understanding Kashibo-Kakataibo constituent order. Statistical analyses, as the one offered by Payne (1986) for Yagua, may prove useful in determining the relative importance of syntactic and pragmatic principles in Kashibo-Kakataibo's word order. If we accept the argument in this section, we can say that Kashibo-Kakataibo is a language with a pragmatically-oriented constituent order (see, for instance, Mithun 1987). However, it remains true that dependent clauses and grammatical nominalisations are obligatorily verb-final (see Chapters 18, 19 and 20).

22.3   Highlighting arguments

NP constituents can be "highlighted" by means of a subsequent third person pronoun *a* (formally identical to the demonstrative *a* 'proximal to the addressee'). This pronoun surfaces with the highest pitch in the utterance (which in other contexts would fall on the second position enclitics; see §4.4.1.1), and is preceded by a pause. These prosodic characteristics strongly suggest that we are not dealing with a post-head demonstrative occurring within an NP, as it is also suggested by the fact that the form *a* does not have a deictic function in this construction (post-head demonstratives always have this deictic function).

In a highlighting construction, we have two nominal elements, an NP and a pronoun, following each other, with the latter element re-introducing the former. Thus, the pronoun is accomplishing a resumptive function, similar to the one found in English constructions like "Maria's oldest son, he is a good person". In the case of Kashibo-Kakataibo, the first nominal element appears unmarked, and the case specifications occur on the pronominal element. Notice that NPs with different grammatical functions can undergo highlighting. Thus, highlighting is found not only in subjects or objects, but also in obliques (e.g. "Maria's oldest son, with him I want to go"), or even with possessors (e.g. "Maria's oldest son, his pet I found"; see the examples below).

This mechanism ensures that the highlighted constituent becomes prosodically salient (because of the high pitch of the pronoun) and discourse prominent (i.e., its primary function is to indicate that a participant is important for the following portion of discourse). Thus, the mechanism is similar to what Givón (2001, II: 254) calls **cataphoric topicality** or **thematic importance**. According to

him, "[b]y 'cataphoric' one means the referent's *importance* in the subsequent discourse."

Two examples of this mechanism follow. In the first one, the NP *uni* 'man' is the A-argument of the sentence, as shown in the case marking of the pronominal element. In the second example, the highlighted constituent is again *uni* 'man' but this time functioning as an S-argument. In both cases, the participants associated with the highlighted NP are of high thematic importance for the remaining discourse. In the first case, the narrator will continue to tell us about this man: he used to take off one of his eyes while fishing and other people were jealous of how good a fisherman he was; in the end, they destroyed his eye, and the mythical man left the town forever (see Appendix 1 for the complete version of this narrative). In the second example, the highlighted argument refers to a man who will kill his wife (because she had a lover); later on, the family of the woman will take revenge and will kill him.

(1005) C01A01-MO-2007.019

xëxá	achushinua	xëpúxun	kaisa	**uni**	**án**
xëxat	achushi=nu=a	xëput-xun	kaisa	[uni]	[á]=n
small.river	one=LOC=PA:O	close-S/A>A	NAR.REP.3p	person	3sg=A

banakin	banakin	kaisa	tsatsakama	'ibiankëshín
bana-kin	bana-kin	kaisa	tsatsa=kama	'ibin-akë-x-ín
speak-S/A>A(SE)	speak-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	fish.species=PLU.ABS	scare-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, closing one small river, the man, **he**, talking and talking scared the fishes.'

(1006) C01B04-JE-2007.003

ain	xanu	buankëbëbi	kaisa	a
ain	xanu	buan-këbë=bi	kaisa	a
3sg.GEN	woman.ABS	bring-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)=same	NAR.REP.3p	that.O

katikabiani	**uni**	**áx**	kwankëshín
ka-tika-bian-i	[uni]	[á]=x	kwan-akë-x-ín
back-follow-going(TRA)-S/A>S(SE)	person	3sg=S	go-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, when his wife brought (water), the man, **he**, went following her.'

This mechanism is also available for other types of participants, including obliques. This is shown in the following example, where we find a highlighted instrumental:

(1007) C02B05-NA-2007.030

ain	banin	papíkë	anun
[ain	banin	papíkë]	[anun]
3sg.GEN	palm.specie	carved	3sg.INS

ka	'akëxa
ka	'a-akë-x-a
do-NOM	do-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Their carved *banin*, with it, they used to fight.'

Notice that grammatical nominalisations are usually highlighted by means of this construction. However, in this case, it is not entirely clear if this device is indicating thematic importance; or if it is part of the nominalisation process (see the discussion in §20.2.4).

The interaction between this mechanism and the pragmatically-oriented constituent order needs further study. At this point, I can only say that it is possible to highlight both types of constituents: those presenting old information in the first position of the sentence, and those introducing new information in the post-verbal position, as shown in the following examples:

(1008) C02A06-NA-2007.047

usaox	kaisa	chaxu	aban	iankëxa
usa-o-ax	kaisa	chaxu	abat-an	in-akë-x-a
thatCOMP-FACT-S/A>S	NAR.REP.3p	deer.ABS	escape-DS/A/O(PE)	cry-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

Nishibun	ax
[Nishibun]	[a]=x
proper.name	3sg=S

'Then, it is said that, after the deer escaped, Nishibun, she, cried.'

(1009) C02B02-NA-2007.057

Bolivar	**ax**	ka	'ikën	*el*	*primer*	*hombre*	*heroe*
[Bolivar]	[a]=x	ka	'ikën	*el*	*primer*	*hombre*	*heroe*
Bolivar	3sg=S	NAR.3p	be.3p	the	first	man	hero

 'Bolivar, he, is the first hero.'

It is important to mention that it is possible to highlight two different constituents of the same sentence; but the specific function of this construction in each case is still to be studied:

(1010) C01A09-SE-2007.022

rakankëbë	isa	aia	kaisa	**uni**	**an**
rakan-këbë	isa	u-ia	kaisa	[uni]	[a]=n
lean-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)	REP.3p	come-S/A>O(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	person	3sg-A

kakëxa	**ain**	**'akë**	**uni**	**a**
ka-akë-x-a	[ain	'a-kë	uni]	[a]
say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	3sg.GEN	do-NOM	person	3sg.O

'It it said that the man, he, said to the the lover (of his wife), to him, who came when he laid the corpse of his wife (on the ground).'

22.4   Definiteness and discourse

In §9.2, I have discussed the NP structure and have argued that some demonstratives (particularly, *a* 'proximal to the addressee; but also *ënë* 'proximal to the speaker') and the numeral *achushi* 'one' accomplish different functions when they appear as pre-head or post-head modifiers. As post-head modifiers they are proper demonstratives and numerals, respectively. As pre-head modifiers they can act as definite and indefinite markers. Due to its definite meaning, the demonstrative *a* serves an anaphoric function in connected speech, that is, it is used to refer to participants that were recently mentioned. By contrast, the numeral *achushi* is usually used to introduce participants for the first time. This is shown in the following example. Note that *achushi xanu* 'one woman' represents new information in the first sentence

and thus appears in a post-verbal position. In the second sentence, this participant becomes given information, and *a xanu* 'that woman' thus appears in the first position, before the second position enclitics:

(1011) C02A07-JE-2007:001-002

ësai	kaisa	'iakëxa
ësa-i	ka-isa	'i-akë-x-a
like.this-S/A>S(SA)	NAR.3p-REP	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.proxext

achushi	**xanu**
achushi	xanu
one	woman

a	**xanun**	kaisa	ain	bënë
a	xanu=n	ka-isa	ain	bënë
that	woman	NAR.3p-REP	3p.poss	husband.ABS

nanën	akëxa
nanë=n	a-akë-x-a
hui(plant.species)=INS	do-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'(It is said that) there was **one** woman like this a long time ago. **That** woman painted her husband with genipap.'

22.5   Discourse-oriented split ergativity

22.5.1   Tripartite alignment in pronouns and ergative alignment in nouns

As we have seen in §6.2, different types of pronouns (including personal, demonstratives and interrogative pronouns) follow a tripartite case alignment system with different markers for A (=*n*) and S (=*x*), and an unmarked O, as shown in the following paradigm:

(1012) **'ë=x** kana Limanu kwan   '**I (S)** went to Lima'
        'ë=n kana atsa pian   '**I (A)** ate manioc'
        Juanën ka **'ë** mëaxa   'Juan beat **me (O)** up'

Nouns, by contrast, follow an ergative alignment system (see §9.3.1), where A-arguments are marked by the ergative enclitic =*n,* while S and O arguments remain unmarked. This pattern is exemplified in the following examples:

(1013) **Juan-nën** ka atsa pianxa   '**Juan (A)** ate manioc'
        Juan ka Limanu kwanxa   '**Juan (S)** went to Lima'
        'ën kana **Juan** mëaxa   'I beat **Juan (O)** up'

Thus, Kashibo-Kakataibo has a case system that combines an ergative alignment in nouns with a tripartite alignment in pronouns. This produces a split ergative system, as shown in the following figure (see Silverstein 1976 and 1981, for a typological account of split ergative systems): [99]

Figure 58 Split ergativity in Kashibo-Kakataibo

1 > 2 > 3 (including   >   proper nouns > human > animate >inanimate
          interrogative forms,
          negative and indefinite
          pronouns and
          demonstratives)
TRIPARTITE ——————▶ ◀——————————— ERGATIVE
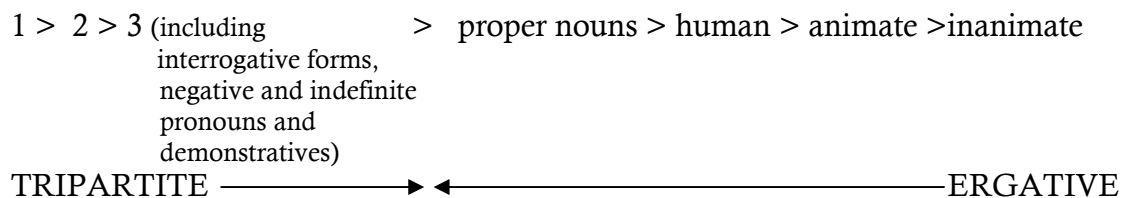
However, the boundaries between the tripartite and the ergative alignment systems are not completely fixed, and the tripartite system is not exclusive to pronominal forms: in connected discourse, NPs that introduce anaphoric topics (and, in that sense, function similarly to pronouns) may also show tripartite marking. We

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[99] As I have said in §1.4, the Kashibo-Kakataibo dialect from San Alejandro combines a nominative alignment with an ergative alignment.

therefore need to take discourse factors into account in order to give an appropriate description of Kashibo-Kakataibo split ergativity.

22.5.2 Tripartite alignment in nouns

22.5.2.1 Tripartite alignment on NPs in connected discourse

Before presenting the data, an important distinction has to be made. When I say that, in connected speech, the tripartite system on NPs follows discourse principles, I do not assume that the markers are pragmatic markers, but that, under certain discourse conditions, NPs in connected speech follow a tripartite case alignment and, therefore, allow for more case distinctions. That is, the forms =*n* 'A', =*x* 'S' and unmarked 'O' indicate **grammatical** case, not **pragmatic** role. In discourse, these three forms are attested in pronouns and in NPs referring to anaphoric topics. Thus, the best way to understand the Kashibo-Kakataibo data is to assume that case marking is sensitive to "the dimension of the information structuring of propositions in discourse" (Lambrecht 1995), but not that the markers themselves are pragmatic markers.

The tripartite pattern is not obligatory with nouns (see the next subsection). Therefore, the discourse pattern introduced in this section needs to be understood as a tendency: it is very likely for an NP referring to an anaphoric topic to follow the tripartite alignment system, but it is not inevitable. The tripartite alignment is only obligatory with pronouns.

The examples below illustrate NPs following the tripartite paradigm and were taken from narratives. Note that in the first two cases the NP is *uni* 'man', and is overtly introduced in the previous clause. In the third example, the NP following the tripartite alignment is *xanu* 'woman'*,* but this referent is not overtly mentioned in the

previous sentence (it is only inferred that *xanu* 'woman' is the subject of the switch-reference clause headed by *bë-* 'to bring'). Since the only formal difference between the two alignments surfaces in the S function (formally unmarked in the ergative alignment and marked by *=x* in the tripartite one), the distinction between the tripartite and the ergative alignments is only manifested in this function.

(1014) C01B04-JE-2007.005-007

kwaruiabi	kaisa	an	'akë	**uni**	an
kwan-ru-ia=bi	kaisa	a=n	'a-kë	uni	a-n
go-up-S/A>O(SE)=same	NAR.REP.3p	3sg=A	do-NOM	person	3sg-A

kakëshín	"mi	kwanun	ka	kaxoripain
ka-akë-x-ín	mi	kwan-nun	ka	kaxori=pain
say-REM.PAST-3p-prox	you	go-DS(before)	NAR	pomegranate.ABS=first.(INTR)

mi	kunun	kaxori	bitsi	uai"
mi	ku-nun	kaxori	bits-i	u-ai
you	eat.fruit-DIFF.PURP	pomegranate.ABS	pick.up-PURP	come-there.IMP

kaisa	kakëshín
kaisa	ka-akë-x-ín
NAR.REP.3p	say-REM.PAST-3p-prox

a	**unix**	kaisa	'iakëxa	kaxori	tëtani
a	uni**=x**	kaisa	'i-akë-x-a	kaxori	tëtan-i
that	person=S	NAR.REP.3p	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	pomegranate.ABS	tie-S/A>S(SE)

'It is said that, when she was going up, **her lover said**: "come here to pick up some pomegranates in order for you to eat and then you can go". **That man** was holding some pomegranates.'

(1015) C01A07-SE-2007.028-029

"*bëru ëxë pens bëru ëxë pens*"	kishi	kaisa	a	**uni**
bëru ëxë pens bëru ëxë pens	ki-i=ishi	kaisa	a	uni
bëru ëxë pens bëru ëxë pens"	say(INTR)-S/A>S(SE)=only	NAR.REP.3p	that	person.ABS

nëtéakëxa
nëtët-akë-x-a
disappear-REM.PAST-3p-no.shared

usai	kaisa	'iakëxa	**uni**	an	ñuma
usai	kaisa	'i-akë-x-a	uni	a=n	ñuma
then(INTR)	NAR.REP.3p	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	person	that=A	fish.spe.

bikë	**unix**[100]	'iakëxa
bits-kë	uni=x	'i-akë-x-a
pick.up-NOM	person=S	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, saying "*bëru ëxë pens bëru ëxë pens*" the man dissapeared. It was like that, **the man** was a man who used to fish *ñuma*.'

(1016) C01A09-SE-2007.016

uruia	'unpax	xapan	bëia
u-ru-ia	'unpax	xapa=n	bë-ia
come=DIR:up-S/A>O(SE)	water.ABS	gourd=INS	bring-S/A>O(SE)

iskëxbi	kaisa	**xanux**	'ikësabi	ana	rëbun
is-këx=bi	kaisa	xanu=x	'ikësabi	ana	rëbun
see-O>S(PE)=same	NAR.REP.3p	woman=S	be-NOM-COMP=same	tongue	tip.of

ana	rëbun	xuankiakëxa
ana	rëbun	xuanki-akë-x-a
tongue	tip.of	blow-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, when her husband saw her coming up, bringing water with a gourd, **that woman** was like that, and the husband blew from the tip of his tongue (sign of being upset).'

In context-free elicited sentences, NPs are usually accepted in either of the two alignments, but some interesting facts that support the analysis presented here are found. Definite NPs carrying the demonstrative *a* 'proximal to the addressee' to express definiteness allow for both alignments. But, interestingly, there seems to be a slight difference in meaning associated with the two patterns. Definite NPs marked by =*x* 'S' are interpreted as presenting highly identifiable referents that have just been talked about or that are available from the context of the speech act. This behaviour fits perfectly with the characterisation given in the preceding section. Interestingly,

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[100] Notice that in this example, the anaphoric argument marked by =*x* does not appear at the beggining of the sentence. This is also true in relation to the next example. The interaction between the different mechanisms to indicate the discourse status of different constituents requires more study.

according to my teachers, if the head of the relevant definite NP is a generic noun with a human referent (like *uni* 'man' or *xanu* 'woman'), the best way to translate those NPs into Spanish is by means of a personal pronoun (like English *he* or *she*). This preferred translation indicates that the speakers see a relationship between the case alignment followed by an NP and its function: if the NP is used like a pronoun (i.e. it refers anaphorically to a participant), it follows the pronominal case alignment, and is translated as a pronoun, if possible. Some examples follow:

(1017) a   **unix**   kaisa   'iakëxa   kaxori   tëtani
      a   **uni=x**   kaisa   'i-akë-x-a   kaxori   tëtan-i
      that man=S   NAR.REP.3p   be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox   pomegranate.ABS   tie-S/A>S(SE)
      'It is said that **he** was holding pomegranates a long time ago.'

(1018) a   **uni**   kaisa   'iakëxa   kaxori   tëtani
      a   **uni**   kaisa   'i-akë-x-a   kaxori   tëtan-i
      that man.ABS   NAR.REP.3p   be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox   pomegranate.ABS   tie-S/A>S(SE)
      'It is said that **that man** was holding pomegranates a long time ago.'

In addition, as we have seen in §22.4, the numeral *achushi* 'one' can be used as an indefinite marker. In accordance with this, one expects the definite status attributed to NPs modified by =*x* 'S' to clash with the indefinite value of the numeral. Interestingly this is exactly what we find. If it occurs within an NP marked by =*x*, the only possible interpretation for *achushi* is as a numeral and not as an indefinite marker. This is shown in the following examples:

(1019) **achushi** **unix**   kaisa   'iakëxa   kaxori   tëtani
      achushi **uni=x**   kaisa   'i-akë-x-a   kaxori   tëtan-i
      one   man=S   NAR.REP.3p   be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox   pomegranate.ABS   tie-S/A>S(SE)
      'It is said that **that one man (you know about him)** was holding pomegranates a long time ago.'

(1020) **achushi uni** kaisa 'iakëxa kaxori tëtani
  achushi uni kaisa 'i-akë-x-a kaxori tëtan-i
  one man.ABS NAR.REP.3p be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox pomegranate.ABS tie-S/A>S(SE)

  'It is said that **a/one man (indefinite or numeral)** was holding pomegranates.'

22.6   Event cohesion

Verbal inflectional morphology was presented in Chapter 13, where I introduced the Slot IV, which is associated with the category of addressee's perspective. This category was primarily defined as establishing a deictic relationship between the addressee and the event. There are two markers in that slot: *-ín* 'proximal to the addressee' and *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee'. The latter form is functionally unmarked in the sense that it can be used to refer to both proximal and non-proximal events.

Even though a more careful study is yet to be done, it seems that the category of addressee's perspective in the verbal morphology accomplishes one additional function in connected speech (and particularly in narratives). As I have argued in §22.2, Kashibo-Kakataibo narratives can be understood as creating their own discourse universe and, in that sense, everything that has been previously said in the narrative can be understood as being proximal to the addressee within that universe of discourse. Based on this, the category of addressee's perspective is used to establish cohesive relationships among different sentences, and to indicate that they all refer to the same narrative unit.

This device is used as follows: the first sentence in the cohesive unit (which can be called a **paragraph**) contains a verbal form that ends in *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee' (or neutral), and which is followed by sentences that contain verbal forms ending in- *ín* 'proximal to the addressee'. Whenever the thematic cohesion is

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broken and a new parragraph is introduced, the next sentence again contains a verb ending in *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee' which will be followed again by sentences carrying a verbal form ending in *-in* 'proximal to the addressee'. Notice that this mechanism also includes elaborative clauses, since they also include a fully inflected verb (see §19.3).

Drawing on Labov's (1972) model of natural narratives, we find that this device is more likely to be used in some sections of the narrative than in others. Labov established six different sections to which different clauses in a narrative can be attributed. According to him, narratives start with an **abstract**, which presents the topic of the narrative, and then continue with an **orientation**, where we receive information about the characters, the place and so on. After that, we find the **complicating action**, which is the core of the narrative, and then a **resolution**, which tells us what finally happened. In addition, Labov identifies **codas**, which close the narrative, and **evaluations**, which do not introduce information about the events in a narrative, but judgments made by the speaker and the like. So far, I can say that in Kashibo-Kakataibo narratives, the use of *-in* as a cohesion marker is only found in clauses associated with the orientation, the complicating action and the resolution (and in the transition between them).

Basically, according to my preliminary research, Kashibo-Kakataibo narratives in almost all cases begin with a sentence that does exactly what Labov's **abstracts** do, and end with a sentence that corresponds to what Labov called the **coda**. In my whole database, the first (and, in most cases, only) sentence found in abstracts and codas never carry a verbal form ending in *-in* 'proximal to the addressee'. This is probably because abstracts and codas open and close their own cohesion units and are not dependent on other parts of the narrative, but also because

they are likely to include clauses with a first or second person subjects (as in (1021)). The following sentences present the abstract and the coda of the narrative included as appendix 1:

(1021) C01A01-MO-2007.001 (abstract)

ënu	achushi	bëráma	nun	'anibu	'ia	kana	ñuikasin
ënu	achushi	bëráma	nu=n	'anibu	'i-a	kana	ñui-kas-i-n
here	one	old	1pl=GEN	ancestor.ABS	be-NOM	NAR.1sg	tell-DES-IMPF-1/2p

'I want to tell how one of our very old ancestors was.'

(1022) C01A01-MO-2007.025-026 (coda)

ashi	ka	'ën	ñuikaskë	'iaxa
a=ishi	ka	'ë=n	ñui-kas-kë	'i-a-x-a
that=only	NAR.3p	1sg=A	tell-DES-NOM	be-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Only that was what I wanted to tell.'

anu	kaisa	ma	a	uni	istëkënkama	'ikën amiribishi
anu	kaisa	ma	a	uni	is-tëkën-kan-a=ma	'ikën amiribishi
there	NAR.REP.3p	already	that	person.ABS	see-again-PLU-NOM=NEG	be.3p again

'They didn't see that man anymore there.'

The **orientation** of the narrative is usually composed of one or more sentences, which do not constitute a single paragraph. This is probably because, in the orientation, each sentence introduces a bit of new information.

In sentences 002-003 of the narrative included as appendix 1, we are given the orientation: we are told that a long time ago, there was a man who the Kashibo-Kakataibo ancestors used to talk about and who used to fish with poison. Those sentences accomplish an orientation function in that they present who is involved in the story and when it happened. The two of them appear with the marker -a 'non-proximal to the addressee':

(1023) C01A01-MO-2007.002-003 (orientation)

ax	ka	**'iakëxa**	achushi	nun	xutakaman
a=x	ka	'i-akë-x-**a**	achushi	nu=n	xuta=kama-n
that=S	NAR.3p	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	one	1pl=GEN	grandfather=PLU=ERG

ñuixuan		"bëráma	'ia	usaisa	uni
ñui-xun-a		bëráma	'i-a	usa-isa	uni
tell-BEN-NOM		long.time.ago	be-NOM	like.that-REP.3p	person.ABS

'iakëxa"	kixun
'i-akë-x-a	ki-xun
be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)

'That is one that our granparents tell (us) about, saying: "a long time ago it is said that the man was like that".'

ax	kaisa	**'iakëxa**	achushi	uni	an
a=x	kaisa	'i-akë-x-**a**	achushi	uni	a-n
3sg=S	NAR.REP.3p	be-REM.PAST-S-non.prox	one	person	3sg=ERG

'axan-kë
'axan-kë
fish.using.poison-NOM

'It is said that he was a man who used to fish using poison.'

The mechanism being described here becomes relevant when we reach the part of the narrative that Labov called **complicating action.** The complicating action is the core of the narrative and may be highly complex. In that case, one would expect to find several cohesive units that can be called **paragraphs** and this is exactly what happens in Kashibo-Kakataibo. The complicating action is made up by two or more paragraphs, in which the first sentence carries a verbal form ending in -*a* 'non proximal to the addressee' and is followed by other sentences with verbal forms ending in -*ín* 'proximal to the addressee', until a new paragraph starts (the narrative in the Appendix 3 is a wonderful example of this mechanism). The following two sentences represent the first paragraph in the complicating action of the narrative presented in Appendix 1.

(1024) C01A01-MO-2007.004-005 (complicating action)

atian	'ainbi	kaisa	a	ui-saokin	kara
atian	'ainbi	kaisa	a	ui-sa-o-kin	kara
then	but(DS/A/O)	NAR.REP.3p	that.O	int.word-COMP-FACT-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.INT.3p

'axan-i-a		kixun	a	uni
'axan-i-a		ki-xun	a	uni
fish.using.poison-IMPF-non.prox		say(INTR)-S/A>A	that	person.ABS

'unanyamakë	**'iakëxa**	uinbi	uinikë	uninbi
'unan-yama-kë	'i-akë-x-**a**	uinbi	uinikë	uni=n=bi
know-NEG-NOM	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	nobody(A)	no.one	person=ERG=same

'It is said that, saying: "how does this man fish?", the (other) men did not know, nobody, not one man knew.'

atian	*casi*	kamabi	nëtën	kaisa	a	uni
atian	*casi*	kamabi	nëtë=n	kaisa	a	uni
then	almost	all	day=TEMP	NAR.REP.3p	that	person.ABS

kwankëshín
kwan-akë-x-**ín**
go-REM.PAST-3p-prox
'Then, almost every day that man went (to fish).'

It is not yet clear which factors trigger the introduction of a new paragraph in the complicating action. It may be the case that factors such as the presentation of new information (including a new character) or a change in topic play a role in this mechanism, but more data is required to understand the patterns better. The data gathered so far clearly reveals at least one factor that creates a new paragraph: the introduction of an evaluative sentence.

Evaluative sentences usually introduce predicates that refer to non-past event (such as "that does not happen these days") or, even, predicates in the first person (such as "I think that he was a good men"). Thus, they represent significant disruptions of the event-flow presented in the narrative and, very likely because of this, they always introduce a new section that cannot be started with a sentence that includes a verbal form with *-ín* 'proximal to the addressee'. The following sentences,

taken from the narrative in appendix 1, illustrate what has just been described. Sentence 006 introduces an evaluative element in the sense that the speakers qualifies and expresses his admiration about the amount of different types of fish that the fisherman used to bring. After that a new paragraph in the complicating action is introduced: one sentence with a verb ending in *-a* 'non proximal to the addressee' (007), followed by other sentences with verbal forms ending in *-ín* 'proximal to the addressee' (008-009). Then, sentence 010 introduces an evaluative element, in which the speaker explains that the other men were not good at fishing. Finally, sentence 011 opens a new complicating action paragraph and, as expected, shows a verbal form ending in *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee':

(1025) C01A01-MO-2007.006 (evaluation)

'axani	kwanxun	kaisa	bëakëxa
'axan-i	kwan-xun	kaisa	bë-akë-x-a
fish.using.poison-PURP	go-S/A>A	NAR.REP.3p	bring-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'itsaira	tsatsa	tsatsa	ñapa	usabu
'itsa=ira	tsatsa	tsatsa	ñapa	usa-bu
many-INT	fish.species	fish.species	fish.species	like.that=PLU.ABS

'It is said that, going to fish, he brought many fishes of different kinds.'

(1026) C01A01-MO-2007.007-009 (complicating action)

atian	"uisa	kupí	kara	usaokin
atian	uisa	kupí	kara	usa-o-kin
then	how	REAS	NAR.INT.3p	like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)

'aia"	kixun	kaisa	unikaman
'a-i-a	ki-xun	kaisa	uni=kama=n
do-IMPF-non.prox	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	person=PLU=ERG

sinankëxa
sinan-akë-x-**a**
think-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Then, it is said that the people thought: "why does this man fish like this?".'

usa-i		'itsa	basi	*tiempo*	kaisa	a
usa-i		'itsa	basi-i	*tiempo*	kaisa	a
like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)		a.lot.of	be.slow-S/A>S(SE)	time	NAR.REP.3p	that

unin	usaokin		ñu	**'akëshín**
uni=n	usa-o-kin		ñu	'a-akë-x-**ín**
person=ERG	like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)		thing.ABS	do-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'That man did the things very slowly.'

atian	achushi	nëtën	**sinankankëshín**		"uisa	kupí
atian	achushi	nëtë=n	sinan-kan-akë-x-**ín**		uisa	kupí
then	one	day=TEMP	think-PLU-REM.PAST-3p-prox		how	REAS

kara	a	unin	'aisamera	usaokin
kara	a	uni=n	'aisamera	usa-o-kin
NAR.INT.3p	that	person=ERG	a.lot.of	like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)

bëia"		kixun
bë-i-a		ki-xun
bring-IMPF-non.prox		say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)

'Then, one day the people thought: "why does that man bring a lot (of fish)?."'

(1027) C01A01-MO-2007.010 (evaluation)

atian	atun	kwanxun	kwaxunbi		kaisa
atian	atu=n	kwan-xun	kwan-xun=bi		kaisa
then	3pl=GEN	go-S/A>A	go-S/A>A-although		NAR.REP.3p

atun	tsatsa	**biyama**		**'ikën**
atu=n	tsatsa	bi-yama-a		'ikën
3pl=ERG	fish.species.ABS	pick.up-NEG-NOM		be.3p

'It is said that although they went and went fishing, they did not collect fish.'

(1028) C01A01-MO-2007.011 (complicating action)

a	kupí	kaisa	a	unikaman	**sinankëxa**
a	kupí	kaisa	a	uni=kama=n	sinan-akë-x-**a**
that	REAS	NAR.REP.3p	that	person=PLU=ERG	think-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

"uisa	kupí	kara	a	uninshi	ñu	'aia"
uisa	kupí	kara	a	uni-n=ishi	ñu	'a-i-a
how	REAS	NAR.INT.3p	that	person=ERG=only	thing.ABS	do-IMPF-non.prox

kixun
ki-xun
say(INTR)-S/A>A

'It is said that, because of that, those men were thinking: "why does only this man do the things?".'

The distinction between the **complicating action** and the **resolution** is not always transparent in Kashibo-Kakataibo narratives. Sentences that would be considered resolutions according to the definition offered by Labov can be part of a paragraph that started as part of the complication action. This can be seen in the following sentences, from the same narrative. In sentences 022-23 we are told what happened in the end, which is exactly what Labov's resolution does. However, a new paragraph is not created and the verbs in the resolution appear with the marker *-ín* 'proximal to the addressee'.

(1029) C01A01-MO-2007.022-23 (resolution)

ami	nishkin	kaisa	achushi	unin		maxax	maxaxnu
a=mi	nish-kin	kaisa	achushi	uni=n		maxax	maxax=nu
3sg=IMPR.LOC	envy-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	one	person=ERG		stone	stone=LOC

ain	bëru	nankë	anu	bëru	nankë	kaisa
ain	bëru	nan-kë	anu	bëru	nan-kë	kaisa
3p.GEN	eye.ABS	put-NOM	there	eye.ABS	put-NOM	NAR.REP.3p

kwanxun	maxax	achushinën	**chakakëshín**
kwan-xun	maxax	achushi=n	chaka-akë-x-**ín**
go-S/A>A(SE)	stone	one=INS	beat-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that envying him, one man, going to the place the man had put his eye on a stone, beat the eye with (another) stone.'

atian	anu	kaisa	usa-okin		'akëbë		kaisa
atian	anu	kaisa	usa-o-kin		'a-këbë		kaisa
then	there	NAR.REP.3p	like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)		do-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)		NAR.REP.3p

a	uni	**nuankëshín**	ain	bëru	a	tuxakëx
a	uni	nuan-akë-x-**ín**	ain	bëru	a	tuxa-këx
that	person.ABS	fly-REM.PAST-3p-prox	3p.GEN	eye	that.O	blow.up-O>S(PE)

'Then, when the man blew up his eye, the other man (the fisherman) flew away.'

Additional exemplification of the patterns presented so far is offered in the following fragment, taken from a narrative about a mythical parakeet, who stole the

fire from a very mean man (see appendix 2 for the complete version of this narrative). In sentences 001 and 002, we find the abstract and the orientation, and, as expected, the verbal forms end in *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee'.

(1030) C01A06-JE-2007.001 (abstract)

ësai	kaisa	chërëkënën	rara	**'iakëxa**
ësa-i	kaisa	chërëkën=n	rara	'i-akë-x-**a**
like.this-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	parakeet=GEN	ancestors.ABS	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that the ancestor of the parakeets was in this way.'

(1031) C01A06-JE-2007.002 (orientation)

chërëkënën	rara	kaisa	**'iakëxa**	tsi	kwëbí
chërëkën=n	rara	kaisa	'i-akë-x-**a**	tsi	kwëbí
parakeet=GEN	ancestor.ABS	NAR.REP.3p	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	fire	near.by

'It is said that the ancestor of the parakeets was close to the fire.'

In the case of this narrative, the first part of the complicating action is divided into small paragraphs. Since we do not find evaluative elements in between those paragraphs, it is difficult to determine the exact discourse factor that accounts for the separation of the paragraphs. For instances, in the case illustrated below, it may be possible to argue that the introduction of a new character (*uni* 'the man'), triggers a new paragraph:

(1032) C01A06-JE-2007.005-006 (complicating action, continuation)

ësai	kaisa	**kiakëxa**	"xënx xënx xënx"
ësa-i	kaisa	ki-akë-x-**a**	xënx xënx xënx
like.this-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	say(INTR)-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	xënx xënx xënx

'Then, it is said that the ancestor of parakeet said "xënx xënx xënx".'

ki	ki	kaisa	**tsóakëshín**
ki	ki-i	kaisa	tsót-akë-x-**ín**
say(INTR)	say(INTR)-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	sit.down-REM.PAST-3p-prox

chërëkënën	rara
chërëkën=n	rara
parakeet=GEN	ancestor.ABS

'Saying that several times, the ancestor of parakeet sat down.'

(1033) C01A06-JE-2007.007-008 (complicating action, continuation)

tsókë	kaisa	unin	**isakëxa**
tsót-kë	kaisa	uni=n	is-akë-x-**a**
sit.down-NOM	NAR.REP.3p	person=ERG	see-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'It is said that, when (the ancestor of parakeet) was sitting down, the man saw it.'

"chërëkënrá	ka	matsia"		kixun
chërëkën-rá	ka	matsi-i-a		ki-xun
parakeet-DIM	NAR.3p	be.cold-IMPF-non.prox		say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)

"matsirá		ka	tsi	kwëbí
matsi-rá		ka	tsi	kwëbí
cold-DIM		NAR.3p	fire	near.by

tsótaxa"		kixun	kaisa	**isakëshín**
tsót-a-x-a		ki-xun	kaisa	is-akë-x-**ín**
seat-STA-3p- non.prox		say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	see-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'Saying "the parakeet is getting cold. It is too cold and it is sitting down close to the fire", (the man) saw (the ancestor of parakeet).'

Towards the last part of the complicating action, we finally find a long paragraph, according to the principles proposed here. This long paragraph ends with the two following sentences, which described what happened with the parakeet and the man, after the former stole the fire from the latter: the parakeet got burned and the man tried unsuccessfully to stop him. This represents the resolution of the narrative (see the complete paragraph in appendix 2):

(1034) C01A06-JE-2007.013-014 (resolution)

nuania	"ëëëëë"	nuania	kaisa
nuan-ia	"ëëëëë"	nuan-ia	kaisa
fly-S/A>O(SE)	ëëëëë	fly-S/A>O(SE)	NAR.REP.3p

sharokëshín
sharo-akë-x-**ín**
burn-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'It is said that, when the ancestor of the parakeet was flying, the (fire) burned it (and it said) "ëëëëë".'

"chërëkënën	ka	tsi	buania
chërëkën=n	ka	tsi	buan-i-a
parakeet=GEN	NAR.3p	fire.ABS	take-IMPF-non.prox
chërëkënën	ka	tsi	buania
chërëkën=n	ka	tsi	buan-i-a
parakeet=ERG	NAR.3p	fire.ABS	take-IMPF-non.prox

ka	nipamiai	ka	nipamiai"
ka	nipat-mi-ai	ka	nipat-mi-ai
NAR	throw.down-CAUS-NAR	NAR	throw.down-CAUS-IMP.there

kaisa	**kakëshín**
kaisa	ka-akë-x-**ín**
NAR.REP.3p	say-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'"The parakeet is taking the fire, the parakeet is taking the fire; make him throw the fire down!, make him throw it down!", the man said.'

Finally, the following example presents the coda of the narrative:

(1035) C01A06-JE-2007.015 (coda)

kakëxunbi	kaisa	**'ama**	**'ikën**
ka-këxun=bi	kaisa	'a-a=ma	'ikën
say-O>A(PE)-although	NAR.REP.3p	do-NOM=NEG	be.3p

'It is said that, although (the man) said that, nobody did it.'

Interestingly, we can observe striking differences in the use of this alternation between -*a* 'non-proximal to the addressee' and -*ín* 'proximal to the addressee' that were triggered by my fieldwork methodology. I obtained most of my recordings at the beginning of my first fieldwork season, when I was not yet able to speak the language fluently. Speakers did not seem to see me as the real addressee, and they therefore did not use this alternation at all. Instead, they seem to have assumed that they were talking to the recording machine. At that time, I only found this

alternation when the speakers told the story to somebody else. However, as soon as I was able to interview the speakers in their language (even though I was not able to understand all what they were saying to me), they suddenly started to use the mechanism described here when speaking to me, too.

During the transcription of narratives, I always asked my teachers why the speaker was changing the form of the verb. Even though they were not able to give concrete explanations, there was an agreement that it had something to do with a topic change. This explanation fits in with the analysis proposed here. In addition, during the double checking of the examples included in this dissertation, my teachers did not like those cases in which sentences with a verb ending in *-in* 'proximal to the addressee' were taken out of their context and put in isolation to explain other grammatical features. They did not say that those examples were wrong; but they said that, if you want to say them, you need to say something else before. Their comments corroborate the preliminary analysis proposed here.

22.7   Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage (THL) "is a way to connect clause chains in which the last clause of a chain is partially or completely repeated in the first clause of the next chain" (De Vries 2005: 363). This strategy is pervasive in Kashibo-Kakataibo discourse and it draws on the complex system of switch-reference that the language exhibits (see Chapter 18). According to the typology proposed by de Vries (2005) for Papuan languages, THL in Kashibo-Kakataibo can be considered to be of the *chained type*, since it makes use of a referential coherence mechanism based on the switch-reference markers, which also express event sequencing values (i.e., they indicate if the two events expressed by the clauses in the chain are simultaneous or sequential).

In terms of their language-internal properties, Kashibo-Kakataibo dependent verbs in THL structures always occupy the first position of the clause, immediately before the second position enclitics (which is the position for elements carrying old/anaphoric information, see §22.2).

In the following example, we find three sentences (two of them presenting a direct speech report; see §19.2.1). We can clearly see that the dependent verbs (underlined) repeat the previous main verb (in bold). In the two THL structures presented, the switch-reference verbs always appear as the first constituent of the sentence and they modify the corresponding main verb. This is particularly clear for *buan-xun* 'bring-S/A>A (SE)', which agrees in transitivity with the transitive main verb *ka-akë-x-a* 'say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox' and not with the intransitive converb *atsin-kian-kin* 'enter-going.INTR-S/A>A (SE)' (in italics). Thus, according to the distinction proposed in §18.2, THL in that case is formed by a switch-reference clause rather than by a converb.

(1036) C01A03-WO-2007.001-003

kaisa	'iakëxa		nun	'anibu	achushi
kaisa	'i-akë-x-a		nu=n	'anibu	achushi
NAR.REP.3p	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox		1pl=GEN	ancestor	one

uni	ain	xanu	'aia
uni	ain	xanu	'a-ia
person.ABS	3sg.GEN	woman.ABS	do-S/A>O(SE)

'unanxun	**kakëxa**		uni	itsi	a
'unan-xun	ka-akë-x-a		uni	itsi	a
know-S/A>A(SE)	say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox		person	other	that.O

"uisa	kara	ñais	bari	kwanti"
ui-sa	kara	ñais	bari-i	kwan-ti
int.word-COMP	NAR.INT.3p	armadillo.ABS	look.for-PURP	go-NOM

'It is said that there was one man, our ancestor, who, knowing that other man had sex with his wife, said to that other man: "how will we look for armadillos?".'

kaxun	kaisa	**buankëxa**			ninu	
ka-xun	kaisa	buan-akë-x-a			ni=nu	
say-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	bring-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox			jungle=DIR	

'Saying (so), he brought the other man to the jungle.'

buanxun	kaisa	ma	ninu	*atsinkiankin*
buan-xun	kaisa	ma	ni=nu	atsin-kian-kin
bring-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	already	jungle=LOC	enter-going.INTR-S/A>A(SE)

kakëxa
ka-akë-x-a
say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

"ën	ënëmia	barimainun	ka	min	amokwa
"ë=n	ënë-mi-a	bari-mainun	ka	mi=n	amokwa
1sg=Athis=IMPR.LOC-PA:O	look.for-DS/A/O(SE.DUR)	NAR	you=A	at.the.other.side.PA:O

bari'"
bari'
look.for.IMP.CON

'Bringing him, when he already entered into the jungle, he said: "While I look for them around here, you look for them on the other side!".'

In the following example, I present sentence 004 from the same narrative. There, we can see that the last main predicate (*ka-ake-x-a* 'say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox' from example (1036) above) is reintroduced by the following dependent verb, thus creating again a THL structure. The interesting fact in the relation to this example is that the tail predicate is this time not modifying the main transitive verb (*mëra-akë-x-a* 'find-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox') but the intransitive dependent verb *kwankin* ('go-S/A>A(SE)'), which is the head of a complex switch-reference clause (see §18.2): *ka-tankëx* 'say-S/A>S (PE)' functions as a converb in relation to *kwankin*.

(1037) C01A03-WO-2007.004-005

katankëx	*kwankin*	kaisa	bërámaanu	'ikë	a	'aishbi
ka-tankëx	kwan-kin	kaisa	bërámaanu	'i-kë	a	'aishbi
say-S/A>S(PE)	go-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	before	there	be-NOM	that.O	but(S/A>A)

chikíkë	**mërakëxa**	uni	xanu	'ibu	an
chikit-kë	mëra-akë-x-a	uni	xanu	'ibu	a=n
go.out-NOM	find-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	person	woman	owner	that-A

'It is said that, after talking, going, the man who was the husband of the woman found a place left by (one armadillo) before (so, the armadillo was not there, but it left its burrow).

This type of example, in which the tail of the THL is modifying another dependent element, is not unusual. I consider that such constructions have a specific discourse function: by presenting a predicate as a dependent element after the tail of the THL structure, the speaker backgrounds that predicate and makes it less salient. In the example above, for instance, the foregrounded event is that, after talking to the lover of his wife, the man found an old armadillo burrow. The fact that he had to go to the jungle in order to do so is presented as a dependent element and therefore backgrounded or assumed as less important. The use og THL structures for backgrounding and foregrounding events in Kashibo-Kakataibo is a fascinating topic of research that requires more attention.

Appendix 1: Selection of Kashibo-Kakataibo narratives

Three complete narratives are included in this appendix. They illustrate some of the mechanisms presented in Chapter 22, which describes how narratives are organised. In order to enhance this illustration, I have included some of the texts that provided many of the examples in that chapter: C01A01-MO-2007; C01A06-JE-2007 and C02A02-NA-2007.

As explained in §1.6.2, narratives have been divided into **sentences**. Sentences are defined syntactically, and may include one single independent clause or a combination of one or more dependent clauses with one main clause (see Chapter 17 on the distinction between independent and dependent clauses). Spanish loans appear in italics.

The following narrative, told by Marcelo Odicio, presents the story of a mythical fisherman who used to take off one of his eyes and put it on a stone while he was fishing. He was very successful and he used to bring lots of fish to the village. The other men were jealous of him and, one day, decided to follow the mythical fisherman to discover his secret. They saw what this mythical man used to do with his eye, and one man decided to destroy it with a stone. After that, the mythical man left the village forever. The narrative was told to Wilton Odicio and me.

001   ënu achushi bëráma   nun   'anibu   'ia   kana   ñuikasin
      ënu achushi bëráma   nu=n   'anibu   'i-a   kana   ñui-kas-i-n
      here   one   old   1pl=GEN   ancestor.ABS   be-NOM   NAR.1sg   tell-DES-IMPF-1/2p
      'I want to tell how one of our very old ancestors was.'

002   ax   ka   'iakëxa   achushi nun   xutakaman
      a=x   ka   'i-akë-x-a   achushi nu=n   xuta=kama-n
      that=S NAR.3p be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox   one   1pl=GEN   grandfather=PLU=ERG

      ñuixuan   "bëráma   'ia   usaisa   uni
      ñui-xun-a   bëráma   'i-a   usa-isa   uni
      tell-BEN-NOM   long.time.ago   be-NOM   like.that-REP.3p   person.ABS

      'iakëxa"   kixun
      'i-akë-x-a   ki-xun
      be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox   say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)
      'That is one that our granparents tell (us) about, saying: "a long time ago it is said that the man was like that".'

003   ax   kaisa   'iakëxa   achushi uni   an
      a=x   kaisa   'i-akë-x-a   achushi uni   a-n
      3sg=S NAR.REP.3p be-REM.PAST-S-non.prox   one   person   3sg=ERG
      'axan-kë
      'axan-kë
      fish.using.poison-NOM
      'It is said that he was a man who used to fish using poison.'

004   atian   'ainbi   kaisa   a   ui-saokin   kara
         atian   'ainbi   kaisa   a   ui-sa-o-kin   kara
         then   but(DS/A/O)   NAR.REP.3p   that.O   int.word-COMP-FACT-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.INT.3p

         'axan-i-a   kixun   a   uni
         'axan-i-a   ki-xun   a   uni
         fish.using.poison-IMPF-non.prox   say(INTR)-S/A>A   that   person.ABS

         'unanyamakë   'iakëxa   uinbi   uinikë   uninbi
         'unan-yama-kë   'i-akë-x-a   uinbi   uinikë   uni-n=bi
         know-NEG-NOM   be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox   nobody(A)   no.one   person=ERG=same

         'Saying: "how does this man fish?", the (other) men did not know, nobody, not one man knew.'

005   atian   *casi*   kamabi   nëtën   kaisa   a   uni
         atian   *casi*   kamabi   nëtë=n   kaisa   a   uni
         then   almost   all   day=TEMP   NAR.REP.3p   that   person.ABS

         kwankëshín
         kwan-akë-x-ín
         go-REM.PAST-3p-prox

         'Then, almost every day that man went (to fish).'

006   'axani   kwanxun   kaisa   bëakëxa
         'axan-i   kwan-xun   kaisa   bë-akë-x-a
         fish.using.poison-PURP   go-S/A>A   NAR.REP.3p   bring-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

         'itsaira   tsatsa   tsatsa   ñapa   usabu
         'itsa=ira   tsatsa   tsatsa   ñapa   usa-bu
         many-INT   fish.species   fish.species   fish.species   like.that=PLU.ABS

         'Going to fish, he brought many fishes of different kinds.'

007   atian   "uisa   kupí   kara   usaokin
         atian   uisa   kupí   kara   usa-o-kin
         then   how   REAS   NAR.INT.3p   like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)

         'aia"   kixun   kaisa   unikaman
         'a-i-a   ki-xun   kaisa   uni=kama-n
         do-IMPF-non.prox   say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   person=PLU=ERG

         sinankëxa
         sinan-akë-x-a
         think-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

         'Then, the people thought: "why does this man fish like this?".'

008 usa-i   'itsa   basi   *tiempo* kaisa   a
     usa-i   'itsa   basi-i   *tiempo* kaisa   a
     like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE) a.lot.of   be.slow-S/A>S(SE)   time   NAR.REP.3p   that

     unin   usaokin   ñu   'akëshín
     uni=n   usa-o-kin   ñu   'a-akë-x-ín
     person=ERG   like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)   thing.ABS   do-REM.PAST-3p-prox

     'That man did the things very slowly.'

009 atian achushi nëtën   sinankankëshín   "uisa   kupí
     atian achushi nëtë=n   sinan-kan-akë-x-ín   uisa   kupí
     then   one   day=TEMP   think-PLU-REM.PAST-3p-prox   how   REAS

     kara   a   unin   'aisamera   usaokin
     kara   a   uni=n   'aisamera   usa-o-kin
     NAR.INT.3p   that   person=ERG a.lot.of   like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)

     bëia"   kixun
     bë-i-a   ki-xun
     bring-IMPF-non.prox   say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)

     'Then, one day the people thought: "why does that man bring a lot (of fish)?."

010 atian   atun   kwanxun   kwanxunbi   kaisa
     atian   atu=n   kwan-xun   kwan-xun=bi   kaisa
     then   3pl=GEN   go-S/A>A   go-S/A>A-although   NAR.REP.3p

     atun   tsatsa   biyama   'ikën
     atu=n   tsatsa   bi-yama-a   'ikën
     3pl=ERG   fish.species.ABS   pick.up-NEG-NOM   be.3p

     'Although they went and went fishing, they didn't collect fish'

011 a   kupí   kaisa   a   unikaman   sinankëxa
     a   kupí   kaisa   a   uni=kama=n   sinan-akë-x-a
     that   REAS   NAR.REP.3p   that   person=PLU=ERG think-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

     "uisa kupí   kara   a   uninshi   ñu   'aia"
     ui-sa kupí   kara   a   uni-n=ishi   ñu   'a-i-a
     why   NAR.INT.3p   that   person=ERG=only thing.ABS   do-IMPF-non.prox

     kixun
     ki-xun
     say(INTR)-S/A>A

     'Because of that, those men were thinking: "why does only this man do the things?".'

012   usai   kanantankëxun   kaisa   achushi

usa-i	ka-anan-tankëxun	kaisa	achushi
like.that-S/A>S(SE)	say-REC-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	one

nëtën	sutanti	sinankëshín	a	unikaman
nëtë=n	sutan-ti	sinan-akë-x-ín	a	uni=kama-n
day=TEMP	spy-NOM	think-REM.PAST-3p-prox	that	person=PLU=ERG

'After talking like this, that men decided to spy (on the man) one day.'

013   sinantankëxun   kaisa   kakëxa   ain   bëtsi

sinan-tankëxun	kaisa	ka-akë-x-a	ain	bëtsi
think-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	3p.GEN	other.ABS

"uisa kupí	kara	usaokin	'aia
uisa kupí	kara	usa-o-kin	'a-i-a
why	NAR.INT.3p	like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)	do-IMPF-non.prox

kixun	kananuna	bërí	mërati	'ain"
ki-xun	kananuna	bërí	mëra-ti	'ain
say(INTR)-S/A>A	NAR.1pl	now	find-NOM	be.1/2p

kixun
ki-xun
say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)

'After thinking, they said to their others: "we will discover how does this man do the things like this".'

014   atian   usa-i   'ikë   basi   nëtë

atian	usa-i	'i-kë	basi-i	nëtë
then	like.that-S/A>S(SE)	be-NOM	be.slow-S/A>S(SE)	day.ABS

'inúan	kaisa	atuxribi	kiakëshín
'inut-an	kaisa	atu-x=ribi	ki-akë-x-ín
pass-DS/A/O(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	3pl-S=also	say(INTR)-REM.PAST-S-prox

"kananuna	bërí	*mejor*	bariti	'ain	kixun
kananuna	bërí	*mejor*	bari-ti	'ain	ki-xun
NAR.1pl	now	better	look.for-NOM	be.1/2p	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)

uisaokin	karanuna	mërati	'ain	a	uni"
uisa-o-kin	karanuna	mëra-ti	'ain	a	uni
how-FACT-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.INT.1p	find-NOM	be.1/2p	that	person.ABS

'Then, being like this, after one day passed slowly, they said: "it is better if we will look for that man in order to find him".'

015   usai   kanantankëxun   kaisa
      usa-i   ka-anan-tankëxun   kaisa
      like.that-S/A>S(SE)   say-REC-S/A>A(PE)   NAR.REP.3p

      kwankëshín   "uni   kwankë   a
      kwan-akë-x-ín   uni   kwan-kë   a
      go-REM.PAST-3p-prox   person.ABS   go.IMPF.1/2p-NOM   that

      kaxubi   ka   kwan"
      kaxu=bi   ka   kwan
      behind=same   NAR   go.IMP

      'After talking to each other like this, they said: "go just behind the man, who had already gone!".'

016   kwanxun   kaisa   isakëshín   achushi   xëxánu
      kwan-xun   kaisa   is-akë-x-ín   achushi   xëxat=nu
      go-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   see-REM.PAST-3p-prox   one   small.river=LOC

      nukúxun   ain   amo   'ikë   bëru
      nukut-xun   ain   amo   'i-kë   bëru
      arrive-S/A>A(SE)   3p.GEN   at.the.other.side   be-NOM   eye.ABS

      tsëkaxun   maxaxnu   nania   isakëshín
      tsëka-xun   maxax=nu   nan-ia   is-akë-x-ín
      take.off-S/A>A(SE)   stone=LOC   put-S/A>O(SE)   see-REM.PAST-3p-prox

      'Going, they saw (him) arriving at one small river, taking out one of his eyes and putting it on a stone.'

017   istankëxun   kaisa   "uinbisa   isima"
      is-tankëxun   kaisa   uinbi-isa   is-i=ma
      see-S/A>A(PE)   NAR.REP.3p   nobody(A)-REP.3p   see-IMPF=NEG

      kixun   atian   unëxun   raíri   an
      ki-xun   atian   unë-xun   raíri   a-n
      say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)   then   hide-S/A>A(SE)   different   that-A

      isakëshín
      is-akë-x-ín
      see-REM.PAST-3p-prox

      'After seeing all that, the others saw that the man, saying "nobody is seeing", hid his eye.'

018   istankëxun   kanankin   kaisa   kakëshín
      is-tankëxun   ka-anan-kin   kaisa   ka-akë-x-ín
      see-S/A>A(PE)   say-REC-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   say-REM.PAST-3p-prox

"usaokin		ka	'aia	isti	ka	is
"usa-o-kin		ka	'a-i-a	is-ti	ka	is
like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)		NAR.3p	do-IMPF-non.prox	see-NOM	NAR	see.IMP

uixbi	banaxuma		ka	kwashikan
uixbi	bana-xun=ma		ka	kwat-ishi-kan
nobody(S)	speak-S/A>A(SE)=NEG	NAR	hear-only=PLU.IMP

ka	isëshikan"	kixun	kaisa	kakëshín
ka	is-ishi-kan"	ki-xun	kaisa	ka-akë-x-ín
NAR	see-only=PLU.NAR	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	say-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'After seeing, talking to each other, they said: "he does (it) like this. Come to see! Nobody will speak, we will just hear! Let's only see".'

019	atian	usa	'ain	kaisa	xëpúxun	xëxá
	atian	usa	'ain	kaisa	xëput-xun	xëxá
	then	like.that	being(DS/A/O)	NAR.REP.3p	close-S/A>A(SE)	creek

xëxá	achushinua	xëpúxun	kaisa	uni	an
xëxá	achushi=nu=a	xëput-xun	kaisa	uni	a-n
creek	one=LOC=PA:O	close-S/A>A	NAR.REP.3p	person	3sg-A

banakin	banakin	kaisa	tsatsakama	'ibiankëshín
bana-kin	bana-kin	kaisa	tsatsa=kama	'ibin-akë-x-ín
speak-S/A>A(SE)	speak-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	fish.species=PLU.ABS	scare-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'Closing one small river, (the man) making noises scared the fishes.'

020	atian	usaokin	'akin	kaisa	'itsa
	atian	usa-o-kin	'a-kin	kaisa	'itsa
	then	like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)	do-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	many

tsatsa	bëkian	kan[101]
tsatsa	bë-kian	kan
fish.species.ABS	bring-HAB.REM.PAST.3p	PART

'Then, doing like this, the man used to bring many fishes.'

021	atian	anu	kaisa	"mejor	usaokin	'aia	nun
	atian	anu	kaisa	mejor	usa-o-kin	'a-ia	nu-n
	then	there	NAR.REP.3p	better	like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)	do-S/A>O(SE)	1pl-A

[101] The particle *kan* is very often used in conversations, it seems to have a conversational meaning of 'as you probably do not know'. However, it requires more research.

kananuna	usaokin		ñu	'aima	'aishbi	ka
kananuna	usa-o-kin		ñu	'a-i=ma	'aishbi	ka
NAR.1pl	like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)		thing.ABS	do-IMPF=NEG	but(S/A>A)	NAR.3p

ainshi	usaokin		ñu	'aia"
a-n=ishi	usa-o-kin		ñu	'a-i-a
3sg-A=only	like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)		thing.ABS	do-IMPF-non.prox

kixun	kakëxa
ki-xun	ka-akë-x-a
say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)	say(TRAN)-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

' Thus, the men said: "it is better if he does the things in that way. We cannot do the things in that way, only he can do the things like that".'

022
ami	nishkin	kaisa	achushi	unin	maxax	maxaxnu
a=mi	nish-kin	kaisa	achushi	uni=n	maxax	maxax=nu
3sg=IMPR.LOC	envy-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	one	person=ERG	stone	stone=LOC

ain	bëru	nankë	anu	bëru	nankë	kaisa
ain	bëru	nan-kë	anu	bëru	nan-kë	kaisa
3p.GEN	eye.ABS	put-NOM	there	eye.ABS	put-NOM	NAR.REP.3p

kwanxun	maxax	achushinën	chakakëshín
kwan-xun	maxax	achushi=n	chaka-akë-x-ín
go-S/A>A(SE)	stone	one=INS	beat-REM.PAST-3p-prox

 'But, envying him, one man, going to the place the man had put his eye on a stone, beat the eye with (another) stone.'

023
atian	anu	kaisa	usaokin		'akëbë		kaisa
atian	anu	kaisa	usa-o-kin		'a-këbë		kaisa
then	there	NAR.REP.3p	like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)		do-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)		NAR.REP.3p

a	uni	nuankëshín	ain	bëru	a	tuxakëx
a	uni	nuan-akë-x-ín	ain	bëru	a	tuxa-këx
that	person.ABS	fly-REM.PAST-3p-prox	3p.GEN	eye	that.O	blow.up-O>S(PE)

 'Then, when the man blew up the other man's eye [i.e. beat it up with the stone], the other man (the fisherman) flew away.'

024
atian	usaokin		anu	kaisa	a	uni
atian	usa-o-kin		anu	kaisa	a	uni
then	like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)		there	NAR.REP.3p	that	person.ABS

750

bamakëshín	usa	nuankëshín	amiribishi
bama-akë-x-ín	usa	nuan-akë-x-ín	amiribishi
die-REM.PAST-3p-prox	like.that	fly-REM.PAST-3p-prox	again

utëkënima	ka
u-tëkën-i=ma	ka
come-again-IMPF=NEG	NAR.3p

'Then, this man died or flew away, and he has never come back again.'

025	ashi	ka	'ën	ñuikaskë	'iaxa
	a=ishi	ka	'ë=n	ñui-kas-kë	'i-a-x-a
	that=only	NAR.3p	1sg=A	tell-DES-NOM	be-PERF-3p-non.prox

'Only that was what I wanted to tell.'

anu	kaisa	ma	a	uni	istëkënkama	'ikën	amiribishi
anu	kaisa	ma	a	uni	is-tëkën-kan-a=ma	'ikën	amiribishi
there	NAR.REP.3p	already	that	person.ABS	see-again-PLU-NOM=NEG	be.3p	again

'They didn't see that man any longer there.'

This narrative by Julio Estrella tells about how the ancestor of the parakeets (some sort of mythical parakeet) stole the fire from a bad man, who did not want to share it with the Kashibo-Kakataibo (but this detail is not provided inthis version of the narrative). In other versions of this narrative, that bad man was an Inca and the women who were stoking the fire were his wives (a similar version is found among the Shipibo-Konibo people). This information is not explicitly mentioned in this version of the narrative, which was told to Nicolás Aguilar and me.

001   ësai   kaisa   chërëkënën   rara   'iakëxa

     ësa-i   kaisa   chërëkën=n   rara   'i-akë-x-a

     like.this-S/A>S(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   parakeet=GEN   ancestor.ABS   be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

     'It is said that the ancestor of the parakeets was in this way.'

002   chërëkënën   rara   kaisa   'iakëxa   tsi   kwëbí

     chërëkën=n   rara   kaisa   'i-akë-x-a   tsi   kwëbí

     parakeet=GEN   ancestor.ABS   NAR.REP.3p   be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox   fire   near.by

     'The ancestor of the parakeets was close to the fire.'

003   pëkarakëbëtan   kaisa   xanuxun   tsi   tikakë   kwëbí

     pëkara-këbëtan   kaisa   xanu-xun   tsi   tika-kë   kwëbí

     dawn-DS/A/O(SE.TRAN)   NAR.REP.3p   woman-S/A>A   fire.ABS   stoke-NOM   near.by

     kaisa   chërëkënën   rara   tsóakëxa   matsi

     kaisa   chërëkën=n   rara   tsót-akë-x-a   matsi

     NAR.REP.3p   parakeet=GEN   ancestor.ABS   sit.down-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox   cold.ABS

     këmëi   matsinsa   'aia   kiax   tsi   kwëbí

     këmë-i   matsin=sa   'i-ia   ki-ax   tsi   kwëbí

     lie-S/A>S(SE)   cold=COMP   be-S/A>O(SE)   say(INTR)-S/A>S(PE)   fire   near.by

     'When it dawned, the parakeet sat down close to the fire that a group of women were stoking, saying that he was cold, lying.'

004

tsi	mëkamanux	kaisa	chërëkënën	rara
tsi	mëkama-nux	kaisa	chërëkën=n	rara
fire.ABS	steal-PUR.SS.INTR	NAR.REP.3p	parakeet=GEN	ancestor.ABS

tsóakëshín		tsi	kwëbí	utënbuax
tsót-akë-x-ín		tsi	kwëbí	utënbu-ax
sit.down-REM.PAST-3p-prox		fire	near.by	be.pensive-S/A>S

'In order to steal the fire, the ancestor of parakeet sat down close to it, pensive.'

005

ësai	kaisa	kiakëxa	"xënx xënx xënx"
ësa-i	kaisa	ki-akë-x-a	xënx xënx xënx
like.this-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	say(INTR)-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	xënx xënx xënx

'Then, the ancestor of parakeet said "xënx xënx xënx".'

006

ki	ki	kaisa	tsóakëshín
ki	ki-i	kaisa	tsót-akë-x-ín
say(INTR)	say(INTR)-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	sit.down-REM.PAST-3p-prox

chërëkënën	rara
chërëkën=n	rara
parakeet=GEN	ancestor.ABS

'Saying that several times, the ancestor of parakeet sat down.'

007

tsókë	kaisa	unin	isakëxa
tsót-kë	kaisa	uni=n	is-akë-x-a
sit.down-NOM	NAR.REP.3p	person=ERG	see-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'When (the ancestor of parakeet) was sitting down, the man saw it.'

008

"chërëkënrá	ka	matsia"	kixun
chërëkën-rá	ka	matsi-i-a	ki-xun
parakeet-DIM	NAR.3p	be.cold-IMPF-non.prox	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)

"matsirá	ka	tsi	kwëbí
matsi-rá	ka	tsi	kwëbí
cold-DIM	NAR.3p	fire	near.by

tsótaxa"	kixun	kaisa	isakëshín
tsót-a-x-a	ki-xun	kaisa	is-akë-x-ín
seat-STA-3p- non.prox	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	see-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'Saying "the parakeet is getting cold. It is too cold and it is sitting down close to the fire", (the man) saw (the ancestor of parakeet).'

009   istankëxbi   kaisa   uni   manuakëshín
         is-tankëx=bi   kaisa   uni   manu-akë-x-ín
         see-S/A>S(PE)=same   NAR.REP.3p   person.ABS   forget-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'Even though he saw (the ancestor of the parakeet), the man forgot about it.'

010   istankëx   manuxun   kaisa
         is-tankëx   manu-xun   kaisa
         see-S/A>S(PE)   forget-S/A>A   NAR.REP.3p

         istëkëankëshín
         is-tëkën-akë-x-ín
         see-again-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'After he saw (the ancestor of the parakeet), the man saw it again, forgetting about it.'

011   a   uni   kwainakëkëbëtanshi
         a   uni   kwain-akë-këbëtan=ishi
         that   person.ABS   go-curve-DS/A/O(SE.TRAN)=only

         kaisa   tsi   biakëshín   chërëkënën   raran
         kaisa   tsi   bits-akë-x-ín   chërëkën=n   rara-n
         NAR.REP.3p   fire.ABS   pick.up-REM.PAST-3p-prox   parakeet=GEN   ancestor=ERG

'When the man turned (his face), the ancestor of the parakeet took the fire.'

012   bibiani   kaisa   "chërëkënx   chërëkënx   chërëkënx"
         bits-bian-i   kaisa   chërëkënx   chërëkënx   chërëkënx
         pick.up-going-S/A>S(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   chërëkënx   chërëkënx   chërëkënx

         kaisa   kwankëshín   manan
         kaisa   kwan-akë-x-ín   manan
         NAR.REP.3p   go-REM.PAST-3p-prox   up

'Taking the fire and going, the mythical parakeet went up (saying) "chërëkënx chërëkënx chërëkënx".'

013   nuania   "ëëëëëë"   nuania   kaisa
         nuan-ia   "ëëëëëë"   nuan-ia   kaisa
         fly-S/A>O(SE)   ëëëëëë   fly-S/A>O(SE)   NAR.REP.3p

         sharokëshín
         sharo-akë-x-ín
         burn-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'When the ancestor of the parakeet was flying, the (fire) burned it (and it said) "ëëëëëë".'

754

014 "chërëkënën ka tsi buania
chërëkën=n ka tsi buan-i-a
parakeet=GEN NAR.3p fire.ABS take-IMPF-non.prox

chërëkënën ka tsi buania
chërëkën=n ka tsi buan-i-a
parakeet=ERG NAR.3p fire.ABS take-IMPF-non.prox

ka nipamiai ka nipamiai"
ka nipat-mi-ai ka nipat-mi-ai
NAR throw.down-CAUS-NAR NAR throw.down-CAUS-IMP.there

kaisa kakëshín
kaisa ka-akë-x-ín
NAR.REP.3p say-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'"The parakeet is taking the fire, the parakeet is taking the fire; make him throw the fire down!, make him throw it down!", the man said.'

015 kakëxunbi kaisa 'ama 'ikën
ka-këxun=bi kaisa 'a-a=ma 'ikën
say-O>A(PE)-although NAR.REP.3p do-NOM=NEG be.3p

'Although (the man) said that, nobody did it.'

This narrative presents the story of a *gringo*, a mythical foreigner who once arrived at the place where the Kashibo-Kakataibo's ancestors used to live and started to live close to them, but without establishing any kind of interaction or relationship with them. He was only there, by himself, peacefully and silent. However, after a while, the Kashibo-Kakataibo's ancestors started to become scared of him and became very anxious about his presence. Then, the Kashibo-Kakataibo's ancestors decided to kill the visitor and, after they did so, they started to ask themselves who was this foreigner. The Kashibo-Kakataibo's ancestors decided to give special treatment to his corpse. One day, a tree started to grow directly from the heart of this *gringo* and it happened to be the *moquicho* tree, which is a type of banana that the Kashibo-Kakataibo's ancestors did not know until then, but which is currently highly appreciated. The narrative was told to Julio Estrella and me.

001 ësaokin ka 'ë 'ën kukuakën kakëxa
ësa-o-kin ka 'ë 'ë=n kukuakë-n ka-akë-x-a
like.this-FACT-S/A>A(SE) NAR.3p 1sg.O 1sg=GEN legitimate.uncle=ERG say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
'My legitimate uncle used to talked to me like this.'

002 a kana ñuin
a kana ñui-i-n
that.O NAR.1sg tell-IMPF-1/2p
'That I will tell.'

003 achushi uni kaisa uakëxa
achushi uni kaisa u-akë-x-a
one person.ABS NAR.REP.3p come-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

atunu bëbakëshín
atu=nu bëba-akë-x-ín
3pl=LOC arrive-REM.PAST-S-prox
'It is said that one man arrived to where they used to live.'

004   kananuna   'unanima   a ñu   baritianbira   kan

        kananuna   'unan-i=ma   a ñu   baritia-n=bi=ira   kan

        NAR.1pl   know-IMPF=NEG   which   year=TEMP=same=INTF   PART

        'We do not know exactly in which year.'

005   bëbaia   kaisa   isakëxa   achushi   gringo

        bëba-ia   kaisa   is-akë-x-a   achushi   gringo

        arrive-S/A>O(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   see-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox   one   white.person.ABS

        'They (just) saw him when he arrived.'

006   ain   maxká   ka   uxu

        ain   maxká   ka   uxu

        3sg.GEN   head.ABS   NAR.3p   white

        'His head was white (i.e. his hair was gray).'

007   'aishbi   kaisa   atubë   banama   'ikën

        'aishbi   kaisa   atu=bë   bana-a=ma   'ikën

        but(S/A>A)   NAR.REP.3p   3pl-COM(S)   speak-NOM=NEG   be.3p

        'But he did not speak with them.'

008   kaisa   is   isëshiakëxa   atun

        kaisa   is   is-ishi-akë-x-a   atu-n

        NAR.REP.3p   see   see-only-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox   3pl-A

        'They only looked at him several times.'

009   atian *gringo*   anribi   kaisa   isëshiakëshín   atu   a   xubunu

        atian *gringo*   a-n=ribi   kaisa   is-ishi-akë-x-ín   atu   a   xubu=nu

        then   white.person   3sg-A=also   NAR.REP.3p   see-only-REM.PAST-3p-prox   they   that   house=LOC

        kaisa   nukúakëshín   achushi   xubunu   atun   xubunu

        kaisa   nukut-akë-x-ín   achushi   xubu=nu   atu=n   xubu=nu

        NAR.REP.3p   arrive-REM.PAST-3p-prox   one   house=LOC   3pl=GEN   house=LOC

        'Then, the *gringo* also used to look at them, and arrived at their houses.'

010   '*como*   respetankin   como   rakwékinribi   kaisa

        como   respetan-kin   como   rakwé-kin=ribi   kaisa

        like   respect-S/A>A(SE)   like   be.scared-S/A>A(SE)=also   NAR.REP.3p

iskanma		'ikën	a	*gringo*	kan
is-kan-a=ma		'ikën	a	*gringo*	kan
see-PLU-NOM=NEG		be.3p	that	white.person.ABS	PART

'Showing respect and being scared of him, the people did not look at the *gringo*.'

011
'ainbi	kaisa	achushi	banarábi		a	gringonën	bana
'ainbi	kaisa	achushi	bana-rá=bi		a	gringo=n	bana
but(DS/A/O)	NAR.REP.3p	one	word-DIM=same		that	white.person=ERG	word.ABS

'inanma		'ikën
'inan-a=ma		'ikën
give-NOM=NEG		be.3p

'But the gringo did not speak a single word to them.'

012
sapika	'iakëxa	español	kan
sapika	'i-akë-x-a	español	kan
DUB.NAR.3p	be-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	Spanish .ABS	PART

'I think that he was Spanish.'

013
usa	sapika	'iakëshín
usa	sapika	'i-akë-x-ín
like.that	DUB.NAR.3p	be-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'I think that he was like that.'

014
'ain	kaisa	atian	atun	bëruankin	banakimabi
'ain	kaisa	atian	atu=n	bëruan-kin	bana-kin=ma=bi
being(DS/A/O)	NAR.REP.3p	then	3pl=A	take.care-S/A>A(SE)	speak-S/A>A(SE)=NEG=same

kaisa	ñu	'inankëshín
kaisa	ñu	'inan-akë-x-ín
NAR.REP.3p	thing.ABS	give-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'Being like this, they used to give things to him, looking after him and without speaking to the man.'

015
nónsi	a ñu	ñububira	piti	usabubira
nónsi	a ñu	ñu=bu=bi=ira	piti	usa=bu=bi=ira
banana	what	thing=IMPR.REF=same=INTF	food.ABS	like.that=IMPR.REF=same=INTF

'inankin	'ikinkinbi	kaisa	sinankëxa
'inan-kin	'i-kin-kin=bi	kaisa	sinan-akë-x-a
give-S/A>A(SE)	be-ASSO-S/A>A(SE)=same	NAR.REP.3p	think-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

ma	*como dos años*	'ixun		rabë	baritiañu	'ixun		sinankëshín
ma	*como.dos.años*	'i-xun		rabë	baritia=ñu	'i-xun		sinan-akë-x-ín
already	like.two.years	be-S/A>A(SE)		two	year=PROP	be-S/A>A(SE)		think-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'After giving him banana, food and lots of different things for two years, the people thought about the situation.'

016
sinanxun		kaisa		"mejor	kananuna	'ati		'ain
sinan-xun		kaisa		"mejor	kananuna	'a-ti		'ain
think-S/A>A(SE)		NAR.REP.3p		better	NAR.1pl	kill-NOM		be.1/2p

nukën	papan		xukë		kara
nukën	papa=n		xu-kë		kara
1pl.GEN	father=ERG		send-NOM		NAR.INT.3p

nukën	papa	Diosan	xukë	karan		nun	kananuna	kain		nukën
nukën	papa	Dios=n	xu-kë	kara=n		nu=n	kananuna	ka-i-n		nukën
1pl.GEN	father	God=ERG	send-NOM	NAR.INT.3p-??		1pl=A	NAR.1pl	say-IMPF-1/2p		1pl.GEN

'ibubaë	an	xukë		kara		kananuna	'unanima
'ibu-baë	a=n	xu-kë		kara		kananuna	'unan-i=ma
owner=PLU	3sg=A	send-NOM		NAR.INT.3p		NAR.1pl	know-IMPF=NEG

usa	'ain		kananuna		'unanyama[102]
usa	'ain		kananuna		'unan-i-yama
like.that	being(DS/A/O)		NAR.1pl		know-IMPF=NEG

kara		nun	'inka	'ikën
kara		nu=n	'inka	'ikën
NAR.INT.3p		1pl=GEN	Inka.ABS	be.3p

kara		nun	'inkama		'ikën
kara		nu=n	'inka=ma		'ikën
NAR.INT.3p		1pl=GEN	Inka.ABS=NEG		be.3p

uisa	nu	oi		kara		uaxa
uisa	nu	o-i		kara		u-a-x-a
how	we	FACT-S/A>S(SE)		NAR.INT.3p		come-PAST1-3p-non.prox

mejor	kananuna	'ati		'ain	kixun		kaisa
mejor	kananuna	'a-ti		'ain	ki-xun		kaisa
better	NAR.1pl	kill-NOM		be.1/2p	say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)		NAR.REP.3p

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[102] This is the Shipibo-Konibo negative marker *-yama*. The cognate form in Kashibo-Kakataibo is simply *-ma*.

sinankëxa
sinan-akë-x-a
think-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Thinking, they say: "it is better if we kill him. Would he be the one who our father God sent? Would he be our Inka or not? Why did he come? It is better if we kill him".'

017	sinanxun	kaisa	atun	piakama	mëniókëshín	anun
	sinan-xun	kaisa	atu=n	pia=kama	mënió-akë-x-ín	anun
	think-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	3pl=GEN	arrow=PLU.ABS	clean-REM.PAST-3p-prox	that.INS

'ati	kan
'a-ti	kan
kill-NOM	PART

'Thinking about/of doing that, they prepared their arrows to kill the *gringo* with them.'

018	gringo	abë	banakinmabi	mënióxun	kaisa
	gringo	a=bë	bana-kin=ma=bi	mënió-xun	kaisa
	white.person	that-COM(S)	speak-S/A>A(SE)=NEG=same	clean-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p

ma	'akankëshín
ma	'a-kan-akë-x-ín
already	kill-PLU-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'Preparing their arrows, without talking with the *gringo*, suddenly they killed him.'

019	'atankëxun	kaisa	upíoxun	mëniókëxa
	'a-tankëxun	kaisa	upí-o-xun	mënió-akë-x-a
	kill-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	good-FACT-S/A>A(SE)	clean-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'atima	okëma
'a-ti=ma	o-kë=ma
do-NOM=NEG	FACT-NOM=NEG

'After killing him, they carefully cleaned his corpse, without burning it (lit. wihout doing things that should not be done).'

020	mënióbiankin	buanxun	kaisa	nun	ñuibi
	mënió-bian-kin	buan-xun	kaisa	nu=n	ñui-i=bi
	clean-going(TRA)-S/A>A(SE)	take-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	1pl=A	tell-S/A>S(SE)=same

bakëtinën	anun	buanxun	kaisa	atian	në	maiankëshín
bakëti=n	anun	buan-xun	kaisa	atian	në	main-akë-x-ín
stretcher=INS	that.INS	take-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	then	??	bury-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'Taking the corpse after cleaning it, using what we called a *bakëti* (stretcher), they buried the corpse.'

021 achushi *sitio*nu achushi me upínu mëraxun anu maiankëshín
     achushi *sitio*=nu achushi me upit=nu mëra-xun anu main-akë-x-ín
     one place=LOC one earth beautiful=LOC find-S/A>A(SE) there bury-REM.PAST-3p-prox
     'Finding a beautiful place, they buried the corpse there.'

022 maintankëxun kaisa upíokin matakakakëshín
     main-tankëxun kaisa upit-o-kin matakaka-akë-x-ín
     bury-S/A>A(PE) NAR.REP.3p beautiful-FACT-S/A>A(SE) clean.surface-REM.PAST-3p-prox
     'After burying the corpse, they cleaned completely the surface.'

023 matakakatankëxun kaisa *como* non 'akësaribi
     matakaka-tankëxun kaisa *como* no=n 'a-kë-sa=ribi
     clean.surface-S/A>A(PE) NAR.REP.3p like foreigner=ERG do-NOM-COMP=also

     okin bëruankëshín relevankin
     o-kin bëruan-akë-x-ín relevan-kin
     FACT-S/A>A(SE) take.care-REM.PAST-3p-prox take.turns-S/A>A(SE)

     bëruankëshín
     bëruan-akë-x-ín
     take.care-REM.PAST-3p-prox
     'After cleaning completely the surface, they took care of the body as the foreigners do, taking turns.'

024 a uni a gringo a bëruankëx 'ikëbëbi
     a uni a gringo a bëruan-këx 'i-këbë=bi
     that person.ABS that white.person 3sg.O take.care-O>S(PE) be-DS/A/O(SE.INTR)=same

     dentro de un mes kaisa *medio mes* kaisa atian ënu ax kan ain nuitu puntë́
     dentro.de.un.mes kaisa *medio.mes* kaisa atian ënu a=x kan ain nuitu puntë́
     after.one.month NAR.REP.3p half.a.month NAR.REP.3p then here that=S PART 3sg.GEN heart straight

     ënuax kaisa achushi shinkun shinkun uniakëshín
     ënu-ax kaisa achushi shinkun shinkun uni-akë-x-ín
     here-PA:S NAR.REP.3p one banana.spe.ABS banana.spe.ABS spring.up-REM.PAST-3p-prox
     'Even though they had taken care of the that *gringo*, after one month or half a month, here[103] straight
     from his heart, here, one tree of *moquicho* (a banana species) sprang up.'

---

[103] The speaker is using his own body to indicate from where the tree started to grow. This is the reason why he uses the form *ënu* 'here (proximal to the speaker)'.

025   "shinkun   ka   unia

        "shinkun   ka   uni-i-a

        banana.spe..ABS   NAR.3p   spring.up-IMPF-non.prox

        kantsin[104]   ka   unia"   kixun   kaisa

        kantsin   ka   uni-i-a   ki-xun   kaisa

        banana.spe.ABS   NAR.3p   spring.up-IMPF-non.prox   say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE) NAR.REP.3p

        isakëshín

        is-akë-x-ín

        see-REM.PAST-3p-prox

        'The people saw it, saying "a *moquicho* tree has grown".'

026   iskin   bëruankë   bëruankë   kwanx   kwarutankëx

        is-kin   bëruan-kë   bëruan-kë   kwan-ax   kwan-ru-tankëx

        see-S/A>A(SE)   take.care-NOM take.care-NOM go-S/A>S   go-up-S/A>S(PE)

        mananmi   kwarutankëx   achushi   racimo chaxkéira   *como tres metros*

        manan=mi   kwan-ru-tankëx   achushi   racimo chaxkë́=ira *como.tres.metros*

        upside.of=IMPR.LOC go-up-S/A>S(PE)   one   bunch long-INT   like.three.meters

        usai   kaisa   a   shinkun   bakëankëshín

        usa-i   kaisa   a   shinkun   bakën-akë-x-ín

        like.that-S/A>S(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   that banana.spe..ABS give.bith-REM.PAST-3p-prox

        bimiakëshín

        bimi-akë-x-ín

        get.fruit-REM.PAST-3p-prox

        'From the corpse that they had looked after for a long time, a tree started to grow very high and it got
        a very long bunch of bananas, like three meters long.'

027   *hasta* men   tsóbuti   kan   'ikë   kaisa   a   shinkun

        hasta me=n   tsót-but-i   kan   'i-kë   kaisa   a   shinkun

        until   earth=ERG sit.down-down(INTR)-S/A>S(SE) PART be-NOM NAR.REP.3p that banana.spe.ABS

        bëruankinisa   satania   satankëtian   kaisa   tëbiskakëshín

        bëruan-kin-isa   satan-ia   satan-këtian   kaisa   tëbiska-akë-x-ín

        take.care-S/A>A(SE)-REP.3p get.fat-S/A>O(SE) get.fat-S/A/O>O(PE) NAR.REP.3p cut-REM.PAST-3p-prox

        'After the bunch was so tall that it was reaching the ground, they looked after this *moquicho* tree and,
        when the bananas became fat, they cut the bunch.'

---

[104] According to my teachers, *shinkun* is a Shipibo-Konibo word. The corresponding word in Kashibo-
Kakataibo is *kantsin*.

028 tëbiskakiankin   buanxun   kaisa   a   shinkun   xubu
     tëbiska-kian-kin   buan-xun   kaisa   a   shinkun   xubu
     cut-going(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)   take-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   that   banana.spe.ABS   house

     bënánu   mapunkë   bënánu   paniankëshín
     bënat=nu   mapunkë   bëná=nu   panin-akë-x-ín
     young=LOC   house   young=LOC   hang.up-REM.PAST-3p-prox

     'Taking the *moquicho* bunch after they cut it, they hung it up inside a new house.'

029 paninkëx   kaisa   atian   ax   pëkéakëshín
     panin-këx   kaisa   atian   a=x   pëkët-akë-x-ín
     hang.up-O>S(PE)   NAR.REP.3p   then   that=S   ripen-REM.PAST-3p-prox
     'After they hung the bunch up, the *moquicho* got rippen.'

030 pëkëti   kan   përun   batsi upiti   usa   'itankëx
     pëkët-i   kan   përu=n   batsi upit-i   usa   'i-tankëx
     ripen-S/A>S(SE) PART   bird.spe.=GEN egg beautiful-S/A>S(SE)   like.that be-S/A>S(PE)

     kaisa achushi   pakéakëxa   menu   kan
     kaisa achushi   pakët-akë-x-a   me=nu   kan
     NAR.REP.3p one   fall.down-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox ground=LOC PART

     'When they got ripe and became similar to the eggs of a bird called *përu*, one banana fell down on the
     ground.'

031 ain   manikënmiax   pakékë   bixun   kaisa   atian
     ain   manikën-mi-ax   pakët-kë   bits-xun   kaisa   atian
     3sg.GEN   first.bunch=IMPR.LOC-S/A>S   fall.down-NOM.ABS pick.up-S/A>A(SE) NAR.REP.3p then

     achushi ñusi   uninpain   tankëshín
     achushi ñusi   uni-n=pain   tan-akë-x-ín
     one   old   person=ERG=first   try-REM.PAST-3p-prox

     sanuia   kan   achushi kuakëshín   pakékë   kan
     sanu-ia   kan   achushi ku-akë-x-ín   pakët-kë   kan
     taste.good-S/A>O(SE) PART one.ABS eat.fruit-REM.PAST-3p-prox fall.down-NOM PART

     'Taking the banana that fell down from the first bunch, one old man tried it, he ate the banana that
     had fallen down.'

032 pakékë   xukaxun   kuax   kaisa   miakëxa
     pakët-kë   xuka-xun   ku-ax   kaisa   mi-akë-x-a
     fall.down-NOM.ABS   peel-S/A>A(SE)   eat.fruit-S/A>S NAR.REP.3p stop-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

763

como dos o un hora	usa
como.dos.o.un.hora	usa
like.two.or.one.hour	like.that

'After peeling and eating the *moquicho* that had fallen down, he rested for one or two hours.'

033

'ikinbi	kaisa	uisaibi	ain	ñubi
i-kin=bi	kaisa	ui-sa-i=bi	ain	ñu=bi
be-S/A>A(SE)=same	NAR.REP.3p	how-S/A>S(SE)=bi	3sg.GEN	thing.ABS=same

ain	pukubi	*después*	kaisa	bëtsinribi	'atëkëankëshín
ain	puku=bi	*después*	kaisa	bëtsi-n=ribi	'a-tëkën-akë-x-ín
3sg.GEN	belly.ABS=NEG	after	NAR.REP.3p	other.one=ERG=also	do-again-REM.PAST-3p-prox

achushi
achushi
one.ABS

'Being like this, nothing happened to his belly and, thus, another person also tried one.'

034

dos veces	kaisa	*cada uno*	'akëxa
dos.veces	kaisa	*cada.uno*	'a-akë-x-a
two.times	NAR.REP.3p	every.one	do-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Each one did this twice.'

035

ax	kainbaiti	kaisa	ñantan	uxun	kaisa
a=x	kain-bait-i	kaisa	ñantan	u-xun	kaisa
3sg=S	wait-DUR.same.day-S/A>S(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	afternoon	come-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p

"kana	uisaibi	'ikëma	'ain	ia"
kana	uisaibi	'i-kë=ma	'ain	ia
NAR.1sg	nothing	be-NOM=NEG	be.1/2p	??

'After he waited for the whole afternoon, (he said) "nothing happened to me".'

036

"tain	tanti	ka	miribi"	a	kaxun	kaisa	bëtsi	ñusiribishi
tain	tanti	ka	mi=ribi	a	ka-xun	kaisa	bëtsi	ñusi=ribi=ishi
EXH	rest	NAR	you=also	that.O	say-S/A>A(SE)	NAR.REP.3p	other	old.man.ABS=also=only

*invitan*këxa	*dos*	kan	kumiakëshín
invitan-akë-x-a	*dos*	kan	ku-mi-akë-x-ín
invite-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	two	PART	eat.fruit-CAUS-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'Saying "let's rest, you as well!", the old man gave two bananas to another old man, who ate them'

037 pëkarakëma 'ainishi   'apunkin   kaisa bëtsi ñantan

   pëkara-kë=ma 'ain=ishi   'a-pun-kin   kaisa bëtsi ñantan

   dawn-NOM=NEG being(DS/A/O)=only do-PAST(hours)-S/A>A(SE) NAR.REP.3p other afternoon

   'uxkin   'akëshín

   'ux-kin   'a-akë-x-ín

   sleep-S/A>A(SE) do-REM.PAST-3p-prox

   'Before it dawned, doing that early in the morning, (the old man) tried another one in the afternoon.'

038 'akëxbi   kaisa   uisaibi 'iama   'ikën

   'a-këx=bi   kaisa   uisaibi 'i-a=ma 'ikën

   do-O>S(PE)=same NAR.REP.3p nothing be-NOM=NEG be.3p

   'Even though he did all this, nothing happened to him.'

039 atian kaisa   anuxun kaisa   *dos* xanu ñuxan xanuribi

   atian kaisa   anuxun kaisa   *dos* xanu ñuxan xanu=ribi

   then NAR.REP.3p then(TRA) NAR.REP.3p two woman old(fem) woman.ABS=also

   xanu   xëniribi   'amiakëshín

   xanu   xëni=ribi   'a-mi-akë-x-ín

   woman old.ABS=also do-CAUS-REM.PAST-3p-prox

   'Then, he also made two old women try the bananas.'

040 'amikëxbi   kaisa   atian xanu rabé uisaibi 'iama   'ikën

   'a-mi-këx=bi   kaisa   atian xanu rabé uisaibi 'i-a=ma 'ikën

   do-CAUS-O>S(PE)=same NAR.REP.3p then woman two.ABS nothing be-NOM=NEG be.3p

   'Although he made them try the bananas, nothing happened to the two women.'

041 anuxun   kaisa   *joven*ribi   achushi *joven*ribi   'amiakëshín

   anuxun   kaisa   *joven*=ribi achushi *joven*=ribi 'a-mi-akë-x-ín

   then(TRAN) NAR.REP.3p young.ABS=also one   young.ABS=also do-CAUS-REM.PAST-3p-prox

   'Then, he made a young person try the bananas.'

042 'amikin   'amipunkin   kaisa

   'a-mi-kin   'a-mi-pun-kin   kaisa

   do-CAUS-S/A>A(SE) do-CAUS-PAST(hours)-S/A>A(SE) NAR.REP.3p

ñantanbukëbëtan   'amitëkëankëshín   'inantëkëankëshín

ñantan-but-këbëtan   'a-mi-tëkën-akë-x-ín   'inan-tëkën-akë-x-ín

get.dark-ASP:become-DS/A/O(SE.TRA)   do-CAUS-again-REM.PAST-3p-prox   give-again-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'Having made them try the bananas early in the morning, he made them try the bananas again when it got dark.'

043   'axun   kaisa   atian   tuakama   mëtikakëshín

       'a-xun   kaisa   atian   tua=kama   mëtika-akë-x-ín

       do-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   then   boy=PLU.ABS   distribute-REM.PAST-3p-prox

       'Doing (it) like this, then, he distributed the bananas among all the people.'

044   "uisaibi   kananuna   ima   'ati   ka

       uisaibi   kananuna   ima   'a-ti   ka

       nothing   NAR.1pl   ??   do-NOM   NAR.3p

       piti   ka   'a'"   kixun   kaisa   atun   ñuikinbi

       pi-ti   ka   'a-'   ki-xun   kaisa   atu=n   ñui-kin=bi

       eat-NOM   NAR   do-NAR   say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   3pl=GEN   tell-S/A>A(SE)=same

       chëkaxun   pëtsuakëshín

       chëka-xun   pëtsu-akë-x-ín

       push-S/A>A(SE)   eat.with.fingers-REM.PAST-3p-prox

       'Saying "nothing will happen to us. This is for eating", they mashed the bananas and ate them with their fingers'.

045   pëtsuxun   kaisa   atian   uisaibi   'akëma   kamaxunbi

       pëtsu-xun   kaisa   atian   uisaibi   'a-kë=ma   kamaxun=bi

       eat.with.fingers-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   then   nothing   do-NOM=NEG   all.together=same

       todo el mundo   a   këñukin   piakëxa   a   kantsin

       todo.el.mundo   a   këñu-kin   pi-akë-x-a   a   kantsin

       all.the.people   that.O   finish-S/A>A(SE)   eat-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox   that   banana.spe.ABS

       'When they ate it with the fingers, the banana did not do anything to them and everyone ate from that *moquicho*, finishing it.'

046   usaoxun   kaisa   ain   takuisa   unia

       usa-o-xun   kaisa   ain   taku-isa   uni-ia

       like.that-FACT-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   3p.GEN   plant.ABS-REP.3p   spring.up-S/A>O(SE)

       unirukëkama   a   kaisa   rabé   rabé   ëanan   unia

       uni-ru-kë=kama   a   kaisa   rabé   rabé   ën-anan   uni-ia

       spring.up-up-NOM=PLU   that.O   NAR.REP.3p   two   two   leave-DO(SE)   spring.up-S/A>O(SE)

unia	chaia	bitankëxun	kaisa
uni-ia	cha-ia	bits-tankëxun	kaisa
spring.up-S/A>O(SE)	become.big-S/A>O(SE)	pick.up-S/A>A(PE)	NAR.REP.3p

takubuakëxa
taku-bu-akë-x-a
plant-ITER(one.direction)-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Doing (it) like this, they took the *moquicho*'s plants, all the ones that had grown, and left them in pairs on the ground; when they became big, they planted them along a path.'

047
kamabi	menu	xëxánua	'apábuakëshín
kamabi	me=nu	xëxá=nu=a	'apat-bu-akë-x-ín
all	earth=LOC	small.river=LOC=PA:O	plant-ITER(one.direction)-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'They planted the *moquicho* trees, everywhere along the margins of the small rivers.'

048
anuax	isa	uakamë ëotanun	usaokëxun	kaisa
anuax	isa	uakamë ëo-tan-nun	usa-o-këxun	kaisa
then(INTR)	REP.3p	grow/reproduce-go.to-DS/A/O(POE)	like.that-FACT-O>A(PE)	NAR.REP.3p

uakë	kamabi	kaikëtian	kaikëtian	kaisa	anua	baka
uakë	kamabi	kai-këtian	kai-këtian	kaisa	anu-a	baka
big	all	reproduce-S/A/O>O(PE)	reproduce-S/A/O>O(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	there-PA:O	river

rërëkakë	kwëtú	rërëkakë	buankëxa	a	kan
rërëka-kë	kwëtú	rërëka-kë	buan-akë-x-a	a	kan
spill-NOM	mud	spill-NOM.ABS	take-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox	that.O	PART

'When the bananas grew and reproduced and spilt around the rivers where they were, the people took them.'

049
buankëx	kaisa	anuax	taxan karunu	menuax	unikë
buan-këx	kaisa	anuax	taxan karu=nu	me=nu=ax	uni-kë
take-O>S(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	then(INTR)	type of firewood=LOC	earth=LOC=PA:S	spring.up-NOM

usa	'itankëx	kaisa	kantsin	ënëx	uakamë ëokëshín
usa	'i-tankëx	kaisa	kantsin	ënë=x	uakamë ëo-akë-x-ín
like.that	be-S/A>S(PE)	NAR.REP.3p	banana.spe	this=S	grow/reproduce-REM.PAST-3p-prox

anuairaisa	takubuashín
anu-a-ira-isa	taku-bu-akë-x-ín
there-PA:O-INT-REP.3p	plant-ITER(one.direction)-REM.PAST-3p-prox

'After they took the bananas, (they left them) on the ground and on the firewood mounds, and after being there for a while, this *moquicho* grew and reproduced; and they planted the *moquicho* again exactly were they were before.'

050   "takubua   kaisa   nun   shinkun   ënëx

"taku-bu-a   kaisa   nu=n   shinkun   ënë=x

plant-ITER(one.direction)-NOM   NAR.REP.3p   1pl=GEN   banana.spe.   this=S

'ikën" kixun   ka   'ën   kukuakën   'ë   kakëxa

'ikën ki-xun   ka   'ë=n   kukuakë-n   'ë   ka-akë-x-a

be.3p say(INTR)-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.3p   1sg=GEN legitimate.uncle=ERG 1sg.O say-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox

'Saying: "it is said that the banana that they planted is this *moquicho* of us", my legitimate uncle told me all this.'

051   a   kakëxun   kana   ñui   ñuin

a   ka-këxun   kana   ñui   ñui-i-n

that.O say-O>A(PE)   NAR.1sg   tell   tell-IMPF-1/2p

'After he told me that, I have told the same several times.'

Appendix 2: Swadesh list of 200 terms for the four extant dialects of Kashibo-Kakatataibo (with English and Spanish translations)

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
1	ANIMAL	ANIMAL	ɲúina	ɲúina	júina	júina
2	DOG	PERRO	ʔut͡ʃíti kamón	ʔut͡ʃíti	ʔut͡ʃíti kamón	ʔut͡ʃíti kamón
3	BIRD	PÁJARO	ʔisá	ʔizá	ʔisá	ʔisá
4	SNAKE	CULEBRA	ɾúnu	ɾúnu	ɾúnu	ɾúnu
5	FISH [NOUN]	PEZ; PESCADO	βakéna t͡sátsa	wakéna sása	wakéna / βakéna t͡sátsa	wakéna t͡sátsa
6	LOUSE	PIOJO	ʔía	ʔía	ʔía	ʔía

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
7	WORM (I.E., EARTHWORM)	LOMBRIZ (NO GUSANO)	nuín	nuín	nuín	nuín
8	GRASS	PASTO	βási	wázi	βási / wasi	wási
9	TREE	ÁRBOL	i	i	i	i
10	NAME	NOMBRE	ánɨ	ánɨ	ánɨ	ánɨ
11	FATHER	PADRE	pápa	pápa	pápa	pápa
12	MOTHER	MADRE	títa	títa	títa	títa
13	HUSBAND	ESPOSO; MARIDO	βɨ́nɨ	wɨ́nɨ	βɨ́nɨ	βɨ́nɨ
14	WIFE	ESPOSA	ʂaβiónkɨ ʂánu	z̨awiónkɨ z̨ánu	ʂaβiónkɨ ʂánu	ʂaβiónkɨ ʂánu

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
15	MAN [MALE]	HOMBRE	úni	úni	úni	úni
			βɨ́βu	núku wɨ́nɨ	βɨ́βu	βɨ́βu
16	WOMAN	MUJER	ʂánu	z̪ánu	ʂánu	ʂánu
17	CHILD	NIÑO	túa	túa z̪u	túa	túa
18	PERSON (HUMAN)	PERSONA	úni	úni	úni	úni
19	HEAD	CABEZA	maʂká	mápu z̪o	maʂká	maʂká
20	EAR	OREJA	paβí	pawí	paβí	paβí
21	EYE	OJO	βɨ́ɾu	wɨ́ɾu	βɨ́ɾu	βɨ́ɾu
22	NOSE	NARIZ	ɾɨkín	ɾɨgí	ɾɨkín	ɾɨkín

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
23	MOUTH	BOCA	kʷɨβí	kʷɨwí	kʷɨβí	kʷɨβí
24	TONGUE	LENGUA	ána	ána	ána	ána
25	TOOTH [FRONT]	DIENTE	ʂɨ́ta	zɨ́ta	ʂɨ́ta	ʂɨ́ta
26	NECK	CUELLO	tɨʂá	tɨzá	tɨʂá	tɨʂá
27	BELLY	BARRIGA	púku	púgu	púku	púku
28	BACK [OF BODY]	ESPALDA	káʂu	kázu	káʂu	káʂu
29	TAIL	RABO, COLA	ína	ína	ína	ína
30	LEG	PIERNA	kísi	kízi z̩o	kísi	kísi
31	FOOT	PIE	táɨ	táɨ	táɨ	táɨ

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
32	WING	ALA	pɨnt͡sís	pɨnsɨ́	pɨnt͡sís	pɨnt͡sís
			pít͡ʃi	pít͡ʃi	pít͡ʃi	pít͡ʃi
33	HAND	MANO	mɨkɨ́n	mɨgɨ́	mɨkɨ́n	mɨkɨ́n
34	HEART	CORAZÓN	núitu	núitu	núitu	núitu
35	GUTS	TRIPAS; INTESTINOS	púku	púgu	púku	púku
36	LIVER	HÍGADO	tákʷa	tágʷa	tákwa	tákʷa
37	BONE	HUESO	ʂo	z̦o	ʂo	ʂo
38	MEAT (FLESH)	CARNE	námi	námi	námi	námi
39	FAT (GREASE)	GRASA	ʂɨ́ni	z̦ɨ́ni	ʂɨ́ni	ʂɨ́ni

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
40	SKIN [OF PERSON]	PIEL	ʂaká ßɨʃí	z̤agá wɨ́	ʂaká ßɨʃí	ʂaká ßɨʃí
41	HAIR	CABELLO (O PELO)	ßu	u	ßu	ßu
42	FEATHER [LARGE]	PLUMA	pɨ́tʃi ɾáni	pɨ́tʃi ɾáni	pɨ́tʃi ɾáni	pɨ́tʃi ɾáni
43	BLOOD	SANGRE	ími	ími	ími	ími
44	ROOT	RAÍZ	tapún	tapú	tapún	tapún
45	BARK [OF TREE]	CORTEZA	ʂaká	z̤agá	ʂaká	ʂaká
46	LEAF	HOJA	pɨi	pɨi	pɨi	pɨi

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
47	FLOWER	FLOR	ʔúa	ʔúa	ʔúa	ʔúa
48	FRUIT (BERRY)	FRUTA	βími	wimi	βími	βími
49	SEED	SEMILLA	ɲu íṣɨ	ɲu íẓɨ	ju ínṣɨ	ju ínṣɨ
50	STICK [OF WOOD]	PALO	i	i	i	i
51	ASHES	CENIZA	t͡ʃimápu	t͡ʃimápu	t͡ʃimápu	t͡ʃimápu
52	MOUNTAIN	MONTAÑA	βáʃi	waín	βáʃi	βáʃi
53	WOODS (FOREST)	BOSQUE	ni	ni	ni	ni
54	RIVER	RÍO	βáka	wáka	βáka / wáka	wáka

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
55	LAKE	LAGO	ʔián	ʔián	ʔián	ʔián
56	SEA	MAR	paɾún papa	paɾún papa	paɾún papa	paɾún papa
57	WATER	AGUA	ʔumpáʂ	ʔumpáz̞	ʔumpáʂ	ʔumpáʂ
58	ICE	HIELO	mát͡si	mási	mát͡si	mát͡si
59	FIRE	FUEGO	t͡si	si	t͡si	t͡si
60	SMOKE [NOUN]	HUMO	kuín	kuín	kuín	kuín
61	EARTH [SOIL]	TIERRA	me	mɨe	me	me

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
62	DUST	POLVO	pútu	pútu	pútu	pútu
63	SAND	ARENA	mási	mázi	mási	mási
64	STONE	PIEDRA	maṣáṣ	mazáz̥	maṣáṣ	maṣáṣ
65	ROAD (PATH)	CARRETERA (CAMINO, TROCHA, SENDERO)	βái	wái	wái / βái	wái
66	EGG	HUEVO	βátsi ~ wátsi	wasi	βa͡tsi	βa͡tsi ~ wa͡tsi
67	RAIN	LLUVIA	úɲe	úwe	uí	eβe
68	SNOW	NIEVE	---	---	---	---
69	FOG	NEBLINA	kʷénkuɾu	kuínkuɾu	kénkuɾu	kénkuɾu
70	SKY	CIELO	naí	naí	naí	naí

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
71	CLOUD	NUBE	níti kuín	kuín	níti kuín	níti kuín
72	WIND [BREEZE]	VIENTO	súɲu	zúɲu	súyu	súyu
73	SUN	SOL	βáɾi	wáɾi	βáɾi / wáɾi	wáɾi
74	STAR	ESTRELLA	ʔíspa	ʔɨ́pa	ʔíspa	ʔíspa
75	DAY [DAYTIME]	DÍA	nítɨ	nítɨ	nítɨ	nítɨ
76	NIGHT	NOCHE	imɨ	wakín	imɨ wakíʃ / imɨ βakíʃ	wakíʃ
77	YEAR	AÑO	βáɾitia	wáɾitia	βáɾitia	βáɾitia
78	ROPE (CORD)	CUERDA	t͡si	ísi	t͡si	t͡si

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
79	SALT	SAL	táʃi	taín	táʃi	tasi
80	I	YO	ʔɨ	ʔɨ	ʔɨ	ʔɨ
81	THOU [YOU]	USTED, TÚ	mi	mi	mi	mi
82	HE	ÉL	a	a / u	a	a
83	THEY	ELLOS	átu	ágama / úgama	átu	átu
84	WE	NOSOTROS	nú(kama)	núgɨgama	nú(kama)	nú(kama)
85	YE [YOU ALL]	USTEDES; VOSOTROS	mĩt͡su	migama	mĩt͡su	mĩt͡su
86	WHO [INTERR.]	QUIÉN	úi	úi	úi	úi

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
87	WHAT [INTERR.]	QUÉ	a ɲu	a ɲu	a ju	a ju
88	THIS	ESTE	íni	íni	íni	íni
89	THAT	ÉSE; AQUEL	a / u	a / u	a / u	a / u
90	LIVE	VIVIR	t͡sóti βúkuti	sóti úguti	t͡sóti βúkuti	t͡sóti βúkuti
91	DIE	MORIR	βámati	wámati	βámati, wámati	wámati
92	FREEZE	CONGELAR; HELARSE	mát͡siti	másiti	mát͡siti	mát͡siti
93	SWELL	HINCHAR	ʔúati	ʔúati	ʔúati	ʔúati

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
94	FALL [DROP]	CAER(-SE)	nipákɨti	nipágɨti	nipákɨti	nipákɨti
95	BREATHE	RESPIRAR	uínti	uínti	uínti	uínti
96	BLOW [WIND]	SOPLAR	ʂúnkati	zúnkati	ʂúnkati	ʂúnkati
97	SLEEP	DORMIR	ʔúʂti	ʔúẓti	ʔúʂti	ʔúʂti
98	LIE [BE LYING DOWN]	ECHAR(-SE)	ɾakáti	ɾagáti	ɾakáti	ɾakáti
99	SIT	SENTAR(-SE)	t͡sóβuti	sówuti	t͡sóβuti	t͡sóβuti
100	STAND	PARAR(-SE)	niɾúti	niɾúti	niɾúti	niɾúti

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
101	FLOAT	FLOTAR; REBALSAR	βɨspúti	wɨpúti	βɨspúti	βɨspúti
102	FLOW	FLUIR	aβáti	awáti	aβáti	aβáti
103	COME	VENIR	úti	úti	úti	úti
104	WALK	CAMINAR; ANDAR (MORE GENERAL)	níti	niti	niti	niti
105	FLY [VERB]	VOLAR	nuánti	nuánti	nuánti	nuánti
106	SWIM	NADAR	mɨ́ɲuti	mɨ́ɲuti	mɨ́juti	mɨ́juti
107	TURN [INTR. V.]	VOLTEAR, GIRAR	kʷainákɨti	kʷainágɨti	kʷainákɨti	kʷainákɨti
108	PLAY	JUGAR	kʷáiti	kʷáiti	kʷáiti	kʷáiti
109	SEE	VER	ísti	ɨ́ti	ísti	ísti

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
110	SMELL [TR. V.]	OLER	ʂɨ́ti	zɨ́ti	ʂɨ́ti	ʂɨ́ti
111	HEAR	OIR	kʷáti	kʷáti	kʷáti	kʷáti
112	KNOW [FACTS]	SABER	ʔunánti	ʔunánti	ʔunánti	ʔunánti
113	THINK	PENSAR	sinánti	zinánti	sinánti	sinánti
114	FEAR [VERB]	TEMER	ɾakʷɨ́ti	ɾagʷɨ́ti	ɾakʷɨ́ti	ɾakʷɨ́ti
115	COUNT [VERB]	CONTAR	tupúnti	tupúnti	tupúnti	tupúnti
116	SAY	DECIR	káti kíti	káti kíti	káti kíti	káti kíti

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Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
117	SING	CANTAR	kántati	kántati	kántati	kántati
118	LAUGH	REIR	kʷáiti	kʷáiti	kʷáiti	kʷáiti
119	EAT	COMER	píti	píti	píti	píti
120	DRINK [VERB]	BEBER, TOMAR	ʂɨ́ati	zɨ́ati	ʂɨ́ati	ʂɨ́ati
121	SUCK	CHUPAR	úɲuti	úɲuti	újuti	újuti
122	BITE	MORDER	natɨ́ʂti	natɨ́zti	natɨ́ʂti	natɨ́ʂti
123	SPIT [VERB]	ESCUPIR	túʃukati	túyukati	túʃukati	túʃukati
124	VOMIT [VERB]	VOMITAR	ʔanáti	kináti	kinánti	ʔanáti

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
125	SCRATCH [ITCH]	RASCAR	ʂuánti	z̧uánti	ʂuánti	ʂuánti
126	HUNT	CAZAR	ɲú ʔati	ɲú ʔati	jú ʔati	jú ʔati
127	BURN [TR. V.]	QUEMAR	nínti saroti	nínti	nínti saroti	nínti saroti
128	SEW	COSER	ʔúnuti kíʂiti	ʔúnuti	ʔúnuti kíʂiti	ʔúnuti kíʂiti
129	TIE [VERB]	ATAR, AMARRAR	tíkɨrɨkati	tírɨkati	tíkɨrɨkati	tíkɨrɨkati
130	PULL	JALAR	níniti	níniti	níniti	níniti

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
131	THROW	TIRAR; LANZAR	níti	níti	níti	níti
			nónti	nónti	nóti	nóti
132	PUSH	EMPUJAR	títikati	títikati	títikati	títikati
133	SQUEEZE	APRETAR	t͡sɨ́nkati	sɨ́nkati	t͡sɨ́nkati	t͡sɨ́nkati
134	DIG	CAVAR; ESCARBAR	náɨti	náɨti	náɨti	náɨti
135	WASH	LAVAR	t͡ʃúkati	t͡ʃúgati	t͡ʃúkati	t͡ʃúkati
136	WIPE	LIMPIAR; ENJUGAR	mɨnióti	mɨnióti	mɨnióti	mɨnióti

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
137	RUB	SOBAR, FROTAR	ɾaʂuínti ɾámasuti	z�	ɾaʂuánti ɾaʂuínti ɾámasuti	ɾaʂuánti ɾatsɨkati ɾámasuti
138	GIVE	DAR	ʔinánti	ʔináti	ʔinánti	ʔinánti
139	HOLD [IN HAND]	AGARRAR, SOSTENER	βíti tuínti	wíti tuínti	βíti tuínti	βíti tuínti
140	CUT [VERB]	CORTAR	tɨati	tɨati	tɨati	tɨati
141	SPLIT	PARTIR; HENDER	túkati	túgati	túkati	túkati
142	FIGHT	PELEAR; LUCHAR	mɨanánti	mɨanánti	mɨanánti	mɨanánti
143	HIT	GOLPEAR, PEGAR	mɨti	mɨti	mɨti	mɨti

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
144	STAB [OR PIERCE]	PENETRAR (PERFORANDO)	t͡ʃát͡ʃiti	t͡ʃát͡ʃiti	t͡ʃát͡ʃiti	t͡ʃát͡ʃiti
145	KILL	MATAR	ɾíti	ɾítɨti	ɾíti	ɾíti
146	SMOOTH	LISO	niβá	niwá	niβá	niβá
147	WARM (HOT WEATHER)	CALIENTE	ʔit͡sís	zána	ʔit͡sís	ʔit͡sís
148	COLD [WEATHER]	FRÍO	mát͡si	mási	mát͡si	mát͡si
149	SHARP [KNIFE]	FILUDO, FILOSO	kʷɨnu kʷɨnʂu	kʷɨnuti	kʷɨnu kʷɨnʂu	kʷɨnu kʷɨnʂu

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Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
150	DULL [KNIFE]	DESAFILADO; EMBOTADO	kʷínuɲuma	kʷínuɲuma	kʷínujuma	kʷínujuma
151	ROTTEN [LOG]	PODRIDO	tʃɨ́kikɨ	tʃɨ́gigɨ	tʃɨ́kikɨ	tʃɨ́kikɨ
152	STRAIGHT	RECTO, DERECHO	puntɨ́	puntɨ́	puntɨ́	puntɨ́
153	DIRTY	SUCIO	tʃúa	tʃúa	tʃúwa	tʃúa
154	HEAVY	PESADO	ʔiɨ́	ʔiɨ́	ʔɨ́yɨ	ʔɨ́yɨ
155	WET	MOJADO	tʃaβá	tʃawá	tʃaβá	tʃaβá
156	DRY [ADJ./V.]	SECO	ʔɨ́skikɨ	ʔɨ́skigɨ	ʔɨ́skikɨ	ʔɨ́skikɨ
157	BLACK	NEGRO	tunán	tunán	tunán	tunán

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Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
158	WHITE	BLANCO	úʂu	úʐu	úʂu	úʂu
159	RED	ROJO	t͡ʃíʂɨ úʂín	ɾoza / ʐoza	t͡ʃíʂɨ únʂín	t͡ʃíʂɨ úʂín
160	YELLOW	AMARILLO	kúɾunsa	kuɾúnza	t͡ʃáma ʔúasa	kuɾúnsa
161	GREEN	VERDE	páʂa	páʐa	páʂa	páʂa
162	NEW	NUEVO	βɨná ʔió	wɨná ʔió	βɨná ʔió	βɨná ʔió
163	OLD [ADJ.]	VIEJO	ʂɨ́ni	ʐɨ́ni	ʂɨ́ni	ʂɨ́ni
164	GOOD	BUENO	upí	upí	upí	upí
165	BAD	MALO	ʔáisama	ʔáizama	ʔáisama	ʔáisama

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
166	HERE	AQUÍ; ACÁ	ɨ́nu	ɨ́nu	ɨ́nu	ɨ́nu
167	THERE	AHÍ; ALLÍ; ALLÁ	ánu	ánu	ánu	ánu
168	NEAR	CERCA	úrama	úrama	úrama	úrama
169	FAR	LEJOS	úɾa	úɾa	úɾa	úɾa
170	RIGHT (SIDE)	DERECHA	mɨ́kʷeu	mɨ́kʷeu	mɨ́keu	mɨ́keu
171	LEFT (SIDE)	IZQUIERDA	mɨ́miu	mɨ́miu	mɨ́miu	mɨ́miu
172	BIG	GRANDE	t͡ʃa	t͡ʃa	t͡ʃa	t͡ʃa
173	WIDE	ANCHO	pampa	pampa	pampa	pampa
174	THICK	GRUESO	kɨʂtú	kɨẓtú	kɨʂtú	kɨʂtú

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
175	SMALL	PEQUEÑO	t͡ʃukúma	t͡ʃugúma	t͡ʃukúma	t͡ʃukúma
176	THIN	DELGADO	βɨnt͡sín	wɨnsí	βɨnt͡sín	βɨnt͡sín
177	NARROW	ANGOSTO; ESTRECHO	ánt͡sukus	ánsugugɨ	ánt͡suku	ánt͡suku
178	LONG	LARGO	t͡ʃazgɨ́	t͡ʃazgɨ́	t͡ʃazgɨ́	t͡ʃazgɨ́
179	SHORT	CORTO; BAJO (VERTICAL)	mɨtú	mɨtú	mɨtú	mɨtú
180	ONE	UNO	at͡ʃúʃi	at͡ʃúi	at͡ʃúʃi	at͡ʃúʃi
181	TWO	DOS	ɾaβɨ́	ɾawɨ́	ɾaβɨ́	ɾaβɨ́
182	THREE	TRES	---	---	---	---
183	FOUR	CUATRO	---	---	---	---

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
184	FIVE	CINCO	mápai	mápai	mápai	mapai
185	MANY	MUCHOS	ʔit͡sa	ʔisa	ʔit͡sa	ʔit͡sa
186	FEW	POCOS	ʔit͡samaʃi	ʔisama	ʔit͡samaʃi	ʔit͡samaʃi
187	ALL	TODOS	kámaβi	kámawi	kámaβi	kámaβi
188	SOME	ALGUNOS	ɾáiɾi	ɾáiɾi	ɾáiɾi	ɾáiɾi
189	OTHER	OTRO	βɨtsi	wɨsi	βɨtsi	βɨtsi
190	WHERE [INTERR.]	DÓNDE	úinu	úinu	úinu	úinu
191	WHEN [INTERR.]	CUÁNDO	úisaran	úizaɲu	úisaran	úisaran

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
192	HOW [INTERR.]	CÓMO	úisa	úiza	úisa	úisa
193	IN	EN, ADENTRO	mɨú	mɨú	mɨú	mɨú
194	RIGHT (CORRECT)	CORRECTO	upí	upí	upí	upí
195	NOT	NO	-ma	-ma	-ma	-ma
196	AND	Y	ʔímainun	ʔímainun	ʔímainun	ʔímainun
197	BECAUSE	PORQUE	ɾáβanan	ɾáwanan	ɾáβanan	ɾáβanan
198	IF	SI	------	------	------	------
199	AT	EN	-un	-un	-nu	-un

Num.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
200	WITH [ACCOM-PANYMENT]	CON	-βɨ(tan)	-wɨ(tan)	-βɨ(tan)	-βɨ(tan)

Appendix 3: Tessmann list of 237 terms for the four extant dialects of Kashibo-Kakatataibo (with German and Spanish translations)

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
1	ZUNGE	LENGUA	ána	ána	ána	ána
2	ZAHN	DIENTE	ṣɨ́ta	zɨ́ta	ṣɨ́ta	ṣɨ́ta
3	AUGE	OJO	βɨ́ɾu	wɨ́ɾu	βɨ́ɾu	βɨ́ɾu
4	OHR	OREJA	paβí	pawí	paβí	paβí
5	KOPF	CABEZA	maṣká, mapuṣo	mapuẓo	maṣká, mapuṣo	maṣká, mapuṣo
6	HAND	MANO	mɨkɨ́n	mɨgɨ́	mɨkɨ́n	mɨkɨ́n
7	WASSER	AGUA	ʔumpáṣ	ʔumpáẓ	ʔumpáṣ	ʔumpáṣ
8	FEUER	FUEGO	t͡si	si	t͡si	t͡si

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
9	SONNE	SOL	βári	wári	wári	wári
10	MOND	LUNA	ʔúʂɨ	úzɨ̧	ʔúʂɨ	úʂɨ
11	ERDE (ERDBODEN)	TIERRA (SUELO)	me	mí̧e	me	me
12	STEIN	PIEDRA	maʂáʂ	maza̧	maʂá	maʂá
13	HAUS (WOHN-)	CASA (COMUNAL)	ʂúβu	zú̧u	ʂúβu	ʂúβu
14	TOPF (KOCH-)	OLLA (DE COCINA)	ɲútɨ	--	jútɨ	jútɨ
15	KANU	CANOA	núnti	núnti	núnti	núnti
16	MANN	HOMBRE	úni	úni	úni	úni
17	FRAU	MUJER	ʂánu	zánu	ʂánu	ʂánu

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
18	HUHN	GALLINA	ʔatóripa	ʔátapa	ʔatóripa	ʔatóripa
19	HUND	PERRO	kamún, utít͡ʃi	utít͡ʃi	kamún, utít͡ʃi	kamún, utít͡ʃi
20	JAGUAR	JAGUAR	ʔínu	ʔínu	ʔínu	ʔínu
21	TAPIR	SACHAVACA	ʔŏ	ʔŏ	ʔŏ	ʔŏ
22	KAIMAN	CAIMÁN	kapɨ	kapɨ	kapɨ	kapɨ
23	STOCK	PALO, BASTÓN	i	i	i	i
24	MANIOK	YUCA	ʔát͡sa	ʔása	ʔát͡sa	ʔát͡sa
25	MAIS	MAÍZ	ʂɨki	zɨgi	ʂɨki	ʂɨki
26	PLANTE	PLÁTANO	nŏnsi	nó(n)zigi	nŏnsi	nŏnsi
27	TABAK	TABACO	ɾumɨ	ɾumɨ	ɾumɨ	ɾumɨ

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
28	EINS	UNO	a͡tʃúʃi	a͡tʃúin	a͡tʃúʃi	a͡tʃúʃi
29	ZWEI	DOS	ɾaβɨ́	ɾawɨ́	ɾaβɨ́	ɾaβɨ́
30	DREI	TRES	--	--	--	--
31	WEIß	BLANCO	úʂu(a)	úzu(a)	úʂu(a)	úʂu(a)
32	SCHWARZ	NEGRO	tunán	tuná	tunán	tunán
33	ROT	ROJO	uʃín, panʃín, t͡ʃɨ́ʂɨ	zọza	uʃín, panʃín, t͡ʃɨ́ʂɨ	uʃín, panʃín, t͡ʃɨ́ʂɨ
34	HAAR	CABELLO	βu	u	βu	βu
35	SCHNURRBART	BARBA	kʷɨ́ni	kʷɨ́ni	kʷɨ́ni	kʷɨ́ni
36	BACKENBART	PATILLAS	tánɾani	ɨ́zpa	tánɾani	tánɾani
37	GESICHT	ROSTRO	βɨmána	wɨmána	βɨmánan	βɨmána

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
38	STIRN	FRENTE	βɨmána	wɨmána	βɨmánan	βɨmána
39	BRAUEN	CEJAS	βɨ́ʂku	wɨ́ẓku	βɨ́ʂku	βɨ́ʂku
40	WIMPERN	PESTAÑAS	βɨ́ʂni	wɨ́ẓni	βɨ́ni	βɨ́ʂni
41	NASE	NARIZ	rɨkín	rɨgín	rɨkín	rɨkín
42	MUND	BOCA	kʷɨβí	kʷɨwí	kʷɨβí	kʷɨβí
43	LIPPE	LABIOS	kʷɨpá,	kʷɨwí,	kʷɨpá,	kʷɨpá,
44	KINN	MENTÓN	kʷɨʂá	kʷɨẓá	kʷɨʂá	kʷɨʂá
45	KEHLE	GARGANTA	tɨ́ru, tɨʂá 'neck'	tɨ́ru, tɨẓá 'neck'	tɨ́ru, tɨʂá 'neck'	tɨ́ru, tɨʂá 'neck'
46	HALS	CUELLO	tɨʂá	tɨẓá	tɨʂá	tɨʂá
47	RÜCKEN	ESPALDA	káʂu	káẓu	káʂu	káʂu

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
48	SCHULTER	HOMBRO	tɨkínpata	pízu̧ zo̧	tɨkínpata	tɨkínpata
49	ARM	BRAZO	pɨɲán	pɨɲá	pɨján	pɨján
50	OBERARM	BRAZO SUPERIOR	pɨɲán rara	pízu̧ zo̧	pɨján rara	pɨján rara
51	UNTERARM	ANTEBRAZO	pɨɲán	pɨɲá	pɨján	pɨján
52	ELLENBOGEN	CODO	βánβu̧ʂu	wáuzu̧	wáβu̧ʂu	wánβu̧ʂu
53	FINGER	DEDO	mɨkín	mɨgɨ́	mɨkín	mɨkín
54	NAGEL	UÑA	ʔuntsís	ʔunsɨ	ʔuntsís	ʔuntsís
55	BRUST	PECHO	ʃikán	igá	ʃikán	ʃikán
56	RIPPE	COSTILLA	putú(ʂo)	putú(zo)	putú(ʂo)	putú(ʂo)

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
57	BRUSTWARZE	PEZÓN	ṣúma	zúma	ṣúma	ṣúma
58	WEIBL. BRUST	SENO	ṣúma	zúma	ṣúma	ṣúma
59	BAUCH	BARRIGA	nuβí	nuwí	nuβí	nuβí
60	NABEL	OMBLIGO	nitú	nitú	nitú	nitú
61	PENIS	PENE	inṣú	inzú	inṣú	inṣú
62	HODEN	TESTÍCULO	úβu	úzɨ	úβu	úβu
63	---					
64	---					
65	VULVA	VULVA	t͡ʃípi	t͡ʃípi	t͡ʃípi	t͡ʃípi
66	BEIN	PIERNA	kísi	kízi	kísi	kísi

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
67	OBERSCHENKEL	MUSLO	kísi	kízi	kísi	kísi
68	UNTERSCHENKEL	PIERNA BAJA	kísi	kízi	kísi	kísi
69	KNIE	RODILLA	ɾánβuʂu	ɾáuzu̱	ɾáβuʂu	ɾánβuʂu
70	FUSS	PIE	táɨ	táɨ	táɨ	táɨ
71	FERSE	TALÓN	táɨ t͡ʃíputu	táɨ t͡ʃipun	táɨ t͡síputu	táɨ t͡síputi
72	ZEHE	DEDO DEL PIE	táɨ ɾíβu	táɨ ɾíu zo̱	táɨ ɾíβu	táɨ ɾíβu
73	HAUT	PIEL	βɨʃí	wɨí	βɨʃí	βɨʃí
74	---					
75	KNOCHEN	HUESO	ʂo	zo̱	ʂo	ʂo
76	BLUT (75 EN	SANGRE	ími	ími	ími	ími

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Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
	KASHIBO)					
77	ATEM	ALIENTO	ʂaβákɨ	z̧awágɨ	ʂawákɨ	ʂawákɨ
78	MENGE (LEUTE)	MULTITUD DE GENTE	βukúkɨ	ugúgɨ	βukúkɨ	βukúkɨ
79	---					
80	---					
81	KNABE, GESCHLECHDZRCIFER	MUCHACHO, PÚBER	βɨná uni	wɨná uni	βɨná uni	βɨná uni
82	MĀDCHEN, GESCHLECHDZREIFES	MUCHACHA, PÚBER	ʂuntaku	wɨná z̧ánu	ʂuntaku	ʂuntaku
83	VATER	PADRE	pápa	pápa	pápa	pápa

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
84	MUTTER	MADRE	títa	títa	títa	títa
85	FREUND (NUR GLEICHGESCHLECHT-LICHER)	AMIGO (SOLO HOMOSEXUAL)	--	--	--	--
86	FEIND	ENEMIGO	no	no	no	no
87	FREMDER	EXTRANJERO	úɾa βukúkɨ	úɾa ugúgɨ	úɾa βukúkɨ	úɾa βukúkɨ
88	WILDER	SALVAJE	ɾaɨ́kɨma	ɾaɨ́gɨma	ɾaɨ́kɨma	ɾaɨ́kɨma
89	SPRACHE	IDIOMA	βana	wana	wana	wana
90	KOPFSCHMERZ	DOLOR DE CABEZA	máṣkatan ʔákɨ	mápuzǫ paɨ́gɨ	máṣkatan ʔákɨ	máṣkatan ʔákɨ
91	LEIBSHMERZ	DOLOR DE	púku nɨnɨ ʔákɨ	púgun paɨ́gɨ	púku nɨnɨ ʔákɨ	púku nɨnɨ ʔákɨ

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
		BARRIGA				
92	ARZNEI	REMEDIO	ɾo	ɾo	ɾo	ɾo
93	SPEISE	COMIDA	píti	píti	píti	píti
94	FLEISH	CARNE	námi	námi	námi	námi
95	FISCH	PESCADO	ɲúma 'anchoveta'	ɲúma 'anchoveta'	júma 'anchoveta'	júma 'anchoveta'
96	HIMMEL	CIELO	naí	naí	naí	naí
97	VOLLMOND	LUNA LLENA	úzɨ̧ βɨráma isíkɨ uzɨ̧ turúkɨ	úzɨ̧ izígɨ	úzɨ̧ βɨráma isíkɨ uzɨ̧ turúkɨ	úzɨ̧ βɨráma isíkɨ uzɨ̧ turúkɨ
98	MOND, ZUNCHM	LUNA CRESCIENTE	úzɨ̧ isíkɨ	úzɨ̧ wɨráma	úzɨ̧ isíkɨ	úzɨ̧ isíkɨ

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
				isíkɨ		
99	STERN	ESTRELLA	ʔíspa	ʔɨ́zpa	ʔíspa	ʔíspa
100	WOLKE	NUBE	kuín	kuín	kuín	kuín
101	BLITZ	RELÁMPAGO	kaná mɨ́ɾiti	kaná mɨ́ɾiti	kaná mɨ́ɾiti	kaná mɨ́ɾiti
102	DONNER	TRUENO	kaná	kaná	kaná	kaná
103	REGEN	LLUVIA	úɲe	úwe	úi	ébe
104	WIND	VIENTO	súɲu	zúɲu	súju ~ súɲu	súju
105	REGENZEIT	ESTACIÓN LLUVIOSA	míta	míta	míta	míta
106	TROCKENZEIT	ESTACIÓN SECA	βaritía	warikʷazingɨ	waritía	waritía

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
107	MORGEN	MAÑANA	ʔimɨ́iʃi	ʔimɨ́in	ʔimɨ́iʃi	ʔimɨ́iʃi
108	MITTAG	MEDIODÍA	βári maníkɨ, βári ʃamán nakɨ́kɨ	wári ʃamá nakɨ́kɨ	wári maníkɨ, wári ʃamán nakɨ́kɨ	wári maníkɨ, wári ʃamán nakɨ́kɨ
109	NACHT	NOCHE	ɲantán, imɨ́	ɲantán, imɨ́	jantán, imɨ́	jantán
110	TAG	DÍA	nítɨ	nítɨ	nítɨ	nítɨ
111	MONAT	MES	ʔúʂɨ	ʔúzɨ	ʔúʂɨ	ʔúʂɨ
112	JAHR	AÑO	βaritía	waritía	waritía	waritía
113	FLUß	RÍO	βáka	wáka	wáka	wáka
114	SANDBANK	BANCO DE	masi	mazi	masi	masi

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
		ARENA				
115	BACH	RIACHUELO	ʂɨʂá	zɨzá	ʂɨʂá	nasí ʂɨʂá
116	SCHENELLE	CATARATA	ʔumpáʂ ʃioβúkɨ, ʔumpáʂ ʔiβúkɨ	ʔiyúgɨ	ʔumpáʂ ʃioβúkɨ, ʔumpáʂ ʔiβúkɨ	ʔumpáʂ ʃioβúkɨ, ʔumpáʂ ʔiβúkɨ
117	QUELLE	FUENTE	múmokikë	maná ʔíkɨ	múmokikë	múmokikë
118	HÜGEL	LOMA	matá	matán me	matá	matá
119	WALD	BOSQUE	ni	ni	ni	ni
120	SEKUND, WALD (PURMA)	BOSQUE SECUNDARIO	máɨ	máɨ	máɨ	máɨ
121	PFLANZUNG	HUERTA	náɨ	náɨ	náɨ	náɨ
122	WEG	CAMINO	βai	wai	wai	wai

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
123	BAUM	ÁRBOL	i	i	i	i
124	HOLZ	MADERA	i (níkɨ)	i (níkɨ)	i (níkɨ)	i (níkɨ)
125	LIANE	BEJUCO	nint͡ʃɨ́ʂ	nint͡ʃɨ́z̢, ajaz̢	nint͡ʃɨ́ʂ	nint͡ʃɨ́ʂ
126	BLATT	HOJA	pɨ́i	pɨ́i	pɨ́i	pɨ́i
127	BLUME	FLOR	ɲu ʔúa	ɲu ʔúa	ju ʔúa	ju ʔúa
128	WURZEL	RAÍZ	tapún	í tapu	tapún	tapún
129	HELICONIA (SITULLI)	HELICONIA (SITULLÍ)	sinkín	paka	sinkín	sinkín
130	AFFE, ALLG	MONO (GENERAL)	--	--	--	--
131	HELLER	MONO	t͡ʃɨ́ɾu uʂu	t͡ʃɨ́ɾuz̢u	t͡ʃɨ́ɾu uʂu	t͡ʃɨ́ɾu uʂu

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
	KAPUZINERAFFE	CAPUCHINO CLARO				
132	DUNKLER KAPUZINERAFFE	MONO CAPUCHINO OSCURO	t͡ʃíɾu	t͡ʃíɾu	t͡ʃíɾu	t͡ʃíɾu
133	SAIMIRI (FRAILECITO)	SAIMIRI (FRAILECILLO)	ɾúkaɾuka	ɾúgaɾuga	ɾúkaɾuka	ɾúkaɾuka
134	BRÜLLAFFE	MONO AULLADOR	ɾu	ɾu	ɾu	ɾu
135	WOLLAFFE (CHORO)	MONO LANUDO (CHORO)	t͡ʃúnakuɾu	t͡ʃúnaguɾu	t͡ʃúnakuɾu	t͡ʃúnakuɾu
136	SPINNENAFFE	MONO ARAÑA	t͡ʃúna	t͡ʃúna	t͡ʃúna	t͡ʃúna

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
137	NACHTAFFE (MUSMUQUI)	MONO NOCTURNO (MUSMUQUI)	ɾíɾi	ɾíɾi	ɾíɾi	ɾíɾi
138	FLEDERMAUS	MURCIÉLAGO	kaʃían	kaía	kaínʃa	kaínʃa
139	PUMA	PUMA	t͡ʃáʂu ʔinu	t͡ʃázu ʔinu	t͡ʃáʂu ʔinu	t͡ʃáʂu ʔinu
140	TIGERKATZE	TIGRILLO	ʔinu	ʔinu	ʔinu	ʔinu
141	BUSCHHUND	PERRO DE MONTE	kaman, ní utít͡ʃi	kamún, ní utít͡ʃi	kamún, ní utít͡ʃi	kamún, ní utít͡ʃi
142	NASENBĀR (ACHUNI)	COATÍ (ACHUNI)	sisi	zizi	sisi	sisi
143	OTTER	NUTRÍA	βúnsime, ʂórapana	únsime, ɲórapana	βúnsime, ʂórapana	βúnsime, ʂórapana

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
144	DELPHIN (BUFÉO)	BUFEO	kʷɨ̞ʂuiʃka	kúz̧uinga	kʷɨ̞ʂuiʃka	kʷɨ̞ʂuiʃka
145	SEEKUH	MANATÍ	ʂórapana	ɲórapana	ʂórapana	ʂórapana
146	REH	CORZO	t͡ʃáʂu	t͡ʃáz̧u	t͡ʃáʂu	t͡ʃáʂu
147	WEIẞBARTPEKARI	HUANGANA	ɲo	ɲo	jo	jo
148	HALSBANDPEKARI	SAGINO	ʔunkín	ʔungí	ʔunkín	ʔunkín
149	WASSERSCHWEIN (RONSOCO)	RONSOCO	ʔamɨ́n	ʔamɨ́	ʔamɨ́n	ʔamɨ́n
150	AGUTI	AÑUJE	maɾi	maɾi	maɾi	maɾi
151	PAKA	MAJAS	ʔánu	ʔánu	ʔánu	ʔánu
152	GR. AMEISENBĀR	OSO HORMIGUERO	kúɾuʂaɨ	kúɾuz̧aɨ	kúɾuʂaɨ	kúɾuʂaɨ

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
153	FAULTIER (PELEJO)	MONO PEREZOSO	punsɨ́n	puzɨ́	punsɨ́n	punsɨ́n
154	KL. GÜRTELTIER (CARACHUPA)	ARMADILLO PEQUEÑO (CARACHUPA)	ɲaís	ɲaɨ́z	jaís	jaís
155	HAHN	GALLO	ʔatóripa βɨnɨ	ʔátapa wɨnɨ	ʔatóripa βɨnɨ	ʔatóripa βɨnɨ
156	HUHN	GALLINA	ʔatóripa ʂanu	ʔátapa z̦anu	ʔatóripa ʂanu	ʔatóripa ʂanu
157	EI	HUEVO	ʔatóripa β͡átsi	ʔátapa wási	ʔatóripa β͡átsi	ʔatóripa w͡átsi
158	ARA MACAO	ARA MACAO	ʂŏn	z̦ŏn	ʂŏn	ʂŏn
159	ARA CHLOROPTERA	ARA CHOLOPTERA	kaín	kaín	kaín	kaín

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
160	ARARAUMA	ARARAUMA	kana	kana	kana	kana
161	PAPAGEI	PAPAGAYO	βo	wo	βo	wo
162	AASGEIER	GALLINAZO	ʂít̵	zít̵	ʂít̵	ʂít̵
163	EULE	LECHUZA	púpu	púpu	púpu	púpu
164	NACHDZHWALBE	GOLONDRINA NOCTURNA	pír̵u	pír̵u	pír̵u	pír̵u
165	KOLIBRI	PICAFLOR	pínu	pínu	pínu	pínu
166	ZIGEUNERHUHN	GALLINA GITANA	nɨ̵ʂɨ́s	nɨ̵zɨ́	nɨ̵ʂɨ́s	nɨ̵ʂɨ́s
167	HOKKO	PAUJIL	ʔasín	ʔazí	ʔansín	ʔansín
168	PENELOPE	PAVA DE	kuʂu	kuzu̵	kuʂu	kuʂu

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
	JACUTINGA	MONTE				
169	PENELOPE JACUACU (PUCACUNGA)	PAVA DE MONTE (PUCACUNGA)	kʷɨ́βu	kʷɨ́u	kʷɨ́βu	kʷɨ́βu
170	ARAPAIMA (PAICHE L.)	PAICHE	---	---	---	---
171	RIESENWELS (SÚNGARO)	SÚNGARO	túkɨ	túkɨ	túkɨ	túkɨ
172	LANDSCHILDKRÖTE	TORTUGA TERRESTRE	ʂáɨ '	tɨ́pa	ʂáɨ	ʂáɨ
173	FLUßSCHILDKRÖTE	TORTUGA FLUVIAL	ʂaɨon	kauɾi	ʂaɨon	ʂaɨon

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
174	TEJUEIDECHSE (IGUANO)	IGUANA	ʂíkɨ	zʲígɨ	ʂíkɨ	ʂíkɨ
175	LEGUAN (CAMALEÓN)	CAMALEÓN	ʔápaʃiɾu	ʔápainɾu	ʔápaʃiɾu	ʔápaʃiɾu
176	EIDECHSE	LAGARTIJA	ɲúnkɨ	ɲúngɨ	júnkɨ	júnkɨ
177	SCHLANGE	CULEBRA	ɾúnu	ɾúnu	ɾúnu	ɾúnu
178	EUNECTES (BOA)	BOA	ɾúnín	ɾúnín	ɾúnín	ɾúnín
179	LANZENSCHLANGE	VÍBORA DEL BRASIL	kánaru	kánaru	kánaru	kánarun
180	BUSCHMEISTER	SURUCUCÚ (AFANINGA)	piská	pɨzgá	piská	piská
181	KRÖTE	SAPO	aʃá	ajá	aʃá	aʃá

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
182	BIENE	ABEJA	βúɲa	úɲa	βúja	βúja
183	WESPE (182 IN KASHINO LIST)	AVISPA	βína	wína	βína	βína
184	SHMETTERLING	MARIPOSA	pínpɨʂo	pínpɨẓo	pínpɨʂo	pínpɨʂo
185	SPINNWEBEN / SPINNE IN KASHINO LIST	TELARAÑAS	sapín	waxú	sapín	sapín
186	SANDFLIEGE	ARDILLA	kápa	kápa	kápa	kápa
187	MILBE	ÁCARO (ISANGO)	ʔupús	ʔupúz	ʔupús	ʔupús
188	MÜCKE	MOSQUITO	βi	wi	βi	βi

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
189	DINOPONERA-AMEISE (ISULA)	HORMIGA ISULA	kutíʃ	kutíɲa mo	kutíʃ	kutíʃ
190	DING, SACHE	OBJETO, COSA	ɲu	ɲu	ju	ju
191	FEUERHOLZ	LEÑO	káɾu	káɾu	káɾu	káɾu
192	KOHLE	CARBÓN	t͡sísu	sízu	t͡sísu	t͡sísu
193	ASCHE	CENIZA	t͡ʃimapu	t͡ʃimapu	t͡ʃimapu	t͡ʃimapu
194	RAUCH	HUMO	t͡sin kuín	sin kuín	t͡sin kuín	t͡sin kuín
195	FLAMME (FOGATA)	FOGATA	t͡si ɾɨkiɾukɨ	íɾɨrugɨ	t͡si ɾɨkiɾukɨ	t͡si ɾɨkiɾukɨ
196	KRANK	ENFERMO	ɲukɨ ʔisínkɨ	ɲugɨ ʔisíngɨ	jukɨ ʔisínkɨ	jukɨ ʔisínkɨ
197	GESUND	SANO	ɲúkɨma	ɲúkɨma	júkɨma	júkɨma

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
198	HART	DURO	ʔiɾu	ʔiɾu	ʔiɾu	ʔiɾu
199	WEICH	SUAVE	βát͡ʃu	wát͡ʃu	wát͡ʃu	wát͡ʃu
200	RUND	REDONDO	mamua	mamua	mamua	mamua
201	LANG	LARGO	t͡ʃaʂkɨ	t͡ʃazgɨ	t͡ʃaʂkɨ	t͡ʃaʂkɨ
202	KURZ	BAJO	mɨtu (uni)	mɨtu (uni)	mɨtu (uni)	mɨtu (uni)
203	GROß	GRANDE	t͡ʃa	t͡ʃa	t͡ʃa	t͡ʃa
204	KLEIN	PEQUEÑO	t͡ʃukúma	t͡ʃugúma	t͡ʃukúma	t͡ʃukúma
205	ALT	VIEJO	ʂɨni	zɨni	ʂɨni	ʂɨni
206	JUNG	JOVEN	βɨná	wɨná	βɨná	βɨná
207	KLUG	INTELIGENTE	sinánɲu	sinánɲu	sinánju	sinánju

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
208	HÜBSCH	BONITO	ʔupí	ʔupí	ʔupí	ʔupí
209	HÄßLICH	FEO	ʔáisama	ʔáizama	ʔátima	ʔáisama
210	KALT	FRÍO	mat͡sikɨ	masigɨ	mat͡sikɨ	mat͡sikɨ
211	HEIß	CALIENTE	ʔit͡sís	zána	ʔit͡sís	ʔit͡sís
212	HEUTE	HOY	βɨɾí	wɨɾí	βɨɾí	βɨɾí
213	GESTERN	AYER	ʔimɨiʃi, t͡ʃiβáʃkikɨ	ʔimɨiʃi, t͡ʃiwáʃkikɨ	ʔimɨiʃi, t͡ʃiwáʃkikɨ	ʔimɨiʃi, t͡ʃiwáʃkikɨ
214	MORGEN	MAÑANA	ʔimɨiʃi	ʔimɨiʃi	ʔimɨiʃi	ʔimɨiʃi
215	HIER	AQUÍ	ɨnu	ɨnu	ɨnu	ɨnu
216	DORT	ALLÁ	ánu	ánu	ánu	ánu

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
217	RECHDZ	DERECHO	mɨkʷeu	mɨkʷeu	mɨkeu	mɨkeu
218	LINKS	IZQUIERDA	mɨ́miu	mɨ́miu	mɨ́miu	mɨ́miu
219	JA	SÍ	--	--	--	--
220	NEIN (= IST NICHT)	NO (NO ES)	ɲuɲuma	ɲuɲuma	yuyuma	yuyuma
221	VIELE	MUCHOS	ʔi͡tsa	ʔi͡sa	ʔi͡tsa	ʔi͡tsa
222	WENIG	POCO	ʔi͡tsamaʃi	ʔi͡samaʃi	ʔi͡tsamaʃi	ʔi͡tsamaʃi
223	ALLE, ALLES	TODOS, TODO	kamaβi	kamawi	kamaβi	kamaβi
224	NICHDZ	NADA	ɲuɲuma	ɲuɲuma	yuyuma	yuyuma
225	VIER	CUATRO	--	--	--	--
226	FÜNF	CINCO	mápai	mápai	mápai	mápai

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
227	SECHS	SEIS	--	--	--	--
228	SIEBEN	SIETE	--	--	--	--
229	ACHT	OCHO	--	--	--	--
230	NEUN	NUEVE	--	--	--	--
231	ZEHN	DIEZ	--	--	--	--
232	ERSTER	PRIMER	apain	apain	apain	apain
	VORHAUT	PREPUCIO	--	--	--	--
	GUT	BUENO	ʔupí	ʔupí	ʔupí	ʔupí
	SCHLECHT	MALO	mɨanánkɨ	mɨanángɨ	mɨanánkɨ	mɨanánkɨ
	ESSEN (FORM ?)	COMER	píti	píti	píti	píti

Num.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
		(¿FORMA?)				
	SCHLAFEN (FORM ?)	DORMIR (¿FORMA?)	ʔuʂti	ʔuzʈi	ʔuʂti	ʔuʂti
	TÖTEN (FORM ?)	MATAR (¿FORMA?)	uni ʔati	uni ʔati	uni ʔati	uni ʔati

Appendix 4: List of the Kashibo-Kakatataibo texts that were parsed in the Toolbox program

Code	Author	Time	Title in Spanish
C00A01-AE-2006	Alfredo Estrella	3:04	Lo que voy a hacer el próximo año
C00A02-AE-2006	Alfredo Estrella	1:19	Lo que hice hoy
C00A03-EE-2006	Emilio Estrella	2:58	La construcción de la carretera
C00A04-EE-2006	Emilio Estrella	1:01	Lo que hice hoy (en Lima)
C00A05-EE-2006	Emilio Estrella	1:01	Lo que hice hoy
C00A06-EE-2006	Emilio Estrella	6:25	Nuestros antepasados vienen del norte
C00A07-RP-2006	Ricardo Pereira	4:54	Santa Marta
C01A01-MO-2007	Marcelo Odicio	3:17	Un hombre pescaba con el ojo
C01A03-WO-2007	Wilton Odicio	2:35	Un hombre enterró a su enemigo
C01A05-SE-2007	Salomón Estrella	4:26	Un hombre enterró a su enemigo
C01A06-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	1:41	Un lorito se robó el tizón
C01A07-SE-2007	Salomón Estrella	2:56	Un hombre siempre traía anchoveta

C01A08-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	2:37	Un hombre siempre traía suri
C01A09-SE-2007	Salomón Estrella	10:25	Matando un chosna blanco, vio que su mujer le engañaba
C01B01-SE-2007	Salomón Estrella	4:51	El diluvio
C01B02-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	9:06	Un cóndor lo rescató
C01B03-SE-2007	Salomón Estrella	2:32	Un hombre apareció a la una de la mañana
C01B04-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	3:01	Un hombre traicionero llegó con granadillas
C01B05-SE-2007	Salomón Estrella	6:30	Elaboración de las fleches
C01B06-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	6:33	Una mujer cuidaba bien a su esposo cieguito
C01B07-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	1:54	Lo que voy a hacer el próximo año
C01B08-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	2:04	Lo que voy a hacer el próximo año
C01B09-SE-2007	Salomón Estrella	2:20	Lo que voy a hacer el próximo año
C02A02-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	6:33	Un gringo vino a visitar
C02A04-NA-2007	Julio Estrella	3:10	El hombre venado no estaba muerto
C02A06-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	5:55	El hombre venado no estaba muerto

C02A07-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	11:13	Una mujer pintaba a su marido
C02A09-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	3:33	Un hombre traicionero llegó con granadillas
C02B01-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	3:41	Un niño apedreó al amante de su mujer
C02B02-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	9:49	La construcción de la carretera
C02B04-SE-2007	Salomón Estrella	5:51	Elaboración de la chacra
C02B05-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	9:40	Elaboración de las flechas
C03A01-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	1:59	Isa Kuna, el hombre que nombró los ríos
C03A02-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	1:57	Un hombre pescaba con el ojo
C03A03-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	5:22	Un cóndor lo rescató
C03A04-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	5:18	Nuestros antepasados vivían de otra forma
C03A05-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	4:35	Los jefes que hemos tenidos
C03A06-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	3:31	Olivia Shell y los pastores que llegaron
C03A07-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	9:07	Mis viajes de evangelización
C03A08-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	3:32	Mi trabajo actual
C03B01-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	5:23	Nuestros antepasados vivían de otra forma

C03B02-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	4:47	Los gringos conocieron a Bolivar
C03B03-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	5:40	Los kamano
C03B04-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	4:13	Los animales del monte
C03B05-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	5:00	Las plantas del monte
C03B06-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	4:45	Las enfermedades del hombre cacataibo
C03B07-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	1:48	Lo que hice ayer
C03B08-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	1:43	Lo que hice hoy
C03B09-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	2:26	El pastor que va a venir
C03B10-AE-2007	Alfredo Estrella	1:57	Mis viajes a otras iglesias
C04A01-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	4:47	Los patrones que teníamos antes
C04A02-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	5:51	Nuestros antepasados conquistaron a otros pueblos
C04A03-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	5:30	Matando un chosna blanco, vio que su mujer le engañaba
C04A04-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	5:41	Un hombre enterró a su enemigo
C04B01-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	9:28	Nuestros antiguos hacían sus buenas fiestas

C04B02-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	5:33	El hombre antes fue animal
C04B03-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	5:29	Los matrimonios antiguos
C04B04-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	2:49	Los matrimonios modernos
C04B05-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	6:40	Los kamano
C05A02-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	6:25	Matando un chosna blanco, vio que su mujer le engañaba
C05A05-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	6:56	Nuestros antepasados hacían guerra
C05A06-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	6:47	Los matrimonios antiguos
C05A07-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	6:56	Tsikiumano se llevó a la hija de un hombre
C05A08-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	10:06	Nuestros antepasados vivían de otra forma
C05B01-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	13:58	Nuestros antepasados vivían de otra forma
C05B02-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	6:52	Un tigre se comía a los antiguos
C05B03-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	4:58	Un oso negro llegaba antes
C05B04-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	5:43	Biografía
C05B05-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	5:36	Nuestros antepasados conquistaron a otros pueblos

C06A01-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	6:13	El diluvio
C06A02-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	5:39	Lo que mis abuelos me contaban
C06A03-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	5:34	Nuestros antepasados hacían guerra
C06A04-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	4:50	Nuestros antepasados no enterraban a sus muertos
C06A05-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	3:39	Isa Kuna, el hombre que nombró los ríos
C06A06-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	4:05	nuestros antepasados peleaban con los shipibos
C06B01-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	6:23	Nuestros antepasados no tenían ni machetes ni cuchillos
C06B02-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	3:33	Nuestros antepasados hacían sus chacras
C06B03-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	4:30	Un tiempo había bastante piojos
C06B04-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	9:58	Inchinka, una mujer que vengó a sus familiares
C06B05-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	3:26	Inchinka, una mujer que vengó a sus familiares
C06B06-NA-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	3:09	Una mujer llegó en una canoa de metal
C06B07-JE-2007	Julio Estrella	4:30	una mujer siempre se sentaba en su casa
C07A01-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	16:32	nuestros antepasados vienen del norte
C07A02-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	5:17	Nuestros antepasados vivían de otra forma

C07A03-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	16:48	Nuestros antepasados hacían muchas cosas
C07B01-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	13:31	Los incas
C07B02-EE-2007	Emilio Estrella	17:38	Nuestros antepasados vivían acá en la selva
C08A01-IO-2008	Irma Odicio	7:27	Nuestras abuelas vivían compartiendo
C08A02-IO-2008	Irma Odicio	4:04	El hombre venado no estaba muerto
C08A03-IO-2008	Irma Odicio	9:57	Nuestras abuelas también hacían guerra
C08B01-EE-2008	Emilio Estrella	6:25	Nuestros antepasados subían al cielo
C08B03-EE-2008	Emilio Estrella	15:56	Nuestros antepasados vivían de otra forma
C08B04-EE-2008	Emilio Estrella	10:36	Por abajo es bien bonito
C09A01-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	5:26	La creación del cielo y la tierra
C09A02-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	5:06	el diluvio
C09A03-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	3:25	Utano se llevó a una abuela de nosotros
C09A04-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	2:39	umubaë xanu
C09A05-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	3:02	xuncha y otros seres del monte
C09A06-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	2:24	La creación del hombre

C09A07-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	1:36	Un hombre pescaba con el ojo
C09A09-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	1:55	un hombre enterró a su enemigo
C09B01-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	5:07	Isa Kuna, el hombre que nombró los ríos
C09B02-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	3:07	Cuando la tierra no tenía árboles
C09B03-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	4:39	nuestros antepasados sembraban muchas cosas
C09B04-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	2:28	los incas
C09B05-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	2:58	aunque no tenía hacha, hacían bien su trabajo
C09B06-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	3:12	Los kamano
C09B07-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	3:50	hubo un tiempo de hambruna
C09B08-NA-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	4:30	Un tigre se comía a los antiguos
C10A01-EE-2008	Emilio Estrella	7:58	nuestros antepasados subían al cielo
C10A02-SE-2008	Salomón Estrella	8:32	nuestro padre no encontraba a su mujer
C10A03-SE-2008	Salomón Estrella	8:53	entre cuñadas se visitaban
C10A04-SE-2008	Salomón Estrella	9:39	Nuestros antepasados hacían guerra

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